

**SOCIAL HISTORY  
OF LUSO-INDIANS IN KERALA**

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Department of History  
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## **C E R T I F I C A T E**

This is to certify that this thesis “**Social History of Luso-Indians in Kerala**” submitted for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Calicut is a record of bonafide research carried out by Mr. **Charles Dias** under my supervision. No part of the thesis has been submitted for any degree before.

**K.J. John**  
Supervising Teacher

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28th May 2009

## **D E C L A R A T I O N**

I, Charles Dias, do hereby declare that this thesis entitled **Social History of Luso-Indians in Kerala** is a bonafide record of the research work done by me under the guidance of Dr.K.John, Head of the Department of History (retd.), University of Calicut. I further declare that this thesis has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma, associateship, fellowship or other similar title of recognition.

Charles Dias

Calicut University Campus  
28<sup>th</sup> May 2009

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANTT	Arquivo Nacional de Torre do Tombo
BAL	Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisboa
BDB	<i>The Book of Duarte Barbosa,; An Account of the Countries Bordering of the Indian Ocean and their Inhabitants</i> , ed., M.L.Dames
BARBOSA	<i>A Description of Coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century</i> , trans., Henry E.J. Stanley
CC	<i>Corpo Cronologico</i>
DI	<i>Documenta Indica</i>
FG	Fundo Geral
HAG	Historical Archives, Goa
JRAS	<i>Journal of Royal Asiatic Society</i>
LML	<i>Livros dos Monções de Lisboa</i>
Mss	Manuscripts
SRD	Silva Rego, <i>Documentação para História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente, Índia</i>
SRH	Silva Rego, <i>História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente, Índia</i>
TAS	<i>Travancore Archeological Series</i>

## LIST OF MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

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## P R E F A C E

This study is an enquiry into the social history of the Luso-Indians or the Portuguese descendants of Kerala. There were several attempts to study and analyse the Portuguese activities especially in the field of religion, trade and commerce, in Kerala. But so far no serious study is available on the origin, growth, culture and social life of Luso-Indians. It is well-known that the Muslim Arabs from West Asia who made temporary and sometimes permanent settlements on the port-towns of Malabar coast since 8<sup>th</sup> century for trade purposes began to convert and marry native women and procreated their descendants known as *Mappilas*. Almost a parallel can be traced in the case of Luso-Indians. However, no academic attempt has been made so far to examine and narrate the colorful and chequered history of Portuguese interaction with native women and their unique composite culture developed in their settlements. In a way, the present study is a moderate but pioneering attempt towards this direction.

As we all know, the Portuguese were the earliest Europeans who established direct contact with India in the modern period. With the arrival of Vasco da Gama in 1498 at Calicut, a new era of economic and cultural interaction between the East and the West was inaugurated. The 'Vasco da Gama epoch', as Sardar K.M. Panikkar has christened the period, which lasted for a short span of 150 years constituted and shaped an imposing oceanic enterprise that was spread across many parts of coastal Asia. In the course of sixteenth century, the Portuguese had created a widely dispersed structure of territorial holdings peopled by an assortment of ethnically mixed Portuguese-Asiatic community called Luso-Indians with distinct Portuguese Catholic identity. The paradox was that though the cumulative numbers of the Portuguese personnel, settlers and slaves in India were limited, yet their maritime commercial influence was considerable. In fact the extensively traveled Spaniard priest Domingo Navarette who visited several Portuguese settlements in the East was amazed by the Portuguese demographic mercantile spread across Asia. No wonder, on his return to Lisbon, he told the

Portuguese Secretary of State that there was no need carrying [Portuguese] people to India; there are infinite numbers dispersed through those countries<sup>1</sup> .

In Kerala from sixteenth century onwards the word Portuguese denoted a fairly heterogeneous and diverse set of people belonging to many shades of colour, ethnicity and corresponding to several social gradation. In the vernacular literature, the Portuguese and their descendants are referred to as *Parangis*, a derivative from the Arabic word *Feringie*. The Western chroniclers referred to the Portuguese descendants as Luso-Indians, Lusitania being the classical name of Portugal. Because of their later admixture with other European nationals, their progenies were titled as 'Eurasians' and with the formation of the Constitution of India, they came to be described as 'Anglo-Indians'. However, as the present study has shown, out of the demographic profile of the Anglo-Indians of Kerala, numbering about one lakh, 90% are Portuguese descendants or Luso-Indians, who originated in the coastal enclaves of the Portuguese in Kerala as a result of the policy of *Politca dos Casamentos* initiated and encouraged by Governor Albuquerque with the permission of his Lord, the King of Portugal. This policy was marriage alliance between his countrymen and native women. This policy helped to spread the Portuguese culture among a section of Kerala population. Native women who married Portuguese men learnt to speak Portuguese, embraced Christian religion and inherited many of their customs and traditions. The Catholic Church, which was an integral part of Portuguese culture, through church councils, pastoral letters etc. issued wide ranging prohibitions, injunctions and restrictions covering various aspects of life style of the community. Decrees were issued by the Church to prevent Christians from following non-Christians customs. Thus, a separate identity was cultivated in the Portuguese settlements in the emerging social formation. There is a large fringe group of Christians on the edge of Luso-Indian social spectrum, who have a sense of identification with the Portuguese culture as all these Christians inherited the same from the common source.

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1. J.S. Cummins, ed., *The Travels and Controversies of Friar Domingo Navarette 1618-1686*, Cambridge, 1962, Vol II, p.331.

Contemporaries recognized the impact of the Portuguese and the strong influence of “*Padre* who is the hinge where on they turn”<sup>2</sup> .

In the past there existed considerable class cum racial segregation among the Luso-Indians as it was comprised of *fidalgos*, *casados*, *soldados*, *reinols*, *casticos*, *mesticos* and the larger group of lower *mesticos* referred to as *mulatos* or *mungrelles* of ‘degraded’ and doubtful bloodlines. The Luso-Indians remain still as an endogamous composite group and as a result of continuous admixture and conjugal relationships, social divisions are almost vanished. The search for a European husband was virtually an obsession for the elite Luso-Indian families in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The French priest Abbe Carre met several French men such as Segineau, Martineau, Vidal, Mariage, Coulange etc. who were all married to Luso-Indian women and living in their settlements<sup>3</sup> . Perhaps, it was the charming life style of the Luso-Indians that pulled many Europeans to live in the Luso-Indian settlements. Interestingly, most of them had imbibed Luso-Indian culture, traditions and religion over the years.

It must be admitted that the Luso-Indian claims to European parentage, even in the twenty first century after their origin five hundred years ago, , were frequently illusionary despite the fanciful phraseology, or their proud declaration that they are ‘European sons of Indian mothers’. They forget for a moment that their mothers and fathers are from the Luso-Indian community of mixed ethnicity! However, the traditions and the splendid seigniorial way of life of the rich *casado* settlers was visible in the bungalows of elite Luso-Indians in the course of my field work. The field study was revealing and suggested that the Luso-Indians constitute a kind of frontier society who needed and created support groups in their settlement and regions they inhabited through their colonizing culture and evangelical activities.

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2. W. Foster, ed., *English Factories in India 1661-1664*, Oxford, 1923, p.254.

3. C. Fawcet, ed., *The Travels of Abbe Carre in India and Near East 1672-1674*, Vol II, pp. 725, 731 – 8.

The decline and eclipse of Portuguese fortunes from 1663 as a result of the Dutch aggression of Cochin which went about uprooting them systematically, had tremendous adverse impact on the life and career of the Luso-Indians. They were forcibly dispersed from their ancestral port-town enclaves, to the suburban islands and interior rural surroundings where they had to restart their life system, dwellings and occupational establishments. It was a kind of de-socialization that they were subjected to in the wake of Calvinistic Dutch aggression. They lost their wealth, property and other possessions of valuables and had to flee from splendid fortunes to poverty.

The saga of Luso-Indian origins, growth and establishment of their modern settlements is a fascinating story of a community that has survived the vicissitudes of time through their will power, dedicated work and ardent faith.

In the preparation of this thesis, I have received a good deal of encouragement and help from various people. First and foremost, I should express my heartfelt thanks to Dr.K.J. John, former Professor and Head of the Department of History, Calicut University, under whose supervision this study has been conceived and completed. I am highly indebted to him for having given me valuable information, source materials, rare manuscripts and timely guidance throughout the period of my research. I have used his valuable collection of books and deep knowledge about the Luso-Indians in completing this work. My words can only inadequately convey my gratitude to him.

The Directors of the Historical Archives and Central Library in Goa and Xavier Centre of Historical Research, Alto Porvorim, Goa were of great help for the collection of source materials. But as I proceeded with my study, it was found that all the original documents are in Portuguese language. This was overcome by acquiring a library knowledge of Portuguese language by attending a course of Portuguese language conducted jointly by the Institute for Research in Social Sciences and Research (IRISH), Nirmalagiri and Fundação Oriente, Goa for about three months.

The IRISH library at Nirmalgiri and the personal library of Prof.Dr.K.S. Mathew were also great source of information. The Historical Archives and Xavier Centre of Historical Research, Goa gave lots of details about the huge amounts spent by the Portuguese for supporting the hospital, school, *Santa Casa da Misericordia*, churches and monasteries in Cochin and other parts of Malabar.

The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library and National Archives, New Delhi, the Regional Archives at Ernakulam, the Diocesan Archives at Cochin and the library at the Kerala History Association, Ernakulam which hold a number of documents related to the present work, were extremely valuable in the preparation of this thesis.

So many persons were consulted when the 40 odd Portuguese settlements were visited throughout Kerala. It was an interesting experience to discuss with the people in each Luso-Indian settlement. They gave detailed information with regard to their families and traditions. The family surname of Luso-Indians which is called *alcunja* or *apelido* very much helpful to trace out the roots of many families.

The discussion I had with late Francis Paynter (Pancho) of Vypeen is gratefully remembered here. It has to be placed on record the useful informations and encouragement received from late Dr.Henry Austin, former Ambassador of India to Portugal and from Dr. A.J. Rozario, former Principal, Fathima Matha National College, Quilon.

In the course of my extensive field work, the cooperation received from Dr.Gregory of the Anthropology Department of Cannanore University is gratefully remembered. In the preparation of the questionnaire for field work the assistance received from Dr.Jhancy of Cannanore is acknowledged with gratitude.

I am thankful to Prof. Dr. T.M. Vijayan, Head of the Department of History, University of Calicut, Prof. Dr.K. Gopalankutty, Prof. K.P. Velayudhan and members



of staff of the Department of History, Calicut University for their assistance, encouragement and co-operation.

There are two persons who inculcated the sense of historical sense in me, and influenced my thoughts in preparing this thesis. Prayerful remembrance to my father late Joseph Dias and late Stephen Padua, who had deep knowledge about the Luso-Indian community.

I cannot forget the co-operation from my son Aaron Francis in fulfilling the technical aspects of this thesis. My ultimate word of gratitude is reserved for my wife, Gloria, whose cooperation, encouragement and personal sacrifices during the entire course of my research work for transcended the call of duty

**Charles Dias**

## Chapter - 1

### INTRODUCTION

The existence of a community of European descendants in Kerala as a result of the encounter of people from Europe since 16<sup>th</sup> century, arose the interest of both historians as well as anthropologists. Even though, a few studies were conducted on the origin and background of the community in the past, they lack historical accuracy. The authors did not bother to consult primary sources and hardly they conducted proper scientific field work. If at all some studies were held, it was mainly on the British descendants, whose history was of recent origin. For example, the studies available on the subject are mainly of Goodrich <sup>1</sup>, Bhattacharya <sup>2</sup> and Gaikwad <sup>3</sup>. The main aspects of these studies are based on British descendants and these researchers did not differentiate the Portuguese, Dutch, French or British descendants. Gaikwad has conducted detailed study on the position of the 'Anglo-Indians' in selected centres with regard to their background, living conditions and character. As the word 'Anglo-Indian' itself cause confusion to researchers, the study on them naturally leads to misconception and statistical errors. Of course, with the definition of Article 366 (2) of the Constitution of India all the descendants of Europeans in India come under 'Anglo-Indians'. But, the classification of all the European descendants in India as 'Anglo-Indians' is un-scientific, unrealistic and not giving a reasonable label for the community. In fact, the former naming of the community as 'Eurasian' would have been an apt appellation.

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1. Dorris Goodrich, *The Making of an Ethnic Group: The Eurasian Community in India*, unpublished Ph.d. dissertation, University of California, Berkely 1952
  2. D.K.Bhattacharya, *Study of ABO, RH, , HR, MN Blood Groups among Anglo-Indians of India* with a note on other Genetical and Morphological Characters; unpublished Ph.d. dissertation, University of Delhi, 1965.
  3. V.R. Gaikwad, *The Anglo-Indians*, Bombay, 1967

The present study aims to concentrate on the descendants of the Portuguese who came first to India in the fag end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and afterwards as a result of the ‘age of discoveries’, emerged from the new enthusiasm created by the spirit to explore the unknown seas. The effects of the new phenomena among the countries of Europe were diverse. For the kings in Europe it was not only widening their boundaries and gaining more power and fame, but to amass wealth through trade and commerce and to a great extent the spreading of Christian religion. It opened up a new era in history of maritime discoveries. During this period, Portugal, a tiny nation of Europe in the Iberian peninsula attempted to use its talents in the sea, with scientific studies on the maritime possibilities, stood first.

In the search for ‘new lands and people’, with the inspiration of the ‘age of discoveries’, Portugal took the lead. The blockade by Arabs in the Persian Gulf, Red Sea and Indian Ocean routes and the capture of Constantinople by Ottoman Turks in 1453 forced the Europeans to find out a ‘new sea-route’ to India, where pepper and other spices were cultivated and the trading centres of these items were situated. The Portuguese succeeded in this effort in 1498 through rounding Africa via Cape of Good Hope by Vasco da Gama and reached Calicut on 20<sup>th</sup> May 1498. Thereafter, their presence in the Indian sub-continent in the spheres of trade, politics and religion made indelible marks in these places. According to K.M. Panicker ‘A Portuguese period existed in Kerala history’ which is described as ‘Vasco da Gama epoch’<sup>4</sup> But M.N. Pearson and a few recent historians are opposed to this view. Pearson observes, ‘the nautical prowess of the Portuguese was exemplary their courage admirable but we do not need to accept the grandiose claims of some historians who see them as bringing civilization to Asia’<sup>5</sup>

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4. K.M. Panicker, *Malabar and the Portuguese, 1500 – 1663*, Bombay, 1929, p.27

5. M.N Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujrat; The Response to the Portuguese in the 16th Century*, Berkeley, , 1976 , p.197 ; Also see article by M.N.Pearson, ‘The Portuguese in India and Indian Ocean’, in *Kerala Spectrum* ed., by Charles Dias, Cochin, 2006.. p.188-202

The inter-marriages of Portuguese men with Indian women resulted in the formation of a mixed-race. They were named 'Luso-Indians'. The word 'Luso' derives from Lusitania, the former name of Portugal. Portuguese came to India mainly for the trade of Spices and they were landed first in Kerala. It was quite natural that from the first Portuguese settlers in the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the 'Luso-Indian' community was emerging and as such the first progenies of the mixed-marriages of Portuguese-Indians were in Kerala. Portuguese were having trade centres in other parts of India mainly in the port towns. Goa, which later became a colony and the headquarters of the Portuguese was captured in the year 1510, from Adil Shah, the Sultan of Bijapur. They spread their operations later to Bengal (Calcutta, Chittagong), Gujrat (Surat, Daman and Diu) and Maharashtra (Bombay, Bacim).

The studies on the Luso-Indian community so far is limited. J.J.A. Campos made a successful attempt on the Luso-Indians of Bengal in his pioneering work *History of Portuguese in Bengal* <sup>6</sup>. The Anthropological Survey of India in their 'People of India' series could bring out interesting features of the community both in national <sup>7</sup> and State (Kerala) level.<sup>8</sup>.

The Luso-Indian community had made their presence felt in the former Portuguese centres of Cochin, Cannanore, Calicut, Quilon etc.in Kerala. The *Fidalgos* <sup>9</sup> from Portugal in their attempt to settle themselves in India were eager to find out suitable women. During the first 20 or 30 years, practically no women from Europe were able to reach India for the Portuguese men to get married.

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6. J.J.A. Campos, *History of Portuguese in Bengal*, Calcutta, 1979, reprint.

7. K.S. Singh, ed., 'India's Communities', in *People of India*, National series, Volume IV, Anthropological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1998, pp.94-102

8. B.Francis Kulirani, 'India's Communities' *People of India*' series (Kerala), Vol.XXVII, Part 1, New Delhi, 1998, pp.183-189.

9. This word is usually used to identify a Portuguese man with a distinct calibre, especially during the early batches of Portuguese men came to India

The risky and long journey by sea which was usually taking six to ten months to reach India from Portugal, practically made it impossible for the coming of Portuguese women to India . In later years, the women called ‘*orfas d’el rei*’ (*orphan girls of the king*)<sup>10</sup> who were daughters of the Portuguese officers died in wars were sent to India for getting them married to Portuguese soldiers. They were of marriageable age sent out in annual batches from the orphanages of Lisbon and Porto<sup>11</sup>.

It is possible to identify three broad groups of Portuguese women in India in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The first division consisted of those left Lisbon freely and included a very diverse lot, ranging from occasional Viceroy’s or Captain’s wife to female stowaways who appeared with some frequency in ships leaving Lisbon<sup>12</sup>. The second group was made up of female sinners and criminals sentenced to overseas exile (*degredo*)<sup>13</sup>. The third category of women comprised those who were encouraged to emigrate by way of rewards offered by the State. The Portuguese state identified two groups of single women in this category as colonizers: orphans or reformed prostitutes ( *orrepentidas, convertidas* ). The destiny of these orphan girls was to unite the empire in a complex web created and supported by the agents of State and the Church. It was the responsibility of the Portuguese State to look after and settle down the orphans who have no father but God<sup>14</sup>.

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10. C.R. Boxer, *Mary and Mysogyny, Women in Iberian Expansion Overseas 1415-1815, Some Facts, Fancies and Personalities*, Duckworth, 1975, pp.66-67
  11. Arquivo Nacional de Torre do Tombo (hereafter ANTT) *Livros Dos Moncões ou Documentos Da Índia*, Lisboa, cod.48, fl.318 ; cod.54, fl.51, 109, 11, 123, 207-208
  12. J.Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, Vol I, Rome, 1948, -84, p.123 (hereafter DI); also see Antonio de Silva Rego, *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Portuguese do Oriente, India*, Vol II, Lisboa, 1947-58, p.123 (hereafter SRD)
  13. Timothy Coates, *Orphans and Exiles: “Forced and State Sponsored Colonization in the Portuguese Empire, 1550-1720”*, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1993
  14. Brian Pullan, *Orphanage and Foundlings in Early Modern Europe*, Reading, England, 1989, p.6

It is estimated that with some degree of accuracy that during the sixteenth century approximately 4000 bachelor young men left Portugal every year for overseas assignments and very few of them returned to Portugal <sup>15</sup>.

With the arrival of Pedro Alvares Cabral in 1500 at Cochin and Calicut, the Portuguese operations were started vigorously on Malabar coasts. The establishment of *feitoria* (factory) at Cochin and later of 'Fort Emmanuel at Cochin, 'Fort Angelo' at Cannanore and 'Fort St.Thomas' at Quilon during 1504 – 05 compelled the Portuguese soldiers to stay back. The *Estada da India Portuguesa* (the Portuguese State in India) was in its beginning stage of its foundation with the arrival of Dom Francisco de Almeida as the first *Visorey dos Indias* (Viceroy of India) in 1505 <sup>16</sup>.

With the increased commercial operations the growth of settlements, the second Viceroy to India, Afonso de Albuquerque felt the need of Portuguese presence to be strengthened in the trade centres, to carry on the commercial operations, evangelization of people and to fight with the enemies. The most illustrious of all Portuguese Governors deputed to India, was Afonso de Albuquerque. He became the Portuguese Governor in India in the year 1509 <sup>17</sup>. Albuquerque took effective steps to strengthen the Portuguese settlements in the East and took control of the position in Arabian sea. He defended his enemies in land and sea and could establish Portuguese supremacy in the trade of spices.

Albuquerque wanted to lay a firm foundation for the Portuguese in India and implemented the policy of marriage between the Portuguese men with Indian women. A mixed ethnic group emerged in the Portuguese settlements of Kerala as a result of his policy of *Politica dos Casamentos*. By this policy he planned to raise a population of Portuguese descendants in Indian mothers, who would be faithful to the Portuguese and they can carry

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15. C.R. Boxer, *op.cit*, pp.66-67

16. Alexander Loboto, ed., *Fundação da Estado da Índia em 1505*, Lisboa, 1955, p.144

17. R.S. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India 1497 – 1550*, Patna, New Delhi, 1979, reprint., p. 128

on the Portuguese operations in India . Native women who married Portuguese men learnt to speak Portuguese , embraced western Christianity and imbibed many of their customs and traditions which were followed in the Portuguese settlements. This new culture was inherited by their numerous descendants over generations. The off-springs of the Luso-Indian breed were variously called at different times. When the Portuguese arrived on the Malabar coast they met with the powerful Arab traders , who called them *farangi* which is an Arab word for foreigner. Since then, the Portuguese and Luso- Indians in general were called *parangis* by local people and it became a synonym with the Portuguese descendants of Kerala.

In Kerala the Portuguese had only commercial interests. They never occupied and ruled the areas under the Raja of Cochin, but helped him to suppress his enemies. In return the Raja of Cochin permitted them to build a fortified settlement and factory in his territory on the sea-coast of Cochin. On the Kerala coasts at Cochin, Calicut, Cananore and Quilon the Portuguese had factories , godowns and their own settlements. Albuquerque fought vigorously to fulfill his dream of establishing the *Estada da India* by capturing Goa and other strategic areas like Daman and Diu. He captured Goa in 1510. Later the Portuguese headquarters was shifted from Cochin to Goa in 1530 by Nuno da Cunha <sup>18</sup>

The Portuguese men who married ( *Casados* ) native women were freed from the Portuguese army and allowed to settle down in India. Later, each such settlement became Luso-Indian centres. They had their own churches, schools and hospitals . As shown by Garcia de Menezes in the fifteenth century and proved by Bernardo de Britto, *Lucitania* was the Roman province of the Iberian Peninsula, and was identified with Portugal. The Portuguese are called the Lucian people. Hence ‘Luso-Indian‘ would be a proper denomination for the Portuguese descendants in India <sup>19</sup> *Farangi* or *Feringee* is an Arab

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18. C.R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415 -1825*, London, 1965, pp. 253 – 55

19. J.J.A.Campos, *op.cit.* p.170

corruption of *Frank*. This name was once applied to the crusaders and was an honoured name but later it is used in derision <sup>20</sup>.

The Luso-Indians may be said to be an 'ethnic group', in as much as they have their specific physical and cultural characteristics. They are descended on the father's side, from the European subjects and on the mother's side from the natives of India; and that in other instances, they are the children of inter-marriages between the offsprings of such connections <sup>21</sup>, thus closely allied to the European and native ethnic groups. They are staunch Catholics of the Latin rite, till recently spoke Portuguese language at home and are assimilated in their dress, manners and education to their paternal progenitors.

The Luso-Indians were later called *Eurasians*. As they slowly started mixing with other Europeans or their progenies and later came to be called *Anglo-Indians* with the introduction of the Constitution of India in 1950.

The Portuguese period in Kerala history made tremendous impact as noted by William Logan <sup>22</sup>. Their arrival on the Kerala scene had undeniable effects on the whole life of Kerala. It changed the course of Malabar history, introduced new factors in its economic life, and materially altered the social conditions <sup>23</sup>. In his *Survey of Kerala History*, Sreedhara Menon included a chapter entitled 'The Portuguese Period' <sup>24</sup>. The community of Luso-Indians, formed out of the contact of the Portuguese with Indian women is surely one of the results of the effects of this Portuguese period.

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20. Peter R. Bechmann, *Roberto Nobili, 1577-1656*, Roma, 1972., P.44; Also see, T.A. Gopinatha Rao, ed., 'Paliyam Plates of the 322nd year of the Pudu-Vaipu Era', Travancore Archaeological Series Vol I, Trivandrum, 1908, p.63.

21. The text of the petition of the *East Indians*, to the House of Commons, CI.3

22. William Logan, *Malabar*, Madras, 1951, reprint, p.294-338

23. K.M. Panikar, *A History of Kerala*, 1498 – 1801, Annamalai University, 1959, p.175

24. A. Sreedhara Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History*, Kottayam, 1970, Chapter 15.



The married Portuguese men called by the Portuguese term *Casados*, were allowed to settle in India. The offsprings from these inter- marriages of different ethnic groups were named *Mestices*. The outlook of the Portuguese towards other races and cultures are reflected in the words of one of the Presidents of the Republic of Portugal , that “the interaction of Portugal’s navigators with ancient cultures gave a universal vision” <sup>25</sup> .

The very essence of the social and physical interaction of the Portuguese in ‘Indies’ and the secret of their survival was ‘accommodation and collaboration’. . ‘Albuquerque encouraged the *Soldados* , bachelor soldiers, to became *Casados* , married settlers, to stabilize his empire. Their descendants are all over the East, Portuguese in name, Portuguese words embedded in their speech, Portugal’s Catholic faith in their hearts’ <sup>26</sup> .

## **Aim**

The arrival of Portuguese five centuries ago and their contacts with Indian people resulted in the formation of the Luso-Indian community. This study mainly aims at the circumstances in which the Portuguese people married Indian women and how the offsprings from these marriages were brought up for the benefit of Portuguese. It is also the aim of this study the evolutionary growth of the Luso-Indians as a community and how far they supported the cause of Portuguese in India. It is also an important factor that during the later stages the *Casados* started their own commercial operations and followed a

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25. Merle Severy, *National Geographic*, Vol.182, No.5, November 1992, p. 92

A comment of Dr.Mario Soares, President of the Republic of Portugal, on the encounter of Portugal with other countries is worth quoting at this context “ Portugal’s navigators, showing Europe the way across the oceans, brought back more than spices, gold, precious stones and silk. They interacted with ancient cultures and gave us the vision of the one world we have today. At the close of the cycle of the empire, as we enter universal civilization, Portugal will remain, as our poet Fernando Pessoa saw, ‘the face of Europe that looks out to the rest of the world’ .

26. *Ibid*, p.79

separate path of independent ways , flourished in trade and settled in the towns of western coast of India. This study also aims at to analyse the social life of the Luso-Indians, the distinct aspects that identify them from the rest of the people, their religious life and contributions to the development of Church in Kerala , the changes that has taken place to the Luso-Indians during the Dutch and British period and the present state of affairs of the community . The changes that the community had undergone during the last five centuries, their assimilation to Indian society and their contribution to the social, religious and economic life of the country and finally their identity in the Indian cultural mosaic will arouse interest to those who codify the nature of communities in India’

### **Scope**

The scope of the present study focuses on the situation of inter marriages of different ethnic groups and the resultant formation of a community of Luso-Indians. There are certain aspects that received special attention in this study are: the language of the Luso-Indian community with lots of Portuguese words frequently used ; their close relation to Church and the affairs connected to it. The continued use of the Malacan costume of women by the Luso-Indians of Kerala shows the stagnant state of the community at the interior villages of Kerala and during this study this particular factor has been looked into. Even after five centuries, certain trades of the community, such as carpentry, smithy etc. are carried by generations after generation and it was an interesting factor to study the transformation of some members of the community to pottery production at the Island of Moolampilly, to agriculture at Kadukutty and to plantation at Wayanadu hills.

### **Statement of Problem**

1. It is to be analysed the background and structure of the society in Malabar when the Portuguese arrived here during the 16<sup>th</sup> century.
2. The circumstances that made it necessary for the Portuguese to marry native women.

3. The State policy of encouraging the Portuguese men to marry Indian women by the Portuguese Governor Afonso de Albuquerque and other subsequent Portuguese administrators.
4. To analyse the nature of Portuguese men and their attitude towards native women in the background of their previous encounters with other ethnic groups.
5. The nature of Portuguese settlements with the Indian wives and their offsprings.
6. The trading activities of the *casados* (married Portuguese men) in and the areas of their operation.
7. To analyse the effects of Dutch invasion of Cochin in 1663 and the sufferings of the Portuguese descendants and the circumstances that forced them to flee to the interior Villages.
8. The nature of Luso-Indian settlements, the lack of facilities to maintain their trade, Inadequate living conditions, the disability to educate their children and the subsequent degeneration and backwardness of the community.
9. To examine the extend of the Luso-Indian community mixed with the Dutch, English and other Europeans who came to Malabar at later stages.
10. To anyluse the peculiarities of their culture, culinary habits, house building pattern, their attachment with the Church, the *creole* Portuguese they speak etc.
11. To analyse the nature of adaptation of the Luso-Indian community to the Indian situation and their present day state of affairs, statistics of their population at various settlements and their organizations.

## METHODOLOGY

Defining humanistic terms, the objectives of social and Anthropological studies in India, Sarat Chandra Roy wrote “The study by men of different races and religions of the customs and manners of one another may help in promoting mutual amity and knitting ever more closely the bonds of unity among them” .<sup>27</sup> The present study of the Social History of the Luso-Indians in Kerala was conducted in this spirit.

The methodology used is partly descriptive and partly analytical. No prior assumptions were made while this study was conceived and executed. The purpose has been to analyse the social pattern of Luso-Indians, who through clinging to the old traditions, customs and costumes of their European progenitors, are in a state of dilemma to learn more or not to learn the Indian way of living. Radicliff Broson’s insistence upon the standard scientific technique of starting from a hypothesis, testing it by intensive field work, modifying the original hypothesis in the light of the field research and continuing thus to build up a systematic body of knowledge’<sup>28</sup>, could not be followed herein, primarily because so far there is hardly any problem-oriented or hypothesis guided study of the social structure of the Luso-Indians. When we approached the subject it was found that the community of Luso-Indians in Kerala is a set of people with many peculiarities . When the records of their European and Indian parentage were examined, it became imperative to pursue my research through field study to understand their social formation and adaptation in the alien cultural milieu against the backdrop of their origins.

Some years back there appeared a few studies on Anglo-Indians in general and one or two aspects of their life in particular, based on academic research. Grimshaw<sup>29</sup>,

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27. Sarat Chandra Roy, ‘Anthropological Studies in India’, ‘*The New Review*’, Calcutta, Feb, 1936, p.149

28. M.Foster, ed., “Preface” in *Social Structure*, London, 1949, p.7

29. Allen D. Grimshaw in the ‘Anglo-Indian community; The integration of a marginal group’, in *The Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol.XVIII No.2 Feb 1959

Bhattacharya <sup>30</sup> and Gaikwad <sup>31</sup> have analysed the factors in the making of an ethnic group, their physical characteristics and a general account of the people respectively. Still, no detailed and full fledged hypothesis oriented work has come out and there remains much to be studied about them. This study attempts to tap the historical origins, socio-cultural dimensions and ethnic identity of the community. Being the ‘European sons of the native women’ the Luso-Indians have Portuguese as well as Indian blood in them and a study of their social structure will enable us to understand the unique nature of their social formation. The emphasis in this study is more on gathering facts, and ever more facts, so that they could speak for themselves, and give us an opportunity for understanding of social reality of a distinct community thriving in Indian environment through adoption and adaptation. Politically and economically they are a strong community because of their staunch faith in Church; and the Durkhemian statement that ‘strong church make strong communities’ may be typical of these people. They are inspired by Catholic Christian ethics which sanctifies their social institutions

Field work and personal interviews were extensively used in selected localities for the present study. To use E. Gellner’s metaphor, all aspirant professional social historians must go through this arduous initiation ritual of field work as it is the exclusive technique employed to obtain information about the objective facts of culture and society <sup>32</sup>.

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30. D.K Bhattacharya, *op.cit.*

31. V.R.Gaikwad, *op.cit*

32. S.F Nadel, “The Interview Technique in Social Anthropology” in F. Barlett, ed., *The Study of Society*, London, 1939, pp.317-327

The extensive field work conducted for this study helped to find out some interesting facts about the community. The Luso-Indians in the interior villages like Elamkunnappuzha, Pallipport, Vallarpadam, Padiyoor, Kadukutty etc. where the descendants of the Portuguese who fled from their enclave when the Dutch conquered Cochin in 1663. They are still maintaining some of the old practices which were followed by their ancestors. Even the dress of the Malaccan women *Kabaya* is still worn by the Luso-Indian women. The Luso-Malaccan women were the descendants of the Portuguese who were married to the *Soldados* during Albuquerque's conquest of Malaca and afterwards. The presence of Macau pottery, now mostly broken, could be traced in the old houses in and around Cochin. Portuguese language is spoken in some houses at Cannanore and Vypeen island. They even sing some old Portuguese songs<sup>30</sup>, the culinary habits are still peculiar with a varieties of dishes they cook at home. The field survey also brought to notice the Portuguese words the Luso-Indians use at home and outside which are peculiar to the community. In house-building pattern they have their own style. This has been slowly adapted to changing needs when they migrated to interior places like Kadukutty (in Trichur district) where the house pattern is changed to facilitate the agricultural needs of the people. There the houses are having long verandhas to keep the paddy plants cut and brought in bundles (in vernacular it is called *catta*) before separating the grains. Also in the Island of Moolampilly (in Ernakulam district) many Luso-Indians were engaged in the making of pottery because that was the only profession possible during the time they escaped to this island when the Dutch invaded Cochin in 1663 and accordingly the houses in this place were styled to carry on the profession of pot-making.

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33. The aged members of the community in Vypeen, Cannanore, Vallarpadam, Edacochin, Thoppumpady etc. still sing some *creole Portuguese* songs. Late Francis Paynter (Pancho) of Vypeen used to sing lots of *creole songs*.  
See Kennath David Jackson, 'Oral Traditions in Indo-Portuguese Creole Verse' *Sing Without Shame*, Instituto Cultural Macau, 1990, pp.25 – 27

It was noted that in many Luso-Indian houses, papaya, guava, breadfruit, ata etc. were planted and even though this is a general feature in the houses of Kerala, the Luso-Indians are particular in planting these trees and a varieties of preparations they make with the fruits from these plants. Many of these plants were brought from Brazil by the Jesuits and other missionaries.

One remarkable aspect noticeable in the Luso-Indian community was their attachment to the church. Most of their settlements are around the old churches in Kerala especially in the port towns. It is gathered that in early days, in most of the Latin churches in Kerala, the affairs of the church were carried out by people from the Luso-Indian community. Not only that they have contributed very generously to the church but built the institutions for the church.

The peculiarity of European style of dressing and to some extent it can be noticed that the Luso-Indian ladies are quite 'loud' in their dressing in their enthusiasm to follow the latest western type of dressing. On the occasion of wedding the bride and bridegroom wear western type of 'gown' and 'suit' respectively. The others accompany the bride and the bridegroom are also dressed in their own style with a long wedding gown, the head and face covered with white net and with a crown.

The conduct of wedding is having lots of peculiarities. The dishes are special on the occasion. Celebrations in connection with the wedding include dancing etc. The important role of the *Padarinja and Madarinja* (god father and god mother) in wedding is very conspicuous.

The women are having prominent role in the affairs at home and in decision making. The freedom for women in the Luso-Indian community also is noticeable. While men usually attend to their profession, whether in their work place or fields (in olden days carpentry, smithy, tailoring, shoe-making etc. were common professions among Luso-Indians), the women take care affairs at home and manage the children and attend to their studies etc.

The Luso-Indian houses usually locate together in one place. This is mainly to protect their language and culture and to protect the church in their locality. It is still a practice among Christians and Luso-Indians in particular that when some problems happen in the church the sexton or the priest ring the church bell which is usually big and loud and the parishners rush to the church to see what is happening and to attend whatever be the problem or emergency. Get-togethers and feasting is common for birthdays and wedding anniversaries and living in houses close-by as a colony facilitate for meeting together easily and if anyone is in distress the others could extend a helping hand. Dances are common during weddings and other social functions.

The preparation of the social history of the Luso-Indian community is relevant in the circumstances of the modern trend in writing history of communities with unique culture with a view to record the history of :

‘an elegaic regard for disappearing communities’. ‘Resurrectionism’ – rescuing the past from the ‘enormous condescension’ of posterity, reconstituting the vanished components of ‘The World We Have Lost’ – became a major impetus in historical writing and research. The dignity of ‘ordinary’ people could be said to be the unifying theme of this line of historical enquiry and retrieval, a celebration of everyday life, even , perhaps especially, it involved hardship and suffering. The general effect of the new social history has been to enlarge the map of historical knowledge and legitimate major new areas of scholarly enquiry – as for example the study of households and kinship; the history of popular culture. Social history establishes an altogether intimate rapport, inviting us back into warm parlor of the past.<sup>34</sup>

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34. Raphael Samuel, ‘What is Social History’ in *What is History Today*, ed., Juliet Gardiner, London, 1988, pp.45-47



## Sources and Historiography

To conduct the present study a variety of documents have been consulted for ensuring the correctness of the narrations made in this work. From manuscripts to published sources and even news paper reports were relied. Primary sources such as letters of the kings, correspondence of the Portuguese Viceroys in India, royal orders, reports of the state officers, reports of the religious heads etc. preserved in the various archival repositories in Lisbon, London , Rome, Goa etc. are made use of.

### European Archival sources

The early Portuguese navigations were on most of the time connected with religious interests and the most important treasury of manuscripts concerning sixteenth century is the *Arquivo Nacional de Torre do Tombo*, Lisbon. For the purpose of this study, few documents from *Livros dos Monçoes*, *Documentos da India* , *Lisboa* , *Monçoes de Reino* (concerning Goa), *Inquisição de Lisboa*, *Chancelaria de João III* *Chancelaria de Sebastião e Henruque* etc. preserved in the Tore do Tombo were useful. *Gevatas*, *Corpor Cronologico I* , *II*, *Necleo Antigo* , *Chancellaria de Filipe II* and *Chancellaria do João III* etc. comprise valuable documents pertaining to sixteenth century in the form of Orders of Kings, letters of Viceroys and Governors , instructions given to officers in India , letters of the Raja of Cochin, letters from the *feitorias* and trade centres of Cochin and Cannanore, correspondence of the *padre* or religious personals and other documents connected with the Portuguese operations in Malabar.

The *Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa* is yet another important repository holding documents related to the economy of medieval Malabar. The documents in the name of *Manuscriptos Iluminados* and *Fundo Geral* etc. throw light to the trading activities including those of *Casado* settlers of the sixteenth century Kerala .

For the study of Portuguese colonial documents the most important centre is the *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino*. The huge collection of *Caixas da Índia* with *Arquivo*

*Histórico Ultramarino* belongs to the sixteenth century, deals with Portuguese trade with Malabar and the various commercial operations.

*Biblioteca da Ajuda* contains documents showing the details of the urban growth of Cochin and the development of the trade and social advancement which led to the formation of the city of *Santa Cruz* in Cochin and give various aspects in the matter of Municipal administration introduced by the Portuguese, in the *Códice* No.51-VII-14, a volume entitled '*Privilegios da Cidade de Cochim*'.

The British Library at London preserves several manuscripts pertaining to the social background, details of chieftains and rulers of Malabar during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in the Sloane, Egerton and Additional. No. 197 in the Sloane collections is the *Livro do Estado da Índia* and No.2748 includes the list of prominent kings of Malabar. These British Library Manuscripts also give an account of the encounter of the Portuguese with the then rulers of Malabar.

*Archivum Romanam Societatis Jesu*, Rome (Jesuits Archives, Rome) has a vast collection of documents pertaining to the Jesuit activities of Portuguese in Asia. and throw a flood light to the evangelization under the *Padroado* in the East. Historical Archives, Goa have a good collection of manuscripts in the form of *Monções de Reino*, *Livro dos Monções*, *Caixas* and also have copies of *Chancellaria do João III*. *Arquivo Histórico da Diocese of Cochin* have a large collection of documents in the form of *Administração Territorial da Diocese : Paróquias*, which throw light to the establishment of various churches and other institutions in Cochin. Many Baptismal records kept at this archives show the names of Luso-Indian parents and their children.

**Published Primary Sources:** Among the printed primary sources, *Commentários de Grande Afonso Dalbuquerque* in 4 vols.<sup>35</sup> contains important events regarding the early sixteenth century Portuguese occupation of Cochin, Goa and Malaca. So also *Cartas de Afonso Albuquerque*<sup>36</sup> throw much light on the correspondance between Portuguese King and the Viceroy of India and it shows the implementation of Portuguese policies in those days. Duarte Barbos's *A Description of Coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the Begining of the Sixteenth Century*<sup>37</sup> gives a detailed description of Malabar and its social background. *História de Descobimento e Conquestada Índia pelos Portugueses* in 4 vols.<sup>38</sup> by Castanheda gives much information about the society in Malabar and especially of kings and the caste system. Castanheda came to India in 1528 and travelled extensively in the East and collected materials for his *História*. His accounts about Malabar shows his personnel observation. Gasper Correia's *Lendas da India*<sup>39</sup> is a mine of information about the social background of Malabar, the role of Chieftains and the analysis of power of the Rajas in Malabar. Gasper Correia came to India in 1512 and became the secretary to Afonso de Albuquerque and part and parcel of the Portuguese administration in India for about 50 years. He was an eye-witness for most of the incidents concerning the Portuguese in India and his familiarity with persons, places and events made him competent to write a first hand

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35. Braz de Albuquerque, ed. *Commentários de Grande Afonso Alabuquerque*, 4 vols. Lisboa, 1774

36. Raymundo Antonio de bulhao Pato, *Cartas de Afonso e Albuquerque, Seguidias de Documentos que as Eluciadam*, 7 vols., Lisboa, 1884-1935.

37. Duarte Barbosa, *A Description of Coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the Begining of the Sixteenth Century*, Trans. E.J.Stanley, London, 1866.

38. Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *História de Descobrimeto e Conquesta da India pelosPortuggueses* 4 vols., Coimbra, 1924-33.

39. Gasper Correia, *Lendas da India*, 4 vols., Lisboa, 1858-64.

information about this period. João de Barros wrote the *Décadas da Asia*<sup>40</sup> about the Portuguese presence in Asia during the first half of sixteenth century. His detailed narration about the kingdoms in Malabar and about local traditions etc. provide first hand information. In *Da Ásia*<sup>41</sup> of Diago de Couto through his various *Décadas* a detailed description of medieval Malabar is available. Diogo de Couto lived in India about fifty years (1559-1569, 1571-1616) and describes the political developments in Cochin in the sixteenth century. In *História do Malavar*<sup>42</sup> Diogo Gonçalves gives a description of kingdoms in Malabar in the sixteenth century and also deals with the political conditions and social and religious institutions of Malabar.

In *The Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India*,<sup>43</sup> William Brooks Greenlee narrates the encounter of the early Portuguese captain with the rulers of Malabar. In Linchoten's *The Voyage of John Huyghen Van Linchoten to the East Indies*,<sup>44</sup> a geographic description of Malabar is available. The nature of society and the hierarchical order is described in Linscoten's accounts. In Tomé Pires' *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires, An Account of the East from the Red Sea to Japan Written in Malaca and India in 1512-15*<sup>45</sup> a description of ports at Malabar is available.

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40. João de Barros, *Do Asia*, Decada 1-4, 9 vols, Lisboa, 1777-78

41. Diogo de Couto, *Da Asia*, Decadas 4-12, 15 vols., Lisboa, 1778-88.

42. Diogo Gonçalves, *Historia de Malavar*, ed. J. Wicki, Munsrer, 1955.

43. William Brooks Greenlee, ed., & trans., *The Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India, from Contemporary Documents and Narratives*, London, 1937.

44. John Huyghen Van Linchoten, *The Voyage of John Hyughen Van Linchoten to the East Indies*, ed., A.C Burnell & P.A. Tiele, 2 vols., London, 1885.

45. Tomé Pires, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires, An Account of the East from the Red Sea to Japan written in Malaca and India in 1512-15*, trans., & ed., Armando Corte São, 2 vols., London, 1944.

E.G. Ravenstein's *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama*,<sup>46</sup> gives a first hand account of the pioneering voyage of Vasco da Gama . In Ludovico Varthema's *The Travels of Ludovico Varthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserts, and Arabia Felix in Persia , India and Ethopia A.D. 1503-08*<sup>47</sup> we get a description of countries engaged in trade at Calicut . Ludovico Varthema who was in India from 1504 to 1508 describe the system and the countries and groups engaged in trade at Calicut. Several documents relating to the Portuguese activities especially concerning religion have been collected from various archival sources have been compiled and published by Antonio de Silva Rego in *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Portugueses do Oriente, Índia*<sup>48</sup> . These volumes especially one and two covering the first half of sixteenth century give valuable information concerning the present study. K.S. Mathew's and Afsal Ahamed's *Emergence of Cochin in the Pre-Industrial Era*,<sup>49</sup> is a bundle of Portuguese documents preserved at the Ajuda Palace Archives with an introductory study. It gives details of the establishment of the Portuguese Cochin and the settlement of the *Casados*

### **Indegenous Sources**

Shayak Zayunud-in's *Tuhafat-Al-Mujahidin* ,<sup>50</sup> is an account of the Portuguese encounter with Malabar . This is an excellent exposition of the Portuguese in Malabar in the sixteenth century. This volume covers the period from 1498 to 1583 and is mainly concerned about the Portuguese intervention in northern Kerala.

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46. E.G. Ravenstein, *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama, 1497-1499*, London, 1898.

47. Ludovico di Varthema, *The Travels of Ludovico Varthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserts, Arabia Felix in Persia, India and Ethopia A.D. 1503- 08*, trans. & ed., J.W. Jones and G.P. Badger, London, 1863.

48. Antonio de Silva Rego, *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Portuguese do Oriente, Índia*, 12 vols., Lisboa, 1947-58.

49. K.S. Mathew and Afzal Ahamed, *Emergence of Cochin in the Pre-Industrial Era*, Pondicherry, 1990.

50. Shayak Zayunud-in, *Tuhafar-Al-Mujahidin*, trans., S Muhammad Husayan Nainar, Madras, 1942.

The Arabic manuscript is kept in the India Office Library and Records, London, under Mss. Lote.1044. This is a sharp response to the activities of the Portuguese on the atrocities committed by the Portuguese over Muslims in the early years of the sixteenth century. This work is very critical about the activities of the Portuguese in Malabar. It also provides a description on the social conditions of Malabar in the 16th century. The *Perumpdappu Grandhavari* and *Vanjeri Grandhavari*<sup>51</sup> are in cadjan leaf documents preserved with repositories of ruling chieftains which give information about the medieval society and economy. A large collection of cadjan leaf records are preserved at the Central Archives, Thiruvananthapuram. The published works on these cadjan leaf records are *Perumpadppu Swarupam Grandhavari* and *Vanjeri Grandhavari* mainly concerned with the ruling royal families of Malabar.

**Among the published secondary sources,** F.C. Danvar's *The Portuguese in India*<sup>52</sup> and R.S. Whiteway's *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India 1497-1550*<sup>53</sup> give description of the Portuguese activities in India, from a British point of view. C.R. Boxer's *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion*,<sup>54</sup> *The Fidalgos in the Far East*,<sup>55</sup> *Mary and Mysogny, Women in Iberian Expansion Overseas*,<sup>56</sup> *The Portuguese India in the Mid-Seventeenth*

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51. *Grandhavaris* are records usually mentioning about the succession of kings.

52. F.C. Danvarse, *The Portuguese in India*, New Delhi, reprint, 1988.

53. R.S. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, 1497-1550, New York, 1969.

54. C.R. Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion*, Johanasburg, 1961.

55. C.R. Boxer, *The Fidalgos in the Far East 1550-1570*, Hague, , 1948.

56. C.R. Boxer, *Mary and Mysogeny, Women in Iberian Expansion Overseas*, Duckworth, 1975.

Century,<sup>57</sup> *The Portuguese Sea-Borne Empire, 1415-1825*,<sup>58</sup> *The Portuguese Society in the Tropics*,<sup>59</sup> and *Race Relations in the Portuguese Sea-Borne Empire*<sup>60</sup> give a description of the circumstances that led to the formation of the Luso-Indian community. His yet another work *The Municipal Councils of Goa, Macao, Bahaia and Luadandam 1510-1580*<sup>61</sup> describes the Portuguese Municipal system adopted in these cities during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

E.G. Ravenstein's *A Journal of the first voyage of Vasco da Gama – 1497-1499*,<sup>62</sup> Sanjay Subramanniam's *The Career and legend of Vasco da Gama*,<sup>63</sup> K.M. Panikkar's *Malabar and the Portuguese*<sup>64</sup>, *A History of Kerala 1498-1801*,<sup>65</sup> *Asia and Western Dominance, A Survey of the Vasco da Gama Epoch of Asian History, 1498-1945*,<sup>66</sup> *India and*

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57. C.R. Boxer, *The Portuguese India in the mid-Seventeenth Century*, Delhi, 1980.
  58. C.R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Sea-Borne Empire, 1415-1825*, London, 1965.
  59. C.R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Society in the Tropics*, Wisconsin, 1965.
  60. C.R. Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Sea-Borne Empire, 1415-1825.*, Oxford, 1963.
  61. C.R. Boxer, *Municipal Councils of Goa, Macao, Bahaia, and Luadandam 1510-1580*, Madison, 1965.
  62. E.G. Ravenstein, *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama, 1497-1499*, London, 1985.
  63. Sanjay Subramanniam, *The Career and Legend of Vasco da Gama*, Cambridge, 1997.
  64. K.M. Panicker, *Malabar and the Portuguese, 1500-1663*, Bombay, 1929.
  65. K.M. Panicker, *A History of Kerala, 1498-1801*, Annamalai University, 1959.
  66. K.M. Panicker, *Asia and Western Dominance, A Survey of the Vasco da Gama Epoch of Kerala History, 1498-1945*, London, 1953.

*Indian Ocean, an Essay on the influence of Sea-Power on Indian History*<sup>67</sup> *Malabar and the Dutch*<sup>68</sup> etc. give various aspects of the sixteenth century European encounter with Malabar. K.M. Mathew's *History of Portuguese Navigation in India*<sup>69</sup> is a narrative of the commercial and technical aspects of the Portuguese navigation. Germano da Silva Coreia's *História do Colonização Portuguesa na India*,<sup>70</sup> H. Morse Stephens' *The Rulers of India, Albuquerque*,<sup>71</sup> shows the mixed marriage policy of Affonso de Albuquerque.

Edger Thurston's *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*,<sup>72</sup>, K.L. Bernard's *History of Cochin*<sup>73</sup>, Sanjay Subramniam's *Political Economy of Commerce*,<sup>74</sup> Mathias Mundadan's *History of Christianity in India*<sup>75</sup>, Pius Malekandathil's *Portuguese Cochin and Maritime Trade of India*, New Delhi, 2003<sup>76</sup> etc. give details of the various aspects of Portuguese activities in India. Pius' work deals with the urban growth of Cochin and her commercial operations, religious and other ecclesiastical institutions during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries at Cochin.

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67. K.M. Panicker, *India and Indian Ocean, an Essay on the Influence of Sea-Power on Indian History*, Bombay, 1971.
68. K.M. Panicker, *Malabar and the Dutch*, Bombay, 1931.
69. K.M. Mathew, *A History of Portuguese Navigation in India*, Delhi, 1998.
70. Germano da Silva Alberto Carlos Correia, *História da Colonização Portuguesa na India*, Lisboa, 1951.
71. O.H. Morse Stephens, *Rulers of India Albuquerque*, Oxford, 1892.
72. Edger Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, New Delhi, 1987
73. K.L. Bernard, *History of Cochin*, Cochin, 1991
74. Sanjay Subramanniam, *Political Economy of Commerce, Southern India 1500-1650*, Cambridge, 1990.
75. Mathias Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India*, Bangalore, 1984.
76. Pius Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and Maritime Trade of India*, New Delhi, 2003.



*The History of Portuguese in Bengal* <sup>77</sup> by J.J.A. Campos gives the social interaction of the Portuguese with Indian society and their influence on Indian languages. William Logan's *Malabar* <sup>78</sup> throw much light on the various native kingdoms of Malabar and about the medieval Malabar society. D.Feroli's *The Jesuits in Malabar* <sup>79</sup> T.I. Ponnann's *Dutch Hegemony in Malabar*,<sup>80</sup> , etc. narrate the fate of the Luso-Indian community during the Dutch period . Kennath David Jackson's *Sing Without Shame*,<sup>81</sup> shows the *creole* songs sung even now at Cochin and nearby areas. *The Christian Heritage of Kerala*,<sup>82</sup> and *The Road to Diamper* <sup>83</sup> by K.J. John , give detailed account of the background of Christianity in India. Schurhammer's *Francis Xavier, His Life, His Times, India 1541-45* <sup>84</sup> throw some light about the religious activities of Jesuits during early sixteenth century, C.Achyuta Menon's *Cochin State Manuel*, <sup>85</sup> gives much information about the social condition of Malabar . K.V. Krishna Ayyar's *The Zamorins of Calicut*,<sup>86</sup> is yet another useful source to

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77. J.J.A. Camposs, *History of Portuguese in Bengal*, Calcutta, 1979.

78. William Logan, *Malabar*, Madras, 1951.

79. D. Feroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, Bangalore, 1959.

80. T.I. Ponnann, *The Dutch Hegemony in Malabar, and its Collapse*, Trivandrum, 1978.

81. Kennath David Jckson, *Sing Without Shame*, Macau, 1990.

82. K.J. John, *Christian Heritage of Kerala*, Cochin, 1981,

83. K.J. John, *The Road to Diamper*, Cochin, 1999.

84. G. Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier, His Life, His Times*, India 1541-45, trans.,  
M.M.Joseph Castello, 4 vols, Rome, 1973-82.

85. C.Achytha Menon, *Cochin State Manuel*, , Trivandrum, 1995 reprint

86. K.V. Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut*, Calicut, 1938.

know about the kingdom of Calicut and their rulers – the Zamorins. , L.K. Anantha Krishna Ayyar’s *The Tribes and Castes of Cochin* gives accounts of the various castes and communities.<sup>87</sup> Johnsy Mathews’ *Economy and Society in Medieval Malabar* (AD 1500 – 1600)<sup>88</sup> and Kesavan Veluthat’s *The Political Structure of Early Medieval South India*<sup>89</sup> helps to see the social structure of medieval Kerala..

**Malayalam sources.** Gundert’s *Keralolpathi*<sup>90</sup> mentions about the legends and the formation of Kerala, K. Sukumaran Nairs’s *Venadinte Parinamam*,<sup>91</sup> tells the chronology of incidents concerning the history of Venad. Appunni Nambiar’s *Twentyfour Vadakkan Pattukal*,<sup>92</sup> describes the folklore pertaining to northern Malabar, Ponjikkara Rafi’s *Orapronobis*,<sup>93</sup> narrates the *Kappiri Myth* about the treasurers left when the Dutch occupied Cochin, James Thoppil’s *Our Lady of Vallarpadam and Christians*,<sup>94</sup> K.P. Roch’s *Palliport – A Historical Study*<sup>95</sup> etc. throw light on the formation of churches at Vallarpadam and at Palliport.

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87. L.K. Anantha Krishna Ayyar, *The Tribes and Castes of Cochin*, New Delhi, 1981, reprint.
88. Johnsy Mathews, *Economy and Society in Early Medieval Malabar*, Changanacherry, 1996.
89. Kesavan Veluthat, *The Political Structure of Early Medieval South India*, Delhi, 1993
90. Herman Gunder, *Keralolpathi*, Managalore, 1890
91. K.Sukumaran Nair, *Venadinte Parinamam*, Trivandrum. 1993
92. M.C. Appunni Nambiar, *Twenty Four Vadakkan Pattukal*, Kottayam, 1983.
93. Ponjikkara Rafi, *Orapronobis*, Cochin, 2002 reprint
94. James Thoppil, *Our Lady of Valarpadam, and Christians*, Cochin, 1977
95. K.P. Roche, *Palliport, a Historical Study*, Ernakulam, 1977

### Articles in Journals

A number of well-researched articles in periodicals, souvenirs and news papers are made use of for the present study. K.S. Mathew's 'The Portuguese and Malabar Society During the Sixteenth Century' <sup>96</sup>, G.M. Moraes's 'St. Francis Xavier, Apostolic Nuncio, 1542-1552', <sup>97</sup>, Stephen Padua's 'A Peep Into History' <sup>98</sup>, Merle Severy's, 'Portugal's Sea Road to the East', <sup>99</sup> Lourdinho Rodrigues' 'The Mercy House of Goa', <sup>100</sup> Jaison C. Cooper's 'Worshipping Negro Spirit ? Yes, Here in Fort Cochi' <sup>101</sup> etc. are referred for this study.

### Chapters in brief

The introductory chapter deals with the very intention of the research and an outline of the various aspects looked into the topic. It briefly mentions the circumstances leading to the formation of the Luso-Indian community as well as the method of research and the field work.

The second chapter narrates the background of the social and political structure of Malabar during the fifteenth century and the incidents which prompted the navigation of the seas by European powers especially Portugal and the adventurous journeys of Vasco da Gama, Pedro Alvares Cabral and others. It also deals with the arrival of Portuguese at Kerala coasts, the political atmosphere prevailed during the sixteenth century and the encounter of the Portuguese with the rulers of the Malabar coast.

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96. K.S. Mathew, 'The Portuguese and the Malabar Society in the Sixteenth Century', in *Stvdia*, 49, Lisboa, 1989
  97. G.M. Moraes's, St. Francis Xavier, Apostolic Nuncio, 1542-1552, in *Journal of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New series, XXVII
  98. Stephen Padua, 'A Peep Into History', *Souvenir of the Union of Anglo-Indian Associations*, Kerala State, Cochin, 1975.
  99. Merle Severy, 'Portugal's Sea Road to the East', in *National Geographic*, Vol.183, No.5, November, Washington, 1992.
  100. Lourdinho Rodrigues, 'The Mercy House of Goa', *Boletim do Instituto Menezes Bragança*, No.96, Goa, 1971.
  101. Jaison C. Cooper, 'Worshipping Negro Spirit ?, Yes, here in Fort Cochi', *Indian express Daily*, Cochin, 22nd January 2003.

The third chapter traces the origin of the Luso-Indian community in Kerala , the *casados* and their trade, and the subsequent connections with the other European descendants in India.

The fourth chapter narrates the Municipal system or *Camara* municipal prevailed in the Santa Cruz city of Cochin and the economic activities of the *casados*.

The fifth chapter depicts the Social life of the Luso-Indians in Kerala, their cultural peculiarities , the role of women in the family, the culinary habits of the community and the occasions of celebrations and family gatherings.

The sixth chapter gives a description of the main Luso-Indian settlements in Kerala and the house-building patterns in these settlements and the prominent families settled in each of these centres .

The seventh chapter deals with Catholic Church and Luso-Indians and the contribution of Luso-Indians for the development of the Church in Kerala , followed by the conclusion.

The illustrations, documents, photographs , maps and appendices relevant to the subject are included to supplement the study. . Finally, a detailed bibliography is attached .

## CHAPTER II

### KERALA SOCIETY AND PORTUGUESE INTERVENTION

#### IN THE SIXTENTH CENTURY

Kerala , a narrow strip of land lying between the western ghats and Arabian Sea is a distinct physical and cultural entity being so isolated from the rest of peninsular India. This area which was called Malabar later was narrated in legend as a land reclaimed by Parasurama and the earlier ruler of this area is said to be Cheraman Perumal <sup>1</sup> The entire territory was brought into a political entity under the centralized rule by the Kulasekhara Perumals of Mahodayapuram in the ninth century <sup>2</sup>. It is said that the Kerala society slowly became compartmentalised and hierarchical with Brhamins at the top. By the close of the Perumal's era in the twelfth century, the four fold Brhamanical varna system was firmly established in the temple-centred Brhamin settlements of Kerala.. Regarding the last of the Perumals, Duarte Barbosa records in 1508 as follows:

And there begins the country of Malabar, which was governed by a King who was called *Sernaperumal* (Cheraman Perumal) who was a very great lord . And so far some years these Moors Continued their voyages to this country of Malabar and began to Spread themselves through it, and became so intimate and Friendly with the said king that they made him turn Moor and he

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1. M.G.S. Narayanan, *Perumals of Kerala*, Calicut, 1996,p.88.

2. A. Sreedhara Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History*, revised edn., Madras, 1991, pp.105-116.

Went away with them to die at the house of Mekkah and he died on the road. And before he set out from his country, he divided the whole of his kingdom of Malabar amongst his relations and it remained divided amongst them and their descendants as it now is <sup>3</sup>.

The whole kingdom was divided into several *naadu* or districts for administrative convenience during the Kulasekhara period as evident from the early inscriptions found in Kerala <sup>4</sup> The *naadu* is further subdivided into territorial units based on the settlements of caste groups such as the *graamam* of the Brhamins, *tara* of the Nairs and *Cheri* of the people who are outside the varna hierarchy <sup>5</sup>

By the close of the Perumal era, Brhamins emerged as the chief landed beneficiaries. The Brhamin settlements known in inscriptions as *Ur* centred around temples, sprang up throughout Kerala, and Brhamins became the custodians of huge wealth and property of the

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3. Duarte Barbosa, *A Description of Coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century*, trans., Henry E.J. Stanley, London, 1886 pp.101 – 102, (hereafter Brbosa), Also Shaykh Zayunud‘-Din, *Tuhfat-Al-Mujahidin*, trans., S. Hysayn Nainar, Madras, 1942, pp.56 – 57
  4. M.G.S. Narayanan, *op.cit.*, p.90.
  - 5.. C.Achyuta Menon, *Cochin State Manuel* , Thiruvanathapuram, 1995, reprint, p.62

temples. The land owning Brhamins were generally called *Uralar* <sup>6</sup> The temples together with the endowments attached to them are called *Devaswams* - the property of God. All important *Devaswams* in Kerala had their own independent jurisdictions known as *Sanketam* with unlimited temporal power, independent of the local chieftain. It was completely under the control of the Brhamins and they asserted their sovereign authority over the vast temple property <sup>7</sup>. In course of time, the religious corporations appear to have been driven to the necessity of invoking the protection of Rajas owing probably to internal dissensions or to the aggressiveness of neighbouring chiefs and they accordingly conferred on the Rajas not always on those within whose territories. Later, the *Sankethams* were forced to seek the protection of Rajas and accepted the *Purakoyma* or external territorial lordship over the *Devaswams*. In the post-Perumal period they started conducting even the judicial administration of the area under the purview of the *Sanketham*. The *Sankethams* were considered protected places and attained importance as neutral areas and kept away from attacks and shelter for Brhamins and *Kshatriyas*.

The well-known *Sankethams* like Payyannur, Chovvaram, Trikkakara, Elamkunnapuzha, Tiruvalla, Panniyur etc. were powerful than the local chieftans. The institution of *Sanketham* strengthened the Brhamin dominance in the temple –centered medieval Kerala society.

In the early medieval period in Kerala there were no proper trading communities to fit in to the Brhamanical varna model society. This can be a reason why the Perumals welcomed Christian and Arab merchants from west Asia to settle down in the coastal towns

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6. *Ibid.*, p.418-19

7. *Ibid.*, pp.9-10. For details of *Sankethams* in medieval Kerala see Puthezhathu Raman Menon, *Sakthan Thampuran*, (Mal.), Calicut, 1989, reprint, pp.339-49

Towns of Kerala to conduct overseas trade. They were given several privileges and favours<sup>8</sup> There were also several Jewish<sup>9</sup> settlers in Kerala who were engaged in trade<sup>10</sup>. They mingled with the people of the country and became an integral part of Kerala society.

### **The Rise of the Zamorin of Calicut**

From the local chieftains of Malabar the rise of the Zamorin as a powerful ruler was a significant development in the history of medieval Malabar. From an insignificant position of Eralpad or the *Udayavar* of Eralnatu, who belonged to a *Samantha* caste (*Eradi*),

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8. The Tarisappalli copper plate grant executed in 849 A.D. by Ayyan Atikal Tiruvatikal, the Governor of Venad, during the reign of King Sthanu Ravi of Chera lineage is a historic document granting several rights and privileges to Christian settlers from Persia. Another document is the character of Veera Raghava of thirteenth century, by which the ruler of Mahodayapuram, grants, the headship of Manigramam trade guild, in addition to several other privileges and rights to merchant Iravi Korthan. S.R.Gopinatharao, *Travancore Archeological Series*, II, Madras, 1910, pp.80-82; E. Hultzch, *Epigraphia Indica*, IV, No.41, Calcutta, 1897, pp.295-96.
  9. The Jews developed into a prosperous business community with the generous patronage of the native rulers. The famous Jewish Copper Plate grant of Bhaskara Ravi Varman, dated 1000 A.D., records a royal gift to Joseph Rabban, the chief of Jewish community of Cranganore, certain permanent rights and privileges., *Travancore Archeological Series.*, III, pp.68-69
  10. The Arabs had commercial relations with Malabar from very early times. The Arab traders seem to have introduced the Islamic faith at the port city of Cranganore in the eighth century itself. According to Shayakh Zayunud'-Din, the Arabs came first to Kerala during the reign of Cheraman Perumal and the king himself was their first convert. See Shayakh Zayunud'-Din, *op.cit.*, pp.48-51. Syed Mohideen Shah, *Islam in Kerala*, Trichur, 12975, p.3



through a bold venture of territorial expansion he rose to the position of *Kunnala Konadiri* , ie. Lord of seas and hills. The Eralnatu *Udayavar* annexed by conquest the region to the north of Chaliyar including Calicut , Polanadu and Pantalayani Kollam <sup>11</sup> . He also captured the fertile regions on the banks of Bhrathapuzha which included Ponnani and Tirunavaya <sup>12</sup>

The Zamorin soon transferred his residence to Calicut situated at the mouth of Kallayi river. Calicut provided excellent anchorage to ships of those days. The fertile hinterland of Polanatu provided plenty of pepper and ginger, while the rich products of Eralnatu were brought down by Kallayi river. The control of these regions on the coastal belt that included besides Calicut, Pantalayini Kollam and Ponnani which were emerging as important port-towns because of the flourishing Chinese and Arab trade, put the chieftain of Eralnatu in an enviable position. Because of the friendly treatment by the ruler, merchants in large numbers from various places began to flock to the port-towns in the Zamorin's territory <sup>13</sup> .

We get an idea of the nature and volume of trade Malabar had with foreigners during the fifteenth century from contemporary records <sup>14</sup> . Abdur Razzak, a notable writer who visited Zamorin in 1442 testifies the predominance of Malabar trade with Arab countries and the dominant role played by the Arab merchants in it <sup>15</sup> . Nicolo Conti, describes Calicut as a maritime trade centre, a notable emporium for trade in pepper, lac, ginger, cinnamon, myrabalans and zedoary <sup>16</sup> .

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11. K.V. Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut*, Calicut, 1938, pp.81-82

12. *Ibid.*, p.95

13. Shayakh Zayunud's-Din., *op.cit.*, p.51; *Ibid.*, p.51

14. R.H. Major, ed., *India in the Fifteenth Century*, London, 1857, p.13

15. *Ibid.*, pp.13-14.

16. *Ibid.*, pp.17-20

Apart from Zamorin the other important principalities in Kerala during the later part of fifteenth century were Kolathunadu in the north and Venadu in the south. Kolathunadu controlled an extensive region of north Kerala <sup>17</sup>. Ezhimala, Madayi, Valapattanam, Cannalore and Dharmadam were the important port-towns of Kolathunadu. The *Udayavar* of Venadu was a powerful ruler during the thirteenth century onwards with the prosperity it acquired through the port of Quilon. The Venadu rulers extended their authority over Nanchinadu which was controlled earlier by the Cholas and Pandyas of Tamilnadu. <sup>18</sup>. Ravi Varma Kulasekhara, the Venadu ruler sent his troops into Tamil country during the beginning of the fourteenth century and extended his boundary <sup>19</sup> and slowly emerged as a powerful principality.

### **Rulers of Malabar in the Beginning of Sixteenth Century**

The Portuguese historian João de Barros gives an interesting array of kings and chieftans of Malabar in 1503. <sup>20</sup>. According to him the Raja of Cochin began his war against Zamorin with the help of the following lords, his vassals: 1) The Prince, his nephew and heir, 2) the *Kaimal of Paliport* (Pallipuram), 3) The *Kaimal of Balurt* (Palluruthi) 4) The '*Cham de Bagadariji*', Lord of *Porca* or Chembakasserry 5) The *Mangate Kaimal* (Alangad) 6) The *Kaimal of Cambalao* (Kumbalam) 7) The *Kaimal de Cherij* of *Vaipiji* (The Kaimal of Cheruvaipu).

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17. P.K.S. Raja, *Medieval Kerala*, Calicut, 1966, p.59

18. K.Sivasankaran Nair, *Venadite Parinamam*, (Mal.), Thiruvananthapuram, 1993, p.51

19. K.A. Neelakanta Sastri, *The Pandyan Kingdom*, London, 1929, pp.211-12

20. João de Barros, *Asia*, Decada I, Book 7, Chapt.7, Lisboa, 1777-78

The Zamorin of Calicut was supported by the following vassals: 1) *Beturacol* (Vattathukoil or the king of Tanur) , 2) *Cacatunão Barij* (Kakkatunambidi) 3) *Cota Agatacol, King of Cotugão* (King of northern Kottayam) 4) *Curiur Coil, King of Curim between Panane* (Ponnnani) and *Crangalor* (Cranganore) 5) *Naubiadaraiji Lord of Repelij* (Edappalli, Illangallur Nambiyadiri) 8) *Paraichira Eracol, lord of Crangalor* (Padinjathedathu koil) 9) *Parapucol, lord of Chalião* (Chaliyam) 10) *Parinha Mutacol* (Padinjattu Mutha Koil of Alangad) 11) *Benara Nambeadarij* lord , quasi-king beyond *Panane* (Ponnani ) towards the mountrains 12) *Nambearij, lord of Banala Crij* (Vanalasseri Nambidi) 13) *Parapucol* , lord of *Parapuram* (Parappanagadi) 14) *Parapucol* , lord, quasi-king of *Bepur* (Pappukoil of Beypore).

In his *História do Malvar* <sup>21</sup> written in 1615, Diogo Gonçalves S.J. ., mentions the following seats of royalty in Kerala in in the sixteenth century: Venatucare, Nanatucare (the king of Panigago or Panamkavu), Tecamcurru, Barecumcurru, Vallanaru (Valluvanatu), Erranaru (Eralnatu), Kollatrinaru (Kolathunatu), Tullunarru, Porca (Purakkad), Cochin, Muterte (Muthedath), Lerte (Iledath), Parur and Mangat (Alangad). The Jesuit historian who was stationed in southern Kerala from 1600 mentions Calicut only as Eralnatu whose kings here were known as Kumda-aley-con (Kunnalakon). <sup>22</sup>

After the disintegration of the Cheras of Mahodayapuram, the joint family of the rulers known as - *Swarupam* , became the power-centre of the *natu* or *naadu*. <sup>23</sup>. The senior most member (*Moopu*) of the matrilineal descent (*Penvazhi* or *Thavazhi* ) would be the ruler ( *Moopan*) of the territory.

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21. Diogo Gonçalves, *História do Malavar*, ed., J.Wicki S.J., Munster, Westfalen, 1955, pp.3-7.

22. *Ibid.*,p.4.

23. See C. Achyuta Menon, *op.cit.*, pp.61-63

For the sub-fragmentation of Malabar polity we have references in the work of Portuguese historian Diogo de Couto <sup>24</sup> , *Perumpadappu Grandhavari* <sup>25</sup> and *Kozhikode Grandhavari* <sup>26</sup>

An unpublished Portuguese Sloane manuscript in the British Library gives the details of important ruling houses in Kerala as follows:

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24. Diogo de Couto, *Da Ásia*, Lisboa, 1778-88, Book X, Chapt. XI, pp.529-34.
  25. The *Grandhavari* is considered to be the account about the traditions recorded by the royal family about its origin. When K.P. Padmanabha Menon made use of these Manuscripts preserved in the Tripunithura palace, he called it *Tripunithura Grandhavari*. This *Grandhavari* with an English translation and notes, was first printed in 1916 under the supervision of M. Sankara Menon, but kept confidential. A reprint of it was published by Kerala Archives Department under the title, A Translation of a Record –*Grandhavari in the State Archives* at Trivandrum in 1973 and then it was named *Perumpadappu Grandhavari* . Extracts from it was appeared in K.P. Padmanabha Menon's, *Cochi Rajya Charithram*, (Mal.), Calicut, reprint, 1989, pp.14-17
  26. In the statement given by the Zamorin to the East India Company regarding the history of the Zamorin's in *Kozhikode Grandhavari* reproduced by K.V.Krishna Ayyar in *A History of the Zamorins of Calicut*, part 1, Calicut, 1929, appendix III; The late medieval Sanskrit work *Brhma Prastishta*, believed to be authored by a scholar prince of Chirakkal royal family refers to a list of important Swarupams of medieval Kerala which comprised of five kings, eight Samanthas and five Sudra chiefs. They are Matesa (king of Cochin), Korilingesa (King of Parappanatu) , Puralipati (King of Kottayam in north Malabar), Nimbasa (King of Beypore), Kolesa (King of Kolathunatu), Kupakesa (King of Cranganore), Kurumpesa (King of kurumpranatu), Venesa (King of Venatu), Adryabhipa (Zamorin) and five Sudra Prabhus . See T.K. Joseph, *Kerala Society Papers*, Trivandrum, 1929, Series 3, p.136

The chief kings or Emperors of this Mallavar excepting Caimals, Nambures, Elledos and Nambaddis are three: to wit, the king or Emperor of Cochin, the king or Emperor of Saomorim; the king or Emperor of Tiruvankode.<sup>27</sup>

The Manuscript also mentions about king of Tanur, king of Vadakkumkur otherwise called King of Kaduthuruthy, king of parappur, king of Charipalienra, king of Edappalli, king of Tekkumkur, king of Purakkad, king of Quilon, king of Thullichal Coilee, king of Cherraillem, king of Mangad, king of Parur, king of Velagallur, king of Cranganore, king of Charapaliennra, king of Ballanta Nambiatara and king of Pallacat thechere (Palakkat cheri) Further the manuscript gives the list of important princes, *Kaimals* of Cheregate, *Kaimal* of Chalakkudi, *Kaimal* of Koratti, *Kaimal* of Anchikkaymal, *Kaimal* of Chennamangalam, *Kaimal* of Thellattoopalli, *Kaimal* of Ullur (Ollur), *Kaimal* of Parapucare, *Nambiar* of Bellanti, *Ilayadu* of Churupupalli, and *Ilayadu* of Pallicare<sup>28</sup>

Among the principal *Swaroopams* of Malabar in the sixteenth century, Kolathunadu<sup>29</sup> stood at the northern edge of the Malabar which extended from Kumbbla in the

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27. British Library, Mss. 2748 A, Fl. 2r to 4v.

28. T.K. Joseph, *Kerala Society Papers*, pp.136-140. Manuscript of Fr.Mathew of St.Joseph, a Carmelite Missionary who took part in the compilation of the well-known classic in Botany, *The Hortus Malabaricus*. He lived in Kerala from 1653 to 1691. Fr. Mathew's (Matheus) account is reliable as he was mentioning about the *Kaimal* or *Anchikkaymal* as well as the Mount Carmel Church, Chathiath (north side of Ernakulam) which was established by Fr.Mathew in the year 1673. Hence the manuscript must have been written by him sometime between 1673 and 1680. The manuscript is in British Library

29. Genevieve Bouchon, *Regent of the Sea, Cannanore's Response to Portuguese Expansion 1507-1528*, New Delhi, 1988, pp.1-26

north on the Chandragiri river to Dharmadam in the south. <sup>30</sup> Its principal city, the port of Cannanore carried on intense trade with Arabian countries and Surat. The interior region were fertile and produced much fruits, aromatics and spices. Some of the important seaports such as Kumbala, Kattakulam, Nileswaram, Heri, Baliapatanam, Medai, Cannanore and Dharmapatanam belonged to Kolathuswarupam. <sup>31</sup>

The first authentic information we have about Kolathunadu is from Marco Polo who states that the kingdom of Ely was ‘tributary to nobody’ and pepper, ginger and other spices grow there in plenty. <sup>32</sup> The port is described as a an international trading centre which deals with goods of all sorts from other important port cities surrounding the eastern rim of the Arabian sea. <sup>33</sup> The Kolathiri Rajas were seldom on friendly terms with the rulers of Calicut because the former refused to recognize the sovereignty of the latter and the rivalry between thesetwo royal houses formed one of the permanent features in the history of Malabar. Kolathunatu was fragmented into many minor principalities under semi-independent chieftains. The most important of these were the Ali Rajas of Cannanore, Rajas of Randathara, Kottayam and Kadathanatu with numerous intermediaries under them. <sup>34</sup> Ali Raja of Cannanore was a Muslim prince who followed matrilineal descent. <sup>35</sup> Diogo De Couto who was a contemporary of the Ali Raja, described him as a powerful dignitary who freed himself from the Kolathiris control and became the Governor of Cannanore. <sup>36</sup>

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30. Duarte Barbosa, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa: An Account of the Countries Bordering on the Indian Ocean and their Inhabitants*, ed. M.L. Dames II, London, 1918-21, p.1. (hereafter BDB)
31. Tomé Pires, ed., *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires and the Book of Francisco Rodrigues*, ed., Armando Cortesão, 1, Nendeln, 1967, p.77
32. Cottie A. Burland, *The Travels of Marco polo*, London, 1971, p.161
33. Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, 1, Chicago, 1965, p.350
34. K.M. Panikkar, *A History of Kerala*, Annamalainagar, 1960, p.172
35. K.P. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, II, p.539
36. Diago de Couto, *op.cit.*, Decada VII, pp.6-4, 10-19

Randathara with its capital at Kattakulam was vested in the hands of a number of Nair chieftans who were known as Randathara Achanmars, who owed only nominal allegiance to *Kolothuswarupam*. The principality of Kottayam lies to the east of Randathara and its chief was styled as the Raja of Kottayam. He was also called ‘Puranattu Raja’ since he was believed to have descended from foreign Kshatriya Rajputs .<sup>37</sup> Kottayam Rajas became independent later and they came to be known to the British as ‘Catiote Raja’ or Raja of Kuttiyadi. Its inhabitants had trade relationships with Vijayanagar,<sup>38</sup> Tellicherry, Mahe, Kumbala and Koothuparamba.<sup>39</sup> The relationship between the king of Cannanore and that of Kottayam was not cordial.<sup>40</sup> The territory of Kadathanatu was confined to the area two rivers, Agalapuzha and Mayyazhipuzha and later Kadathanatu became famous as a centre of well-equipped *Kalaris* or gymnasiums. Its ruler was called *Vazhunnavar*. Between Kadathanatu and Tamarassery lies the *Swarupam* Kurumpiathiri or the chieftan of Kurumpranatu. He was closely related to the Raja of Kottayam and was one of the powerful Kshatriya *Swarupams* .<sup>41</sup>

The kingdom of Zamorin extended from Puthupatanam on the banks of Agalapuzha in the north to Chetwai near Cranganore in the south. The king of Calicut was known by the title ‘*Samodiri* or ‘*Kunnalakonathiri*’<sup>42</sup> The Zamorins hail from the Nediyrippu *Swarupam*.<sup>43</sup> The territory consisted of a number of port-towns such as Thikkodi, Panthalayani Kollam,

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37. P.K.S.Raja, *op.cit.*, p.61, Decada VII, pp.6-4, 10-19

38. BDB Vol. I , p.84.

39. *Ibid.*

40. Tomé Pires, *op. cit.*,p.77

41. K.V. Krishna Ayyar, *op.cit.*, p.137

42. *Ibid.*, p.14

43. *Ibid*

Kappakkattu, Calicut, Chaliyam (Shaliyat),<sup>44</sup> Ponnani, and Chetwai.<sup>45</sup> The Zamorin claimed some sort of over lordship over other chieftains such as those of Tanur, Cochin and so on .<sup>46</sup> The Raja of Cochin was just a vassal to him and was obliged to give a certain number of elephants as tribute<sup>47</sup> to confirm his ‘over lordship ‘in his territory and had no right to roof his palace with tiles or strike coins. On account of the enviable position which the port of Calicut enjoyed, merchants from different parts of the world flocked to the kingdom of Zamorin. Traders from Mecca, Tenasserim, Pegu, Coromandal, Ceylon, Quilon, Gujrat, Ormuz, Ethopia and several other countries were found busily engaged in the pepper trade at Calicut.<sup>48</sup> They are referred to as *Paradesi* merchants in Portuguese records<sup>49</sup> In the background of the above mentioned aspects Calicut had acquired an unparalleled position politically and commercially and knowing this importance Portuguese naturally intended to enter into trade relations with the king of Calicut.

The principality of Chaliyam (Challe) lay south of Calicut at a very strategic position on the passage to Ponnani and Cochin.<sup>50</sup> It was one of the earliest Muslim settlements controlling the communications to the south .<sup>51</sup> Foreign travelers mention its commercial importance as a centre of trade and shipping.<sup>52</sup> Chaliyam was also known as an

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44. Tomé Pires, *op.cit.*, p.78

45. BDB Vol. I , p.88

46. João de Barros, *op.cit.*, Decada, I, Book I, p.447

47. BDB Vol. I, p.95

48. Ludovico de Varthema, *The Travels of Ludovico de Varthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserts and Arabia Felix in Persia India and Ethopia AD 1503-08* , trans & ed., J.W.A . Jones and G.P. Badger, London, 1863, p.151. (hereafter Varthema)

49. Barbosa , pp.146-147.

50. John Huyghen Van Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen Van Linchoten to the East Indies*, ed., A.C. Burnell & P.A.Tiele , London , 1885, p.71. (hereafter Linchoten)

51. João de Barros, *op.cit.*, Decada I, Book I, p.447

52. Pyrard de Laval, *Viagam de Pyrard de Laval*, ed., Cunha Rivara, 1, Porto, 1944,p.275



important centre of weavers and it was in the territory of Pappukovil royal house of Beypore.<sup>53</sup> Close to Chaliyam was the principality of Tanur or Vettathunatu comprised of Tanur proper, Trikantiyur, Kadalundi and Trippangode on the west coast of Malabar in the vicinity of Calicut.<sup>54</sup> The ruler of Vettathunatu was a Kshtriya prince and had family relationships with the *Perumpadapu Swaroopam* by adoption. Politically it acknowledged the suzerainty of Zamorin.<sup>55</sup> The ruler of Vettathunatu possessed many ships and the port was frequented by foreign merchants.<sup>56</sup> To the east of Vettathunatu in the present Malappuram district lies the adjoining territory of Valluvanatu, the seat of *Arangot Swarupam* or Vellattiri.<sup>57</sup> It was one of the oldest royal houses of Malabar and its Raja is generally referred to as *Arngot Udayavar*. Mankada, Attapadi, Neduganatu, Cherplacheri, Angadippuram etc. were under his sway till Mysorean invasions in the eighteenth century.<sup>58</sup>

The principality of Cranganore locally known as Kodungallur, was situated on the estuary of the river Periyar. The Raja sided either with the Zamorin or with the Raja of Cochin,<sup>59</sup> according to the benefits he derived from such relationships.<sup>60</sup> Cranganore was also important as the centre of St. Thomas Christians.<sup>61</sup> The presence of Jews from early years of Christian era onwards speaks for its relations with Middle East and its importance as a big trading centre.<sup>62</sup> When the Portuguese came to Cochin, Cranganore

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53. K.V.Krishna Ayyar, *op.cit.*, p.175

54. M.G.S. Narayanan, ed., *Vanjeri grandhavari*, Calicut, 1987, pp.xiii-xv

55. João de Barros, *op.cit.*, Decada I, Book III, p.297

56. Tomé Pires, *op.cit.*, p.79

57. K.V.Krishan Ayyar, *op.cit.*, p.45.

58. CA. Innes, *Malabar and Anjengo*, ed., F.B. Evans, Madras, 1915, p.465

59. Tomé Pires, *op.cit.*, p.79

60. *Ibid*, p.79.

61. *Shaykh Zayunud'-Din*, *op.cit.*, p.88, BDB II, p.89

62. J.B. Segal, *The History of the Jews of Cochin*, London, 1993, pp.4-6

was considered as a place where plenty of pepper was available for trade purposes.<sup>63</sup> The territory of Mangat (Alangad) lies to the south east of Crangannore. Further up the river adjoining Mangat on the west was the principality of Parur, the ruler of which was a Brhamin.

Among the minor princely families of sixteenth century Malabar, the most important was that of Cochin or *Perumapadappu Swarupam*. The family belong to Kshatriya caste and claims matrilineal descent from the last Perumal of Mahodyapuram. Barbosa and Castanheda record that the Raja of Cochin on the arrival of Portuguese was only a vassal of the Zamorin. The kingdom was divided among a number of powerful Nair nobles and princes called *Karthas* and *Kaimals*<sup>63</sup> The *Kaimal* of Anchikaimal, sometimes described as Cheranellur *Kartha*, remained very loyal to the Raja and even supported the Portuguese, as the Raja himself was friendly with them.<sup>64</sup> Other *Kaimals* of Cochin territory were Kottasseri *Kaimal*, Koratti *Kaimal*, Changaram Kotha *Kaimal*, and Panambukattu *Kaimal*.<sup>65</sup> Portuguese records refer to the *Kaimal* of Mangatu (Alangad) and Carta da Lula or *Kartha* of Alwaye as the vassals of Cochin.<sup>66</sup>

The chieftan of the small kingdom of Melcatur also accepted the overlordship of Cochin.<sup>67</sup> Udayamperoor (Diamper); Vadakkumkur and Purakkad were the other territories which lay south of Cochin they also came under the Raja of Cochin. The rulers of these

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63. *Kartha & Kaimal* which are practically identical in meaning were the titles conferred upon Nair Chieftans
64. Gasper Correa, *Lendas da Índia*, tomo I Lisboa, 1858, pp.358-359, see also C.Achyuta Menon, *op.cit.*, *op.cit.*, p.146
65. C.Achyuta Menon, *Ibid.*, p.143.
66. António de Silva Rego, *Documentação Ultramarina Portuguesa*, III, p.310 Panduranga S.S.pissurlencar, ed., *Regimentos das Fortalezas da India*, Basora, 1951, pp.218-219
67. Nicolão Gonçalves, *Livro que Trata Cousas de Índia e do Japão*, ed., Anelino de Almeida Calcada, Coimbra, 1957, p.49

places were in friendly terms with the Portuguese and hence it was quite natural that they were allies of the Raja of Cochin.

Edappalli with Repelim as its capital <sup>68</sup> lay on the eastern side of Cochin. It was ruled by the Brhamin chief of Elangallur Swarupam. <sup>69</sup> Edapalli proper, Poonithura, and Tripunithura constituted the principality of Edappalli. <sup>70</sup> The ruler maintained friendly relations with the Zamorin and the latter used to come to Edappalli to perform his coronation solemnly <sup>71</sup> Next to Anchikaimal and on the southern border of Edappalli was the land of the king of Udayamperoor. <sup>72</sup> To the south of Udayamperoor lay the important territory of Vadakkumkur. Its capital was the town of Kaduthuruthi. The Portuguese refer to Vadakkumkur as “*Reino da pimento*” or pepper country because of the excellent quality as well as the abundant quantity of pepper produced by it. It was also known as Chempency or “*Rey de Chembe*” (king of Chembu near Vaikam). The Rajas of this place were Nairs by caste and alluded to in ancient documents as “Vadakkumkur Nairs”.<sup>73</sup> Though nominally subordinate to the Raja of Cochin, Vadakkumkur Rajas were powerful and under this minor principalities such as Vaduthala, Pallipuram, Vaikom, Mannar, Vechur Kudavechur and Perimpalam. <sup>74</sup>

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68. Repelim is the Portuguese name of Edappalli.

69. K.P. Padmanabha Menon , Vol I, *op.cit* ,pp.68-82

70. Nicolão Gonçalves, *op.cit.*,p.45.

71. João de Barros, *op.cit.*,*Decada IV, BookII*, pp.292-98.

72 .Udayamperoor was the land of the king of Christians and there lived a large number of St.Thomas Christians, See Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier, His Life, HisTimes, India 1541-45*, Rome, 1973-82, p.492

73. K.M.Panicker, *op.cit.*, p.22

74. Nicolão Gonçalves, *op.cit.*, pp.45-47

The kingdom of Purakkad or ‘Porca’ as mentioned by Barbosa, comprised of the present Ambalapuzha and Kuttanad Taluks. Its rulers were known as Chempakasseri kings and were famous for their patronage of learning and letters and for religious toleration.<sup>75</sup> The kingdom had a naval fleet under the command of the Purakkad Arayan.<sup>76</sup> The economic life of Purkkad was linked with the commercial activities of the Cochin port.

The kingdom of Thekkumkur consisted of modern taluks of Changanacherry, Kanjirappilly, Tiruvalla, Kottayam and the whole of the high ranges and was famous for its pepper cultivation.<sup>77</sup> Another kingdom Marta (Maruthukulangara) was situated in the vicinity of Kayamkulam. Puthiakavu or Karunagappally was a part of this principality and Mavelikkara was its main city.<sup>78</sup>

The Kingdom of Kayamkulam originally called Odanad or Onattukara lay between Quilon and Purakkad. Quilon is referred to by various names by historians. Some historians refer as “Cale Culião” some others mentioned “Kulli Quilon”<sup>79</sup> Difference of opinion exist with regard to the extend of this kingdom. According to some Portuguese historians, Kayamkulam was a town in the principality of Quilon.<sup>80</sup> Whereas some other writers considered it a small territory having its own ruler.<sup>81</sup> Though the king of Kayamkulam was not powerful, his state enjoyed considerable importance from the commercial point of view because of its fame as a flourishing port. Many merchants, including Moors, pagans and

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75. K.P. Padmanaba Menon, *op.cit.*, II, p.95

76. A. Sreedhara Menon, *op. cit.*,p.47

77. Nicolão Gonçalves, *op. cit.*,p.47

78. K.P. Padmanabha Menon, *op.cit.*Vol, II, p.62

79. W.W. Rockhill, “Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coast of the Indian Ocean During the Fourteenth Century” in *Toung Pao*, II, London, 1914, pp.455-57.

80. BDB II, p.96

81. Varthema, *op.cit.*, pp.170-180; Tomé Pires, *op. cit.*, p.80.

Thomas Christians flocked round its port.<sup>82</sup> Between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries Quilon was a major centre of trade on the Malabar coast. It was inhabited by foreign trading communities such as Jews, Christians and Moors.<sup>83</sup> Quilon is referred in the Chinese records as 'Kolan',<sup>84</sup> and in the Portuguese records as 'Coulão'.<sup>85</sup> The ports of Quilon and Vizhinjam were under the jurisdiction of the king of Quilon.<sup>86</sup> It was a haven for the Chinese merchants.<sup>87</sup> According to Varthema, the ruler of Quilon was powerful having twenty thousand horsemen and archers.<sup>88</sup> According to Shaykh Zayunud'-Din the king of Kerala who possessed the greatest number of soldiers was *Tiruvadi*, the Raja of Quilon.<sup>89</sup> The kingdom of Quilon was known to the Europeans as *Signatty*'. The principality of Venmani (*Batemané*) with Karthikapally as its capital<sup>90</sup> lay in the neighborhood of Quilon<sup>91</sup> and was known to the Portuguese writers of the sixteenth century.<sup>92</sup>

The kingdom of Venad in the southern part of Kerala was prominent among the then chiefdoms of Kerala. Its territory extended from Quilon in the north to Cape Comorin in the south. During the sixteenth century Venad was ruled by four lineage groups of *Kilperur Swarupam*. The *Kovilakams* of these lineage groups were distributed at Attingal (Trippappur branch), Quilon (Desinganatu branch), Kottarakkara (Ilayidathu branch) and Nedumangad (Perka branch). The Trippappur branch of the *Swarupam* was the senior-most

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82. Varthema, p.71

83. BDB II, p.97

84. W.W. Rockhill, *op. cit.*, p.448

85. BDB II, p.97

86. Tomé Pires, *op.cit.*, p.80

87. W.W. Rockhill, *op.cit.*, pp.430-37

88. Varthema, p. 71

89. Shaykh Zayunud'Din, *op.cit.*, pp.58'59

90. K.P. Padmanabha Menon, *op.cit.* I pp.82'83

91. Nicolão Gonçalves, *op. cit.*, p.47

92. Diogo de Couto, *op.cit.*, *Decada XII*, p.286

in the matrilineal family and it was sub-divided into *Attingal Swarupam* and *Chirava Swarupam*. The senior-most female member of *Kilperur Swarupam* possessed by convention the right to govern the affairs of *Attingal Swarupam*. *Chirava Swarupam* had its headquarters at *Tiruvankode* and its ruler emerged as the most powerful in *Venad* and subsequently came to be known as '*Venatady*' or the king of *Venad*.<sup>93</sup> *Attingal*, being the maternal house of *Venad* chiefs, remained as a separate principality till it was annexed and united with *Travancore* by *Marthandavarma*.<sup>94</sup>

From the above we get a clear picture of the structure of the rulers in Kerala in the sixteenth century. The kings and chieftans - *Kaimals* and *Karthas* who ruled the territory assigned to them under the orders of the *Raja* or *Udayavar* of the *natu*. The *Kaimals* and *Karthas* shifted allegiance and loyalty on occasions and some sort of time-serving relationship they used to maintain with the *Raja*.

### **Structure of Social Strata**

The post-Perumal era in *Malabar* witnessed the development of the *Varna* or *Jatis*. Emergence of a social formation based on various *jatis* or caste divisions within the *varna* model was almost inevitable. . The Arab and Chinese trade relationships in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the Portuguese contact in the sixteenth century with *Malabar*, especially in the coastal area paved the way for the formation of several functional groups in Kerala society.<sup>95</sup> The role of intermediaries acting between the seat of power and the village communities including peasants not only increased but also tended to make themselves

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93. .Tomé Pires, pp.80-81; see also K. Sivasankaran Nair, *Marthandavarma Muthal Manroe Vare*, ( *Mal.*) Kottayam,1996, pp.8-9

94. K.M. Panikkar, *op.cit.*, p.23

95. Johnsy Mathews, *Economy and Society in Medieval Malabar (AD 1500 -1600)*, Changanachery, 1996, pp.57-70

identified as separate segments of the society. We could observe the presence of different types of intermediaries busily engaged in commercial activities in the port towns in the sixteenth century. <sup>96</sup>

The social structure of post-Perumal period, especially in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries showed a hierarchy with endogamous groups with hereditary occupations. Military organization of each *natu* was considered a significant feature of the society. The *Urala* Brahmins were not only land owners but exerted political power because of their ritual status in the society as the priestly class. They were arbitrators, mediators and councilors in all matters. <sup>97</sup> The Nairs were the fighting class engaged in the military profession. The St. Thomas Christians occupied an important place in the post Perumal society. They were treated by Hindu rulers as upper caste group along with Nair warrior groups. The St. Thomas Christians appear as an elite warrior group, 'bearers of the curved sword' in the words of one such royal declaration. <sup>98</sup>

The medieval Kerala society according to historians was generally free from any contradictions. Luis Vaz de Camões who narrated Kerala Society in his epoch '*Os Luciards*', noticed with interest the social life in Malabar saying that it was 'happy that Race, race, under a kindly star, who feel no pang of jealousy Malabar, like others odder yet, esteem, no sin'. <sup>99</sup>

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96. K.J. John, 'International Trade in Cochin in the Sixteenth Century' in *A Carreira da Índia e as Rotas dos Estreitos*, Angra do Herosimo, 1998, p.304

97. Kesavan Veluthat, *The Political Structure of Early Medieval South India*, New Delhi, 1993, p.235

98. C.Achyuta Menon, *op. cit.*, p.281

99. Luis Vaz de Camões, *Luciadas*, trans. , Leonard Bacon, New York, 1950, Book VII, Verse 41

According to Shaykh Zayunud'-Din , medieval Kerala society in the sixteenth century was divided into five sections.<sup>100</sup> :-

1. Brhamins and others who wear the thread on their shoulders. They were of the apex of the non-Muslim society of Kerala. The thread wearing group was graded into various degrees, 'high, low, and intermediate grade', of which the Brhamins were at the pinnacle of the pyramidal society.
2. Next are Nairs who were 'the soldiers of Malabar'. They were larger in number and had greater power. They were divided into different classes.
3. Next in the rank were Shanars who were an occupational group engaged in coconut gathering and toddy tapping .
4. Skilled labourers like 'blacksmiths, gold smiths, fishermen And other classes.
5. Finally, the inferior castes who were agricultural labourers. Were also divided into other sects.

Zayunud'-Din observes that each section was an endogamous group and the consequence of their practice of exogamy was the loss of caste identity. According to Shaykh zayunud'-Din the punishment for adultery were:-

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100. *Shaykh Zayunud'-Din, op.cit.,pp.48-49*



Whenever a man of the inferior caste treads during certain nights in a year in the chamber of a woman who is above his rank, she will be degraded from her rank, eventhough the male had not had commerce with her or she become pregnant. The ruler will seize her and sell her. Or she comes to us and embraces Islam, or she becomes a convert to Christianity, or she turns Yogi. In the same manner when intercourse takes place between a man of high caste with a women of low caste , the man will be degraded from his rank, and he will have no choice but to adopt one of the above mentioned alternatives. <sup>101</sup>

But the Brhamins were exempted from punishment of adultery. Duarte Barbosa who lived in Kerala for several years in the beginning of the sixteenth century gives a detailed account of Kerala society which was classified on the basis of profession or occupation of the people <sup>102</sup>. According to him there were eighteen sects in the Hindu community of Kerala. They were 1) the ruling class or kings 2) the priestly classor Brhamins 3) warrier class or Nairs 4) the merchant class or *Brabares* (Vyaparis) 5) *Cujavan* (*Kushavan* or potters) 6) *Manatamar* (*Mannathan* or washermen) 7) *Chalien* (weavers) 8) *Zevil Tiver* (Tiyas or toddy tappers or Ezhavas with eleven sects) 9) *Moguer* (Mogeyar) 10) *Canian* (*Kaniyan* or astolegers) 11) *Ajare* (Asari or carpentes) 12) *Mucoa* (*Mukkuvan* or fishermen) 13) *Betua* (Vettuvan) 14) *Panev* (*Panen* or sorcerer) 15) *Renoleni* (*servelans*) 16) *Puler* (*Pulayar* or argricultural labourers) 17) *Pareni*

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101. *Ibid.*, p.50

102. BDB II, pp. 103-145

(*Parayan*) and 18) merchant settlers from other countries a) *Chetis* (Chettis) b) *Guzurates* (Gujaratis) c) *Mapuler* (Mappila Muslims) d) *Pardesy* (*Paradesi* Muslims or Muslims from West Asia and other places). In his classification of the society in Kerala, Barbosa never uses the term 'Hindu' but for him they were 'gentiles', and social divisions were based on occupational differentiation. Barbosa does not use *jati* model as it seems that he was not aware of the Brhamanical ideological basis of social division. As he understood, the foremost section in the Kerala society was that of rulers.<sup>103</sup> He understood the *jati* as an endogamous group with hereditary occupation as he observes that the 'gentile Brhamins are priests and others cannot be priests, but only their own sons.'<sup>104</sup>

Diogo Gonçaves in 1615 identifies four principal *castas* existing in Kerala. They are *bramenes* (Brhamins), *chatriya* (Kshtriya), *vayxia* (Vaisya) and *chudra* (Sudra).<sup>105</sup> It was obvious that he was referring to the four-fold division of the *Varna* society. The Brhamins as observed by him, who were at the apex of the social pyramid, 'were like priests' and only they had the right to perform rites and rituals in the temples,<sup>106</sup> and teach Vedas<sup>107</sup> The *upjatis* of Brhamins were *Potes* (*Pottees*) and *Namburis* (*nambuthiris*). The second in the hierarchy was *Kshtriyas*. It was the caste of

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103. *Ibid.*, 104

104. *Ibid.*, p.121

105. Diogo Gonçaves, *op. cit.*, p.8

106. *Ibid.*, p.p.57

107. *Ibid.*, p.35.

the rulers.<sup>108</sup> Diogo Gonçaves also observed that in Kerala some of the kings were Brhamins and other *Samanthas* (*chamanthar*). The *Vaisyas* of Kerala were *Chetts* and he identifies

the soldier groups of Nairs as *Sudras* <sup>109</sup> He further explains the myth of the origin of the four *varnas* in Kerala. <sup>110</sup> According to legend, the Brhamins emerged from the mouth of Brhama, Kshtriyas from the arms, Vaisyas from the abdomen and Sudras from his feet. <sup>111</sup> This shows that the *varna* kind of society was very much in practice in Kerala even at the beginning of seventeenth century. Diogo Gonçaves explains the proliferation of castes and sub-castes based on a popular legend of his times. According to it, during the pre-Perumal era there was no social distinction between the *varnas*. It was only a functional division of the society. Towards the close of the Perumal era Brhamins sought for separate identity for themselves. This was, according to Diogo Gonçaves, the origin of endogamous groups, polluting castes and untouchability in Kerala. <sup>112</sup>

In the *Northern Ballads* <sup>113</sup> appear a number of occupational groups such as *Kollan, Panan, Mukkuvan, Tiyan, Chekon, Nair, Thattan, Viswakarman* and these groups are not different from the castes of Barbosa and occupational groups of Diogo Gonçaves. The *Chettis* are given a significant place in the folk legends and ballads and this indicates the importance of the commercial group in Medieval Kerala.

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108. *Ibid.*,

109. *Ibid.*, p.8

110 *Ibid.*, p.15

111. *Ibid*

112. *Ibid.*,p.15

113. M.C. Appunni Nambiar, *Twentyfour Vadakkan Pattukal* (Mal.), Kottiyam, 1983,pp.73-

The society in medieval Kerala was formed on a hierarchical strata. Though patterned on the *varna* model, there was no crystallization of this system in Kerala as it happened in the north. Those who amassed wealth and claimed *Swarupi* identity were given *Kshtriya* status by the priestly Brhamins through the rituals of *Hiranyagarbham* and *Thulabharam*.<sup>114</sup> There were no *Vaisyas* in Kerala society and this place was occupied by Christians, Jews, Mapilas, Vaniyas and Chettis who were engaged in trade. Nairs were the soldiers of the land. All the rest were outside the *varna* system and they were deprived of any status in the social hierarchy. Agriculture was the main occupation of the people and the principal source of their income. The Brhamins and the rulers came under the category of land owners.<sup>115</sup>

The Brhamins were identified as respected members at the apex of social hierarchy. On account of their service and dominance in the temple administration and the respect they commanded in social hierarchy, large portions of land came under their possession and a good number of them became great *Janmis* in course of time, and some of them like Raja of Edappalli through their wealth, turned out to be influential rulers too.<sup>116</sup> Both Shayak Zayunud'-Din and Barbosa make mention of a peculiar custom prevalent among the Brhamins of Kerala by which they controlled the large estates possessed by them. The custom is known as *sambantham*. According to Shayak

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114. Diogo Gonçaves in 1615 refers to these ceremonies by which the kings of Kerala attained *Kshatriya* status. According to him *hiranyam* means gold and *garbham* means embryo and these words together give the meaning, golden pregnancy. During the ritualistic performance, the Samantha king passes through a golden cow made for the purpose. After the ceremony, the entire gold was presented to the Brhamins. The king who attained the *Kshtriya* status through *hiranyagarbham* is known as *ponnuthampuran* (golden king) in Kerala. *Thulabharam* is the ceremony of weighing against gold. Diogo Gonçaves, *op.cit.*, n. 21,p.12.; see also K.V.Krishna Ayyar,*op.cit.*, n.11,p.17

115. BDB, II, 35-37

116. Fernão Lopes Castanheda, *Historia do descobrimento e Conquista da India Pelos Portuguesas*, Livro I, Coimbra, 1924-33, p.38. (hereafter Castanheda).

Zayunud'-Din"Among the Brhamins if there are many brothers, none but the eldest takes a wife in marriage, unless it is evident that he will not have any issue. The rest of the brothers shall not marry, so that their heirs may not multiply and differences happen. However, the younger brothers take women of Nair caste without any marriage" <sup>117</sup> Duarte Barbosa observes:

They (the Brhamins) marry only once, and only the eldest brother has to be married, and of him is made a head of the family like a sole heir by entail, and all the others remain bachelors, and never marry. The eldest is the heir of all the property.....These young men who do not marry, nor can marry, sleep with wives of the nobles, and these women hold it as a great honour because they are Bramans (Brhamins) and no women refuses them. <sup>118</sup>

The *sambantham* relation of the Brhamins , which was on a significance of the religious status of one of the partners, became generalized and institutionalized into a marriage system founded on polyandry during the sixteenth century. The rulers of the *natus* discharged administrative as well as military functions in addition to judicial responsibilities in their respective *natus* . The *Kaimals* and *Karthas* who were the nobility , wielded great influence because of their share in the administration and their hold on large landed property which during the sixteenth century was a mark of great authority. <sup>119</sup> They maintained their own army and owed allegiance sometimes to more than one sovereign. The Zamorin and other prominent rulers like the Raja of Cochin often claimed and exacted many rights over these lords. <sup>120</sup>

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117. Shayak Zayunud'-Din, *op. cit.*,p.46

118. Barbosa.,pp.121-122

119. See Gasper Correa, *op.cit.*, tomo I, pp.358,392.

120. K.S.Mathew, "The Portuguee and the Malabar Society During the Sixteenth Century" in *Stvdia*, 49, Lisboa, 1989, p.46

*Kaimals* and *Karthas* were the titles given by the Rajas to their Nair chieftains in Kerala. They held large landed property and were chieftans of some localities so much so that they were counted sometimes as ‘kings’ by the Portuguese.<sup>121</sup> The *Kaimals* had a number of Nair fighters under them. For instance, the *Kaimal* of Cheruvaipu (in the Vypin island near Cochin) who was a vassal of the Raja of Cochin had 3000 Nairs, 600 archers and 450 gunners to fight for his interests.<sup>122</sup> He had a well-fortified house in the early part of the sixteenth century. Mangatu *Kaimal* was another powerful vassal of the Raja of Cochin. The *Kaimals* along with their Nair militia accompanied and fought for the Raja in his battles. The *Kaimals* even hold high positions with rulers on the Malabar coast. For instance, a *Kaimal* who acted as secretary and accountant general of the Zamorin in the early sixteenth century.<sup>123</sup> The *Kaimals* used to rent their lands to *Karalars* or cultivators and the *Karalars* leased the same land to the actual tillers and extracted high rate of rent annually from them. The *Karalars* paid a portion of the rent to Rajas or Brhamin proprietors for the lands they held from them.

Nairs in general constituted the soldier class in Kerala society because of their proximity to Brhamins. The protection of the *Natu* from external and internal problems was entrusted to Nair militia by the *Udayavar* of the territory. Medieval records make frequent mention of their chivalry. Barbosa writes of them as “gentry and have no other duty than to carry their arms with them”<sup>124</sup>

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121. L.K. Anantha Krishna Ayyar, *The Tribes and Castes of Cochin*, II, New Delhi, , 1981, reprint, pp.18-19

122. Castanheda, p.117

123. Barbosa, pp.108-109 . *Caymal* according to Barbosa.

124. *Ibid.*, p. 124

The information in *Keralolpathi*, regarding the position of the Nairs, the duty of eye, hand and order which was imposed upon them by Cheraman Perumal.<sup>125</sup> On occasions they acted

as mercenaries or *chavers*<sup>126</sup> and they stood by their oath to die for their lords. The Nairs being good fighters and faithful to their profession, were employed as security personnel. A peculiar institution called *changatham*<sup>127</sup> to the Portuguese *amouchi*, was in vogue in the sixteenth century. Barbosa refers to this institution as *janguada*<sup>128</sup> According to this any person, any person in need of protection from enemies and robbers could employ a few Nairs who took up the responsibilities of safeguarding the interests of that person, even at the risk of their life.<sup>129</sup> The petty Rajas and chieftans were largely dependent on such Nair *changathams* which could be both beneficial and harmful. The marriage customs and matrilineal kinship system of this soldier caste had also engaged the attention of Portuguese writers. They contented that the Nairs were not permitted to marry, rear families or control property because such duties might interfere with their devotion to the military life.<sup>130</sup>

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125. H.Gundurt, *Keralolpathi*, (Mal.), Mangalore, 1890, p.14, Varthema, p.142

M.C.. Appunni Nambiar, *op.cit.*, pp.25, 190, 233, 295-300.

126. *Chaver* means one who bound himself to death for the honour of his lord. The company of such *chavers* or suicide squads were very common in medieval Kerala.

127. Diogo de Couto, *op.cit.*, *Decada IV, Book II*, pp.210,213. *chavers* were known in Portuguese accounts as *amouchi*. Such companies with committed protection to the patron were also referred to as *changatham* in Portuguese records.

128. Barbosa, p.129

129. K.S.Mathew, *op.cit.*, p.149, Diogo de Couto, *op.cit.*, *Decada IV, Book II*, pp.210-13

130. Castanheda, Livro I, p.38.

Shayak Zayunud'-Din mentions about the polyandrous custom that prevailed among the Nairs "Among the Nairs and their caste, two or four or more men have commerce with one women".<sup>131</sup>

Nairs were brought up in such a way to maintain their spirit to fight and boys were sent to *kalaris* or military training centres in fencing and many other tricks of nimbleness and dexterity. They were trained in the *Kalaris* by masters known as *Panickers* or *Kurups*. They mostly lived along with the Rajas in their palaces.<sup>132</sup> Almost every *Natuvazhi* maintained several traditional *kalaris* in their territory during the sixteenth century. The Portuguese knowing well their excellence in the techniques of fighting made them stay with them in their fortresses and paid them regularly for their services.<sup>133</sup> Contemporary records refer to *Panikkars* getting remuneration for their services in the factory in Cochin between 1546 and 1581.<sup>134</sup>

Another section of the Nairs was engaged in keeping records<sup>135</sup> of social events and registering the main incidents in the country, especially those events regarding to Raja and his palaces. The class of officers who are entrusted with this duty is titled '*Menon*'. They used to stay in Raja's court as they had diverse duties. Some made entry of all goods that arrived for the Raja, others entered the dues and cess paid by the people day by day. Another section had the charge of the expenditure of Raja's household while

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131. Shayak Zayunud'-Din, *op.cit.*, p.46

132. BDB, II, p.40

133. K.S.Mathew, *op.cit.*,p.47

134. Simão Botelho, "O Tombo do Estado da Índia 1554" in R.J. de Lima Felner, ed., *Subsidios para a História da Índia Portuguesa, Lisboa.*, 1868, p.24; P.S.S.. Pissurlencar, *op.cit.*,p.216; Jean Aubin, "Orcamenta do Estado da Índia de António Abreu Seperata de", *Studia*, Lisboa, 1959,p.257;

135. BDB II, pp.18-19, 55; Pyrard de Laval, *op.cit.*, pp.412-413.

others noted the most significant incidents of each day. The record keepers kept a separate register for all the strangers who were supposed to meet the officer in charge, including their name, nationality, time of arrival and purpose of visit.<sup>136</sup>



### Communities Migrated to Malabar

There were communities migrated to Malabar who made their presence felt in the social and political life of Malabar in the sixteenth century. The St.Thomas Christians originally migrants from Persia were engaged mainly in trade from very early times. They were Christians in faith but Hindus in everything else.<sup>137</sup> As a result they were ranked after the Brhamins and the Nairs. As in the case of Christians, early inscriptions refer to the privileges enjoyed by the Jews<sup>138</sup> who lived in and around Cranganore, Cochin, Quilon and Kayamkulam. Barbosa does not mention of Jewish community as part of the society although he refers to St.Thomas Christians.<sup>139</sup> Like Nairs, they were excellent soldiers<sup>140</sup> and hence all males were trained for military service.

The Christian boys began their training in reading and writing and in warfare under

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136. BDB II, pp.60.137.

137. L.W.Brown, *The Indian Christians of St.Thomas*, Cambridge, 1956,pp.3-4, 81,

138. *Travancore Archeological Series*, II, part II, pp.80-85

139 BDB, II, p.89, João de Barros, *op.cit.*,Decada III, Book VII, p.234

140. Diago Gonçalves, *op.cit.*, pp.1-10, *Documenta Indica* (hereafter DI), III,p.806

a *Panikkar* from the age of eight and continued till they reached twenty five.<sup>141</sup> Hindu*Panikkars* took Christian youths as their pupils in the *Kalari*. There were also many Christian lineages. Among the best known warrior preceptors in the pre-colonial period

were the Malittas of Mavelikkara, a family of Christian *Panikkars* who created their own networks of both Hindu and Christian trainee disciples.<sup>142</sup>

Another category of people directly involved in trade were the *Chettis* and *Vanias*. The *Chettis*<sup>143</sup> from the Coromandel coast who traded in textiles, precious metals and jewels and the *Vanias* from Ceylon and other places who dealt in “Goods of every kind from many lands” were predominant and were found busying themselves in the port towns of Kerala.<sup>144</sup> While the *Chettis* mostly concerned with internal trade, the *Vanias* dominated the overseas trade. Both retained their own regional, social and religious customs and enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy. The *Chettis* enjoyed a position alongside the fighting Nairs<sup>145</sup> In addition to the above group a large number of *Konkanis* and *Kanarians* found their place in the local social strata.

Another community which emerged in Malabar and can be classified among the group of migrated communities was the Muslim merchants who were coming from

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141. A. Gouveia, *op.cit.*,p.243; L.W. Brown, *op.cit.*,p.186f. In a letter to king John III of Portugal in 1523, Mar Abraham, the Bishop of St.Thomas Christians of Cochin states that he can provide 25000 Christian warriors in support of the Portuguese in exigencies. See the letter in George Schurhammer, *The Malabar Church and Rome During the Early Portuguese Period and Before*, Trichnipoly, 1934, p.13

142. K.J. John, *The Road to Diamper*, Cochin, 1999, p.49

143.. Barbosa .,pp.144-45.

144 BDB, p.73-77

145. *Ibid.*,p.75, M.C.Appunni Nambiar, *op. cit.*, p.64

Meca, Egypt, Persia and elsewhere and they were called generally as *Paradesis*. Their presence in trading centres especially at port towns of Kerala were very much significant. The Arab merchants dominated the business in these port towns as they were specialized in the immensely profitable spice trade between Malabar and the West.<sup>146</sup> Ballads of Northern Malabar described them as *Jonakas* and a street known as *Jonakateru* was specifically enumerated therein.<sup>147</sup>

*Paradesis* remained socially and culturally distinct from the localities. The local Muslim merchants or Mappilas were the children of the Arab merchants by their local wives or descendants of the Hindu converts to Islam. They developed good relations through intermarriage with the local population.<sup>148</sup> The Mappila Muslims were brought up in the Sunni Islamic faith and trained from an early age as traders and seamen. They were at the mercy of the *Paradesi* merchants and many of them became brokers as they were acquainted with several languages. The poorest among them took to daily work and became porters and packers. Those among them who had sufficient capital turned out to be contractors and agents of commercial transactions.<sup>149</sup> Barbosa calculated that Mappilas constituted twenty percent of the population and they were very influential in trade and navigation.<sup>150</sup> According to the Chinese Muslim traveller Ma-Huan, majority of the people in the kingdom of Zamorin belonged to this group.<sup>151</sup> Ma-Huan's reference along with those of Barbosa and

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146. BDB Vol. II, P.75

147. *Ibid.*,p.75, M.C.Appunni Nambiar, *op.cit.*,p.64

148. *Ibid.*, p.75,

149. *Cartas*, tomo VII,p.25.

150. BDB Vol. II, p.74

151. Ma'Huan, Ying Yai Shen Lan, *The Overall Survey of the Ocean Shares 1433*, trans. And ed.J.V.G.Mills, Cambridge, 1970, p.140

Shayak Zayunud'-Din would enable us to form an idea of the role of Mappila community in the commercial activity of Kerala.

### **Emergence of Village Communities**

In the post-Perumal era, with the commercialization of society, village communities specialised different professions and there emerged *Jatis*(castes) and *upjatis* (sub-castes) based on their professions.

The occupational groups that emerged in villages based on the professions are referred to as *Kollan* (blacksmith), *Asari* (carpenter), *Musari* (bronze smith), *Vannan* (washerman), *Panan* (singer of traditional songs) *Mannan* or *Veluthedan* (washermen of upper castes), *Chaliyan* (weaver), *Chakkalan* (oil presser), *Tiyan* (coconut plucker/toddy tapper) *Chakkliyan* or *Cheruppukuthy* (shoe-maker) and the agricultural groups of *Pulayan*, *Parayan* and *Knakkan*. These groups were the base of the caste society in medieval Kerala .<sup>152</sup>

Diogo Gonçaves observes the existence of several occupational groups as inferior in the segmented society towards the close of the sixteenth century. The foremost among them were Cammalar,<sup>153</sup> comprising *Ajarimar* (carpenters), *Tatan* (goldsmith), *Colem* (*Kollan* or *blacksmith*), *Mujari* or (coppersmith) and *Calajari* (*Kallasari* or mason)<sup>154</sup> The *Irair* (*Idayar*) were the shepherds. *Ilver* (*Ezhavar*) or *Chenvannur* (*Chovanmar*) were associated with palm trees. *Paravar* were fishermen. *Chavalacarar* were fishermen of the interior.<sup>155</sup> . *Mocuvar* (*Mukkuvar*) were fishermen of coastal area.<sup>156</sup>

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152. *Travancore Archeological Series*,II ,pp.80-82

153. Diogo Gonçaves, *op. cit.*,p.8

154. *Ibid.*,p.8

155. *Ibid.*,p.8-9

156. *Ibid.*,p.9

*Mayanatu Vanam* (*Mannathan Vannan*) were washermen. *Veluthedan* washermen of Nairs.<sup>157</sup> *Vaniyen* (oil presser) *Nagiven* (*Nasivan*) or *Vellacutaleer* (*Velakkunthalayar*) or *Ampate* (*Ambatter*) were barbers. *Tacher* (*Sawyer*), *Panen* (*Panan*), *Chemam* (*Cheruman*

or *Cheruppukuthy*) were cobblers. The agricultural slaves comprised of *Pareer (Parayar)*, *Poleer (Pulayar)*, *Verer (Vetar)*, *Iruier (Ezhavas)*.

From the above professions it can be seen that the people engaged in the above profession were placed under the service of the aristocracy by the rulers.<sup>158</sup> At the temples specialistic functionaries such as drummers and garland makers etc. were required and they also formed professional groups. The basic occupational groups of such settlements consisted of agricultural labourers, ritual cum medicine men, astrologers, washermen and so on.<sup>159</sup>

In the medieval Kerala society the actual tillers of the soil belonged to the agricultural labourers.<sup>160</sup> In local parlance they are referred to as *Adiyar*. There was a group of peasants whom the Portuguese records describe as the ‘growers of coconut’<sup>161</sup>

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157. *Ibid.*,

158. Elamkulam P.N. Kunjan Pillai, *op.cit.*,p.388; K.J.John, ed., *Christian Heritage of Kerala*, Cochin, 1981,p.52

159. Rajan Gurukkal, *The Socio-Economic Role of Temples in Medieval Kerala*, M.phil dissertation, JNU, New Delhi, 1977, pp.51-59

160. João de Barros, *op.cit.*,Decada, IV, Book VIII, pp.411-418, 423

161. BDB Vol. II, p.60

The most important among them were the *Tiyas*<sup>162</sup> or *Ezhavas*. Some of the *Ezhavas* cultivated the land which they got on lease, while others worked as hired labourers of the *Nairs* and *Christians*. Their principal profession seemed to be toddy tapping.<sup>163</sup>

The class of people who were engaged in menial jobs for the rich were considered ‘untouchables’ by higher castes. Their condition was pathetic as they were subjected to inhuman treatment by the upper strata of the society. The working class consists of the

slaves who were engaged in agricultural activities, fishermen, artisans and craftsmen. The artisans were an essential class and they mostly stayed near to the temples and provided the agriculturists with implements and tools required by them. The *Kammalas* referred by Diogo Gonçalves belonged to the artisan groups. They were specialized in the making of iron and other metal implements.<sup>164</sup> At the coastal areas fishing was the main occupation and the ‘*Mukkuvan*’ or fishermen were engaged in this. The tilling of the soil and other agricultural works were carried out by ‘*Pulayar*’<sup>165</sup> and *Cherumar*.

Malabar society was not a stagnant one. It had continuous trade relations with West Asia before the advent of the Portuguese. The alternate intrusion of Persian Christian colonists, Jews and Arabs in the Malabar society kept it vibrant throughout the course of history. The Malabar society was leading a comparatively idle and politically unsettled life at the end of the fifteenth century. The arrival of the Portuguese commercialized the Malabar society to a great extent in the sixteenth century. In many ways medieval Malabar society was caste ridden, but it had evolved a system in which trade flourished, which strengthened the economic position of rulers like Zamorin and the Raja of Cochin. Agricultural activities, especially in the produce of pepper and other spices were

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162. Samuel Mateer, *Land of Charity*, New Delhi, 1991, reprint, p.38; William Logan, *Op.cit.*, p.143.

163. Barbosa, p.137

164. Shayak Zayunud‘-Din, *op.cit.*, p.80

165. See Tomé Pires, *op.cit.*, p.72, CAchyuta Menon, *op.cit.*, p.203

stimulated. The rulers could exact the produce of the land through powerful intermediaries by granting them occasional privileges, and supplied the produce of the land to Europe through the West Asian merchants who frequented the Malabar coast for trade purpose. With the advent of the Portuguese, Kerala was linked directly with European trade. The rulers of different territories competed with each other in winning over the foreign merchants.

### **The Background of Portuguese Navigation to India and its Effects**

Pepper was mentioned as ‘black gold’ in the outer world especially among the Europeans. As pepper was an inevitable ingredient in the preservation of meat, in most part of Europe in pre-refrigeratory days the demand for pepper was high. The Europeans were getting pepper and other spices from the Arab merchants through Venice, which was the trade headquarters of Europe. After the Crusades the enmity between the Arabs and Europeans persisted one way or the other and in 1453 the Ottoman Turks captured Constantinople and shut the way for Europeans to trade with India. Since then, it had become a vital necessity for the Europeans to find out a new sea-route to India.<sup>166</sup> Spain and Portugal were the two countries mainly in the fray. Prince Henry ‘the Navigator’ of Portugal established a naval academy in Lisbon to encourage the sailors for the discovery of a new sea-route to India. Barthelomeo Dias, the Portuguese navigator could reach upto ‘Cape of Good Hope’ (south end of Africa) in 1486, but because of bad weather and revolt of sailors he was forced to go back. Finally, an expedition led by Vasco da Gama, crossing the Southern Atlantic and rounding Africa via Cape of Good Hope, could reach Calicut on 20<sup>th</sup> May 1498<sup>167</sup>, after a strenuous journey of ten and half months. The fleet of Vasco da Gama comprised of four

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166. R.S.Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India, 1497-1550*, Patna, reprint,1979,p.15

167. E.G.Ravenstein, *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama-1497-1499*, New Delhi, 1995, AES reprint, p.48

vessels- São Gabriel, São Rafael, Bérrio and a fourth supply vessel.<sup>168</sup> The success of Vasco da Gama’s expedition was historically a much significant incident. His stay in Calicut from 20<sup>th</sup> May 1498 to 29<sup>th</sup> August 1498 marked with serious problems of establishing good relationship with the native rulers. The Moorish traders tried to block the relationship of the Portuguese with Zamorin, the ruler of Calicut as it was detrimental to their trade interests in the Indian ocean especially on the Malabar coasts. However, the long cherished dream of the Europeans, specially the Portuguese came true. The new sea-route through the African coasts

and Cape of Good Hope was found out, establishing a direct link between the West and the East.

This historic voyage, five centuries ago was described by Alvaro Velho, one of the crew of Vasco da Gama in his well-known *Roteiro*<sup>169</sup>. Gama's adventurous journey that made him the 'hero of Portugal' was the theme of *Luciads*<sup>170</sup>, the national epic of Portugal by Luis Vas de Camões.

With the discovery of new sea-route to India, the East and the West had met, without intermediary. Adam Smith, the renowned economist has recorded that, the discovery of sea-route to India by Vasco da Gama via Cape of Good Hope "opened perhaps a still more extensive range to foreign commerce than even that of America, notwithstanding the greater distance".<sup>171</sup>

It was true that the trade of spices mainly attracted Portugal and other European powers to India. With the Portuguese navigation in the Indian ocean, vast countries with immense possibilities, people of different races and religions that were unknown to each other and lived isolated since man on earth, were brought face to face thus heralding cultural, social, economic, political and religious interaction among them.

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168. *Ibid.*, p.1

169. Álvaro Velho, *Roteiro da Primeira Viagem de Vasco da Gama*, ed. Abel Fontoura da Costa, Lisboa, 1940

170. Luis Vas de Camões, *op.cit.*, n. 99.

171. Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, Vol I, London, p.394

Vasco da Gama's audience with Zamorin, the ruler of Calicut did not arouse much enthusiasm concerning the trade of spices and the main reason was the interference of the West Asian Muslim traders. They put many obstacles in the way of the Portuguese, even though apparently Zamorin was not that adamant. After the negotiations, Zamorin passed on to da Gama a letter to the king of Portugal expressing his pleasure to have trade relations with him. The letter written in Malayalam on palm leaf was translated into Arabic and then into Portuguese by Diogo Dias was as follows:



Vasco da Gama, a gentleman of your household, came to my country, whereat I was pleased. My country is rich in cinnamon, cloves, ginger, pepper and precious stones. That which I ask of you in exchange is gold, silver, corals and scarlet cloth.<sup>172</sup>

King Manuel in 1501 assumed the title of ‘Lord of the conquest, navigation and commerce of Ethiopia, India, Arabia and Persia’ The Portuguese had conquered none of these countries; but their right to do so was held to be implicit in a series of Papal bulls and briefs which had been granted to successive Kings of Portugal during the preceding eighty three years. The *Conquistas* (conquests) were justified in these backgrounds and the *Conquistadores* were entitled to conquer or dominate the lands. So the connection with the cross and the crown was close..

After the finding of the new sea-route rounding the Cape of Good Hope, King Manuel planned more voyages towards East and naturally with the intention of the trade of spices. He must have had the definite intention of the control of spice trade in the Indian ocean from the West Asian Muslims and also to meet the Indian Christians.<sup>173</sup>

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172. E.G.Ravenstein, , *op. cit.*,p.75.

173. Sergio J. Pacifici, *A Letter of the King of Portugal sent to the King of Castile concerning the voyage and success of India in 1505* (English translation of an Italian source) , Minneapolis, 1505

King Manuel had the ambitious design of making Portugal a prominent power in the Indian Ocean and the control of spice trade from the hands of West Asian Muslims by force<sup>174</sup> The then existed Venetian-Muslim monopoly in spice trade was to be replaced by the Portuguese intervention through the new sea-route. Thus started the ‘Vasco da Gama Epoch of Indian history’, according to the distinguished historian K.M. Panikkar.<sup>175</sup>

King Manuel’s interest to promote trade with the East especially with India prompted him to send another fleet in 1500, with Pedro Alvares Cabral leading it. It was the clear intention of King Manuel to establish trade agreements and to open diplomatic relations with

the Zamorin of Calicut and other rulers. The Portuguese chroniclers throw light to the voyages of Pedro Alvares Cabral.<sup>176</sup>

The letter of King Manuel to the King of Castille, also throw light to the motives of the voyages of Cabral.<sup>177</sup> The intentions of the King and his instructions to Cabral are also revealed in his letter to the King of Calicut.<sup>178</sup>

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174. *Ibid.*,

175. K. M. Panikkar, *Asia and Western Dominance, A Survey of the Vasco da Gama Epoch of Asian History*, 1498-1945, London, 1953.

176. Gasper Correya, *Lendas da India*, Lisboa, 1858-64, pp.145-232 ; Also see, William Brooks Greenlee, trans., *The Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1937.

177. Sergio J. Pacifici *op.cit.*, ; also see G.Schhrhammer, *The Malabar Church and Rome During the Early Portuguese Period and Before*, Trichinapoly, 1934, pp.26-31

178. Antonio do Silva Rego, ed. *Documentação para a História dos Missoes do Padroado Português do oriente Índia*, Lisboa, 1947-48, Vol IV p.17. (hereafter SRD)

The intention of King Manuel was not only to establish a permanent factory at Calicut but also to station there some priests and friars for the conversion of infidels and to instruct them in Christian faith. Cabral's fleet was consisted of thirteen ships<sup>179</sup> and the number of people in the expedition is reported to be between 1200 and 1500.<sup>180</sup>

The fleet of Cabral reached Calicut in September 1500, six months after its departure from Lisbon.<sup>181</sup> That time the older Zamorin was dead and his younger successor had ascended the throne. The Zamorin and Cabral met and exchanged gifts and the letter from Don Manuel in Portuguese and Arabic were handed over to Zamorin. At the end of two months the Portuguese were given a large house near the sea-front to use as a factory and the Zamorin offered all assistance for collecting cargo for the vessels.<sup>182</sup>

Very soon with the interference of the Moorsih merchants troubles started and the Portuguese were not getting goods they wanted. Eventhough the Portuguese complained about this to the Zamorin , he was not in a position to displeas the Moorish merchants The infuriated Portuguese began to take revenge by attacking Moorish ships. In response to this the Moorish merchants from West Asia attacked the Portuguese factory and killed the factor and 53 others.

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179. There were varied opinion regarding the number of ships from 12 to 14. But according to the prominent historians like Castanheda, João de Barros, Domiãõ de Goes and Gasper Correia, it was thirteen.

180. Sanjay Subramanniam, *The Career and Legend of Vasco da Gama*, Cambridge, 1997, pp.79-80

181. *Ibid*, p.179

182. *Ibid.*, pp.179-80

The Zamorin could not offer compensation the Portuguese demanded. Therefore, after two days of gun fire killing many of the Moorish Merchants at Pandalayini Kollam, Cabral sailed to Cochin where he and his fellow sailors were accorded a warm welcome by the Raja of Cochin. Admiral Cabral entered the Cochin waters in a moonlit night on 24<sup>th</sup> of 1500. It seems that the Raja of Cochin was hoping to get the help of the Portuguese in asserting himself to be independent from the position of a vassal of the Zamorin.<sup>183</sup>

The Raja of Cochin extended his support for the Portuguese in establishing their trade centres. In return, the Portuguese protected the Raja of Cochin from the attack of Zamorin together with the Moorish merchants. With the superior technology and navigational skills the Portuguese could ensure victory in the wars with Zamorin along with and his associates.. The Portuguese could establish their hold in Cochin because of the friendly relations

established by Cabral with the Raja of Cochin,<sup>184</sup> and thereafter their mutual help for survival.

At Cochin, Quilon and Cannanore the Portuguese could establish their trade centres as their response to natives were friendly, except in the approach to Moorish Muslims who always tried to bring hindrance to the trade between Portuguese and the natives. Pedro Alvares Cabral gathered information regarding the pepper cultivation and its trade prevalent in Kerala from Gaspar da India.<sup>185</sup> It was Gaspar who informed Cabral that Cochin was

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183. K.M. Panikkar, *Malabar and the Portuguese*, Bombay, 1929, p.44.

184. Faria e. Souza, *The Portuguese Asia*, trans.. Capt. John Stevens, Part I, Chap V, London, 1971, reprint, pp.57-59

185. Gaspar da India, the Jew from Anjadiva was captured by the Portuguese and was brought to Portugal by Vasco da Gama . He was converted to Christianity in Lisbon. See Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da Índia*, , ed.p.de Azavado, tomo I, Coimbra, 1924, p.210 ; E.G.Ravenstein, *The Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da ama 1497-1499*, London, 1898, p.179

the centre for pepper trade and its cultivation was in the suburban areas and hinterlands of Cochin. He also suggested that the Raja of Cochin, if given adequate protection against the Zamorin of Calicut would be willing to enter into a treaty with the Portuguese. On this information Cabral began negotiations with the rulers of Cochin..

The Raja of Cochin, Unni Ramakoil Tirumulpad (Portuguese records mentions ‘Trimupara’) cordially welcomed the Portuguese and allowed to enter their ships to Kalvathy canal and anchor there.<sup>186</sup> The warm reception to the Portuguese by the Raja of Cochin was perhaps with the idea in developing Cochin as a prosperous trade centre and also to face the challenge of the Zamorin of Calicut and to compete against Calicut both economically and politically.<sup>187</sup>

Duarte Barbosa in 1518 gives the following description about the King of Cochin:

The King of Cochin has but a small country, and he was not a king before the Portuguese went there because all the kings of Calicut when newly come into power had the custom of entering Cochin and depriving the king of his state and taking possession of it and afterwards they restored it to him again for life. The King of Calicut observed this as a law and the king of Cochin used to give him tributes of elephants and so he returned to Calicut. And the King of Cochin could not coin money nor roof of his house with tiles under pain of losing his state.<sup>188</sup>

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186. Gasper Coreia, *op.cit.*,p.214.: also K.P. Padmanabha Menon, *Cochin Rajya Charithram* (MaL.), Calicut, 1989 reprint, p.127
187. F.C.Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, Vol I, New Delhi, 1988, reprint,p.71
188. Barbosa, pp.156-157

With Cabral's arrival in 1500, Cochin entered a new phase of political and economic growth. Cabral and the Raja signed a pact of peace and friendship.<sup>189</sup> The *Ola*<sup>190</sup> signed by the Raja, his nephew, the prince and heir-apparent and the nobles was handed over to Cabral. The Raja offered his friendship and gave the Portuguese permission to have a factor house and free license to trade in his territory. He promised delivery of the cargos which the Portuguese needed and asked them to unload the merchandise they had in their ships.<sup>191</sup>

When the *ola* of the Raja was read out and translated by Gasper da India, the Portuguese were immensely happy. Cabral in his reply stated that he decided to sail to Cochin with all the captains and people on board for trade relations and would serve the Raja as they would serve their own master, the King of Portugal, that the Raja of cochin might dispose of them as he pleased, treating them as though they were his own people

because they were ready to obey him in everything and always be from that time onwards friend of his friends and enemy of his enemies.<sup>192</sup>

According to the treaty signed by the Raja of Cochin and Admiral Cabral, the Portuguese were to have the monopoly of pepper trade in the kingdom of Cochin, in return they had to protect the Raja against the attacks of Zamorin of Calicut and of other enemies.<sup>193</sup>

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189. K.P.Padmanabha Menon, *op.cit.*,p.132,:K.M. Panikkar, *op.cit.*,p.43

190. An *Ola* is the leaf of palmyra prepared for writing. In olden books of Malabar the term *ola* generally means a native letter or message

191. Gasper Correia, *op.cit.*,p-214

192. *Ibid*

193. W.B. Greenlee, *op.cit.*, pp.48 – 49

The Portuguese were given all facilities for trade at Cochin and were allowed a large warehouse to store their goods. This was the first *feitoria* (factory) the Portuguese established in Cochin of which Gonçalo Gil Barbosa was appointed as factor.<sup>194</sup> Cabral also appointed Lorenzo Moreno and Sebastião Alvares as writers and Gonçalo Madeira of Tanigiers as interpreter. In this *feitoria* they not only displayed their cargos but also collected the produce of the surrounding areas to be ready for shipment on the return of the Portuguese fleet. Within seven days all seven of their ships were loaded with spices namely cloves, cinnamon, nutmeg, pepper etc.<sup>195</sup>

The Portuguese trade settlement was established on the sea-side of the port, which part later came to be known as Lower Cochin (*Cochin de Baixo*) as distinct from, the native Cochin or upper Cochin (*Cochin de Cima*), where the Raja, various other *Paradesi* merchant groups and the native people lived. The Lower Cochin later developed as Portuguese Cochin..

Along with trade , the Portuguese were having religious interests also. This was clear from the fact that eight Franciscan friars , eight chaplains and a Chaplain-general accompanied Cabral in his expedition.<sup>196</sup> The others accompanied them were killed at Calicut. The Franciscan friars were Friar Henrique Alvaro de Coimbra, Friar Francisco da Cruz, Friar Simlon de Guimoraes and Friar Luis do Salvador.<sup>197</sup> These friars were posted in the Portuguese factory to cater to the spiritual needs of the Portuguese and to preach gospel. They made use of a cadjan shed in the beginning as a place for divine worship .<sup>198</sup>

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194. Castenheda, *Livro I*, p.102

195. W.B. Greenlee, *op.cit.*,127

196. Gasper Correia, *op.cit.*, tomo I, pp.145, 148.

197. W.B.Greenlee, *op.cit.*,p.201

198. BDB Vol II, p.93,; Gasper Correia, *op.cit.*,tomo I, p.358

Cabral left for Lisbon on 10<sup>th</sup> January 1501 entrusting the factory to Gonçalo Gil Barbosa and other Portuguese officials under the protection of Raja of Cochin.

With the establishment of a *feitoria* (factory) in Cochin, the Portuguese got the facility for procuring the spices they require . The *feitoria* was instrumental in developing Cochin as an important trade centre. In 1501, João de Nova the next Portuguese navigator arrived in Cochin with four ships and four hundred men.<sup>199</sup>

In 1502 King Manuel sent Vasco da Gama once again as Admiral of the Portuguese fleet to wreck further vengeance on the West Asian Moorish merchants and Zamorin , for supporting them.<sup>200</sup>

The whole fleet consisted of twenty ships.<sup>201</sup> Gama delivered letters and gifts from the King of Portugal to the Raja of Cochin. These gifts included jewels, a nightshade of gold worked with crescent shaped rings, two large silver pitches, two large fine carpets, two satin

clothes with figures, a field pavilion with all the furnishings, a cloth of carmine silk and one of taffeta. Raja also sent to Gama letters and gifts.<sup>202</sup>

Gama conducted negotiations with Unni Rama Koil Tirumulpad for expanding the Portuguese *feitoria* in Cochin during the meeting held on 6<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> February 1502 in the presence of all the captives of the fleet.<sup>203</sup>

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199. Faria E. Souza, *op.cit.*, p.60

200. W.B. Greenlee, *op.cit.*, pp.63-64.

201. Faria e.Souza,*op.cit.*,pp.63-64; Also see, F.C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India* Vol I, New Delhi , 1992 reprint, p.78

202. *Ibid.*,p.67.

203. João de Barros, *op.cit.*,Decada I, Book 7, Chap.I, p.82

Some representatives of the St.Thomas Christians from Crangannore came to meet Vasco da Gama to request protection and safety from the hostile Hindu rulers and Muslims who were oppressing them.<sup>204</sup> They submitted themselves to the King of Portugal whom they accepted as their king.<sup>205</sup> They presented Vasco da Gama with the Rod of justice which belonged to their deceased Christian king. The rod was reddish, about the length of a scepter, the ends covered with three bells at the top. Vasco da Gama promised them protection in the name of the King of Portugal.<sup>206</sup> He entrusted them to a captain who was to remain in Crangannore with a fleet. The Christian representatives pledged to support the Portuguese in honour of protection<sup>207</sup>

After Vasco da Gama left Cochin, the Zamorin mounted pressure on the Raja of Cochin to hand over Diogo Fernandez Correa and other Portuguese left in the Portuguese factory at Cochin, but the Raja refused. Zamorin initiated military action to attack Portuguese settled in Cochin. The following letter written by the Raja of Cochin to the King of Portugal explains the conditions then prevailing :



Senhor, I have no other friend in all the world except your Highness, nor in any whom I may so much confidence. The king of Calicut and all my relatives come against me to take the Portuguese who were with me, and nevertheless I did not give them up, and I guarded them as best as I could; and should all the world come against me I would have need of no one but your Highness. The first time that Pedro Alvares Cabral came with six ships, when he came to the port of Calicut he went on shore and confided in the king of Calicut, and they killed all the Portuguese and took what merchandise of your Highness there was on board. After all this

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204. João de Barros, *op.cit.*, Decada I, Book 6, chap.6, pp.62-64  
 205. Jonas Thaliath, *The Synod of Diamper*, Rome, 1958, p.1.  
 206. Damião de Goes, Decada I, *op.cit.*, p.151  
 207. João de Barros, Decada I, *op.cit.*, pp.62-64

happened and they came to this my port. I gave them all the aid they asked for, as well in the loading of ships as in all other things. When their ships were loaded an armada from Calicut came to fight with them, and two of my waiters named Ytalaca (Idikkela) and Paranga va (Parangoda) were in the ships as hostages. And they made sail and carried them to Portugal. And the Portuguese remained on shore with me. The king of Calicut and all the Moors of Crangalore (Crangannore) beyond came against me, saying that I should turn over the Portuguese whom I had in my power or they would destroy all my land, and my relatives and my friends told me that these men were strangers and were from 4000 leagues from my land and they did not know them and that I should not lose my land because of them, and that I should surrender them, and that if I did not do that they would not aid me and would join the king of Calicut, as in fact they did, and they came against me, and killed two of my uncles and a nephew, princes, very honourable people and they destroyed my land and port and I guarded the Portuguese who were with me as best as I could and I always

took them with me wherever they wished to go . Within a year the King of Calicut returned again to take my land and I with my friends and my people and with the aid of yours defeated him, and he returned to his land much dishonored and annoyed, without hope of again coming against me. The he joined with Narsynagus and fought with my people, principally with one named *Corutaquy* (Koratty kaimal) a nayre (Nair) , who has 20,000 Nayaes; and with my aid he defeated him. And many of his people have been killed.<sup>208</sup>

After Vasco da Gama left Cochin, Zamorin again showed his hostility towards the Raja of Cochin and in the attack on 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1503 the Zamorin could defeat the

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208. Raymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato, ed., *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque, Seguidas de Documentos Que as Elucidam, Cartas*, Lisboa, 1884-1935, tomo III, pp.73-74. (hereafter *Cartas*)

Raja of Cochin.<sup>209</sup> Eventhough the Raja tried to resist Zamorin and protected the Portuguese, he was overpowered by the troops of Zamorin, whereupon the Raja retrived along with his few remaining troops, his family and the Portuguese who were under his protection to the *Sanketam* of Elamkunnappuzha temple in the island of Vypin. The Zamorin ordered to burn the royal house and the city and removed the sacred stone on which the Zamorin used to declare as the overlord of the Southern chiefdoms was removed to Edappalli from Cochin.<sup>210</sup>

On hearing the advance of Zamorin over Cochin in September 1503 nine ships were left from Portugal to Cochin under the leadership of Afonso de Albuquerque, Francisco de Albuquerque and Antonio de Saldana. Francisco de Albuquerque met the Raja of Cochin at his *Sanketam* at Elamkunnappuzha and presented to him with 10,000 ducats in money for his losses on account of the Portuguese.<sup>211</sup>

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209. R.S.Whiteway, *op.cit.*,pp.95-96 ;
210. This was a peculiar stone left by the Chinese in the pre-Portuguese times at Cochin. They considered the Raja of Cochin with all his spiritual jurisdiction as the chief Brhamin of the land. In 1503, the Zamorin took the stone from Cochin and placed it in Repelim (Edappalli). On 19<sup>th</sup> September 1536, the Raja of Cochin after a series of attacks with the help of the Portuguese under Martim Afonso de Souza took back this stone from Edappalli to Cochin. João de Barros, *op.cit.*, Decada IV, Book 7, pp.283'303 ; R.S.Whiteway, *op.cit.*,pp.95, 251
211. Gasper Correia, *op.cit.*, tomo I, pp.384-393; Faria e. Souza, *op.cit.*,pp.70-71

The faithfulness of the Raja of Cochin was greatly appreciated by the Portuguese. The Portuguese troops then took revenge on the Zamorin and the *Kaimals* and *Karthas* who had deserted the Raja of Cochin, their lawful chief. The Zamorin's troop was driven back from the territory of Cochin. The Portuguese secured permission from the Raja to build a fortress at Cochin to protect the Portuguese factory and soon built a fort with mud and wood. It was named Fort Emmanuel by Raja Tirumulpad himself as insisted by Afonso de Albuquerque.<sup>212</sup>

Around the palisade of the fort , sheds were constructed for the Portuguese personnel to live in .<sup>213</sup> A wooden church dedicated to St.Berthelomeo was also constructed at the centre of the fort.

The Portuguese *feitoria* once again became live with pepper and spices gathered there . Albuquerque went to Quilon at the invitation of its queen and settled a trade agreement and established a *feitoria* there also and left a Factor to manage it. At the desire of the Raja of Cochin a Portuguese troop of 150 men, forty five ships and two caravels under the command of Duarte Pacheco Pereira were left at Cochin to help the Raja in exigencies and

to defend the territory of Cochin.<sup>214</sup> Afonso and Francisco de Albuquerque returned to Portugal after consolidating Portuguese power in Cochin.

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212. See Jean Aubin, 'L'apprentissage de l'Inde, Cochin, 1503-1504' in *Moyen Oriente et Ocean Indian*, 4, Paris, 1987.

213. Gasper Correia, *op.cit.*, pp.384-91

214. Faria e.Souza, *op.cit.*,p.73,

### **Portuguese Defence of Cochin**

Zamorin was waiting for an ideal occasion to take revenge on the Raja of Cochin and he was making preparations to attack the territory of Cochin. In the meantime, Duarte Pacheco slowly asserted as the defacto commander of Cochin and the main defender of Cochin. Zamorin convened his vassals Venganad Nambiathiry, Kakkattu Nambidi, Raja of Vettam, Raja of north Kottayam, Parappu Koil of Parappanagadi, Pappukoil of Beypore, Mangattu Kaimal and others. The Portuguese chroniclers mention that the Zamorin and his allies drew together 50,000 men as well for land and sea. On 16<sup>th</sup> March 1504 the troops of Zamorin reached Edappalli.<sup>215</sup>

The Raja of Cochin was in fear and many of his subjects deserted the territory. The Raja entrusted the Portuguese with 500 Nairs under the command of two *Koviladikaris* namely Kandankoru and Perumkoru Kaimal of Palluruthi and Attulli Panikkar.<sup>216</sup> The battle of the combined forces of the Zamorin and the Cochin forces led by Duarte Pacheco Pereira lasted for five months and ended On 3<sup>rd</sup> July 1504. The battle fought at the backwaters of Kumbalam, Panagad, Palluruthi<sup>217</sup> and onland at in and around Cochin. The spy system of

Pachaeco, the strategic attacks on the enemy by calculating the weakness of the Zamorin's army, the advanced artillery of the Portuguese and their powerful guns and above all the daring deeds of the Portuguese soldiers led by Duarte Pacheco did havocs to the troops of Zamorin. The Portuguese destroyed a sizable portion of the Zamorin's vessels and a great number of Zamorin's soldiers were killed or wounded without much loss on the Portuguese side.<sup>218</sup>

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215. H.Gundert, *op.cit.*,p.51.

216. K.P. Padmanabha Menon,*op.cit.*, *op.cit.*, I, p.489.

217. K.M.Mathew, *History of Portuguese Navigation in India*, Delhi, 1988, p.180

218. Castanheda, Livro II, p.480

Pachaeco's heroic defence of Cochin established the Portuguese reputation. The valour of the Portuguese greatly impressed the Zamorin and soon he repented his compliance with the demands of the Moorsih merchants. The grateful Raja of Cochin presented Duarte Pachaeco with a shield of gold with five crowns to represent those five princes whom Pacheco had killed in the war against Zamorin together with the names of the seven battles which he successfully fought. He obtained a curious document from the Raja - a grant of the Portuguese title 'Dom' and of certain arms, set out with all the jargon of medieval heraldry on a scarlet field, to signify the amount of enemy's blood he had shed.<sup>219</sup>

Pacheco marched to Quilon and rescued the Portuguese factor from the Moorish assault. The news of these battles by Pacheco and his small Portuguese squadron spread all over southern India and Europe. Lopo Soares de Albergaria, son of the Chancellor of Portugal commanded a fleet sent from Portugal in 1504 and come to know about Pacheco's victories. On his way he bombarded Calicut and reached Cochin on 14<sup>th</sup> September with 14 ships.<sup>220</sup> His

orders were to prevent any ships leaving Cochin except those of the Portuguese and on the advise of the Raja of Cochin, Soares decided to attack Cranganore which was the base of Zamorin's operation against Cochin. Soares along with Duarte Pacheco carried out a surprise attack on Nambiathiri of Calicut and the Muslim forces at Cranganore and destroyed many of Calicut's troops. The Portuguese landed on shore and burnt down the town. The Jews who were settled there found that the town would no more safe fled from there and settled in surrounding areas.<sup>221</sup> Entrusting Manuel Tellis Baretto the defense of Manuel Fort and

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219. H.Gundert, *op.cit.*,pp.65-66

220. R.S.Whiteway, *op.cit.*,p.101.

221. H.Gundert, *op.cit.*,p.104.

Portuguese *feitoria*, Lopo Soares and Duarte Pacheco returned to Lisbon with a huge cargo.

### **Portugal's Plan of the Estado da India**

The five years of struggle to establish trade relations with the local rulers of Malabar coast gave enough lessons to King Manuel and the admirals who faced the realities of the journeys, the hostility of the Moorish traders, the attitudes of the Zamorin, local chieftains and the Raja of Cochin. Pacheco's victories made it evident that it was not only possible for the Portuguese garrisons and local squadrons to defend the Portuguese factories, they could also effectively resist the powerful native kings. The huge profits from the trade with the East and the religious intentions prompted King Manuel to entertain the idea that a Portuguese sea-borne empire could be established in the East. He knew it very well that that task will not be easy as the powerful Sultans of Egypt, Persia and Arabia will come to the help of the Moorish traders settled at Malabar coasts. King Manuel decided therefore to maintain a more powerful army and navy in India.

The concept of establishing an administrative head, in man of rank to exercise undisputed sway over whole resources of Portugal in the Indian coasts was accepted by Dom Manuel. The man selected for the post was Dom Francisco de Almeida, a *Fidalgo*.<sup>222</sup> He was

sent to India as the first Viceroy of Portuguese Asia or rather ‘Viceroy of Indies’ (*Viserey das Índias*)<sup>223</sup> He took with him a large fleet of 14 ships and six caravels and

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222. The word *fidalgo* literally means *filo d’ algo*, son of somebody, which was indicative of real or alleged gentle blood, became a synonym for *nobre* (noble) as *fidalgua* for *nobreza* (nobility) See C.R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415-1825*, London, 1969, p.6

223. Baily W. Diffie & George D. Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire 1415-1580*, Minneapolis, 1977., p.32., See Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, *Manuscritas Iluminados*, No.154, ‘Do Viagam de Don Francisco d’Almeida Primeiro Visorey da Índia ‘ (1505) (hereafter BNL)

1500 men at arms and was accompanied by his only son, D.Lourenco, a youth of great bodily strength and great proficiency in the use of all arms.<sup>224</sup> The Instructions to Almeida was to construct forts at strategic posts at Kilwa, Anjadiva, Cannanore and Cochin. He was also asked to destroy the power of the Moorish merchants and expel them from Calicut.<sup>225</sup>

Almeida after erecting a fort at Anjediva and leaving a garrison of 80 men as well as two ships, reached Cannanore where arrangements were made for the erection of a fortress. At the arrival of Almeida at Cochin Unni Rama Koil Thirumulpad who had welcomed the Portuguese in 1500, had already given up the throne and accepted the titular dignity of *Perumpadappu Moopil* and retired into religious seclusion owing to old age according to the tradition in the royal family.<sup>226</sup> The heir apparent was the eldest male member of the matrilineal descent in the family. But he and the next heir apparent were closely allied with the Zamorin. Hence *m Perumpadappu Moopil* was reluctant to install either of them on the throne of Cochin. The Portuguese Viceroy had to interfere in the dispute and encouraged the *Perumpadapu Moopil* to supersede the heir apparent and enthrone a more docile prince. The traditional custom was violated and a prince namely *Ilayidathu Padimadinkal Koil* from the third lineage of the matrilineal family was installed as the Raja of Cochin by *Perumpadappu Mopil*. He was crowned on 31<sup>st</sup> October 1505, as Unni Rama Koil II (Prince ‘Nambiadara’ of Portuguese chroniclers) by the Portuguese Viceroy with a golden diadem set with jewels brought from Portugal.<sup>227</sup>

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224. The narration of the story of his death, eventhough poetic, was well-defined by Luis Vas de Camões, ‘*The Lusidas*’, trans. William C. Atkinson, *op.cit.*, Canto X, pp.223-24.
225. *Cartas*, tomo II, pp.272-334; See also Castanheda, Livro I, pp.208-211.
226. Faria e. Souza *.op.cit.*,p.102, See also R.S. Whiteway, *op.cit.*, p.107
227. *Ibid*; K.M. Panikkar, *op.cit.*,p.66; C.H. Coote, *The Voyage from Lisbon to India*, London , 1894,p.XXI

The young Raja was made to take an oath of fidelity and allegiance to the King of Portugal. The formula of coronation and investiture of the Raja of Cochin was stipulated by Almeida.<sup>228</sup> An annuity of 640 *cruzados* was also to be given to the Raja regularly from the Portuguese treasury as compensation for the loses suffered in connection with the war between the Zamorin and the Raja for the sake of the Portuguese.<sup>229</sup> The Raja of Cochin keen on freeing himself from the bondage of Zamorin readily accepted the vassalage of the King of Portugal.<sup>230</sup>

In 1505 viceroy Almeida got permission from the Raja to re-build fort Manuel with stone.<sup>231</sup> On completion, it was a rectangular fort equipped with powerful cannons on the two corners by the side of the land where it had two-storeyed towers covered with lead sheets. The corner tower was connected by verandas below which there were spaces for merchandise and rooms upstairs for the captain of the fort, the chief *alcaido-mar* and garrison. The door was towards the shore side and loop holes were opened on walls of the first tower by the sea side and a copper plate was fixed with the date of construction of the fort. At the entrance of the fort there was a wooden bench fitted for the viceroy and other nobles to relax.<sup>232</sup>

After the completion of the main tower, the charge of the fort was entrusted to D.Alvaro de Noronha and the Raja of Cochin and his key officials were invited for the inauguration. Dom Francisco de Almeida then made the fort the seat of the Portuguese in the East.<sup>233</sup>

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228. Antonio de Silva Rego, *Documentação Ultramarina Portuguesa*, III, Lisboa, 1963, p.355.
229. K.S. Mathew & Afsal Ahamed, *Emergence of Cochin in the Pre-Industrial Era*, Pondicherry, 1990, p.IV; see also H. Gundert, *op.cit.*,p.79.
230. K.M. Panikkar, *op.cit.*,p.66.
231. Gasper Correia, *op.cit.*,tomo I,p.639.
232. *Ibid.*
233. Manuel de Oliveira Gomes Costa, *Descobrimientos e Conquistas*, II, Lisboa, 1929,p.17-20; F.C. Danvares, *op.cit.*,p.121.

The Viceroy was in charge of all Portuguese affairs – Military, Civil and Judicial (and to some extent ecclesiastical) in the *Estado da India*. He was assisted by a secretary and advised by a Council of State. Next to Viceroy was the superintendent of the royal treasuries (*Vedor da Fazenda* or treasurer) To each locality and fortress there was captain who looked after the military and civil administration of the place and a factor (*feitor*). Besides, there was a captain general (*Capitão –mar*) of the whole Indian ocean, captains of entire fleets and single ships. At the Manuel fort, the following were the other affairs during Almeida's period; a captain, a factor, a writer or secretary, a judicial officer, a surgeon, a linguist, a chief artillery officer, a door keeper, a superintendent of sentinels and members of the cathedral chapter and church officials.<sup>234</sup>

After the new fort built at Cochin and Cannanore and Portuguese control established in these areas, Almeida turned to his next mission of suppressing the Zamorin-Moorish threats increased by the aid from Egypt. The fleet sent by Almeida to resist the Islamic challenge under the leadership of his son Lourenco de Almeida against the joint forces of Bhahadur Shah, the Sultan of Gujrat, Sultan of Egypt and Nawab Malik Ayaz of Diu was failed in the Arabian sea.<sup>235</sup>

The death of Lourenco de Almeida in the combined attack of the Muslim troops had shaken up Dom Francisco de Almeida. He collected all the ships, men and artillery which were in his command at cochin and proceeded to North to take revenge on his son's death. On 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1509, Almeida come up with the united fleet of Muslims under Emir Husain and after

a violent battle which lasted the whole day in which slain 3000 Muslims and had a great victory, the Portuguese lost only 22 persons.<sup>236</sup>

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234. J. Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, Rome, 1948-84, Vol I, p.16.

235. K.M. Panikkar, *India and Indian Ocean; Being an essay on the Influence of sea-power on Indian History*, Bombay, 1971,p.21

236. H. Morse Stephens, *Rulers of India ; Albuquerque* , Oxford, 1892., p.38

### **Afonso de Albuquerque ‘ Governor**

The viceroyalty of Francisco de Almeida ended in 1509 eventhough he was reluctant to handover charge to Afonso de Albuquerque. Afonso de Albuquerque took charge on 5<sup>th</sup> November 1509 as Governor and Captain General of the Portuguese possessions in India. The political climate on the Kerala coast was favourable for realizing the colonial aspirations of Albuquerque. All the Hindu Rajas of the coastal kingdoms were then opposed to the monopoly of trade enjoyed by Muslim Arabs except the Zamorin of Calicut. The Portuguese governor was keen to maintain a candid relationship with the Hindu rulers. The policy followed was clearly manifested in the following statement made on behalf of Albuquerque by a Franciscan friar, Friar Luis, before the king of Vijayanagar:

The King of Portugal commands me to render honour and willing service to all the gentile kings of this land and of the whole of Malabar, and that they are to be well treated by me, neither am I to take their ships nor their merchandise, but I am to destroy the Moors with whom I wage incessant war.....And so I intend to drive out of Calicut the Moors, who are the people that furnish the Zamorin with all the revenue that he requires for the expenses of war.<sup>237</sup>

On the instigation of Portuguese Marshal Dom Fernnã de Coutinho, Albuquerque reluctantly made an attempt to capture Calicut.<sup>238</sup> Not only the attempt failed, but the Marshal and a number of *fidalgos* were killed and Albuquerque himself was wounded and forced to return to Cochin.<sup>239</sup>

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237. Braz de Albuquerque, ed., *The Commentaries of the Great Albuquerque, Second Viceroy of India, II*, London, 1877, pp.74-77 (hereafter Commentaries)

238. Manuel de Oliveira Gomes Costa, *op.cit.*, pp.11-12.

239. Shaykh Zayunud`-Din, *op.cit.*, p.58.

Albuquerque erected a rampart at Manuel Fort on the side where the ships anchored and made improvements to the fortress. In a strategic move Albuquerque conquered Goa on 25<sup>th</sup> November 1510 from the Bijapur ruler Yusuf Adil Shah, on the suggestion of Timmaya, a trader who assured that it will not affect the religious feeling of Hindus but even they will help Albuquerque in the venture. The conquest of Goa had tremendous impact upon all the sovereigns on the coastal western India. The Sultan of Gujrat and Zamorin of Calicut who had forged an alliance against the Portuguese, now sued for peace and sought an alliance with Albuquerque.

Albuquerque realized the imperial designs of his master, King Manuel, by the conquest of Goa and other ports on the Malabar coasts. Actually, it seems that the idea of an empire was forced on the Portuguese by the opposition they met with in following a commercial policy.<sup>240</sup> But Albuquerque was wise enough to realize that Portugal had no resources either in men or money to support an empire in the East. What he wanted was to establish a complete monopoly of trade with India breaking the Venice bound Moorish trade through the efficient sea-power of Portugal. Albuquerque knew that this could be realized only by capturing the key ports of Aden, Ormuz and Malacca. He captured Malacca in August 1511.<sup>241</sup>

By capturing the strategic commercial centres in the East, Portugal got complete command of the spice trade and eventually over the Chinese and Japanese trade.

Albuquerque occupied Ormuz in 1515, in the Red Sea and could disturb the Islamic trade system that was in operation in South Asia.

The establishment of trade settlements and fortresses at Ormuz, Diu, Goa, Cannanore, Cochin, Quilon and Malacca helped the Portuguese and checked the Morish trade

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240. Francisco a. Correia, *Consequencias Economicas dos Descobrimentos*, Lisboa, 1937, pp.63-68

241. *Commentaries*, , part III, chapters 22-28

considerably. This system of a chain of fortresses required regular military and naval force. Albuquerque could foresee the difficulties in maintaining these trade settlements without adequate men and money power.

Albuquerque knew very well the limitations of Portugal to supply men and money to maintain the trade centres on Malabar coasts as well as forts at Goa, Diu, Malacca etc. To overcome this situation, he decided on the plan of making mixed ethnic groups by his Portuguese men marrying the Indian women after converting them to Christianity and settle in the Portuguese enclaves and fortresses.<sup>242</sup>

Immediately after the conquest of Goa, Albuquerque wrote to the king informing him of what was happening in Portuguese settlements and the colonization by *Casado* settlers:

We look here some good-looking Muslim women, of white colour. Several of our men, well-born and gentlemen –like, asked them in marriage, in order to settle in this land. For that purpose they asked for money, and I had them married according to the orders received from your Highness, and each of them I have given a horse, a house, land and cattle.<sup>243</sup>

Albuquerque with an intention to lay a solid foundation to the Portuguese edifice had decided to allow his willing soldiers to marry the indigenous women, especially the

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242. Antonio de Silva Rego, *História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente, india*, Lisboa, 1947'58, pp.174-175 (hereafter SRH)

243. *Cartas*, p.27

good-looking and fair complexioned Muslim women, as Goan population during the period was dominated by Muslims under the Sultan of Bijapur.<sup>244</sup> By this act he could convert these Muslim women to Christianity as well as to marry them off to his soldiers and thereby could settle them in the Portuguese enclaves to look after the Portuguese interests. Every married soldier was exempted from military service and was permitted to take up any vocation he liked. The new class of married Portuguese men - the *Casados*, became part of the Portuguese population in their settlements.<sup>245</sup> The same policy he has introduced in Cochin also and the willing Portuguese men married several native women who became Christians.

The policy of Afonso de Albuquerque to encourage the mixed marriage, known as *Politica dos Casamentos* was successfully carried out and there were many *Casado* settlers in Cochin, Cannanore and Quilon as in the case of other Portuguese settlements. For many months, these inter-ethnic marriages were held in high esteem. Eventhough, the first response from Muslims and Hindus were not favourable towards marrying Portuguese people, when they found that the married women were treated well and enjoyed high social status, they changed their attitude. Albuquerque bestowed on such couples his greatest favours. The first set of Portuguese people who got married were of sailors, soldiers etc. and they were settled in Cochin, Cannanore, Quilon, Goa or elsewhere..<sup>246</sup>

The mixed marriages became a policy and practice of the Portuguese as part of their colonization scheme and so much taken the fancy of many men, that they were prepared to

settle in India and get married even without king's dowries or assistance. Albuquerque summed up the whole situation in these words:

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244. *K.S.Mathew, Portuguese Trade with India in the Sixteenth Century*, Nee Delhi, 1983, pp.215-16

245. *Casado* means married male Portuguese to Indian woman.

246. Gasper Correia, *op.cit.*, tomo,II, pp.159-60. Gasper Correia had been the private Secretary to Albuquerque in Cochin

These men who are already married have done a great deal of good, because the people of India see that we love their country, since they see our men planting trees, building houses, getting married and be getting children<sup>247</sup>

Afonso de Albuquerque must have considered the situation of Arabs who were married from Malabar and settled at Calicut and elsewhere from 8<sup>th</sup> century onwards and lived there for a definite period of the year and their role in the social scenario of this place. The Arabs married from Malabar exercised considerable influence over the trade and they had access to the native population through their wives and the facilities for more communications. The progenies of Arab mixed marriages in the port-towns of Malabar are called *Mappilas* and they have supported Arab trade. This aspect must have prompted Albuquerque to adopt a similar policy, coincided with his intention of strengthening the Portuguese trade centres with a set of people consistent in nature as well as faithful to the King of Portugal.

Political authority in Kerala was fragmented and the society was compartmentalized with several occupational groups at eh time of Portuguese arrival on the Kerala coast. Contemporary records mention by name more than thirty chiefs, big and small. The *Kolathiri*, *Zamorin* and *Venattadi* were among the major chiefs, with the Zamorin occupying a place of

pre-eminence. Most of the lesser chiefs were in traditional subordination to one or the other major chiefs. These together with the frequent cutting up of land by innumerable streams and rivers confined the chiefs to their respective territorial pockets otherwise known as *Nadus*. It was to this typical feudal scene that the Portuguese came with interests, tactics and an ordnance, and a ruthlessness all hitherto unknown in Kerala. The inherent weakness

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247. *Cartas*, tomo I, pp.337-338

of the political system suited their schemes and their policy of playing one chief against the other chiefs like Perumpadapu (ruler of Cochin) and the Kolathiri (Cannanore) who had been smarting under the menacing insolence of the Zamorins, grabbed the new opportunity and became close allies to the Portuguese. These chiefs, who were kept away from West Asian contact by the Zamorin had been waiting for a commercial breakthrough, readily accepted vassalage under the Portuguese. The Portuguese were permitted to establish their fortified settlement at Cochin, Cannanore, Crangannore, Quilon and for a short while at Calicut also. The visionary Portuguese administrator Afonso de Albuquerque encouraged the Portuguese soldiers to marry native women with hope that their progenies would extend a helping hand for the continuity of Portuguese interests in India through generations. The new ethnic group or *mestices* as they are called continue to live in Kerala, though Indianised, with their own cultural identity over the last five hundred years.

### Chapter III

#### ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF LUSO-INDIAN COMMUNITY

We have seen that Afonso de Albuquerque could establish a favourable atmosphere at Malabar for the Portuguese people for their trade as well as to settle themselves peacefully after marrying native women. He could sign treaties not only with the Raja of Cochin, with whom the Portuguese maintained friendly relations always, but with the rulers of Quilon, Kolothunadu and other local Chieftans and even with the Zamorin of Calicut. The Portuguese forts at Cannanore, Calicut, Cochin and at Quilon and their settlements at these places become flourishing trade centres. At Cochin, the first headquarters of the Portuguese in India, their town of *Santa Cruz* and at Calicut the fort and the chapel of Virgin Mary of Immaculate Conception<sup>1</sup> became centres of their religious operations also.

As shown earlier, Albuquerque sponsored the mixed marriages of Portuguese men with Indian women with an intention of creating a community of people faithful to the Portuguese to carry on the trade as well as to maintain the *Estado da India Portuguesa*. It was also to be noted that Albuquerque wanted to raise a Luso-Indian ethnic group with a view to relieve the heavy drain of men from his small country. It was in these circumstances, Albuquerque introduced his policy of *Politica dos Casamentos*, with the consent of the King of Portugal.

Portugal, a small country could not afford to send women to India for colonization in those days. First, the difficulty of the dangerous travel by sea which took 6 to 8 months to reach India in the most unfavourable situation in ships. Especially, when we consider the fact that in 1621 of the twelve sail which left Lisbon, only one ship reached its destination, the other being forced back by contrary winds and weather.<sup>2</sup> This being the situation in the seventeenth century,

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1. Gasper Correia, *Lendas da India I*, Lisboa, 1858-64, pp.329-30



2. C.R. Boxer, *Mary and Misogyny, Women in Iberian Expansion Overseas, 1415-1815*, , Duckworth, 1975, p.63

one can very well imagine the travel in the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century through African coasts, facing the dangers of the new sea-route. The most daring and adventurous of Portuguese men were the first travelers to India and their admirable courage only made it possible to establish trade relations with Indians. The question of bringing women folk to India , to be more specific, to Kerala, where the Portuguese first landed and established themselves, was near to impossible in the early years of the sixteenth century.

Portuguese records throw light to the number of Portuguese women that emigrated to the East.<sup>3</sup> According to Germano Correia that the Portuguese crown tended to discourage women from going out to the Asian and African `conquests` (*Conquistas*, as the colonies were most commonly termed for centuries). It never passed legislation ordering husbands to cohabit with their wives on one or the other side of the ocean.. It seems that the expenses and the dangers of the long six to eight months voyage from Lisbon to India had reasoned it . The average male emigrant to the East could not have afforded to take his wife or daughter to India without a monetary grant (*ajuda de custa*) from the crown. The impecunious Portuguese monarchs neither would nor could grant these on a lavish scale.. It has been a tradition in Portugal that the man usually emigrates alone, even to places as relatively close as Brazil.<sup>4</sup>

In any account, whatever the reasons the number of Portuguese women emigrating to the East was very low in comparison with that of the men, despite Dr.da Silva Correia`s claims to the contrary.

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3. Germano da Silva Correia, *História do Colonaização Portuguesa na Índia*, Vol II, Lisboa 1960, p.27.;C.R. Boxer , *op.cit* n 2, Boxer observes that Dr.da Silva Correia`s findings are erroneous regarding the number of Portuguese women actually landed in India , by quoting the number of ships actually reached India.

4. C.R. Boxer, *Ibid.*,p.65

It was beyond doubt and reasoning that during the first 10 years at least practically no Portuguese women could reach India. Especially, in the first phase of the Portuguese encounter with the Indian people and more specifically with the people of Malabar, Luso-Iberian damsels could not have accompanied their husbands or fathers.

Whatever be the ideas and aspirations of the Portuguese in their first steps of trading with the Malabar coasts, the development of their initial settlements came more as a national phenomena resulted out of necessity. When the procurement of pepper and other spices were from the area belonged to the Raja of Cochin, naturally the Portuguese found the port of Cochin the most convenient place to settle and no wonder Cochin became the first headquarters of the Portuguese State of India ( *Estado da Índia Portuguesa* ). The settlement , fort and trading posts at Cochin, the hexagonal fort at Palliport (Vypin), the St.Thomas fort at Kottapuram (near to Crangannore), the fort and settlement at Calicut, fort (St.Angelo) and settlement at Cannanore and down south at Quilon, the fort (St.Thomas) and settlement (Thankasserry) were the earlier enclaves of the Portuguese.

Each Portuguese enclave with the various ranks of officers to fight and protect the place, intermediaries to negotiate trade matters, persons of lower ranks to look after the maintenance of the fort , priests to look after the religious needs and for evangelization of the people etc. slowly began to develop into large settlements accommodating quite a number of people.

Soldiers and artisans married after reaching India were allowed to leave the royal service and settle down as citizens or traders, being them termed *Casados* or married settlers.

Very few Portuguese women came to India comparing to men. There would seldom be more than a dozen or so women in a ship which might carry hundreds of males. Moreover, if the evidences of several contemporary chroniclers are to be trusted, few of those whiter women who reached India proved fecund in childbearing.<sup>5</sup>

### **Approach of the Portuguese towards non-Europeans**

The background of the people of Portugal towards racial purity was something strange or to some extent `liberal`. For historic reasons or perhaps the circumstances and past experiences the Portuguese people had gone through, shaped their liberal approach towards mixing with other ethnic groups. The Portuguese were under the domination of Spaniards and Moors for several centuries and conjugal blood admixture was common.

Of all the peoples of Europe the Portuguese were the least affected by ideas of `racial purity`. To some degree this may have been due to the fact that they had no hesitation for assimilating the various invaders who, over the early Christian centuries, swept through the Iberian peninsula-the Vandals and Visigoths before the beginning of the eighth century and the Muslim Arabs of the Hammayad dynasty thereafter. It was not till 1249, only, two hundred and fifty years before da Gama landed in India, that the most southerly province of Portugal, the Algarve, was cleared of Moors.<sup>6</sup> As the Moorish conquerors were driven south, immigrants had to be brought in to populate the devastated areas, and, because of the Portuguese royal family's Burgundian origins, it is not surprising to find a steady influx of Flemings.

More pertinent to our present study was the ready acceptance by the Portuguese of the policy initiated by Prince Henry the Navigator of promoting marriages between the

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5. C.R. Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial empire, 1415 – 1825*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1963, p.58.

6.. C.R. Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion 1415-1825* Johansburg, 1961, p.3, According to Boxer `The long Moorish domination in the Peninsula had accustomed many of the Christian inhabitants to regard.....the brown Moorish women as enviable type of beauty and sexual attractiveness`

Negro captives brought home from west Africa and native Portuguese. As Whiteway remarks, 'The Portuguese have shown an alacrity not found in other European nations to mix their race with others differing entirely in status from themselves' <sup>7</sup>

The Brazilian historian, Gilberto Freyre, <sup>8</sup> has developed a most interesting theory of what he calls a 'Luso-Tropical' culture – a synthesis of Portuguese with native Indian culture of Brazil. Although Freyre's main thesis is concerned with Brazil, many of his arguments are equally applicable to tropical countries in other parts of the world. He explains the approach of the Portuguese for warm climates in the following passage: "In the hot lands overseas the Portuguese found, exaggerated or intensified, colours, forms of womanhood and countryside, tastes, that they already knew, in a less intense manner, less vivid, less cruel in the Portuguese regions marked by the presence of the Moors". <sup>9</sup> He goes on to deduce from this certain conclusions which are worthy of consideration: "This is the explanation why the Portuguese, who at the end of the fifteenth century, had become a tropicalist, has never been a European perverted by false notions of 'albinsme' by the tendency to associate the idea of white people with a 'superior' culture and black, dark or brown people with the idea of an 'inferior' culture"<sup>10</sup>

Boxer is inclined to question the complete validity of the Portuguese claim to freedom from colour-consciousness, although he admits that it was the continuous policy of the Crown. He quotes Linschoten on the "filthy pride and presumptuousness" of the Portuguese in Goa<sup>11</sup>, but himself elsewhere relates how Francisco Lopes Carrasco, a

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7. R.S.whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India 1497 -1550*, New York, 1969, reprint ,p.17 ; C.Nowell, *A History of Portugal*, New York, 1952, p.19, states that in 1550 negro slaves constituted ten per cent of the population of Lisbon.

8. G.Freyre, *Le Portugais et Les Tropiques*, Lisbon, 1961.

9. *Ibid.*, p.57

10. *Ibid.*

11 C.R..Boxer, 'The Portuguese in the East 1500-1800', *Portugal and Brazil: An Interaction*, ed.H.V. Livsmore, Oxford, p.203

Goanese of Eurasian origin, was appointed Captain and “ouvidor” (i.e. Chief Justice) of Macau in 1622.<sup>12</sup> Similarly, he refers particularly to the colour prejudice of the Church<sup>13</sup>, yet Fr. Domingo Godines de Eredia, brother of Dom Manuel Godinho de Eradia Aquaviva (whose account of Malacca is one of the most valuable contemporary accounts of life in the Portuguese colony at the beginning of the seventeenth century)<sup>14</sup> was Master of the School attached to the See of Malacca. Their father Juan de Eredia, was a nobleman who incurred the grave displeasure of the King of Portugal for smuggling his Bugis bride aboard ship when it sailed for home. It is significant that the displeasure was not occasioned by the bride’s native origin, but by the wrath of her princely parent (whom the Portuguese did not want to offend) at her kidnapping.

The answer seems to be that there were individual Portuguese who were more colour-conscious than others, but this does not detract them to accept and absorb substantial portions of the culture of the lands in which they settled. The result was that the Portuguese abroad never tried to insulate himself from the society around him, as for example, the English, French, Dutch, and the Spaniard, did. There was no stigma of “letting the side down” if the dusky maidens of the new land were willing to share his couch. He sampled the cuisine of the country, and providing it pleased his palate, adopted it. Even in the matter of clothing, he was perfectly willing to hang his shirt outside his breeches if this could be proved more suitable climate. Although he was as proud as the French man of his country, he had no desire to “Lusitanise” the natives as the French felt obliged to Gallicise their colonies. The only part of the local culture which he was not prepared to sample or accept was religion, but, even here, although the Portuguese liked to look upon their overseas expansions as a crusade

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12. Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East 1550-1570*, Hague, 1948, p.66

13. Boxer, *op.cit.* n.11, p.204

14. Manuel Godinho de Eredia, . . *Eredia’s Description of Malacca, Meridional India and Cathay*, translated and edited by J.V. Mills, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Malaya.*, Vol. XII. Part 2, April 1930., pp.1 -288.

against Islam, they were not forceful proselytizers; in Malacca, for example, missionary work was practically non-existent before the arrival of St. Francis Xavier in 1545, and even then it was only half-heartedly supported by the authorities, much to the disgust of the missionaries.<sup>15</sup>

On the subject of colour contemporary accounts provide some very interesting comments. Eredia, for example, in his *Description of Malacca, Meridional India and Cathay*, says “In Meridional India we find the same variety of races, white, brown and black, as is found in Europe, Asia and Africa. The white people resemble the Sapaniards; they wear red tunics”<sup>16</sup> Eredia was, of course, himself descended from a Bugis princess, so perhaps he may be credited with Catholic tasks as to colour. Tomé Pires, however, was pure Portuguese, and in his *Suma Oriental* we find this description of the Persians; “(They) are men of our colour form and feature. There is no doubt that those who wear the red cap (i.e. of Sheik Ismail) are more like the Portuguese than like people from anywhere else”.<sup>17</sup> About the people of the Deccan he remarks; “This kingdom contains many white people”<sup>18</sup> and later “The man who has the most white men in his kingdom is the most powerful”<sup>19</sup>

Tomé Pires was Portugal’s first Ambassador to China, and he reported; “The people of China are white, as white as we are....They are rather like Germans (The *Suma* would undoubtedly not have been Hitler’s favourite reading) ..They wear very well-made French shoes with square toes. The women look like Spanish women...they are so made up that Seville has no advantage over them...They are as white as we are, and some of them have small eyes and others large, and noses as they must be”.<sup>20</sup>

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15. C.R.Boxer, *op.cit.*, n.11, pp.200-201.

16. Eredia, *op.cit.*, p.65.

17. Tom Pires, *Suma Oriental of Tom Pires, An Account of the East from the Red Sea to Japan Written in Malacca and India in 1512-1515*, trans. & ed. Armando Corsetão, London, 1944, , Book II, p.23.

18. *Ibid.*, p.48.

19. *Ibid.*, p.52

Duarte Barbosa visited most of the Spice Islands. Of the Javanese he reported; “The ladies are white and very pretty in figure and of pleasing countenances though rather long; they sing well, are polished in manner, and are very industrious workwomen”<sup>20</sup>. Barbosa describes the Chinese as “white men, tall, well-made and gentlemen; and so likewise are the women.....They are very smartly dressed.....They have a language of their own, and the tone of it is like that of the Germans. ”<sup>21</sup>

It would be unwise, however, to surmise that beauty varied in Portuguese eyes in proportion to the colour of the skin. Barbosa says of the Maluquese that “they are very wretched, and worth little. They are very beastly, and of a brutal mode of living; they do not differ from animals in their customs but only in possessing the human face. They are *whiter* than other races of these islands...”<sup>22</sup>

As regards the Malays he has this to say; “They are well set-up men and go bare from the waist up but are clad in cotton garments below.....Their women are `tawny-coloured`, clad in very fine silk garments and short shirts (decorated with gold and jewels). They are very comely, always well-attired, and having very fine hair....” , and at a later stage he adds:”They are polished and well-bred, fond of music and given to love”<sup>24</sup>.

The Portuguese could not be described as cold-blooded either, and Albuquerque was very much in favour of establishing a permanent colony, with ties that would bind the soldiers and the artisans to the newly-acquired possession. The garrisoning of this far flung

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20. *Ibid.*,p.116.

21. BDB, p.198.

22. *Ibid.*, p.205.

23. *Ibid.*,p.227.

24. *Ibid* ,p.176

outpost was beyond Portugal's resources; the settlement of colonies of Portuguese families would not only have been impracticable, but perhaps unwise, for the exile who feels himself an expatriate seldom fits happily into a foreign environment. Albuquerque's dream was not merely of a chain of Portuguese forts, but of an infusion of Portuguese blood in each of the colonies, which would raise up a generation loyal to the Mother Country and proud of its glory, but bound by bonds of kinship and affection to their land of adoption. It was the plan he had implemented in Cochin and Goa against the opposition of some *fidalgos* and church men; it was the plan he was determined to encourage in Malacca.

The sexual interaction and Portuguese tolerance had created a uniquely harmonious situation, a Luso-Indian culture. This situation deriving from Muslim-Christian interaction and interbreeding in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and continued by Prince Henry. Certainly there was mixing during the centuries of Muslim rule, and indeed after the reconquest. We would expect to find this most in Algarve, the southern and most Muslim-influenced area of Portugal, and indeed it seems that many Portuguese who went to India were from here and so probably had some Muslim 'blood'<sup>25</sup>. Bulk of the Portuguese who arrived in India, being urban poor or peasants, and thus much less firmly grounded in Portuguese high culture, would be more flexible, tolerant and open when confronted with fellow peasants, who happened to be Indian, and with whom a Portuguese peasant could feel some bonds of commonality on both social and class criteria<sup>26</sup>.

Slave trade was one of the important factors of Portuguese trade with Asian countries. Besides, the Cape route made it necessary for the Portuguese to embark in Mosambique, collect food and water and also the man-power in the form of Negro slaves – both men and women. There was a diaspora of slaves all over the various Portuguese pockets in India, viz

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25. M.N.Pearson, *The Portuguese in India*, Cambridge, 1987, p.104

26. *Ibid.*, p.104.



Bassein, Bengal, Cannanore, Cochin, Daman, Diu and Goa <sup>27</sup>. Even the *Santa Casa da Misericordia* bought slaves for the institution <sup>28</sup>. These slaves were engaged in the houses of the Portuguese chieftains and slave girls were freely used for the sexual exploitation even though the Church authorities were against this practice. Even the *fidalgos* were indulged in finding pleasure with slave girls <sup>29</sup>. In the background of passion for African women for the Portuguese, the approach of many Portuguese men towards African slave girls have to be evaluated. Nevertheless, the Portuguese stressed fairness of skin as an important part of female beauty.

Albuquerque encouraged his soldiers to marry 'fair' Muslim women of Goa. St. Francis Xavier while urging the *casados* to marry their local concubines, drew the firmest of colour lines <sup>30</sup>. When the concubine was dark in colour and ugly featured, he employed all his eloquence to separate his host from her. He was even ready, if necessary, to find for him a more suitable mate <sup>31</sup>. Albuquerque was famous for his encouragement of marriage between his troops with local women, but we should remember that this did not include marriage to local Malabari women, whom he considered to be 'black', and neither chaste or comely. He meant marriage to Muslim women, who were 'white and virtuous' <sup>32</sup>. But in practice his instructions were ignored after his short spell in power in the Portuguese India.

The Portuguese men who came to India, basically had the choice between celibacy and a relationship with a local women; they overwhelmingly chose the latter. The Viceroy, captains and some Portuguese merchants who prospered in Asia returned to Portugal. But the vast majority, the *casados*, married locally and either through choice or

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27. Jeanette Pinto, *Slavery in Portuguese India 1510-1842*, Bombay, 1994, p.33.

28. *Ibid.*, p.45

29. *Ibid.*, p.68

30. M.N. Pearson, *op.cit.*, p.101

31. G Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier, His Life, His Times*, Vol II, 1541-45, Rome, 1977, p.228

32. Jeanette Pinto, *op.cit.* p.105

lack of means never returned to Portugal<sup>33</sup>. They have settled first near to the Portuguese forts in coastal towns. In later periods these *casados* engaged in trade, many became prosperous merchants. Their progenies continued their tradition. With the establishment of churches near Portuguese settlements, the *casados* and their children became part of the parish attached to the settlement. Their descendants carried their trade and this community established well in the coastal towns. There is a clear contrast here with the later Dutch and British, who saw themselves only as sojourners in India or Asia<sup>34</sup>.

In finding out the reasons for the persisting Portuguese influence even today in the erstwhile Portuguese colonies, C.R. Boxer finds the following answer: “The Portuguese, with all their faults, had struck deeper roots as colonists, and so they could not, as a rule, be removed from the scene simply by a naval or by a military defeat, or even by a series of such defeats”<sup>35</sup>

### **Albuquerque`s Policy of Mixed Marriages**

As mentioned earlier, Albuquerque could foresee the limitations of Portugal to maintain the trade centres and the chain of forts in Indian coasts, Malacca and other places. Portugal could not have afforded the heavy drain of people on his small country and it is in these background he introduced the policy of *Politica dos Casamentos*. It was described as the shrewd diplomacy Albuquerque shown through the marriage alliances of Portuguese men with native women. It is also to be noted that the Portuguese men at the coastal trade centres in India and elsewhere were having affairs with native women and Negro slave girls, out of wed-lock, which was a matter of concern for the Portuguese Governor in India. Albuquerque had informed the Portuguese king about the situation of Portuguese

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33. M.N. Pearson, *op.cit.*, p.105.

34. *Ibid.*, p.104.

35. C.R. Boxer, *op.cit. n. 6*, p.54.

soldiers in Cochin and Goa and the necessity of legitimate marriage bonds between the Portuguese men with native women.<sup>36</sup>

Albuquerque's policy of colonization is unique in the history of the Europeans in India; it has been far reaching in its results and has profoundly influenced the present condition of their Indianized descendants. His notion of an Eastern Empire differed entirely from that taken in subsequent centuries by the English.

He had no horror of mixed marriages, no apathy towards half-castes. On the contrary, he was enthusiastic to create an ethnic group of *mestices*. When Goa was taken for the second time he tried to induce as many Portuguese as possible to marry native women, and especially the wives and daughters of the Mohammedans who were killed. He presided at these marriages himself, and gave dowries to couples married as he desired. The class he particularly encouraged were the soldiers and artisans, who had been sent out from Portugal as ship-builders, rope makers and workmen in the arsenals and dockyards. He was also keen in inducing his gunners to marry native women.

His aim in this policy was to form a population which should be at once loyal to Portugal and satisfied to remain in India for life. Officers indeed might expect to return to the fatherland, but the Portuguese of inferior ranks were too valuable to the *Estado* be allowed to escape. In all it is estimated that about 450 Portuguese were married to native women before Albuquerque left for Malacca.<sup>37</sup>

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36. *Cartas I*, p.26-29, Letter of Albuquerque dated 22<sup>nd</sup> December 1510, from Goa, 29; letter dated 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1513 (about Cochin and Cannanore) (published *Ibid, I*, 181-198); letter dated 4<sup>th</sup> December 1514 (from Goa) (published *Ibid, I*, 337-338).

37. H. Morse Stephens, *The Rulers of India, Albuquerque*, Oxford, 1897, reprint, New Delhi, 2000, pp.152-154.

A quaint account of Albuquerque's colonizing policy is given in the *Commentaries*:-

‘Those who desired to marry were so numerous that Afonso de Albuquerque could hardly grant their requests, for he did not give permission except for men of proved character, to marry. But in order to favour this work, as it was entirely of his own idea, and also because they were men of good character and had deserved by their good services that this privilege should be granted to them, he extended the permission to marry far beyond the powers which had been assigned by King Emmanuel, for the women with whom they married were the daughters of the principal men of the land. And he granted this favour, among other reasons, in order that when the Hindus observed what he did for their daughters and nieces and sisters they might with better willingness turn Christians; and for this reason he would not suffer any of the women to be enslaved, but ordered that they should be all taken away from the masters who had possession of them; and he divided among the married ones the lands, houses and cattle and everything else that there was, to give them a start in life; and if the women whom he thus gave in marriage asked for the house which had been in possession of their fathers on their husbands, he ordered that these should be so given, and therein they found many jewels and gold pieces which had been hidden underground and abandoned when the city was captured’.<sup>38</sup>

“ The marriages of Portuguese men to native women had already been sanctioned by Don Manuel but this privilege was only to be conceded to men of proved character who had rendered good services. Albuquerque, however, extended the permission to many far beyond what he was authorized to do, and he took care that the women so married were the daughters of the principal men of the land. This he did in the hope of inducing them to become Christians. To those who were married Albuquerque allotted lands, houses and cattle so as to give them a start in life.”<sup>39</sup>

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38.. *Ibid.*, pp.41-42

39. Edger Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol II – C to J, AES New Delhi, 1987, p.234.

It has been claimed that the Raja of Cochin arranged the marriage of a Portuguese officer with a Namboothiri lady.<sup>40</sup> Even in Crangannore, there were living, a hundred *casados*<sup>41</sup> towards the close of sixteenth century.

It has also been pointed out that when Afonso de Albuquerque returned victorious after capturing Malacca, he brought from there 400 women converts whom he had destined to be spouses of his soldiers and that he founded Public Schools for educating and sheltering those Malaccan women. Those Mongolian features among the descendants of the Portuguese have to be presumed to have been born out of such inter-marriages.<sup>42</sup> Incidentally, still in the interior villages of Kerala, and also in the suburban islands of Cochin where the Portuguese descendants were forced to flee and settle down soon after the Dutch invasion in 1663, we can see Luso-Indian women in *Kebaya* (a Malaccan dress for women) even today. . Many of them still are with lots of Mongolian features.

There are evidences regarding the marriage of Portuguese men to Indian women at Cochin, Cannanore, Goa etc. The documents also show the number of children born out of these marriages, the number of these children studied in the Portuguese *escola* at Cochin etc. Document No.107 ((dated 27<sup>th</sup> November 1514, Cochin) shows the names of the children with the names of their Portuguese fathers.<sup>43</sup>, Document No.110 (dated 20<sup>th</sup> December 1514, Cochin) gives the names of women and their Portuguese husbands.<sup>44</sup>

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40. Stephen Padua, A Peep Into History, *Anglo-Indian Association Souvenir*, Cochin, 1975, p.66; Also his article 'Anglo-Indians', in *Kerala Charithram*, ed. P.S. Velayudhan, (Mal.) Vol. I, Chapter 31, Cochin, 1973, pp.1170-1192

41. *Ibid.*, p.66; also BNL, FG, 536, ff 1-29, *Noticias do Rayno do Malabar*, India Office Library, Mss, *Noticias da India*, Vol.I, p.225.

42. *Ibid.*, p.66; STVIDA, 23, Centro De Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos Portugal, Abril 1968, Lisboa, pp.80-85.

43. António da Silva Rêgo, *Documentação para História das Missões do Padroado do Oriete, India*, Lisboa, 1947-58, Vol.1, p.222. (hereafter SRD)

44. *Ibid.*, p.232.

Document No.111 (20<sup>th</sup> December 1514 (1) , Cannanore) mentions about the Portuguese *Casados* at Cannanore , their Indian wives and children .<sup>45</sup> , Document No.113 (27<sup>th</sup> December 1514, Cannanore) shows the report of the Portuguese *Casados*, their wives and children residing at the settlement of Cannanore. <sup>46</sup>, Document No.133 ( 25<sup>th</sup> September 1516, Quilon ) throw light to the Portuguese settlement and Church of St.Thomas at Quilon. <sup>47</sup>, Document No.5 (Vol 2) 10<sup>th</sup> October 1523, Cannanore) contains mention of the Portuguese settled at Cannanore fort and their children. <sup>48</sup> Document No.6 (Vol. 2) 10<sup>th</sup> October 1523, Cannanore) gives information about the Portuguese *Casados* at Cannanore and of their native wives and children. <sup>49</sup>, Document No.7 (Vol.2) 28<sup>th</sup> December 1523, Cochin ) also contains mention of the Portuguese *Casados* and their native wives stayed at Cochin. <sup>50</sup>, Document No.5 (Vol. IV-2) 20<sup>th</sup> January 1548, Cochin) St.Francis Xavier mentions about the Portuguese, their wives and children. <sup>51</sup>

From the above , it is clear that , by the first quarter of sixteenth century, the formation and existence of a community emerged out of the mixed marriages of the Portuguese men with Indian women. They are otherwise called Luso-Indians by other European colonists.

### ***Santa Casa da Misericordia* and the Orphan Girls from Lisbon**

Afonso de Albuquerque had founded an institution named “Sodality of Our Lady, Mother of God, Virgin Mary of Mercy” (*Irmandade de Nossa Senhora Madre de Deus*,

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45. *Ibid, op. cit.*, p.240.

46. *Ibid.*, p.254

47. *Ibid.*,p.284

48. *Ibid*, Vol .2., pp.11-13

49. *Ibid.*, p.14-17

50. *Ibid.*, p.18-24

51. *Ibid.*pp.16-22

*Virgem Maria de Misericordia*) This institution was founded on the line of the Holy House of Mercy of Lisbon established in 1498. It was aimed at helping the poor, aged and disabled soldiers including the widows and daughters of the dead soldiers. The statute of the sodality was drawn on the lines of that of Lisbon.<sup>52</sup> The *Misericordia* played an important role in the social and religious life of the Christians in Cochin especially of Luso-Indians. This sodality was later named *Santa Casa da Misericordia de Cochin*. The functions of the *Misericordia* at Cochin is well-defined in Document No.52 dated 14<sup>th</sup> December 1527, Cochin<sup>53</sup> Its membership was open only to Portuguese men. Its functions included (a) Giving food to the hungry (b) Giving drink to the thirsty (c) Clothing the naked (d) Visiting the sick and the prisoners (e) Giving shelter to the weary (f) Ransoming the captives and (g) Burying the dead. These services were meant essentially to the members of the Christian community, including the converts.<sup>54</sup> The *Misericordia* had its own fund to carry out these pious works.

Married Portuguese men were the members of this institution. It had a governing board consisting of elected officials for a term of one year. The president was expected to be a man of repute, virtue, prudence and authority. Bishops, judges and other state officials become its presidents. The membership went on increasing from time to time.<sup>55</sup>

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52. A. Lourdinho Rodrigues, “*The Mercy House of Goa*”, , *Boletim do Instituto Menezes Bragança* ,No.96, 1971,pp.3-4.

53. SRD, Vol.2, pp.111– 115.

54. G. Havers . trans. *The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India*, II, London, Haklüt Society, 1892, pp.382-3.

55. B.S. Shastry , *Studies in Indo-Portuguese History*, Bangalore, , 1981, pp.69-70.

The Holy House of Mercy began to play a vital role in the social life of Cochin. King João III brought the House of Mercy under the royal patronage and ordered it to take up the burden of the orphan girls ( *Orfãs del Rei* ) sent from time to time from the orphanages of Lisbon, Oporto and Coimbra. They were provided with dowries in the form of minor government posts or small grants of lands for the men who would marry them in the Portuguese colonies.<sup>56</sup> The first batch of these orphan girls came to India by 1545 and the subsequent batches continued to come more or less regularly upto 1560 after which the dispatch of orphans was irregular and in some years no orphan girl was sent.<sup>57</sup> The responsibility of maintaining, sheltering and looking after the orphans fell upon the *Santa Casa da Misericordia*. They arranged the stay of the orphans with some honourable families in the city, giving them grant for maintenance till they were married.<sup>58</sup> At Goa also this was the arrangement made. In 1560 we find that the *Misericordia* distributed dowries among fifteen orphan girls whose fathers were in the service of the King in India and had died in war.<sup>59</sup> By a letter of 25<sup>th</sup> February 1583 the King of Portugal confirmed some captaincies of forts and clerical jobs in the conquered territories as dowries. And by another order dated 20<sup>th</sup> March 1559, he had ordered the use of 1% of the revenue deposited in the treasury for pious works which included distribution of maintenance money to widows and orphans of those who died in his service.<sup>60</sup>

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56. Historical Archives Goa (hereafter HAG), *Monções de Reino*, Mss in the DAAM, Codex No.28, fl.359, C.R.Boxer., *op.cit.* n 2, p.66

57. Alberto Carlos Germano Da Silva Correia, *História da Colonização Portuguesa na Índia*, IV, Lisboa, Agencia Geral do Ultramar, 1951,p.42; Boxer, *op.cit.* n 2., p.66.

58. Propercia Correia Afonso da Figureido, *A Mulher na Índia Portuguesa*, Nova Goa, Tipografia Bragança, 1933,p.50,

59. *Ibid.*,50- 51

60. *Ibid.*,4.



The Archbishop of Goa, D. Frei Aleixo de Menezes, wished to create an independent establishment for the widows and orphans. In a letter of 15<sup>th</sup> March 1597 the King asked the Viceroy to consider the request of the Archbishop for a House of Recluse (*Recolhimento*) for the damsels and married women who were abandoned by their husbands as well as for widows and old women. The King also opined in his letter that the Recluse Houses were better than the convents for women.<sup>61</sup> In fact there were requests from Archbishop and the religious to open convents for women in Portuguese settlements.

The orphan girls were given religious education. Besides, some useful crafts such as weaving, stitching, embroidery, tailoring etc. were taught. At the time of their marriage each girl was given as dowry of a maximum of 40,000 *reis* in cash or government posts for their would be husbands.<sup>62</sup> It was imperative that the orphans were married to *reinos* (pure Portuguese man). In a letter dated 21<sup>st</sup> March 1617 the king wrote to Viceroy Conde do Redondo not to take orphan girls and women from disreputable families into the Recluse House and the convent. The moratorium on low – bred girls was again repeated in 1634. He expressed his displeasure at boarding the women who were not from good families. He had expressed that the privilege to be entertained at these institutions were for the daughters of *fidalgos* or the daughters of *Cavaleiros* (knights) who died in war. And the dowry of offices were meant for them.<sup>63</sup>

The flow of orphan girls from Portugal began to decline after the 1st quarter of the 17<sup>th</sup> century due to the Dutch-Portuguese and Anglo-Portuguese rivalry. In 1617 only three orphan girls, namely Dona Maria Cabreira, Dona Cherubina Sampaio and Dona Antonio de Castro came to India. In 1623 the Dutch attacked a fleet of the Portuguese and carried .

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61. HAG, *Monções do Reino*, MSS in the DAAM, Codex No.2B, fl.365.

62. A Lourdinho Rodrigues, *op.cit.*,pp.6-8.

63. HAG, *Menções do Reino*, in the DAAM Codex No. 19 B, fls.422-3.

away three orphan girls to Surat where one of them named Dona Lucia was married to a wealthy Dutch merchant.<sup>64</sup> A wealthy widowed lady of Cochin, Dona Luisa da Silva, with an enormous slave-household, was famous for the charity with which she relieved the passengers and crews of outward-bound Indiamen when they arrived at that port suffering from scurvy and malnutrition.<sup>65</sup>

## Hospitals

It was in 1542 that the *Santa Casa da Misericordia* took the responsibility of running the hospital which till then depended on the Portuguese factory (*feitoria*) as well as the church. The Portuguese had opened hospitals and introduced colonial medicine in almost all their settlements. There were hospitals in Cochin, Cannanore, Chaul, Moçambique and so on.<sup>66</sup> Most of these early hospitals were run under the Franciscans. No women or slave or servant was admitted to these hospitals. The King through a letter of 1595 appreciated the work of the Franciscans and the Jesuits at the hospitals and advised the Viceroy to render necessary help to them and to take special care of the soldiers who were admitted there.<sup>67</sup>

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64. G. Havers, *op.cit.*, p.25.

65. Fernão de Queiroz, S.J., *Conquista Esperitual e Temporal de Ilha de Ceilão*, 1687 Colombo, 1916, p.433; Alberto Carlos Germano da Silva Coreia, *op.cit.*, vol.IV,p.433.

66. HAG, *Manções de Reino*, MSS in the DAAM, Codex 2B, fls.432, 432 V, Codex 3<sup>a</sup>, fl.258, Codex 3B, fl.464V.

67. HAG, *Monções do Reino*, MSS in the DAAM, Codex 46A, fl.85; Also see G.,M. Moraes, *A History of Christianity in India,I*, Bombay, , 1964, p.252

### The Port of Cochin and the City of Santa Cruz

The Cochin Port was formed only as late as 1341, when as a result of the heavy flood in the Periyar river, the mouth of the Cranganore port got silted and the pressure of the flood pushed the narrow strip of land to the sea and the new port of Cochin was emerged. When Pedro Alvares Cabral reached Cochin in 1500, and had his alliance with the Raja of Cochin, the Portuguese received, the area adjacent to the sea for the establishment of the Portuguese factory from the ruler of Cochin. The Raja granted the permission and also undertook the work at his own expense.<sup>68</sup> Many natives and the Portuguese, including Afonso de Albuquerque and his cousin Francisco de Albuquerque participated in the construction work.<sup>69</sup> In Cochin, there was no facilities to get stone, so a stronghold was constructed of large palisades and palm-trees, filled in with earth in the shape of a square, with flanking bastions at the corners, each mounted with ordnance pointing towards the sea to protect the fleet.<sup>70</sup> The fort was inaugurated on 1<sup>st</sup> November 1503 and named Manuel Fort, in honour of King Manuel of Portugal.<sup>71</sup> The first Portuguese Viceroy Francisco de Almeida who arrived in India in 1505 strengthened the fort with masonry walls and also equipped with powerful cannons.<sup>72</sup> This part of Cochin was made the seat of the Portuguese Viceroy by Francisco de Almeida.

Portuguese Cochin or the city of Santha Cruz of Cochin which evolved around the Manuel Fort continued to be the political capital of the *Estado da India* until it was transferred in 1530 to Goa.<sup>73</sup> Even after the transfer of the political establishments,

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68. Antonio Galvão, *Tratado dos Descobrimentos*, Porto, 1972, p.98

69. *Ibid.*, pp.97-9.

70. Gasper Correia, *Lendas da India*, Lisboa, 1858 -64 tom.I.Cap.IV, pp.393-5.

71. *Ibid.*

72. *Ibid.*, Cap.XV, pp.625-33; cap .XVI, pp.633-7.

73. Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos e a Economica Mundial*, Vol.III, Lisboa, 1982, p.34.

Cochin continued to be the commercial headquarters of the Portuguese in India. With the addition of many political and ecclesiastical institutions, it became an important urban centre in the East. Eventually, a significant portion of the newly developed urban parts of Portuguese Cochin was also fortified.<sup>74</sup>

The port of Cochin was outside the Portuguese city and was located in the territory of the king of Cochin by virtue of which he levied customs duties from the Portuguese traders.<sup>75</sup> The port was situated in the area between the present Mattancherry and Calvathy. The mouth of Calvathy river was a busy trade centre, and it was quite navigable for ships and *Patemares* (big wooden boats).<sup>76</sup> There was a very extensive and diverse network of water routes, which linked the port of Cochin with the socio-economic and human environment of the hinterland and with the exchange systems of other Malabar ports, as well as of the overseas ports. Eventhough it was mentioned a river, Calvathy was actually not a river but only a canal. The wide river which opens to the sea brings a large volume of water of the river Periyar, divided Cochin and Vaipein and connected the deep sea and the inland backwaters, served the purpose of a good harbour. This water passage gave good anchorage and safe shelter to the ships and vessels that came thither.<sup>77</sup>

The Portuguese and the Luso-Indians settled at Cochin were engaged in flourishing trade of spices after the establishment of the Manuel Fort. A mini port was existed at Portuguese Cochin and a jetty was constructed in 1590 for facilitating movements

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74. R.A. de Bulhão Pato, *Documentos Remetidos da Índia ou Livro das Monções*, Vol V, Lisboa, 1935, doc. 1072, pp.115-17ç doc.1169,pp.308-9.

75. K.S Mathew and Afzal Ahamad, *Emergence of Cochin*,Pondicherry, 1990 doc.53,pp.73'82

76. K..L. Bernard, *History of Cochin*, Cochin, 1991, pp.-5-9.

77. Francois Pyrard Laval, *The voyages of Francois Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Molucas and Brazil*, trans. Albert Gray, London, 1887,p.435.

in the port for the use of the Portuguese.<sup>78</sup> Many parts of the water front which were not fortified utilized by the *Casados* to dispatch their vessels for their private trade. As reported by Conde de Vidigueira in 1599, the *Casados* were strongly against the fortification of waterfront of Portuguese Cochin.<sup>79</sup>

### **Cochin de Cima and the City of Santa Cruz or Cochin de Baixo**

The areas occupied by the King of Cochin as his seat together with the Pazhayannor temple, the settlement of the local people as well the *paradesi* merchants with a market of their own, was known as *Cochin de Cima*.<sup>80</sup> (Upper Cochin). It formed the present day Mattanchery area. In *Cochin de Cima*, a fort was constructed to commemorate the victories of Duarte Pacheco over the Zamorin, and it came to be known as *Castelo de Cima de Cochin*<sup>81</sup>. Next to this fort was the church of *Reis Magos*, where the people who went for military service were given opportunities for worship and confession.<sup>82</sup> Many Jews and *Cristãos novos* or new Christians lived in *Cochin de Cima*.<sup>83</sup> As a unit reinforcing the city of Cochin, the fort of native Cochin was always under able leadership. Because of the strategic importance of the fort, located near the royal residence of the native king, nobles and bale

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78. K.S.Mathew and Afzal Ahamad, *op.cit.*, doc.56,p.87.

79. Biblioteca Nacional Lisboa, (Hereafter BNL) *Fundo Geral*, Cod.1976, Letter of the Conde de Vidigueira sent to Philip II in 1599, fols.158-9.

80. A.M. Mundadan, 'Town of Cochin and the Portuguee', in II *Seminario Intenacional da Historia Indo portuguesa, Actas*, Lisboa, 1988,p.705.

81. Antonio Bocarro, *Fortalezas, Cidades, povoações do Estado da India Oriental*, vol.II, Lisboa, 1992, p.203.

82. Gasper Correia, *op.cit*, tom.IV, cap.XVII,p.705.

83. ANTT, *Inquisition de Lisboa*, Proc.no.1292 de Luis Rodrigues de 1557, fols.80-5 and Proc.no.6369 de Maria Nunes de 1557, fols.55-6 and 62-5.

men like Tristão de Sousa,<sup>84</sup> Manuel Pereira Camelo,<sup>85</sup> and Antonio Rebelo<sup>86</sup> were appointed captains of the Castelo of the native Cochin.

The Portuguese city of Santa Cruz of Cochin lay on a triangular tongue of land that extended from the mouth of the Calvathy canal westward up to the seashore southwards along the coast for about a mile and a half in length and one mile in breadth.<sup>87</sup> It formed the present day Fort Cochin. *Livro das Cidades* written in 1582 mentions that this city with the fortress was situated along the banks of the river and was called *Cochin de Baixo*.<sup>88</sup> (Lower Cochin). The maps and plans of the city of Cochin of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries show that a small narrow river called *rio de estreito* ( which could be Calvathy canal ) flowed outside the city wall in a south-east direction to the outlet of the lagoons, separating the Portuguese Cochin from the native Cochin.

On the eastern side of the city of Santa Cruz or *Cochin de Baixo* was located the weighing place of pepper, probably because of its proximity to the port. Adjacent to it, stood the monastery of St. Augustine.<sup>89</sup> From east to north-west, along the water side up to the seashore were located the important establishments in the city such as the church of St. Sebastian, the fortress, the cathedral, the bishop's house, the hospital the

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84. ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. João III*, liv.42, fol.56. `Capitania de Castelo de Cima de Cochin; Carta á Tristão de Sousa` Lisboa, 5 de Março de 1530

85. ANTT, *Chancelaria de João III*, liv.9., fol.25, `Carta á Manuel Pereira Camelo, Palmela: 7 de Março de 1531.

86. ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Sebastião e D. Henrique*, liv. 17, fol.49 `Capitania do Castelo de Cima de Cochin: Carta á Antonio Rebelo` , Lisboa, 5 de Março de 1566.

87. K.P. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, Vol.I, New Delhi, 1982, p.167.

88. Francisco Mendes da Luz, *Livro das Cidades e Fortalezas que nelas há e da Importancia delles`*, in *Boletim da Biblioteca da Universiade de Coimbra*, Vol.XXI, Coimbra, 1953, pp.70-1.

89. see the plans of Cochin given in Luis da Silveira ed. , *Ensaio de Iconografia das Cidades*, Vol.III, pp.413-16.

church of St. Berthelomew (used by the German mercenaries), *Misericordia* and the Municipal Council Hall.<sup>90</sup>

Plans of the city show that there was on the eastern side over the *rio de estreito* (Calvathy Canal) a bridge connecting the fortified city of *Cochin de Baixo* with upper Cochin. Many Portuguese settlers, establishments, including churches of *Nossa Senhora de Graça*, St. Thomas and the leprosy centre St. Lazaros etc, grew up in the area outside the city walls. Meanwhile, on the northern side across the river, Portuguese settlers began to occupy<sup>91</sup> the southern tip of Vaipin island. It was soon incorporated into the intermediate zone of the urban Portuguese culture and had a good number of Portuguese settlers, a church and Bishop's residence<sup>92</sup>. As a result, the fortified city of Santa Cruz of Cochin together with the southern tip of Vypin and the north-western tip of land across *Rio de Estreito* developed as a unit of urban environment which was entirely different and distinct from the native Cochin.

### **Royal Charter on the Santa Cruz City of Cochin**

The Portuguese enclave as well as of Luso-Indian settlement of Cochin, was raised to the juridical status of a city by the King of Portugal John III, by a royal charter issued on 12 March 1527. It being the abode of many Portuguese citizens and their families, was brought on par with the Portuguese city of Evora and was given privileges and rights attached to a city.<sup>93</sup> When it was raised to the status of a city, Portuguese Cochin was given a new and unique status in the structure of the *Estado da India* and was to be administered not only by a captain, but by a council of aldermen elected from among the citizens.<sup>94</sup> Seeing that the city of Cochin was an effective means of linking the exchange

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90. *Ibid.*, pp.414-16.

91. *Ibid.*, The Bishop's house situated on the beach side of Vypeen was taken away by the sea at a later period.

92. *Ibid.*, Francois Pyrard de Leval, *op.cit.*, p.427.

93. K.S.Mathew and Afzal Ahamad, *op.cit.*, doc.1, pp.1-3.

94. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Political Economy of Commerce*, Cambridge, 1990, , p.142.

system of Lisbon with that of Cochin port, all the rights and privileges granted to it were confirmed and re-confirmed successively by the later kings and viceroys. Even though the political establishments of the *Estado da India* were shifted from Cochin to Goa in 1530, the original rights and privileges enjoyed by the city were retained and confirmed by Dom Sebastian, Dom Philip and by all the later viceroys as well.<sup>95</sup> The Portuguese authorities saw to it that the various privileges and rights of the city were sufficiently safeguarded and protected on the outbreak of any disturbance due to administrative deadlock. In 1551, the viceroy D. Afonso de Noronha asked the captains and other officials to respect the autonomy of the city of Cochin and not to encroach upon its privileges.<sup>96</sup>

### **Portuguese and the *Casados* at Cochin**

Lazarus Nurenburger who visited Cochin in 1517 wrote that in Cochin there were about 300 Portuguese houses.<sup>97</sup> Padre Sebastião Pires, the vicar of the church at Cochin had mentioned that there were about 10,000 to 15,000 Christians in Cochin in 1518.<sup>98</sup> The presence of non-Christian elements was also considerable. As early as 1510, there were about 3000 Nairs in the city, employed as daily wage workers in the service of the Portuguese. In 1525, there were 2,220 men in Cochin in the military service.<sup>99</sup> On 12 July 1527, Luis Martins from Portugal wrote that there were only 1000 men in Cochin and the number of married people were only 160.<sup>100</sup> Later, when the number of people arrived

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95. K.S. Mathew and Afzal Ahamad, *op.cit.* doc.6, p.18 : doc.24,p.38;doc.43,p.60; doc.70p.104; doc.81,p.120; doc.82,p.122.

96. *Ibid.*,doc.9,p.22.

97. Miloslav Krasa, Joseph Polisenesky and Peter Ratos ed. *European Expansion 1494-1519: The Voyages of Discovery in the Bratislava Manuscript*, Lyc.515/8, Prague, 1986,p.106.

98. SRD., Vol.I, P.340.

99. Rodrigo José de Lima Felner, ed., `Lambranças de Cousas da India` (Lambranças d`algumas cousas que sam passadas em Malaqua e assy outras partes da Imdea`), in *Subsidios para a Historia da India Portuguesa*, , Lisboa, 1868, pp.10-11.

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



from Portugal were increased, the number of married people living in Cochin increased considerably. By 1542, there were all together 15,000 Christians in the Cochin area of whom more than 300 were *Casados*, married and settled down in the city of Santa Cruz of Cochin.<sup>101</sup> By 1546, there were about 570 Portuguese residents in Cochin, out of whom 343 were married settlers.<sup>102</sup> The number of married Portuguese settlers rose to 500 by 1551.<sup>103</sup> The large increase in the number of orphans and church institutions indirectly hints that Cochin experienced a very high demographic growth during middle of the sixteenth century. Thus, we find that in 1584, the Christians in Cochin numbered about 15,000, of whom 10,000 were natives and the remaining 5000 Portuguese.<sup>104</sup> But the population of the *Casados* began to decrease considerably after 1611, when a good number of them shifted their base of activities from Cochin to the Coromandel ports and elsewhere, because of the tensions in the hinterland which caused a decrease in the flow of commodities from the hinterland to the port of Cochin. However, the *mestices* or mixed population emerged as a result of Luso-Indian marriages in and around Cochin in large numbers.

The population of the city was reduced to one –third by the end of the second decade of the seventeenth century.<sup>105</sup> By the 1630s, the number of *Casados* in Cochin was about five hundred: three hundred whites and the rest natives.<sup>106</sup> At the time of

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101. Mathias Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India*, vol.I, Bangalore, 1984, p.359.

102. Elaine Sanceau, *Colecção de São Lourenço*, volIII,p.321.

103. The letter of the viceroy written to the king dated 16 January 1551, in ANTT, *Corpo Cronologico*, II, Maço 242, doc.44.

104. M.N.Pearson, *Coastal Western India Studies from the Portuguese Records*, New Delhi, 1981,p.56.

105. Arquivo Historico Ultramarina Lisboa (hereafter AHU), *Caixas da India*, Caixa 2, doc.107. The letter of the city council of cochin sent to Philip II of Portugal giving an account of the economic condition of Cochin dated 21 December 1613, HAG, *Livro das Monções*, no.12 (1613-17), fols. 254-80, dated March 1617.

106. Antonio Bocarro, *op.cit.*,p.199.

Dutch conquest it was estimated that there were 900 old houses in the Portuguese quarter, though only 173 were actually inhabited.<sup>107</sup> After the defeat of the Portuguese by the Dutch and the Portuguese people were sent out of Cochin, the population in the city was about 8000 including 4000 *topasses*.<sup>108</sup> (the Dutch called the descendants of the Portuguese as *Topasses*). There were many other European traders and trade agents in this city such as the Italians and Germans. The German presence in Cochin, who came to this city as soldiers and traders, was good enough to form a separate church for them.<sup>109</sup> The city administration at Cochin was entrusted to a popular body called the *Senado da Camara* or the Municipal Council.<sup>110</sup> The married Portuguese male citizens and *Casados* could vote for and sit in the Municipal Council.<sup>111</sup>

Cochin being the first settlement of the Portuguese in India, commercial operations of the Portuguese, formation of municipal administration, with its various objects could be traced at this place. The role of the Raja of Cochin was very significant in the growth of Luso-Indians. The social set-up of the community emerged out of the mixed marriages, were quite evident in the colourful life of Cochin city. From 1500 to 1663, the 163 years long 'presence', rather than 'occupation' of the Portuguese and their descendants at Cochin and its suburban areas, left its indelible marks. And even today, the presence of the Luso-Indian community in and around Cochin is very significant.

### **The Social Strata of the Portuguese Settlement**

Afonso de Albuquerque wished the marriage of the Portuguese to be limited to women of high breed. He stressed that he did not want his men to marry the dark-skinned

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107. H.K. Jacob ed. *De Nederlanders in Kerala, 1663-1701*. Hague, 1976, pp.iii, liii.

108. Sanjay Subramaniam, 'Cochin in Decline' 1600-1650: Myth and Manipulation in the Estado da India', in *Portuguese Asia: Aspects in History and Economic History (Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries)*, ed., Roderich Ptak, Stuttgart, 1987, p.84.

109. SRD, doc.105,p.217.

110. M.N. Pearson, *op.cit.* n 104, p.52.

111. *Ibid.*,52-3.

women of Malabar.<sup>112</sup> But it is interesting to note that the Portuguese had no hesitation to cohabit and marry Negro slaves brought to Cochin from Mozambique and other African coasts in spite of the preferences stipulated by Albuquerque. The progenies of *Casado* settlers married converts from various Hindu castes. It is suggested that in the city of Cochin, the majority of women whom the Portuguese married seem to have been converts from Islam.<sup>113</sup> This suggestion may be accepted during the short span of Albuquerque's governorship. It is also a fact that most of the Muslim population deserted Cochin to the territories of Zamorin as early as 1521. Apart from this, there is no evidence for large scale Muslim settlements in Cochin. Conversion to Christianity was presented as a condition for the native women to get married to Portuguese men. Many women, as a result, sought baptism with a view to marrying Portuguese soldiers. In 1514, in the city of Cochin, about one hundred women including those of Muslim, Nair, Ezhava, Canarese, Gujarati and Brhamin origin, were converted to Christianity<sup>114</sup> and married to the Portuguese adding to the Luso-Indian population.

It is interesting to note here that Padre Alexander Valignano, the celebrated reorganizer of the Jesuit Mission in Asia, classified the population of the Portuguese-India (in the narrowest sense of term) as divisible into the following categories:- firstly, the European born Portuguese **Reinos**, (The white Portuguese nobility); these blue blooded Portuguese nationals occupied high positions such as Governors and Viceroy, Archbishop, Bishops, Captains, Judges and so on, they returned to Portugal after their term of office.<sup>114</sup> Secondly, the **Portuguese born in India**, of pure European parentage who were very few and far between; thirdly those born of a European father and native mother who were termed as **Castices**, fourthly, the progenies of Luso-Indian and native woman or **Mestices**, fifth and last, the native **pure breed Indian** and those with hardly a drop of European blood in their veins.<sup>115</sup> There

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112. SRD. Vol I, *op.cit.*, doc.106,pp.22-221.

113. Pius Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and Maritime Trade of India*, New Delhi, 2003, p.84.

114. SRD,Vol I, doc.110,pp. 232-9.

115. Garcia Jose Ignacia Abranches de, *Archiva da Relacao de Goa*, Part I, Nova Goa, 1872, Decree 589, dated 8th March 1634, p.448, Decree 602, dated 24th Feb, 1635.

were also the *Mulatos* , of Portuguese and African parentage. The *Mestices* (from the Portuguese word `Mestice` means mixed) or Luso-Indians were the majority inhabitants in a Portuguese settlement during the sixteenth century. The Luso-Indians became integral part of the Portuguese India as planned by Afonso de Albuquerque and they played a very prominent role in trade and in all other walks of life.

### **Economic Progress of Luso-Indians**

The Luso-Indian community of Cochin enjoyed special freedom to carry on their private trade. Because of the Portuguese origin and the connections through their Kerala wives , they had the facility and access to the locality and convenience for maintaining trade at Cochin and the near and far areas. The community of *Casados* consequently extended their influence both politically and commercially for setting up a trade syndicate for their own interests.<sup>116</sup> They exercised freedom in conducting trade with all Asian regions and on all commodities except the items reserved for royal monopoly. But they were also engaged in the trade of pepper, cloves and other spices all over Asia, which they conducted on most cases , with due permission and licenses. The maritime space between coastal India and South East Asia was the active area of their operation. They even had minor trade operations with Red Sea ports.

Even from 1510 onwards , Afonso de Albuquerque, who introduced the policy of mixed-marriage , encouraged the married men (*Casados*) to take up local trade as a means of livelihood.<sup>117</sup> The profit earned from this trade attracted the *Casados* to widen their sphere of activities and they organized themselves to protect their interest in the form of a syndicate known as `the Cochin Group` , for the purpose of opposing state intervention.<sup>118</sup> The king of

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116. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, `The Tail Wags the Dog or some Aspects of the External Relations of the Estado da India, 1570-1600`, in *Moyen Orient & Ocean Indien*, XVIe-XIXe. S.,no. 5, Paris, 1988.

117. R.S. Whiteway, *op.cit.*, pp.176-7.

118. Vitor Luis Gaspar Rodrigues, `O Grupo de Cochim e a Oposição á Afonso de Albuquerque, *Stvdia*, 51, Lisboa, 1992, pp.119''44.

Cochin as well as Lopo Soares de Albergaria, the successor to Afonso de Albuquerque allowed the *Casados* to continue their private trade. This new Governor demarcated a space east of Cape Comorin which was relatively free from state interference, for the trade of *Casados*.

The voyage of Fernão Peres de Andrade in 1515 to explore the possibilities of discovering Bay of Bengal and China<sup>119</sup> and other eastern part of Indian ocean along with Malacca, further favoured the *Casados* for widening their trade of Pepper and other commodities. The goods for trade were taken from Cochin to Bengal and other ports of the Gangetic delta in exchange of sugar, rice and textiles.<sup>120</sup> In 1518, D.João de Silveira sailed from Cochin to Bengal to explore commercial prospects in the Gangetic delta.<sup>121</sup> In 1522-3, Diogo Pereira, who was greatly associated with the private trade of Cochin, was moving about in Bengal and Pegu trying to open doors for the commerce of pepper from Cochin and procuring wares in exchange.<sup>122</sup> Diogo Pereira, once took from Cochin pepper along with copper and silk to Cambay and Chaul and he was paid 16000 *pardaos* in gold after sale.<sup>123</sup> In return diverse types of cloth, indigo, sealing wax and gold were taken to Cochin.<sup>124</sup> The white cloth of Cambay was in high demand for exchange for pepper, timber, areca and

119. Luciano Ribeiro, Document dated 26 March 1515 summarised in, *Registo da Casa da India*, vol.I, p.3.
120. Sanjay Subramnyam, 'Notes on the Sixteenth Century Bengal Trade', in IESHR, 24/3, 1987, pp.266-89.
121. Genevieve Bouchon and Luis Filipe Thomaz eds., *Voyage dans les Deltas du Gange et de l'Irraouaddy*, Paris, 1988, pp.56-60.
122. Luis Filipe Thomaz, 'Diogo Pereira, o Malabar' in *Mare Liberum*, 1993, pp.50-64.
123. *Cartas I*, p.197; Luis Filipe Thomaz, *A Viagem de Antonio Correia a Pegu em 1519*, Lisboa, 1975, p.36.
124. Adelino de Almeida Calado, *Livro que trata das Cousas da India e do Japão*, Coimbra, 1957, p.59.

other spices.<sup>125</sup> Some of this rice was again taken to the Maldives in exchange for coir and cowries.<sup>126</sup>

Horses were imported from Ormuz to Cochin by *the Casados*, though Goa was the main port of import for the horses from Arabia (2000 horses per year).<sup>127</sup> In 1533, D. João da Cruz with the due permission imported horses to Cochin to be taken to the fishery coast, Travancore and to the kingdoms of Chymbechenaque (Tumbhichi Nayak) and Betepermal (Vettam Perumal).<sup>128</sup> In 1546, Henrique de Sousa Chichorro says that the horses taken to Cape Comorin from Ormuz via Cochin did not yield much profit. So he asked permission to take suger, rice and lac from Satgão (*Porto Pequeno* of Bengal) to Cochin.<sup>129</sup> In 1547, it was noted that the *Ouvidor* of Cochin remarking that many *Casados* of the city were taking horses to Cape Comorin from Cochin for trade.<sup>130</sup> By 1568 the number of horses imported to Cochin from Ormuz for distribution in the kingdoms of south India created alarming situations in Goa, as it adversely affected the revenue of the latter.<sup>131</sup> In the circumstances the private trade was increased, the need for timber to build more ships increased in proportion. Luso-Indians of Cochin had begun to make use of large amount timber for the construction of their ships. In 1523, it was reported that wood for shipbuilding was scarce in Cochin as it was being purchased by the Portuguese who had planned to settle in India, live by their own trade and die here.<sup>132</sup> By the 1540s we find a lot of ships being

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125. Sanjay Subrhamanyam, *op.cit.*, n 108, p.63.

126. Gasper Correia, *Lendas*, tom.II,pp. 129-30.

127. ANTT, *Corpo Cronologico, I*, Maço 87, doc.2.

128. *Ibid.*,Maço 52, doc.25. *Chymbechenaque* and *Betepermal* were identified as the rulers of southern territories of the present Tamilandu.

129. Elaine Sanceau, *Coleção de São Lourenço*, vol.II, Lisboa, 1973-83 pp.347, 380, 391.

130. *Ibid.*,p.391.

131. J.H.da Cunha Rivara, *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, Fasciculo 3, New Delhi, 1992,p.14.

built in Cochin in the shipbuilding centres. The demand for more ships necessitated for the wars to rescue of Diu. Mostly, the *Fidalgos* participated in the wars while the construction of ships were entrusted with the Luso-Indians.<sup>133</sup> They wanted permission to build ships which was restricted because of the shortage of timber experienced in the royal shipbuilding centre.<sup>134</sup> About more than twenty different *Casados* were allowed in 1546-47 to construct ships in Malabar as a reward for their services to defend Diu.<sup>135</sup> With the possession of a large number of private ships at their disposal, the *Casados* extended their commercial operations to diverse fields.

Various reasons are identified for the emergence of the Luso-Indians in intra-Asian trade. The frequent attacks of Muslim vessels and the confiscation of their cargo by the Portuguese in the name of the *cartazes* (licence from the Portuguese after remitting the required fee) forced the Muslim traders considerably withdrawing from trade through the Indian ocean. This created a vacuum and the Luso-Indians traders could enter the place from where the Muslim traders withdrew.<sup>136</sup> It is to be noted that, during the early days of Portuguese establishment the Muslim merchants of Cochin especially Marakkars were their greatest allies and suppliers; this continued till the death of Afonso de Albuquerque.<sup>137</sup> The shifting of commercial operations of the Kutti Ali and Kunjali Marakkars to Calicut in 1524 and their subsequent fight against the Portuguese are part of the history.<sup>138</sup>

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132. M.N.Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujrat*, London, 1976, pp.37-9.

133. Antonio Baião, *Historia Quinhentista (inedita) do segundo cerco de Dio, Coimbra*, 1927, pp.296-333.

134. M.N.Pearson, *op.cit.*, n. 132, pp.37-9.

135. Antonio Baião, *op.cit.*, pp.296-333.

136. R.A. de Bulhão Pato, *op.cit.*, tom. I. P.306.

137. K.S.Mathew, *Portuguese Trade with India*, New Delhi, 1983, pp.100-6.

138. Shayak Zaynuddin, *op.cit.*, p.66; see also Faria y Sousa, *op.cit.*, Vol.I.p.284.

Also see, K.J. John "The Portuguese and Kunjali Marakkars; Myth and Reality", in *Winds of Spices*, eds., K.S.Mathew, Joy Varkey, Tellicherry, 2006, pp.103-116

The royal monopoly over the spice trade in Malacca and the Moluccas ceased to exist in 1533 and 1537.<sup>139</sup> This facilitated the Luso-Indians to earn huge profits by actively involving themselves in the Bengal-Malacca, Coromandal-Malacca and Cochin-Malacca routes.<sup>140</sup> Though one part of the commodities traded went to China and Japan, from Malacca a strong stream moved through the Luso-Indians to Cochin, from where some were taken to Portugal and the rest to Cambay and Ormuz for distribution in west Asia.<sup>141</sup> After the establishment of Macao in 1557, merchandise from China, especially finished goods such as porcelain, silk, lac, jewellery and minted brass began to be taken to Cochin and other Malabar ports with the help of the Luso-Indians.<sup>142</sup>

Indian textiles were taken in large volume for exchange in the Malay Archipelago, as the spices from South-East Asia were to be paid in textiles rather than in money.<sup>143</sup> The Luso-Indians took from Cochin pepper, ginger, coir, coconuts and various kinds of wares from China and Malacca to Diu, Surat and Chaul in exchange for raw cotton and textiles. The *Casados* who used to take pepper from Cochin to Bengal played a crucial role in the textile trade. Though some commodities were taken to Malacca, Cochin was the major outlet for the textiles of Bengal that came through the ports of Pipli, Chittagong, Satagon and Dianga.<sup>144</sup> By the 1540s, Bengal turned out to be the chief destination of the Luso-Indians who conducted licenced trade in pepper from Cochin.<sup>145</sup>

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139. Luis Filipe Thomaz, 'The Portuguese in the Seas of the Archipelago in the 16<sup>th</sup> century' in *Archipe1*, 18, 1984, p.76.

140. *Ibid.*, pp. 78-83; Sanjay Subramnyam, *op.cit.*, n 108, p.63.

141. *Ibid.*, pp.82-3.

142. Luis Filipe Thomaz, *op.cit.* n. 139, p.83.

143. Basilio de Sá, *Documentação para a Historia das Missões do padroado Português do Oriente'Insulindia*, vol. I, Lisboa, 1954, doc,20,p.132. See the letter of the captain of Ternate, Antonio de Brito, to the king dated 11 February 1523,

144. ANTT, *Nucleo Antigo*, no.808, fols.5-6.

145. ANTT, *Corpoo Cronologico*,II, Maço 240, doc.60.



The low customs duty collected by the native king from the Luso-Indians of Cochin also influenced in the increasing role of these people in trade. The dispute between the Portuguese officials at Cochin and the Cochin Raja regarding the collection of duty, was finally ended up by the decision of King John III on 24 February 1530 in favour of the Raja, after considering the fact that the Raja of Cochin was the owner of the port of Cochin.<sup>146</sup> Raja of Cochin, favoured the Luso-Indians by reducing the duty to 3% instead of 6%, to attract more trade. Besides, while all other merchants had to go first to Goa and pay 6% duty there and come to Cochin, the Luso-Indians were allowed to bring commodities directly to Cochin. The other merchants trickily evaded Goa by entering into side-deals with the *casados*, who used to bring their goods through the customs house, claiming ownership.<sup>147</sup> Making use of the economic freedom given to the Luso-Indians, some of them like Jácome de Olivares and his brother –in-law Diogo Vaz used to conduct trade in south East Asian commodities in Malacca, in exchange for cloth taken from Cochin.<sup>148</sup> Luis Rodrigues, another merchant from this group, had Malacca, Bengal, Coromandel and Ceylon as the major destinations of his commercial transactions.<sup>149</sup>

Eventhough, the Luso-Indians were always been a source of support and defense both economically and politically to the Portuguese administration in Malabar, there arose a conflict between the Luso-Indians and the *fidalgos*, whom the crown preferred, while distributing concessions and public offices.<sup>150</sup> The Luso-Indians and ecclesiastical dignitaries like Dom Jorge Temudo, the first bishop of Cochin, strongly opposed the mass

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146. K.S.Mathew and Afzal Ahamad eds. *op.cit.*, doc.53,pp.73-6.

147. M.N.Pearson, *op.cit.*, n. 104, p.55 ;

148. ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Proc.4516, fol.110çProc.4656, fol.110çProc.5265, fols.45, 55, 77.

149. ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Proc.12292, fols.4, 17-22,33,36-8, 42-3, 72, 77-9,82.

150. Luis Filipe Thomaz, “A Crise de 1565-1575 na Historia do Estado da India”, in *Mare Liberum*, Lisboa, 9 July, 1995, pp.503-8.9

reservation given to the *fidalgos*. The bishop wrote that India needed only two dozens of good *fidalgos* to be appointed as the governors and the captains. The rest, the Luso-Indians could manage themselves.<sup>151</sup> (This comment was made when he was the Archbishop of Goa in 1569) The crown felt it necessary to appease the Luso-Indians and made attempts to protect their trade from competition as well as to reserve some lines for their regional trade.

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By 1570 the Luso-Indians of Cochin had already become a powerful mercantile group with considerable capital resources and vast commercial network. The crisis which the *Estado* experienced during the years between 1565 and 1570 as well as the liberal policy which the crown followed during the contract-trade period (1570 – 97) had prepared a favourable atmosphere for the Luso-Indians. During the period between 1570 – 1600, they virtually turned Cochin into one of the biggest entrepôts of Asia. The important commodities taken from Cochin to the trade centres, situated on the eastern areas of Indian Ocean were, pepper, textiles, wild-cinnamon, flour, wine, olive oil, gun powder, almonds and dried grapes.<sup>153</sup> From Bengal the Luso-Indians of Cochin brought to this port large quantities of sugar, rice, textiles, long pepper, wheat, saltpeter etc.<sup>154</sup> Rice and other food materials during this period were in high demand not only in Cochin but in all other places in Kerala. On 17<sup>th</sup> May the *casados* brought to the city of Santa Cruz 900 *candis* of rice from Bengal and 500 *candis* from Pegu.<sup>155</sup> This transaction in rice was

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151. Joseph Wicki, “Duas Relações sobre a situação da Índia Portuguesa nos anos de 1568 e 1569” in *Stvdia*, no.8, Lisboa, 1961, pp.200-1.

152. Luis Filipe Thomaz, “Portuguese Control on the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal – A Comparative Study”, A paper presented in the Conference on Bay of Bengal, New Delhi, December 1994, p.27.

153. Pius Malekandathil, *op.cit.*, p.207; Also see, *Relação das Plantas & Descrições de todos as Fortalezas, Cidade e Povoações que os Portuguezes tem no Estado da Índia*, Lisbon, CMXXXVI, p.39.

154. *Ibid.*, pp.38-9.

155. BNL, *Fundo Geral*, 1980, ‘Livro das Despesas de hum Porcento’, fol.25.

conducted in exchange for the pepper taken from Cochin. This barter proved to be more profitable and rice was frequently brought to Cochin from these distant ports of Bengal and Pegu, as testified by the trade records of 1592 and 1597.<sup>156</sup>

The frequency of cargo ships that plied between Cochin and Bengal became considerably diminished in the seventeenth century due to the short supply of pepper from the hinterlands of Kerala. This was caused because of the tensions and troubles between the Portuguese and the cultivators and the threat from the Dutch that obstructed the routine trade. However, we find that customs revenue from ships of Bengal trade was relatively significant.<sup>157</sup>

The Luso-Indians continued their trade with the ports of the Coromandel coast during the last three decades of the sixteenth century especially to collect textiles and food materials. The shifting of the base of operation by them from Cochin to Coromandel coasts had a disastrous impact on the commercial activities and the urban life of Cochin, causing the fall of its population drastically. However, it seems that the Luso-Indians continued to maintain their trade with less frequency even during this period with the ports on Coromandel coasts. In 1644 they handled large quantity of cotton cloth, both white and coloured, to the various parts of the *Estado* including Cochin.<sup>158</sup>

With the liberalization of the spice trade in 1570, Malacca was proclaimed a free port and it was decreed that spice bought there should not pay duties or fees on being taken to Goa and Cochin.<sup>159</sup> The Luso-Indians of Cochin took advantage of this situation and the import of copper from Europe stopped by the end of the sixteenth century, the

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156. *Ibid.*, fols.12;40.

157. AHU, *Caixas da India*, Caixa 3<sup>a</sup>, doc.162, dated 23 Dec.1615.

158. *Ibid.*, Caixa 16, doc.34, fol.21, dated 12.2.1644.

159. Francisco P. Mendes da Luz, *O Conselho da India*, Lisboa, 1952, pp.73-4

*casados* entered in this trade, brought copper from China, which was used not only for the minting of coins and the manufacturing of weaponries, but also for the manufacturing of household utensils for the aristocratic families in south India, particularly in Kerala.<sup>160</sup>

As they conducted frequent commercial trips to Malacca and in 1588 for example, through their trade tactics, they controlled the price of the market to their advantage.<sup>161</sup> The role played by Malacca in the commercial life of the Luso-Indians of Cochin was so significant, that the city of Santa Cruz sent every possible help to defend the former, which was under threat. In 1589, the food supplies sent to Malacca by the city of Cochin with a view to defending its fortress was worth 16,700 *pardoa*s. The Luso-Indians paid this amount, entirely, though not directly from their own pockets, but from the one percent which the city levied on the commodities that reached Cochin.<sup>162</sup> Malacca was so dear to the settlers of Cochin that besides food supplies, a lot of money was collected from its traders to be sent to the rescue of the former. About 1356 *xerafins* were collected in cash from the Luso-Indians traders of Cochin, by way of one percent taxation, to help Malacca during the period between 1587 and 1598.<sup>163</sup>

China, into which penetration was made possible after 1560, via Macao and Malacca<sup>164</sup> was always a prospective market for the *casados*. A large volume of silk and porcelain was brought to Cochin from Chinese production centers by the *casados*.<sup>165</sup>

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160. Pius Malekandathil, *op.cit.*p,210

161. J.H.da Cunha Rivara, *op.cit.*, n.131, p.123.

162. *Ibid.*, pp.220, 250.

163. BNL, *Fundo Geral*, cod.no.1980, Livro das Despezas (Taboada), fol.17.

164. Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Ensaio*, Vol.II, Sobre Historia Univeral, Lisboa, 1968, p.233.

165. Pius Malekandathil,*op.cit.*p.210 ; Also see Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiquwes and Discoveries of the English Nations*, ,Vol.V, Hakluyt Society, Glasgow, 1905-7, P.393

One of the important and interesting features of this period (1570 - 1663) was that the *armada* of the south, instituted initially to prevent the diversion of the spices, began to be used increasingly for protecting the private trade of the Luso-Indians whose commercial empire stretched into the eastern space of Indian Ocean. It was because of the constant threat from the corsairs that the ships of the Luso-Indians were given fleet protection from Cape Comorin to Cochin. The duty of conducting the coastal patrolling up to Comorin fell upon the shoulders of the city of Cochin and to maintain this *armada*, the city extracted one percent duty from every trader of this port. Substantial amounts were spent by the city of Cochin, during the period from 1587 to 1598, to render protection to the *casado* traders coming from eastern part of Indian Ocean.<sup>166</sup>

The Luso-Indians brought to Cochin, coir which was in high demand for the various purposes of the private ships as well as those of the *carreira*, and cowries, which were again taken from Cochin as a monetary medium for buying slaves from western African ports, indigo and textiles from Gujrat, food materials and clothes from Bengal, Pegu and Coromandel.<sup>167</sup> The king of Maldives, who had fled to Cochin in 1552 and had become a Christian, was residing in the city of Santa Cruz, during this period, under the name of Dom Manuel. The Portuguese forces conquered the Maldive islands in 1554, and defeating the new king Hassan, they built a fortress in Male and compelled the islands to pay annual tribute to their old sovereign, then a resident of Cochin.<sup>168</sup>

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166. Pius Malekandathil, *Ibid*, pp.211.

167. *Ibid*. p.212., Also see, João Manuel de Almeida Teles e Cunha, *Economia de um Império: Economia Política do Westado da Índia em Torno do Mar Arábico e Golfo Pérsico Elementos Conjuntuaris: 1595 -1635*, Mestrado Dissertation submitted to the Universidade of Nova de Lisboa, 1995, pp.397-400

168. João Manuel de Almeida Teles e Cunha, *Ibid*.,p.398

The *casados* continued their trade with Ceylon in cinnamon and precious stones, both for European trade as well as for intra-Asian commerce used to be brought to Cochin by the settlers of Cochin.<sup>169</sup> The trade with Goa by the *casados* was comparatively small when

compared with other commercial routes. However, in 1615, Dom Diogo Coutinho observed that the commodities which the settlers of the city of Santa Cruz were taking from Cochin to Goa, were valued at 30,000 to 40,000 *xerafins*.<sup>170</sup>

The ports of Gujrat, from where commodities were taken to Persia, Arabia, East Africa and Europe via West Asia, were the leading and long-standing commercial targets of the Luso-Indians of Cochin. Though the old Sultanate of Gujarat was incorporated into the Mughal territory in 1573, the settlers of Cochin procured the wares through Portuguese bases in Chaul, Bacaim, Daman and Diu. They used to take Gujarat spices from Cochin, wares from China and Malacca, coir and cowries from Maldives, in exchange for textiles, indigo as well as opium. Coconuts also turned out to be a major commodity sent to the ports of Cambary from Cochin and other Malabar ports as observed by Thomas Best in 1613.<sup>171</sup>

Commodities were brought to Cochin by the partners of *casados* from various parts of the country and with a view to avoid the Portuguese customs duty at Goa (where the customs duty rate was 6%) and at the same time *casados* were required to pay only 3.5%. The other merchants were required to pay 6% at Cochin plus the 1% tax on the city. As mentioned earlier, the native partners of the Luso-Indians were bringing commodities into Cochin and by paying a concessional rate to the native king under the label of the settlers of the city of Santa Cruz, thus evading the Portuguese customs rate.<sup>172</sup> To check this illegal partnership of the merchants and to increase the revenue, as early as 1583, the Portuguese

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169. AHU, *Caixas da India*, 3 A, doc.179 fols. 1, 7, dated 30 Dec. 1615.

170. *Ibid.*, Caixa 3, doc.29, dated 25 Jan. 1615.

171. William Foster, *The Voyages of Thomas Bes to the East Indies*, London, 1934, pp.148-9, 188.

172. Pius Malekandathil, *op.cit.*, p.214

authorities had made secret negotiations with the king of Cochin to equalize the customs rate of Cochin with that of Goa, by raising the rate of Luso-Indian settlers to six percent which was to be paid to the native king and by imposing on all, the compulsory exit tax to the

Portuguese treasury.<sup>173</sup> This must have also been a strategy to centralize trade in Goa and to minimize the commercial importance of Cochin. However, this action provoked the Luso-Indians and other settlers at Cochin and a crowd of around 15,000 men (it is said that 10,000 of them were local Christians and 5000 Portuguese and *casados*) marched into the church of St. John in Cochin to defend their privileges. The crowd even attacked the Captain of the fort, who took refuge in the palace of the King.<sup>174</sup> The authorities were compelled to reconsider this legislation. According to the agreement, made by the newly arrived Viceroy Dom Duarte de Menezes on 12<sup>th</sup> December 1584, (a) the Luso-Indians were required to pay only 3.5 percent to the king of Cochin and no export duties, (b) the unmarried Portuguese citizens of the city had to pay 6 percent to the Portuguese treasury at Cochin, (c) all non-Portuguese including the Muslims, Jews, Venetians, Armenians, local Christians and those Christians residing south of Cochin, were to pay the usual 6 percent duties to the king, and (d) all Luso-Indians not resident in Cochin had to pay 6 percent on the entry and exit to the Portuguese customs officials.<sup>175</sup>

The socio-economic position of all the Luso-Indians were not always the same. The period between 1570 and 1600, which showed flourishing trade enabled many Luso-Indians to accumulate wealth from trade. There were few very rich ones, the upper-middle class who were engaged in trade as well as associated with administrative responsibilities, there were also middle class and lower middle class. Of course, like in any other society there were poor, aged and sick people at Santa Cruz among the Luso-Indian community. As a vital link in the world economy, Cochin emerged as the most important trade emporium on the Malabar coast in the 16<sup>th</sup> century relegating Calicut to the

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173. Diogo De Couto, *Da Asia, Decada X*, part I, liv.IV, cap.XIII, Lisboa, 1778-88. pp.472-80.; Also see K.J. John, "International Trade in Cochin in the 16th Century", *A Carreira Da India e as Totas dos Estreitos*, eds. Artur Teodoro de Matos e Luis Filipe Reis Thomaz., Angro do Heroismo, 1998, pp.295-308.

174. *Ibid.*,

175. K.S. Mathew, and Afzal Ahamad, *op.cit.*, doc. 53, pp.77-83.

background. It became an inevitable link of East West trade axis round the Cape route in

Connection with the flow of goods and men with the increase of trade activities in the Port of Cochin<sup>176</sup>

The chain of forts from Cannanore to Quilon - *Fort St. Angelo* at Cannanore, Forts at Calicut, *Fort Emmanuel* at Cochin, Fort St.Thomas at (Kottapuram) Crangannore, Fort at Palliport (*Vatta Kotta*) and *Fort St.Thomas* at Quilon and the settlements of the Portuguese and the *casado* settlers, formed the centers of Luso-Indians- the mixed-race of the Portuguese with Indians. How far they supported the *Estado da India portuguesa*, is well-defined in the above mentioned incidents. The role of the *casados* in the *carreira da India*, as mentioned above was very prominent. The *caravelas* of the Portuguese, with the spices from Indies sailed in the sub-continent and west-Asia with the active support of the *casados*. Commodities from silks to diamonds, cloths and food-grains were exchanged throughout the Indian sub-continent and even to Europe.

The origin of the Luso-Indian community through the mixed marriages, their settlement in the Port cities where the Portuguese had their presence and the prosperity of the Luso-Indian community through the extensive commercial operations, also called, give us the picture of these daring and adventurous people, who could assimilate the talents of their Lusitanian fathers with their Indian mothers who possessed fine qualities with a rich heritage.

The Luso-Indian settlements at **Cochin, Cannanore, Quilon** and **Calicut** were slowly got urbanized and developed into townships. Churches<sup>177</sup>, hospitals<sup>178</sup>, schools<sup>179</sup> and

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176. K.J. John, , *op.cit*, n. 173. p.301.

177. H. Sarkar, *Monuments of Kerala*, New Delhi, 1973, p.56.

178. G.M. Moraes, *op.cit.*, p.252.

179. HAG, *Monções do Reino*, Livro 180 A, fls.168-169 V; Silva Rego, *Historia*, *op.cit.*, Vol.I, p.149., letter of Albuquerque dated, Cochin, 1st April 1512.

*Santa Casa de Misericordia*<sup>180</sup> have been catering to the various needs of the Luso-Indians. At the city of *Santa Cruz* at Cochin, the Municipal administration or **camara** Municipal on the European lines was developed for the first time as a forerunner of local administration.



## The Italians and Germans

Right from the pioneering voyages of the Portuguese to India in the sixteenth century, the Italians and Germans were associated with the trade of the Portuguese as financiers as well as the part of the fighting force. In the initial stage itself to constitute an efficient fighting force the Portuguese found it necessary to incorporate many Germans and Italians as soldiers and *bombardeiros*. The Portuguese crown had also felt it necessary to involve the wealthy entrepreneurs of Portugal, Italy and Germany in the Indian trade. As the demand for copper was very high in Malabar, for using this metal in making household utensils, the German and Italian merchants also came into the scene as copper dealers.<sup>181</sup> Even in 1501, out of the four ships sent to India, two were dispatched by the `Italian Consortium` and these ships were put under the captaincy of the Florentine, Messer Fernam Vineti.<sup>182</sup>

The German *bombardieros* who established the Brotherhood of St. Bertholomew in Lisbon, were associated with the sending of men to Portuguese ships. We see that the first Germans who have come to India were soldiers from this Brotherhood of Bartholomew. They seemed to have formed an important part of the artillery men who accompanied every Portuguese ship to Cochin. The largest number of German soldiers seems to have reached Cochin in 1502, along with Vasco da Gama.<sup>183</sup> The Germans and Italians settled in Kerala also married Luso-Indian women and sometimes native women.

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180. Gasper Correia, *op.cit.*, tomo II, p.830 ; See also C.R. Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East*, Hague, 1948, p.217.

181. Pious Malekandathil, *op.cit.*, p.161,162.

182. E.G Ravenstein, *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vaso da Gama*, London, 1898, p.119.

183. Pius Malekandathil, *The Germans, the Portuguese and India*, Munster, 1999, pp.31-3.

The decline of trade after 1600, the arrival of Dutch and the English in the trade scenario, the threats of these powers and finally the defeat of the Portuguese by the Dutch on 7 January 1663 at Cochin<sup>184</sup>, resulted far reaching changes in the Luso-Indian community. The attack on the city of Cochin by the Dutch had failed in 1661. The Dutch

again attacked Cochin in 1663 with the help of the Zamorin of Calicut and were successful, thus bringing the rule of the Portuguese in Cochin to an end. In the terms of surrender in 1663, special provisions were included for the protection of the Luso-Indians at Cochin.<sup>185</sup>

#### **Terms of Surrender Imposed on the Portuguese at Cochin by the Dutch in 1663**

1. The town of cochin shall be surrendered with all its jurisdictions, old privileges, revenues, lands with the documents and papers relating thereto, and whatever else is held in the name of the King of Portugal, all rights and titles thereto being ceded to the Dutch General or Worship's representatives.
- 2.. All artillery, ammunition, merchandise, victuals, movable and immovable property, slaves and whatever else may be , shall be handed over, as above.
- 3.. All free persons who have borne arms shall swear not to serve against Netherlands in India for two years.
5. All the soldiers and others belonging to the army shall march past with flying colours, drum beating, fuses light, bullets in their mouths and two guns, to a convenient place outside the town, and lay down their arms beneath the standard of the General.
6. All true born unmarried Portuguese shall be conveyed to Europe.

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184. T.I. Poonen, *The Dutch Hegemony in Malabar*, Trivandrum, 1978, p.29

185. D. Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, Vol. II, Bangalore, 1959, pp.20-21

7. All married Portuguese and *Mestices* shall proceed to Goa and may take their bed and bedding and such other articles as the General and his Council may permit.
8. All free *Topasses* (semi-assimilated half-castes) and Canarins shall remain at the disposal of the General.

9. The clergy may take with them the images and the Church ornaments except those of gold and silver.
10. All free persons and all persons belonging to the church now wandering in the country, if they be subjects to the King of Portugal , be comprehended in this treaty. <sup>186</sup>

With the defeat of the Portuguese, the Luso-Indians were forced to flee to the interior villages in different parts of Kerala and to be protected themselves from the Dutch. The terms of surrender stipulated that the Portuguese settlers had to leave Cochin either to Goa or any other Portuguese settlement. The Dutch who were Protestants destroyed and burnt the churches, library, Portuguese establishments, the houses of the Portuguese and the Luso-Indians. The enmity, vengeance and religious fanaticism of the Dutch could be seen in the narrations of Ferroli about the incident :

“...the Blessed Sacrament was removed from the churches; they were robbed of all ornaments. On the square in front of each they lit a big fire, and burnt the ornaments therein—statues, crucifixes, holy pictures, missals and everything pertaining to the sacred worship. The sight of it caused that poor, miserable people to moan and cry. The next day the keys of the city were delivered. Rickloff took possession of it... He gave leave to the

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186. For details see *Batavia Day Register for 1663*, ed., J.A. Van der Chijs, Batavia, Hague, 1887-1931.

soldiers to plunder the city for three days. It is not possible to imagine the cruelty of the soldiers, the ways some women were treated, Those who, a short time before, owned fine houses and plenty of money had become destitute, naked, with not even a hut where to take shelter....” <sup>187</sup>

E. Francisco Gomes Sermento, Captian of a Company of Infantry, Marco de Pinho, Burger of Cochin, delegate of Ignatio Sermento Carvalho, Captain Geral of the Town of

Cochin on behalf of His Majesty the king of Portugal and Mr. Jacob Hustaert, Councilor Extraordinary of India, representative of the General Rijcklof Van Goens, ordinary Councilor of India were parties to the above mentioned deed of surrender.

The Portuguese who were Catholics were treated in an inhuman way at the hands of the Dutch. This was one of the deplorable acts recorded in the history of Cochin. The city of Cochin renowned throughout the world as one of the important trading centers with prestigious educational institutions and library with thousands of books and rare manuscripts were burnt by the Dutch. All the priests and friars were expelled.<sup>188</sup> Very soon Cochin became a town of `empty houses and deserted streets`. Seeing this the Dutch changed their policy to some extent to draw the Luso-Indians back to their enclave. Many of them returned and started acting as translators. Without them it was not possible for the Dutch to carry on the day to day administration. Those days the Luso-Indians were named `Topasse`. They served as interpreters which was esteemed a honourable profession. Many of them also served as *Lascorins* in the Dutch Armada. During the reign of the Dutch at Cochin and other parts of Kerala, there were marriages between the Dutch and the Luso-Indians and became a part of Luso-Indian household.

When the British defeated the Dutch at Cochin on 19 October 1795, special protections

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187. D. Ferroli, *Jesuits in Malabar*, Bangalore, 1939-5, pp. 21-22

188. Joseph Thekedath, *History of Christianity in India* Vol II, Bangalore, 2001 p.119.

for the Luso-Indians and other ethnic groups were provided in Article 13 of the Dutch deed of Surrender.<sup>189</sup> Accordingly, they were allowed to retain their property as well as privileges and protections which they always enjoyed from the Dutch.

Intermarriages between the English and Luso-Indians have taken place during this period. These *mestices* in Kerala were for a long time known by the popular term "Eurasian". This term was first used by the Marquis of Hastings who considered it more euphemistic and

more precise. Actually, after the Dutch advent of Cochin, the Luso-Indian community slowly started mixing with other Europeans who came to India, like the Dutch, French, British etc. But, 90% of the 'Eurasians' in Kerala even now are the descendents of the Portuguese who can be classified as 'Luso-Indians'. They are now settled mainly at Cannanore, Calicut, Wayanadu, Trichur, Ernakulam, Alleppey, Quilon and Trivandrum districts of Kerala.

The Luso-Indians are identified from their Portuguese surnames (*Apelido/Alcunha*). The popular surnames in Kerala are:- *Almeida, Abrao, Allwyen, Aruja, Biveira, Coutinho, Carvalho, Cabral, Coelho, Correia, de Costa, de Coutho, de Cunha, de Cruz, de Mello, de Ross, de Silva, Dias, Durom, Fereira, Faria, Fernandez, Figureido, Furtado, Furtal, Gomez, Gonsalves, Lopez, Luiz, Livero, Mendez, Netto, Nunez, Noronha, Oliveira, Paiva, Padua, Pereira, Pinheiro, Pinto, Rodrigues, Rozario, Rebeiro, Rebello, Saiza, Sousa, Severence, Sequira, Surrao, and Simenthi.*

The Luso-Indian community in India especially Kerala, had the fate of encountering with other European nationals. When we evaluate the struggle for power and commercial dominance the competition of European powers for the West-Asian trade supremacy, the people of Malabar coast were forced to witness the calamities of war, in the coastal settlements. As a result, the history of Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was mostly the narration of the wars for the trade supremacy.

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189. K.M.Panikkar, *Malabar and the Dutch*, Bombay, 1931, pp.177 – 184.

The Portuguese were in Malabar from 1500 to 1663. Holland (*Holandes* in Portuguese and *Lantha* in the vernacular), another European power had started their commercial operations in the Indian Ocean<sup>190</sup> in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The Portuguese had their commercial operations in the later part of sixteenth century not only in Malabar coasts but

in Malacca , Macao, Ceylon, Sumatra , Spice Islands and in other Indian ports like Diu and Chittagong etc. Slowly , when the Portuguese became weakened mainly by the invasion of Spain of Portugal and on account of so many other reasons, the Dutch people started invading and dominating the Portuguese centers one by one. The conquest of the Portuguese settlements by the Dutch and the ‘contract’ of the Dutch with the king of Cochin, are now part of history.<sup>191</sup> The Dutch were called ‘*Lantha*’<sup>192</sup> or ‘*Lanthakkar*’ in Kerala.

With the incorporation of the English East India Company, the British also started their commercial activities in the Indian sub-continent during the second half of the seventeenth century. Their encounter with the Dutch and other European powers like the French ultimately ended in the ouster of the Dutch from the Indian coasts.

The French had very limited trade operations in Malabar. They had Mahe (near Telicherry) as their main settlement. As mentioned earlier , the Italians and Germans who came in the early years along with the Portuguese, had settled in Malabar, especially at Cochin. All the above mentioned Europeans had marital relations with each other and as the first settlers, the descendents of the Portuguese , formed as the Luso-Indian community. The progenies of these *mestices* were named ‘**Eurasians**’ to distinguish them from the native Indians.

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190. T.I. Poonen, *op.cit.*, p.16.

191. *Ibid.*, pp.34,35. By this contract agreed with King of Cochin by Van Goens , on 20<sup>th</sup> March 1663 , both parties promised each other for peace and friendship.

192. *Ibid.*, preface.

The British rule in India lasted till 1947. As the last European power in India, who exercised complete political control over the vast country , the British started calling their progenies in Eurasian or Indian mothers as ‘**Anglo-Indians**’ It was at the formation of the Anglo-Indian Defense Association in 1882 that the term ‘*Anglo-Indian*’ was for the first time introduced as the official description of the Eurasian communities. Finally, the present

definition was accepted in the Constitution of India in 1950 as per Article 366 (2). Accordingly, an Anglo-Indian means:

“ A person whose father or any of whose other male progenitors in the male line is or was of European descent but who is domiciled within the territory of India and is or was born within such territory of parents habitually resident therein and not established before there for temporary purposes only”<sup>193</sup>.

According to the above definition, all the progenies of Europeans or their descendants in India, come under the term ‘Anglo-Indian’, even though there was no relevance for other European descendants with this term. The 500 year old Luso-Indian community was also forced to be called **Anglo-Indian** as per the Constitution.

As explained earlier in Kerala the Portuguese and their descendants – the Luso-Indians were called ‘*Feringi*’<sup>194</sup>. The Chamber’s Twentieth Century Dictionary defines the word ‘*Feringee*’ as a Hindu word for foreigner. The Oxford English Dictionary defines ‘*Feringee*’ as Indian term for European, especially Indian born Portuguese’. This word in the vernacular slowly changed to ‘*Parangi*’ which is still in use.

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193. Constitution of India, Article 366 (2).

194. The word ‘*Feringi*’ was derived from the Arab word ‘*Frank*’ (foreigner). The Arabs called the French Crusaders by this word. When the Portuguese arrived at the Malabar coasts, the Arab merchants called them ‘*Frank*’, which later slowly changed to ‘*Feringi*’ and then to ‘*Parangi*’.

### **Luso-Indian Organizations**

The Luso-Indians and other descendants of Europeans in India, in the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century started experiencing the conflicts of interests between the various communities in India. That was the time big hue and cry started from Indians to free themselves from the yoke of administration of the British. The Eurasian community in India also sensed that

unless they unite and form their own organizations , their interests will be affected. Various organizations for Luso-Indians and other Eurasians were established during this period.

Concerning Kerala , on 11<sup>th</sup> March 1922, Chev.C. Paul Luiz convened a meeting of Eurasians at Perumanoor at Cochin and formed the first Association for Eurasians with himself as President and Prof. S.F. Nunez as Secretary. Mr.John D'silva initiated to form an Association for Luso-Indians at Mulavukadu on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1934. Mr.B.A. Fernandez from Mulavukadu organized the South Malabar Anglo-Indian Association at Vallarpadam with Mr.C.J. Luiz as its Director and Mr.Leander Lopes as its General Secretary. In 1936 Sir Henry Gidney visited cochin and established branches of the All India Anglo-Indian Association at Ernakulam with Chev.C.J. Luiz as President and at Fort Cochin with Mrs.L.G. Bernard as President. On 5<sup>th</sup> November 1939 Mr.JHoseph Pinheiro re-named the South Malabar Anglo-Indian Association to Federated Anglo-Indian Association with himself as President and Mr.Stephen Padua as General Secretary. In 1944 Mr.Frank Anthony, President of the All-Indian Anglo-Indian Association, visited Ernakulam. In 1945 , Mr.Stanley Luiz succeeded Mr.C.J. Luiz as President of the All India Anglo-Indian Association, Ernakulam. In 1946 , the Federated Anglo-indian Association with 14 branches was amalgamated with the All-Indian Anglo-Indian Association, New Delhi. Circle Associations of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Associations of South India were functioning at Munnar, Alleppey and Fort Cochin during this period<sup>195</sup> . When India

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195. *Golden Jubilee Souvenir*, of The Union of Anglo-Indian Associations, Kerala State, Cochin, 2003, p.14

became independent from the British rule in 1947 and the community is recognized in the Constitution of India in the label of 'Anlo-Indian', the leaders of these Associations felt the need for a strong Association to fight for the interests of the Eurasian community in India . It was in these circumstances, on 14<sup>th</sup> October 1951 , at a Convention of various Anglo-Indian organizations held at Perumanoor, Cochin resolved to form the Union of Anglo-Indian



Associations with Mr. Stanley Luiz as President-in-Chief and Mr. E. F. Nigli as General Secretary. On 1<sup>st</sup> September 1953 Mr. A. A. D. Luiz took initiative and drafted the constitution for this organization and got it registered as No. 9/53 under the Literary Scientific and Charitable Societies Act.<sup>196</sup> Now, at 37 places Anglo-Indian Associations are functioning in Kerala, who are affiliated as Member Associations to the Union of Anglo-Indian Associations.

In 1945, the erstwhile Government of Cochin while the Maharaja at the Cochin State was reigning, gave sanction to start a dozen of Anglo-Indian schools in the State. The schools so established were developed and their present position at the following places are:-

- 1) Chev. C. P. Luiz Memorial Anglo-Indian High School, Perumanoor
- 2) Loretto Anglo-Indian High School, Saude
- 3) Luiz Anglo-Indian U.P. School, Kadukutty (Trichur District)
- 4) Holy Family Eurasian U.P. School, Vaduthala
- 5) Pauline Victoria Mendez Memorial U.P. School, Edacochin
- 6) St. Francis Anglo-Indian L.P. School, Bolgatty
- 7) St. Antony's Anglo-Indian L.P. School, Vallarpadam
- 8) European Primary School, Elamkunnappuzha
- 9) Cruz Milagiris European Primary School, Ochanthuruthu
- 10) Don Bosco European Primary school, Padiyoor (Trichur District)
- 11) Our Lady of Snow Anglo-Indian L.P. School, Kunjithai<sup>197</sup>

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196. *Ibid.*, p. 14

197. *Ibid.*, p. 33

### **Anglo-Indian Nominated Members to the State Legislative Assemblies**

When the Eurasians formed their own Associations in the erstwhile Travancore-Cochin States (the present Kerala), they demanded to get their members nominated to the State Legislative Assemblies. It was succeeded in 1925 in Cochin State Legislative Assembly. Later, when the Constitution of India was introduced, Article 331 was introduced to nominate two members to Lok Sabha from among the Anglo-Indian

community in India and Article 333 to nominate an Anglo-Indian to the State Legislative Assemblies wherever a concentration of Anglo-Indians are there. The persons so nominated to the Cochin, Travancore-Cochin and Kerala Legislative Assemblies are :-

Prof. S.F. Nunez	- 1925-28	<b>Cochin State</b>
Dr.E.A. Veigas	- 1928-31	
Mrs. Josephine Soares	- 1931-35	
Dr.E.G. D'souza	- 1935-38	
Chev.C.J. Luiz	- 1938-45	
Stanley P. Luiz	- 1945-48	
Gasper D'silva	- 1948	
Gasper D'silva	- 1948-52	<b>Travancore Cochin</b>
A.A.D. Luiz	- 1952-56	
W.H. D'cruz	- 1957-59	<b>Kerala State</b>
C.F. Pereira	- 1960-64	
S.P. Luiz	- 1967-70	
Stephen Padua	- 1970-87	
Mr.Nicholas Rodrigues	- 1987-91	
Mr.David Pinheiro	- 1991-96	
Mr.John Fernandez	- 1996-2001	
Mr.Ludy Luiz	- 2002-2006	
Mr.Simon Britto Rodrigues	- 2006-	<sup>198</sup>

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198. *Ibid.*, p.64

### **Myth of the *Kappiris* who guard Treasures of Portuguese**

The atrocities committed by the Dutch during their invasion of the Portuguese Cochin in 1663 was unparalleled in many respects and their treatment of the Portuguese and the Luso-Indians was deplorable. Not only the Portuguese soldiers who fought against them were treated badly but the Luso-Indians in the city of Santa Cruz Cochin were

ousted from their houses . Their houses were demolished and sent them out on roads, so much so they had only a bundle of clothes in their hands <sup>199</sup> and were forced to wander in the streets of Cochin and suburbs. According to a contemporary account of Archbishop Joseph Sebastiani :-

“Those who, a short time before , owned fine houses and plenty of money, served by numerous slaves, living in ease and luxury, had become destitute, naked, with not even a hut where to take shelter.....Honourable men were allowed to take away what they had on their backs, and perhaps a small bundle of clothes” <sup>200</sup>

It is still a belief among the people of Cochin that the affluent Portuguese and the *casado* settlers , when the Dutch invaded their settlements at the city of Santa Cruz , hid their money , gold and other treasures in niches made urgently on walls or beneath the floors of their houses and covered it. After covering and sealing these treasures they had killed one of their Negro slaves and fixed him near to the niches or cavities where they hid their treasures and commanded him to protect their treasure until they come back and claim for it. The belief is that, Negro slaves, known for the faithfulness to their master would keep the treasure entrusted to their ‘custody’ and return the treasure to his master when he returns and claims it.

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199. D. Ferroli, *op.cit.*, Vol.II, pp.21-22.

200. Giuseppe di Santa Maria (Joseph Sebastiani) , *Seconda Spedizione alle Indie Orientali*, Roma, 1672, p.96.

Was it true that the Portuguese killed their Negro slaves to guard their treasure ? Whatever be the answer, there are people in Cochin still worshipping ‘Negro spirit’ to appease or propitiate their spirit , in the hope of getting the treasure ‘in their possession’. The Negroes were called ‘*Kappiri*’ in Malayalam . The myth on *Kappiri* was passing on to generations and as years passed the Negro slave became ‘reversed’ and the people

started calling the *Kappiri* guarding the treasure as ‘*Kappiri Muthappan*’ - the Reversed Negro <sup>201</sup>. Certain spots in Cochin were specially known for the oblation and offering of candles and even small bottles of arrack for the ‘*Kappiri Muthappan*’ <sup>202</sup>, mostly on Tuesdays and Fridays. The spirits of the sacrificed Negros are believed to be resting at Mangattumukku and Panayappally in Cochin, where people still offer oblations with the hope that some day the *Kappiri Muthappan* will allow them to take the treasure entrusted to him by the Portuguese. The myth of *Kappiri* keeping the treasure is still live in the minds of Cochinites. <sup>203</sup>

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201. Ponjikara Rafi, *Orapronobis*, (Mal.) ,Cochin, 2002, reprint, p. 10.

202. Jaison C Cooper, ‘Worshipping Negro Spirit? Yes, here in Fort Kochi’.  
article in *Indian Express daily*, Ernakulam , dated 22 January 2003 ; Also see, article  
‘Nidhi Vetta’ by M.K. Kuriakose in *Malayala Manorama* daily dated 9h April 2003,

203. Antony Thundiparambil, *Maya*, Pondicherry, 2008 , pp. 250-251

## Chaper – IV

### THE PORTUGUESE MUNICIPAL SYSTEM IN COCHIN

The Portuguese and the *Casado* settlers were concentrated at the *Santas Cruz* city of Cochin as the seat of the *Estado da India Portuguesa* was established there. The fort, factory, port, Santa Cruz Church, *Santa Casa da Misericordia*, the school and the settlement of the Portuguese and the *casados* made *Cochin de Baixo* a busy town. As urbanization refers to the process of an increasing concentration of people in the cities, its demographic characteristics have to be analyzed in order to understand the nature of the growth of the city of Cochin. Lazarus Nurnberger who visited Cochin in 1517 wrote that in this city there were about 300 Portuguese houses.<sup>1</sup> There were also residences of many native Christians in the city. Thus, as mentioned by Pedre Sebastião Pires, the Vicar of the church at Cochin, there were about 10,000 to 12,000 Christians in Cochin in 1518.<sup>2</sup> The presence of the non-Christian people was also considerable. In 1510, there were about 3000 Nairs in the city, employed as daily wage workers in the service of the Portuguese. The movement of commodities and other works connected with the trade gave more employment opportunities to the local people, leading to this demographic increase.<sup>3</sup> In 1525, there were 2,220 men in Cochin in the military service.<sup>4</sup> But it seems that the number of the soldiers always fluctuated.

With the increase of Portuguese officials, *Casados* settlers, foreigners from other nations and intermediaries for supporting the trade it became indispensable for the

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1. Miloslav Krasa, Joseph Polisensky and Peter Ratos ed. *European Expansion 1494 – 1519: The Voyages of Discovery in the Bratislava Manuscript*, Prague, 1986, p.106

2. SRH, vol.I, p.340.

3. *Ibid.*, p.117.

1. Pius Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Marine Trade of India 1500 -1663*, New Delhi, 2001, p.77'

Portuguese to establish a system of administration in the city of Cochin as the European concept of justice demanded for it. It was in this background the modern municipal system in the European model was introduced for the first time by Portuguese in Cochin. There is no evidence for the existence of any specific democratic local administrative system in the principality of Cochin in the past except the *Tharakoottam* and *Nattukooottam* - the local assemblies to settle disputes. Portuguese settlement in Cochin, was raised to the juridical status of a city by the King of Portugal John III, by a royal charter issued on 12<sup>th</sup> March 1527. Being the abode of many Portuguese citizens, Luso-Indians and their families, Cochin was brought on par with the Portuguese city of Evora and was given all privileges and rights attached to a city<sup>5</sup> and christened it as *Santa Cruz* by Dom João III. In the charter it is stated as follows:-

“ .....and their petition being seen by me and taking into account the services rendered unto me, king, the Lord and that whom the glorious Holy Father may guard and me, in those lands and as they are married, have wives and children and colonized the said town of Santa Cruz, it is my high pleasure that hence forward it may be called a city as such may avail of all honours, graces, privileges, facilities and franchises (ordinances) which are given by my ancestor kings and by me to cities of my kingdom.....”<sup>6</sup>

Modern Municipal system was thus introduced in India for the first time by the Portuguese in Cochin. When it was raised to the status of a city, Portuguese Cochin was given a new and unique place in the structure of the *Estada da India* and was to be administered not only by a captain, but also by a council of aldermen elected from among the citizens.<sup>7</sup>

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5. K.S. Mathew and Afzal Ahamed, *Emergence of Cochin*, Pondicherry, 1990, , doc.1, pp.1 - 3.
  6. See English translation of the official copy of the charter issued by the king Joaõ III of Portugal in appendix No. No.1
  7. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Political Economy of Commerce: Southern India, 1500-1650*, Cambridge, 1990 p.142.

Seeing that the city of Cochin was an effective means of linking the exchange system of Lisbon with that of Cochin port, all the rights and privileges granted to it were confirmed and re-confirmed successively by the later kings and viceroys. Even though, the political establishments of the *Estado da India* was shifted from Cochin to Goa in 1530, the original rights and privileges, enjoyed by the city were retained and confirmed by Dom Sebastian, Dom Philip and by all the later viceroys as well.<sup>8</sup> The Portuguese authorities saw to it that the privileges and rights of the city were sufficiently safe-guarded and protected on the outbreak of any disturbances due to administrative deadlock.. In 1551, the Viceroy D.Afonso de Noronha asked the captains and other officials to respect the autonomy of the city of Cochin and not to encroach upon its privileges.<sup>9</sup>

By 1542, there were altogether 15,000 Christians in the Cochin area of whom more than 300 were *casados*, settled down in the city of Santa Cruz of Cochin.<sup>10</sup> By 1546, there were 570 Portuguese residents in Cochin, out of whom 343 were married settlers.<sup>11</sup> The number of married settlers rose to 500 by 1551.<sup>12</sup> The large increase in the number of orphans and church institutions in the city indirectly hints that Cochin experienced a very high demographic growth during this period. Thus, we read that in 1584, the Christians in Cochin numbered 15,000, of whom 10,000 were natives and the remaining 5,000 Portuguese.<sup>13</sup>

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8. K.S. Mathew and Afzal Ahamad, *op.cit.*, doc.6, p.18; doc.24, p.38; doc.43, p.60; doc.70, p.104; doc.81, p.120; doc.82, p.122.; Also see, Appendix IV

9. *Ibid.*, doc.9, p.22.

10. Mathias Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India*, vol.I, Bangalore, 1984, p.359.

11. Elaine Sanceau, *Colecção de São Lourenço*, vol.II, Lisboa, 1975-78, p.321.

12. Arquivo Nacional de Torre do Tombo, Lisboa, (hereafter ANTT), Letter of the viceroy written to the king dated 16 January 1551, *Corpo Cronlogico, II*, Maço 242, doc.44.

13. M.N. Pearson, *Coastal Western India : Studies from the Portuguese Records*, New Delhi, 1981, p.56.

According to the report sent by the bishop of Cochin in 1598, there were besides children, 19, 495 Christians who went to confessions and communion in the city of Cochin.<sup>14</sup> This shows that Cochin during those days was densely populated. But the population of the city began to decrease considerably after 1611, when a good number of Luso-Indians shifted their base of activities from Cochin to the interior villages and Coromandal ports and elsewhere, because of the presence of the Dutch and the tensions in the hinterland areas which caused a decrease of flow of pepper and other commodities from these areas to the port of Cochin. The population of the city was reduced to one-third by the end of the second decade of the seventeenth century.<sup>15</sup> By 1630s, the number of Luso-Indians in Cochin was about five hundred; three hundred whites and the rest natives.<sup>16</sup> But the number of the *soldados* or the unmarried and the people of the other religious groups seems to have been much higher.<sup>17</sup> At the time of the Dutch conquest it was estimated that there were 900 old houses in the Portuguese quarter, though only 173 were actually inhabited.<sup>18</sup> After the defeat of the Portuguese at Cochin, there were 8,000 people including 4,000 *topasses*.<sup>19</sup> This almost corresponds with the information given in Jesuit letters which say that after the Dutch conquest, there were five Franciscans and more than 10,000 Catholics in the city of Cochin.<sup>20</sup>

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14. Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, 32, fols. 653 -5, (hereafter ARSI) See also Placid J. Podipara, *The Latin Rite Christian of Malabar*, Kottayam, 1986, pp.40-41
15. *Arquivo Historico Ultramarino*, Lisboa,, *Caixas da India* , Caixa 2, doc. 107. Also see the letter of the city council of Cochin sent to Philip II of Portugal giving an account of the economic condition of Cochin dated 21 Dec. 1613, Historical Archives of Goa, *Livro das Monções*, no. 12 (1613-17), fols. 254 – 80, dated March 1617.
16. Antonio Bocarro, *Fortalezas, Cidades, Povacoes do Estado da India* ,Goa, 1937, vol.II, p.199.
17. M.N. Pearson, *op.cit.*, p.42.
18. Pius Malekandathil, *op.cit.*, 2001, p.78.
19. Sanjay Subramanyam, ‘Cochin in Decline,1600-1650+Myth and Manipulation in the Estado da India’, in *Portuguese Asia: Aspects in History and Economic History* (sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries), edited by Roderich Ptak, Stuttgart, 1987 p.84. The *Topasses* referred here are Luso-Indians as they were called by the Dutch
20. D.Ferrolli, *The Jesuits in Malabar* , , Vol II, Bangalore, 1939, p.290.



There is every reason to believe that the urban population in the city of *Santa Cruz* during the peak period of the Portuguese trade, fluctuated between 10,000 to 15,000. Even though the white Portuguese were small in number, the Luso-Indians comprising the *casados* and the *mesticos* formed a sizable number during this period. The population in the city included non-European elements like the Muslims, Hindus and native Christians, including the St. Thomas Christians. There were about 200 married native Christians inside the city.<sup>21</sup> Traders from Canara and Muslim merchants had a few shops in the city and formed component units of the urban population.<sup>22</sup> There were many other European traders and trade agents in the city such as the Italians and the Germans. The German presence in Cochin, who came to this city as soldiers and traders, was great enough to form a separate church for them.<sup>23</sup>

Many native women sought Baptism in order to be able to marry Portuguese soldiers “most of the persons that became Christians are women”, said Pero Mascernhas, captain of Cochin in his report. It is because of the greater security of life, and because they earn much money among us. The others are mostly petty vendors of provisions and such other things which they bring to the city market. As they are well-treated, they became Christians. In a list sent to Lisbon 1514 by captain Pero Mascerenhas and Fr. Domingo de Souza it is stated that in the town the majority of married women were converts from infidels. In it also are given the names of the *solteiros* (singles) who were unmarried but had children from the Portuguese. According to the same document, in Cochin there were 58 local women married to the Portuguese with 48 children and 40 unmarried women with 45 children. The number of Luso-Indians swelled as a result of these inter-marriages<sup>24</sup> and possible conjugal relationships.

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21. Antonio Bocarro, *op.cit.*, p.199.

22. K.S. Mathew and Afzal Ahammed, *op.cit.*, document 14, p.27

23. *Ibid.*, doc, 14, p.27.

24. SRD, I, pp.225; p.232 -36;236 – 39

### **The Structure of Administration at the Santa Cruz City of Cochin**

In the structure of the administrative arms of the city of *Santa Cruz*, the four major aspects had to be looked into; the financial, religious, legal, and the local administration. The aspects in the *camara municipal* existed in the city of Santa Cruz at Cochin. In financial matters, the *vedor* (later *conselho da Fazenda*); in religious matters the clerics; in legal matters, the High Court; and in local government the Municipal Council. The Governor exercised appreciable control only over the first and assisted by the Council of State, also had control over military matters and external relations.<sup>25</sup> The city administration was entrusted to a popular body called *Senado da Camara* or Municipal Council.<sup>26</sup> As mentioned earlier, from 1527 onwards, the administration of the city of Santa Cruz of Cochin was carried out by the Municipal Council which permeated into every sphere of the activity of the city.

### **The Municipal System in Cochin**

To a very great extent *Camara Municipal* of Cochin functioned as a democratic institution. Decisions were taken only with the approval of the Councillors. The Municipal administration was invested in two kinds of office-holders: 1. Those having voting rights and 2. Those who had no voting rights. The first group comprised three or four vereadores (councillors or aldermen), two *juizes ordinaries* (justices of the peace or magistrates), the *procurador* (Municipal Attorney) and four *mestres* (the representatives of the the working class guilds). These were collectively called the officials of the municipality and they had voting rights in council meetings. The *escrivão* (clerk or secretary) however, was not given voting rights, but was often included with the officials of the municipality. There were occasions when this term was loosely used to include subordinate municipal officials like *almotacels* (market inspectors) and the *tesoureiro* (treasurer). To the category of the municipal functionaries who did not have voting rights, belonged the *juiz dos orfãos* (judge in charge of orphans and widows), the *alferes* (standard bearer), the *porteiro* (the

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25. M.N. Pearson, *Mercdhants and Rulers in Gujarat*, New Delhi, 1976, pp.34-5.

26. M.N. Pearson, *op.cit.*, n.13. p.52.

door keeper ), the *contador* (accountant) and the *veador das obras* (foreman of works).<sup>27</sup>

The municipal council was an elected body whose membership was exclusively restricted to married Portuguese male citizens. Not only *casados* but also resident *fidalgos* (noblemen) had voting right in the Municipal Council.<sup>28</sup> The officials of the Municipal Council were elected through a system of annual balloting from voter's lists which were drawn up every three years in accordance with the procedure laid down in 1504.<sup>29</sup> The council represented only the Portuguese settlers of the city.

There were occasions however, when strangers and people with little known backgrounds took part in the elections. So, in 1616, Dom Jeronimo d' Azvedo, the viceroy decreed that only virtuous people who were the inhabitants of Cochin and properly known in the city (to which people from the neighborhood also could be added) should be included in the voters list.<sup>30</sup>

The municipal system in Cochin functioned in subordination to the king of Portugal, viceroy or governor, and permission was sought from them before decision is taken on serious and important issues. Thus, the appointments to the posts such as *Merinho dos Almotaseis*, supervisor for shipbuilding, officer in charge of the mint, inspector for the cleanliness of the city, and writer for the judges were made by the council with the approval of these higher administrative

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27. C.R. Boxer, *Portuguese Society in Tropics: The Muncipal Councils of Goa, Macao, Bahia and Luadanda*, 1510 – 1580, Madison, 1965, p.5.

28. M.N. Pearson, *op.cit.*n.13,, pp.52-3.

29. C.R. Boxer, *op.cit.*, pp.5 – 8. The procedure for election is specified in the *Regimento dos Officiais das Cidades, Villas e lugares destes Reynos Com Privilegio de Rey nosso Senhor*, Lisbon, 1504.

30.. K.S.Mathew and Afzal Ahamad, *op.cit.* doc. 44, pp.61-2, doc.52, pp,71-2

heads.<sup>31</sup> The king of Portugal Dom Sebastian, on account of this great concern for the city of Cochin, permitted in 1571 the construction of municipal house for its meetings and for coordinating its administrative activities.<sup>32</sup>

The captain of Cochin, who was the most important officer in the fortress, was dissuaded by the viceroy in 1551 and 1585 from interfering in the activities of the municipality.<sup>33</sup> This was to safeguard the autonomy enjoyed by the *Camara Municipal*. The viceroys and the kings of Portugal always made it a point that the institutional and administrative autonomy of the municipal council and the sanctity of its various privileges were well preserved and respected. Thus, in 1569 the viceroy Dom Luis de Altaide asked the captain-in-chief who arrived at Cochin not to upset the administrative set-up of Cochin by creating confusion for the soldiers and the residents.<sup>34</sup>

Most of the functions of the municipal council were related to public welfare activities. It laid out a road with necessary permission from the viceroy, Dom Duarte de Meneses to the *mandovi* (*mandapam* or square from where food materials were supplied).<sup>35</sup> It even took up the responsibility of distributing rice through retail shops. Since outside to Cochin. But, very often this was hoarded in the houses and stores of captains and influential persons of the city so that they could sell it at a higher price elsewhere.<sup>36</sup> Hence the king of Portugal, Dom Philip decreed in 1593 that rice should be sold only under the supervision of the municipality of Cochin and for this purpose fifteen shops were instituted.<sup>37</sup> In 1575, the municipality appointed two judges to safeguard

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31. *Ibid.*, doc. 10, pp.23-4; doc.25,p.39; doc, 33, p.47; doc.44, pp.61-2; doc.52,pp.71-2.

32. *Ibid.*, doc.38, pp.53-4.

33. *Ibid.*, doc.9, p.22; doc. 52, pp.71-2.

34. *Ibid.*, doc. 30,pp.44-5.

35. *Ibid.*, doc.55, pp.86.

36. *Ibid.*, doc.63., pp.95-6.

37. *Ibid.*, doc.59, pp.90-1.; doc.61, p.93; doc.63, pp.95-6.

the interests of the orphans. rice was very scarce in this area, about 40,000 *candis* of rice was brought every year from The municipality had to look into the cleanliness and tidiness

of the city of Cochin<sup>38</sup> and the problems of orphans.<sup>39</sup> Even shipbuilding came under the purview of the municipality. The municipal council elected a person to look after the construction of ships and another person for the collection of one percent duty at the port of Cochin from every trader for the purpose of shipbuilding and keeping the city clean and tidy.<sup>40</sup>

The officials of the municipality enjoyed several privileges including judicial immunity and received regular salaries.<sup>41</sup> But if they did not perform well, or abstained from exercising their civic responsibilities, they were deprived of these privileges.<sup>42</sup>

The income of the municipality came mainly from the rents of the municipal property including houses which were leased as shops and from the taxes it levied on a variety of foodstuffs and from fines.<sup>43</sup> In order to tide over financial difficulties, one *pardao* each was collected from the Muslims and the traders from Canara who put up shops in Cochin.<sup>44</sup> In 1572, the viceroy assigned a portion of the revenue coming from the Department of Justice (which it collected by way of fines and other pecuniary punishments) for the general expenditure of the city of Cochin.<sup>45</sup> There were occasions, when the municipality decided to dispose of land in the city in order to raise funds.<sup>46</sup> At times, the royal benevolence came to

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38. *Ibid.*, doc.10, p.23.

39. *Ibid.*, doc.45,p.62

40. *Ibid.*,doc.33,pp.47-8.

41. C.R. Boxer, *op.cit.*, p.10.

42. K.S. Mathew and Afzal Ahamad, *op.cit.*, doc. 67, pp.101-2.

43. C.R. Boxer, *op.cit.*, p.10.

44. K.S. Mathew and Afzal Ahamad, *op.cit.*, doc. 14, p.27.

45. *Ibid.*, doc.35. p.49.

46. *Ibid.*, doc.18.p.31.

its rescue and in 1546 the king of Portugal sanctioned the necessary funds for the developmental activities of this municipal city.<sup>47</sup>

As mentioned earlier the administration of the city was entrusted to the municipal council or *senado da camara*, organized on the Portuguese model.<sup>48</sup> The Portuguese settlers of the colonial city could voice their opinion through the *camara*. The *camara* exercised considerable control over the local government matters in the absence of the council of state headed by the viceroy or Governor, the seat of which was shifted to Goa. The members had voting rights and enormous power in the *camara* of the city of Santa Cruz.<sup>49</sup> The president of the *senado da camara* was always a representative of the high nobility of *fidalgos*. He was assisted by two from the lesser nobility, *nobres*. The other officials, two justices of peace, *juizes ordinaries*, the procurator or attorney of the city of Cochin, *procurador da cidade* and the four attorneys representing the guilds of the craftsmen, *procuradores do mestres*. The meetings were held twice a week and the *camara* enjoyed the right to communicate directly with the king of Portugal. The members of the *senado da camara* were elected for a term of one year. Local Christians were excluded from the *camara* in the beginning.<sup>50</sup> The system of administration functioned only in the Portuguese city of *Santa Cruz* or *Cochin De Baixo*, the land granted by the Raja of Cochin to the Portuguese and the local ruler never interfered in the affairs of municipal administration of the colonial city. The *camara Municipal* always represented commercial interests of *casados*. The *casados* were allowed freedom of trade. Almost all municipal offices were reserved for them and their descendants. Neither the viceroy nor any other authority was to interfere in the day to day administration of the *camara*.<sup>51</sup> In order to look after the cleanliness of the city, the viceroy

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47. *Ibid.*, doc. 7.pp.19-21.

48. C.R. Boxer, *op.cit.*, pp.12-19.

49. *Ibid.*, p.12; Bailey W. Diffie & George D. Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire 1415 -1580, I*, Minneapolis, 1977, p.46.

50. M.N. Pearson, *The Portuguese in India*, Cambridge, 1987, p. 109.

51. C.R.Boxer, *op.cit.*,p.13.

Dom Afonso de Noronha, permitted the *camara* to appoint an *almotesal* or inspector by the order on 7<sup>th</sup> February, 1551.<sup>52</sup>

During the period of Governor António Moniz Barreto, the people of the municipal town of *Santa Cruz* in Cochin submitted a petition for appointing someone to be incharge of minting *bazarucos* in Cochin who could enjoy all the privileges accorded to the similar official in Goa. The request was accepted and the *camara* was given the authority to elect a person to see the minting of *basarucos* in Cochin, and the privilege was again and again confirmed by the higher Portuguese authorities.<sup>53</sup> The minting in Cochin continued for a long time and was in importance second only to Goa.

In one occasion the *camara* of the city of *Santa Cruz* Cochin played a decisive role in the succession of the Portuguese Governor. In 1527 there was a dispute over the succession to the governorship of the *Estado*, after the death of Vasco da Gama as Viceroy. Two names were in the list sent by the royal court in Lisbon : one was Pedro Mascarenhas and the other Lopo Vaz de Sampaio, captain of Cochin. When both the claimants agreed to settle the matter by a special tribunal, which met in Cochin, the *casados* of Cochin and the *camara* decided to interfere. Pedro Mascarenhas already declared that he considered the Portuguese residents of Cochin to be traitors, for they had not supported his claim. Afraid that he would be chosen as governor and would then avenge himself on them, the *camara* of Cochin lobbied furiously for the selection of Lopo Vaz.<sup>54</sup> All the residents of *Santa Cruz* “went barefoot procession to the church with their wives and children with many tears and prayers, begging God to inspire the judges not to chose Pedro Mascarenhas as Governor”.<sup>55</sup> Lopo Vaz was finally chosen and the dispute

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52. M SS, kept at Biblotica da Ajuda, Lisboa, Codex No.51-VII-14, fl.16v.

53. *Ibid.*, fl.38v; fl.39v.

54. João de Barros, *Da Asia* , Decada IV , Book II, Lisboa, 1778, chap.6.

55. *Ibid.*

ended. This sort of open involvement of the *casados* of Cochin in high politics increased their power in the *Estado*.

When the fortress of Cochin was in a deplorable condition because of the damage caused by the monsoon floods, the viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque asked the officials of the municipality of Cochin to do whatever was necessary for strengthening the fortification by collecting the required money from the treasurer. This order was issued on 20<sup>th</sup> July 1596.<sup>56</sup> Francisco da Gama, the Viceroy being instructed of the necessity of repairing the two *traseñas* (godowns) of Cochin for storing rice and other food materials, permitted the concerned officials on 7<sup>th</sup> April 1598 to spend the money for the same from the treasury.<sup>57</sup>

Dom Jerónimo de Azevedo, the Viceroy in the light of the letter written by the king of Portugal to the municipality of Cochin in March 1615, asked the municipality to send him the copies of all the grants of privileges and rights made so far to the city of Cochin by the various kings of Portugal and his predecessors for forwarding them to the king. The authentic copies had to reach him before the departure of the ships to Portugal so as to enable him to have a look at them.<sup>58</sup> Accordingly copies of all the orders sanctioned privileges, were prepared from the inventories kept in the office of municipality and forwarded to the Viceroy

Portuguese Cochin had an imposing Santa Cruz cathedral with its presiding bishop, bishop's house, 5 Parish churches, several convent monasteries, *camara municipal*, Holy House of *Misericordia*, hospital, *Madre de Deus* college of the Jesuits, Printing press, school of the Franciscans and the magnificent St.Paul's Jesuit church with its lofty steeple and a most excellent set of bells and a library with great collection of rare books of great repute.<sup>59</sup>

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56.. K.S.Mathew and Afzal Ahamad, *op.cit.*, p.28.

57. *Ibid.*,

58. *Ibid.*,p.31.

59. Philip Baldeus, "A True and Exact Description of the Most Celebrated East India Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel" in Awnsham Churchil and John Churchill, Comps, *A collection of Voyages and Travels, III*, London, 1672, p.632.



The city was surrounded by a wall with several bastions. It possessed a good deep water harbour and a jetty. The private traders possessed their own large ships and the *casado* trade continued to prosper even in the early seventeenth century. With their insatiable demand for pepper and other spices for export the wealthy Luso-Indian traders of Cochin accelerated the tendency for agriculture to concentrate on cash crops in the large estates possessed by them in and around Cochin. They encouraged a systematic and scientific way of farming cash crops and in the process they changed the very appearance of the islands of Vypin, Vallarpadam, Kadamakkudi, Varapuzha, Bolgatty, Gothuruthu, Malyankara etc. which are scattered around Cochin Port.<sup>60</sup>

The Raja of Cochin did everything to safeguard the Portuguese and to promote trade at Cochin at the expense of his own kith and kin. When the powerful Zamorin with all his mite and vassals besieged the territory of Cochin, the Portuguese heroically defended Cochin and defeated the joint force of Zamorin and his allies and thereby ensured the very existence of Cochin as a separate political entity. The friendship and cooperation between the Raja of Cochin and the Portuguese increased steadily and the Portuguese could establish firmly in Cochin during the first quarter of the sixteenth century. The present Mattancherry Palace which is also called Dutch Palace, (as the Dutch renovated it), was originally built by the Portuguese in 1555, to perpetuate the memory of the cooperation of the Raja of Cochin and the Portuguese, and presented to the Raja of Cochin<sup>61</sup>. Originally it was decorated with Manueline Architectural ornaments as indicated by the remains found in the palace premises at Mattancherry

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60. K.J. John, "International Trade in Cochin in the Sixteenth Century" in *A Carreira da Índia e as Rota dos Estreitos*, ed., Luis Filipe Thomaz & Arthur Theodore Mathos, Angra do Herosimo, 1998, p.304.

61. Pius Malekandathil *op cit.*, p.174; Also see, Gervasis J. Mulakara, *History of the Diocese of Cochin; European Missionaries in Cochin 1292-1558*, vol.I, Rome, 1986 pp.17 and 38.

Cochin , which was a quite area , became a busy trade centre and emerged as an important port city by the Portuguese trade. It became the premier seat of Portuguese in the East. Many Portuguese men settled down in Cochin and married indigenous women and constructed palatial buildings with beautiful residential gardens in their settlement. The mixed population in Portuguese Cochin increased considerably and emerged as the first colonial city in the East. With the approval of the Portuguese king, the *casado* settlers established their colonial municipal administration in the city which provided everything for the growth of the city.

### **The Captain of Cochin**

The captain was the chief Portuguese official in the city, and he supplemented and complemented the activities of the Municipal Council. The captain as the official representative of the various interests of *Estado da India* , was in charge of trade, diplomacy , maintenance of law and order, defense as well as war and peace.<sup>62</sup> He lived in the fortress which was located on the border of the river of Cochin or the outlet of the lagoon into the sea<sup>63</sup>

The captain was assisted in the discharge of his duties by a number of functionaries such as the factor, beadle, scribes of the factory, store-keeper , treasurers, superintendent of provisions, supervisor of the weighing place, judge, peons, constables, officers for the deceased, master of the dockyard, master of caulkers, master of coins, interpreters, guards of the ships and the river. They were all paid directly from the Portuguese treasury.<sup>64</sup>

There was a clear-cut division between the administrative spheres of the captain of the city and the municipal council. The responsibility of the local government was given

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62. ANTT, Lisboa, *Chancelaria de D.João III*, liv.9, fol.21v, `Capitanbia de Cochin: Carta á Pedro Vaz`, Palmela, 24 March 1531, liv.15, fol.24v, Carta á João da Foneseca`, Lisboa, 2 March 1564.

63. Antonio Bocarro, *op.cit.*,p.199.

64. *Ibid.*, pp.199-201.

to the municipal council and the captains were asked to respect the autonomy and independent functioning of the *Senado da Camara*.<sup>65</sup>

### **Economic Activities in the City**

The main activities in the city were connected with trade and the urban life. The key productive activities in the secondary sector were shipbuilding, minting of coins and building of houses.

For the *carreira da India*, vessels both for battles and long voyages in the east were constructed in Cochin.<sup>66</sup> Large quantities of teak, *anjeli* and other strong wood were floated down from the interior hinterland to Cochin for this purpose.<sup>67</sup> The base for the shipyard of Cochin was laid when Duarte Pacheco, who in course of preparation of war against Zamorin of Calicut, sent the *caravela* of João Serrão for repair and ordered the construction of small vessels for the naval encounter.<sup>68</sup> Later in 1506, for the construction of a ship in Cochin, the mast of São Gabriel (the ship that accompanied Vasco da Gama on his first voyage), was made use of.<sup>69</sup> The shipyard of Cochin constructed the necessary vessels for the conquest of Goa and Diu.<sup>70</sup>

The ship called *Saint Catherine of Mount Sinai*, which was constructed in Cochin during the period between 1511 and 1513 was said to have had a capacity of eight hundred tones.<sup>71</sup> Later, after having served its purpose in India it was sent to Portugal to Dona

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65. K.S. Mathew and Afzal Ahamad, *op.cit*, doc.9, p.22.

66. Alfredo Botelho de Sousa, *Subsidios para a Historia Militar Martima da India*, Lisboa, 1930, p.38.

67. Antonio Bocarro, *op.cit.*, p.204.

68. Gasper Correia, *Lendas da India*, Lisboa, 1858-64, tom. I, cap. XVII,p.410.

69. SRD, vol.I, doc.10, pp.40-2.

70. Gasper Correia, *op.cit.*, tom.cap. XVIII, p.139.

71. *Ibid.*,tom.II,p.488.

Beatriz, the daughter of King Manuel I.<sup>72</sup> Meanwhile private Portuguese citizens also began to build vessels for their personnel use. Some of the vessels built in this city were sold to indigenous merchants as well. Manuel Godinho refers to the ships that had been built in Cochin and sold to the merchants of Surat.<sup>73</sup> As Indian teak was preferable to European pine or oak, shipbuilding in the city received a boost. One particular advantage of Cochin was that the local ruler helped the Portuguese to get the necessary timber. One of the important ships built in Cochin was *Santa Cruz* completed in 1527 and fully equipped with pieces of artillery.<sup>74</sup> In 1545, João de Sepulveda took this vessel to Lisbon as the principal vessel of the *Armada*.<sup>75</sup>

In view of the order of the viceroy issued in 1572, the 'one per cent' duty levied from the port of Cochin was set apart for shipbuilding. The next year the viceroy asked the municipality to elect two officials; one to supervise the construction of ships and the other to collect 'one per cent' duties from the port for the purpose of shipbuilding activities.<sup>76</sup> The municipality and the *Estado da India* placed great importance on shipbuilding activities, as they were intimately related to trade.

Mathias de Albuquerque, the viceroy reported to the king of Portugal that Cochin was an ideal place for building ships. In 1596, King Philip ordered that at least two large vessels must be built in the city every year.<sup>77</sup> This royal command was again repeated

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72. Hendriku Lopez de Mendonça, *Estudo sobre Navios Portugueses nos Séculos XV e XVI*, Lisboa, 1892, p.10.

73. John Correia Afonso ed. *Intrepid Itinerant : Manuel Godinho and His Journey From India to Portugal in 1663*, Bombay, 1990, p.73.

74. Pius Malekandathil, *op.cit.*, p.81.

75. *Ibid.*, p.100.

76. K.S. Mathew and Afzal Ahamad, *op.cit.*, doc. 42, pp.58-59; doc.33, p.47; Also see Appendix III

77. K.S. Mathew, 'Cochin and the Portuguese Trade with India during the Sixteenth Century', in *Indica*, March 1989, p.80.

in 1602 and Aires de Saldanha, the viceroy was asked to do the needful to encourage shipbuilding activities of Cochin.<sup>78</sup>

In 1630, we find the Portuguese authorities trying to enter into contract with the king of Cochin for the construction of big vessels including galleons which could carry sixty pieces of artillery.<sup>79</sup> Though timber was scarce in Cochin, the rich hinterland with its abundant resources of teak and *anjali*, made available to the shipbuilding centres, at a reasonable price. Moreover the Luso-Indians and local Christians moved to suburban islands of Cochin began to plant *Anjali* in a large scale. Although the master shipwrights were Portuguese, the ordinary shipwrights, carpenters and dockyard workers were nearly all Indians including *Casados* and Luso-Indians.<sup>80</sup>

### **Minting of Coins**

With the development of trade and commerce in Cochin, there were a great demand for coins. The Portuguese therefore established a mint in this city in 1530 to issue coins.<sup>81</sup> In 1532, the official in charge of the mint in Cochin was Fernando de Silva.<sup>82</sup> Eventually, copper coins called *bazarucos*, were issued from Cochin. It was in 1544 that Governor Martin Afonso de Souza ordered the re-minting of copper coins or *bazarucos* in the city of *Santa Cruz*.<sup>83</sup> The copper imported from Europe supplied the metal required for this minting. The process of minting could be carried out only by persons who had experience and

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78. Historical Archives of Goa, *Livros das Moçoes*, no.7 (1600 – 1603), fols.113-15. Royal letter sent to Aires de Saldanha, dated 7 February 1602.

79. Pius Malekandathil, *op.cit.*, p.82.

80. C.R. Boxer, *Portuguese India in the Mid-Seventeenth Century*, Delhi, 1980, p.28.

81. K.S. Mathew, 'Money Economy in the Portuguese India, 1510-1640', in *The Journal of the Gujrat Research Society*, vols.46/47, July, Bombay, 1984, P.25.

82. Pius Malekandathil, *op.cit.*, p.82

83. K.S.Mathew, *op.cit.*, p. 25.

knowledge of precious metals. Taking this aspect, King John III sent to Cochin João Gomes as the assay master of the mint in 1552.<sup>84</sup>

In 1568, the viceroy, Luiz de Ataíde, appointed Diogo Rodrigues Cavaco in charge of minting of gold and silver coins (*xerafins*) in the city.<sup>85</sup> In 1577, the municipal council was permitted by the governor Antonio Munis Barreto to elect a competent person to issue *bazurucos*.<sup>86</sup>

#### Portuguese Coins Minted at Cochin in 1554

Year	Name of the coins	Value of the coins in <i>reais</i> in 1554
1554	<i>Pardau de Ouro</i>	360
	<i>Xerafins</i>	300
	<i>Fanão</i> ( in the factory)	21 2/3
	<i>Cruzado de Ouro</i>	390
	<i>Cruzado de Ouro</i> (During the governorship of Martin Afonso de Sousa)	426

The coins made in Cochin in the early part of sixteenth century rarely had any special mint mark, so it is difficult to differentiate the various then existing coins. But it is believed that they were marked with a cross of the order of Christ, a predominant motif on the contemporary coinage of Portugal.<sup>87</sup>

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84. Pius Malekandathil, *op.cit.*, p.83.

85. K.S. Mathew, 'Indo-Portuguese Coinage in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries', in *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, vol.XLVI, 1984, p.122.

86. K.S. Mathew and Afzal Ahamad, *op.cit.*, doc. 44,p.61.; Also see Appendix No. II

87. Fenelon Rebelo, 'Early Indo-Portuguese Coins', paper presented in *International Seminar on Indo-Portuguese History*, Bombay, 27 November 1978, pp.39-40.

#### **Residential Buildings**

With the fast development of the city, house building activities thrived in Cochin.<sup>88</sup> Large quantities of timber were carried down to the city from hinterlands for this purpose. In Cochin a good number of Luso-Indian carpenters were engaged in the various activities of house building. Most of the houses were built with verandas on bungalow models.<sup>89</sup> The walls were made of laterite plastered with lime and roof was tiled. For ventilation, windows or *janela* were introduced. To fix doors hinges or *vijagiri* were used in the Portuguese pattern. In front of the house a *portico* (an open space with roof upheld by columns) was attached to those palatial residences with a garden in front with a number of flowering plants brought from Brazil. The *portico* is the main entrance to the Portuguese residence.

Cochin had even a **gun-making factory** which employed expert cannon makers. The two Italian founders who deserted the Portuguese and joined Calicut in the first decade of the sixteenth century had been previously associated with this centre.<sup>90</sup> It was from them the Zamorin's troop learned the art of gun-making.

### **Social Life**

With the growth of the city and its population, the social life in Cochin became complex. With the result of the mixed marriages and the mingling of the Iberian and Indian elements, initiated and encouraged by Afonso de Albuquerque,<sup>91</sup> a unique culture of this newly formed Luso-Indian community was emerging in the city. In the city of Cochin, a number of the women whom the Portuguese married seem to have been Christian converts from native communities. The native links, thus acquired through marriage, helped some Portuguese citizens to develop an easy network of hinterland trade.<sup>92</sup> The number of

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88. Antonio Bocarro, *op.cit.*, p.199.

89. *Ibid.*, pp.119-207.; Also see, Appendix V

90. G.V. Scammell, 'Indigenous Assistance in the Establishment of Portuguese Power in Asia in the Sixteenth Century, in *Modern Asian Studies*, 14, 1, Cambridge, 1984, p.3.

91. SRH, vol I doc. 106, pp.22-221.

92. Pius Malekandathil, *op.cit.*, pp.118-119.

Portuguese descendants at Cochin increased as a result of these inter-marriages, forming an ethnic group by themselves - the Luso-Indians. The policy of inter-marriage brought out not only a new element of this community of Luso-Indians in the urban society of Cochin, but also helped the Portuguese to penetrate into the hinterlands with their support as intermediaries.

The Episcopal establishment of Cochin under the *Padroado* which came up in 1557 was a great impetus to the Portuguese to settle down in Cochin. In the same year an ordinance was proclaimed whereby anyone who married and settled in Cochin would receive an office or employment according to his grade. If married they paid no duty on sugar or silk, but a 4% duty on all other products which went to the Raja of Cochin. Bachelors migrating to Cochin paid an 8% duty on everything to the King of Portugal. The overwhelming pressure to the willing Portuguese people who settled down in Cochin attracted the native women and men to establish contact with the *Santa Cruz* city of Cochin.

Conversion to Christianity helped the lower caste to effect an upward mobility in the social ladder. Even the higher officials of the native rulers embraced Christianity during the early period. Some members of relatively higher castes like Panikkars and Nairs also converted to Christianity.<sup>93</sup> Conversion to Catholicism was presented as a condition for the native women to get married to Portuguese men. In 1514, in the city of Cochin, about one hundred women including those of Muslim, Nair, Canarese, Gujarati and Brahmin origin, were converted to Christianity.<sup>94</sup> The Negro slaves brought by the Portuguese from African countries were also slowly integrated to the emerging social formation.

### **Education**

The first school in Cochin was started in 1510 by Afonso de Albuquerque. There were about 100 young men studying in the Portuguese school including the children of he

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93. SRH, vol.I, doc. 108, p.225.

94. *Ibid.*, VolII, doc.110, pp.232-9.



Panikkars and nobles.<sup>95</sup> The first teacher was selected from the married Portuguese men residing in Cochin. In 1512, Afonso Alvares was made the teacher for sixteen native students and arrangements were made for the provision of one *fardo* (sack) of rice every eighth day for them.<sup>96</sup> In 1521, for the education of the youngsters and orphans, about 200 primers (*cartilhas*), five biographies of saints and four prayer books were sent from Cochin to Goa.<sup>97</sup>

The Franciscans started a seminary or a centre of higher learning for candidates to the priesthood in Cochin. This seminary, though its actual date of foundation was unknown, was in existence in 1527 as evidenced from a letter by Friar Gonçalo de Lamego.<sup>98</sup> There were only five clerics in that year. The *Mestiços* or the sons of the Portuguese men from Indian women were admitted to the seminary for the first time in 1530. In the seminary of St. Antony of Cochin, the Portuguese professors gave lectures on arts and philosophy.<sup>99</sup>

St. Francis Xavier came to Cochin in 1543, and again in 1544 and 1545. The citizens together with the vicar of Cochin, Pedro Gonçalves requested him to start a college in the city for the education of their children.<sup>100</sup> Balthasar Gago, a member of the Jesuit order, was sent

95. R.A. Bulhão Pato, *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque Seguidas dwe Documentos que as Elucidom, Lisboa, 1884-1935*, tom. I, pp.44-5. (hereafter *Cartas*)

96. SRH, *op.cit.*, doc.65, p.159.

97. *Ibid.* doc.194, pp.419-21; see also, Pius Malekandathil, *op.cit.*, pp.86,87. The primer or *cartilha* included books on the teachings of the Church and prayers both in Latin and native language.

98. A. Meersman, *The Ancient Franciscan Province in India*, Bangalore, 1971, p.314.

99. Frei Paulo da Trindade, *Conquista Esperitual do Oriente*, vol.I, Lisboa, 1962, p.264.

100. Gervasis J. Mulakkara, *History of the Diocese of Cochin: European Missionaries in Cochin 1292-1558*, Vol I Rome, 1986, pp.91-2.

as Superior for this purpose. In the beginning, the students were taught to read and write and were given lessons in Portuguese and Latin.<sup>101</sup> The *Madre de Deus church* of Cochin which originally belonged to the sodality was handed over to the Jesuits for setting up a college in 1550. This college later came to be called *Madre de Deus* college and it had 300 students

(it seems that either all or most of them were seminarians) in 1558.<sup>102</sup> This was a three-storied stone building and had twenty three spacious apartments. It was situated on the south-west of the present Bishop's house, facing the seashore.<sup>103</sup> *Madre de Deus* eventually became the main seminary and chief of all the colleges and houses in the Malabar province of Jesuit order or south India. Arts, humanities and theology were taught to the aspirants for priesthood.<sup>104</sup>

### **Misericordia** (House of Mercy)

The *Santa Casa de Misericordia* founded in Portugal in 1498 was to assist the old, the disabled, the sick and the weaker sections among those in the overseas expansion.<sup>105</sup> The first *Misericordia* was established in Cochin in the whole of the *Estado da India* and it seems that correspondence appeared regarding this since 1527.<sup>106</sup> The *Misericordias* were established in centres where there were hospitals and they began to render help to hospital services and the poor.<sup>107</sup> The widows of those who died in the maritime activities of the Portuguese found it a suitable organization for their relief and the confraternity turned out to

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101. SRH, *op.cit.*, Vol. I IV, doc.36,p.183.

102. Gervasis J. Mulakkara, *op.cit.*, pp.92-3.

103. K.L. Bernard, 'Fort Cochin under the Portuguese', in *the Souvenir of Fifth International Seminar on Indo-Portuguese History*, Cochin, 1989, p.9.

104. Fernão Guerreiro, *Relação Annual das Coisas que Fizeram os Padres da Companhia de Jesus nas suas Missões (1604-1606)*, tom. II.cap.VIII, Coimbra, 1934,p.334.

105. K.S.Mathew, *Portuguese Trade with India in the Sixteenth Century*, Delhi, 1983, p.222.

106. Joaquim Verissimo Serrão, *Historia de Portugal*, vol III, Lisboa, 1978, p.158.

107. Luis de Pina, *Expansão Hospitalar Portuguesa Ultramarina, Séculos XVI & XVII*,Lisboa, 1943, pp.31-5.

be in the overseas possessions of Portugal and a symbol of Christian charity extended by the Portuguese<sup>108</sup>. The *Misericordia* was reported to be in existence in 1521 or 1522 at Cochin<sup>109</sup>. Yet another document shows that the *Misericordia* was established in 1517<sup>110</sup>.

The usual services of *Misericordia* were service to dying, forwarding the assets of the deceased to the legal heirs, care for the orphans and poor, marriage of the destitute and the orphans, visit to the sick etc.

In 1612, the *Misericordia* of Cochin obtained many privileges from Dom Philip II of Portugal .<sup>111</sup> With the royal privileges and with the accumulation of the bequests and legacies of the individuals, it eventually became an institution with great economic significance. Thus , the contribution of one per cent made by the municipality of Cochin for relieving the burden of the Portuguese Government was kept in the *Santa Casa da Misericordia* of the city in 1572.<sup>112</sup>

### **Hospital**

The first colonial hospital in Cochin was founded by Dom Francisco de Almeida on 21 January 1505.<sup>113</sup> The hospital constructed near to the 'rio' ( canal - the outlet to the sea ). In later years another medical centre known as the 'hospital of the poor' was also

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108. K.S.Mathew, 'Portugese Institutions of Social Welfare and Culture in Cochin during the Sixteenth Century', in *Exploring Cochin*, ed., Marian Arackal and Francis Kurisinkal, Cochin,2008, p.160.

109. *Ibid.*, p.161

110. *Ibid.*p. 161 ; also see, SRD, Vol.III, p.446.

111. ANTT, *Chancelaria de Filipe II, liv.23, flo.330*, 'Misericorida de Cochim, Alvara para gozar os Privilegios', Lisboa, 23 February 1612.

112. K.S. Mathew, and Afzal Ahamad,*op.cit.*, doc.42,p.58

113. Luis de Pina, *op.cit.*, p.33

established near to the settlement of the ordinary people, which was situated some distance from the fortress .<sup>114</sup> From as early as 1512, various types of remedies and medicines were available in the pharmacy of Cochin.<sup>115</sup> Probably colonial medicine from the West was introduced for the first time at Cochin and then at Cannanore.

### **Lazaretto**

Leprosy had been a common sickness in Cochin, as was observed by Ralph Fitch.<sup>116</sup> The Portuguese built a leprosy asylum called *Lazaretto* which was outside the walls of the city.<sup>117</sup>

### **Prison**

Prison was another institution to which the helping hands of the *Misericordia* were extended. The prison of Cochin was situated on the side of the `rio`.<sup>118</sup> (outlet of the lagoon into the sea) and was modeled on the prison in Lisbon.<sup>119</sup> There were persons who had been in this prison for five or six years. According to Pyrard de Laval, the Cochin prison had two divisions: the upper part was occupied by the sick and those who were put into irons. Usually the upper prison was set apart for those who would give money to the jailor. The lower level was occupied by ordinary Portuguese, Indians, Christians, Mohammedans, and all other non-Christian groups.<sup>120</sup> In 1610, because of the overcrowding of the prison, Viceroy

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114. Luis da Silveira, *Ensaio de Iconografia das Cidades do Ultramar*, vol.III, Lisboa, plans. 720 and 724, pp.414-15. (no year of publication)

115. SRD., vol.I. doc.63, pp.154-6.

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

117. Luis da Silveira, *op.cit.*, Vol. III . P.415.

118. Antonio Bocarro, *op.cit.*,p.199.

119. Francois Pyrard de Laval, *The Voyages of Francois Pyrard de Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Molucas and Brazil*, trans. Albert Gray, London, 1887 , p.429.

120. *Ibid.*, p.429-30.

Dom Lourenço de Tavora permitted the municipality of Cochin to build another prison. Moreover, for its construction, the city of Cochin was asked to raise the necessary funds.<sup>121</sup>

### **Prostitution**

As the Portuguese came as sailors and soldiers to Cochin unaccompanied by their women, illegitimate relations with the poor native women became quite common. So, prostitution became a consequent evil in the social structure of Portuguese Cochin. A good

number of native women of Cochin exploited this situation to make money. Gradually prostitution became legalized. Viceroy Dom Francisco de Almeida by an order of 1506, decreed that the women whom the Portuguese kept as concubines should be set free and those women who wanted to stay on with the Portuguese were to live in the house of a newly-converted lady by the name of Beatriz.<sup>122</sup>

The Portuguese were not allowed to keep mistresses at home, so they had to visit this house of prostitution for their sexual needs. Afonso de Albuquerque made strict rules in selecting and maintaining concubines in consideration of the health of his men.

It has to be specifically mentioned that the institution of prostitution with its diverse problems connected with the health and faith of the Portuguese played a rather important role, at least in the initial phase. Viceroy Dom Afonso de Noronha ordered in 1551 that unmarried women of native Cochin should be prevented from visiting the married men of Portuguese Cochin.<sup>123</sup> Similarly in 1556, the governor, Francisco Barreto issued an order to the officials of the municipality of Cochin to drive away all those, including married Portuguese settlers, who were leading an immoral life.<sup>124</sup>

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121. K.S. Mathew and Afzal Ahamad, , *op.cit.*, doc.75,pp.113-14.

122. Pius Malekandathil , *op.cit.*, p.90

123. K.S. Mathew and Afzal Ahamad, *op.cit*, doc. 16, p.29.

124. *Ibid.*, doc.19.p.32.

### **Religious Institutions at Santa Cruz**

The city of *Santa Cruz* Cochin became the major centre of Catholics in the East during the Portuguese period. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the friars came along with the Portuguese fleet had already begun their mission of evangelizing people. During the initial stages, they looked after the spiritual needs of the Portuguese soldiers and the *casados*. When the settlement became large and the friars belonged to the various religious orders had spread the Gospel to the local people and converted many to Christianity, it had become a necessity to establish churches and other institutions for the Portuguese

descendants as well as for the local Christians. Besides, the Papal Bulls empowered the Portuguese to sail the seas, conquer new lands, build churches, monasteries and other religious establishments and to send missionaries to these newly-discovered areas<sup>125</sup>

The royal patronage of ***Padroado***, a right given to the Portuguese kings by the Pope, empowered them to look after the evangelization works as well as to maintain the institutions of the Church, in the newly located territories by these Catholic explorers. Apart from these responsibilities, the king of Portugal had the right to propose the Bishops and prelates to be appointed in those areas earmarked in Papal Bulls.<sup>126</sup>

There were so many churches, *capelas* (chapels), monasteries and other places of worship built at Cochin during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Following is a brief description of churches and *capelas* during these period: -

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125. Joseph Wicki, 'The Portuguese Padroado in India in the Sixteenth Century and Francis Xavier' in Hamby E.R. and H.C. Pwerumalil eds. *Christianity in India*, Alleppey, 1972. p.49.
126. Gervasis J. Mulakkara, *op.cit.*, pp. 25-6. ; *Padroado* means patronage, over any ecclesiastical foundations in the newly discovered lands, as specified by Bulls of Pope.

**Church of St. Bartholomew** (used by the German soldiers). Established in 1503. It was located near to the wooden fortress.<sup>127</sup>

**St. Antony's Friary and St. Francis Assisi Church** (started by the Franciscans) started construction in 1518 and completed in 1522. The Friary had a school and seminary attached to it. The king of Portugal used to send books for the Library attached to it.<sup>128</sup>

**The Dominican Monastery**, established in 1551.<sup>129</sup> Even though 5 Dominican monks came to Cochin with Afonso de Albuquerque, they could not proceed smoothly because of regulations from Goa and of the *Padroado* interference.

**Church of *Madre de Deus* and the *Madre de Deus College***: Established by the Jesuits. The college was established after St. Francis Xavier came to Cochin in 1542.<sup>130</sup>

**The Church and the Monastery of St. Augustine**: Established by the Augustinians who came to India in 1572. It was located near the weighing place of pepper<sup>131</sup>

**The *Padroado* Diocese of Cochin and the *Santa Cruz* Cathedral**: Considering the large number of Christians at Cochin and the number of institutions and centre of Religious Orders, the new diocese of Cochin was created by Pope Paul IV by the Bull *Pro Excellenti*, on 4 February 1557. The already existing diocese of Goa was made the Archdiocese and

127. Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *Historia do Descobrimento & Conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses 1500-1559*, liv.IV, cap.XIII, Coimbra, 1924-1933, p.893.

128. SRD, vol.I, doc.143, pp.336-9.

129. Gervasis J. Mulakkara, *op.cit.*, p.117.

130. Josef Wicki ed. *Document Indica*, vol.I, doc.81, Rome, 1948, p.521. (hereafter DI)

131. Luis da Silveira, *op.cit.*, vol. III, pp.414-15.

the diocese of Cochin was made suffragan or subordinate diocese to it.<sup>132</sup> Along with the erection of the bishopric, the church of *Santa Cruz* was elevated to the level of the Cathedral church. The king of Portugal provided huge amounts for the erection of the Cathedral and maintenance of the bishop, priests and other staff.<sup>133</sup>

Besides the *Santa Cruz* cathedral, there established several other churches in Cochin. Sieur de Rennefort says that there were twenty-three churches in Portuguese Cochin and its suburbs during the seventeenth century.<sup>134</sup> This fact was further testified by the list of

churches given in the *Descrição de Cochin* and by the plans of Cochin given in the *Ensaio de Iconografia das Cidades do Ultramar*. The names of these churches were:- St. Berthelomew's church, St. Sebastian's church, St. Augustin's church, The church of Our Lady of Guadelope, the church of Our lady of Protection, St. Paul's church, St. Dominic's church, Church of Our lady of Pity, Church of Our Lady of Guide, St. Francis Assisi church, St. Barbara's church, Church of Our Lady of Good Voyage and the church of Our Lady of Annunciation. These were within the walls of the city. Outside the city, but within the urban and ecclesiastical orbit of *Santa Cruz* cathedral existed the Church of Our Lady of Grace, St. Lazarus church, St. Thomas church, Church of Our Lady of Hope, Church of St. Luis, St. John's church, church of St. Lawrence de Castelo.<sup>135</sup> Some of these were only small chapels or *capelas*.

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132. Antonio Castilho, *A Cronica de D. João III*, published by Joaquim Verissimo Serrão, Paris, 1970, p.356.
133. Antonio Bocarro, *op.cit.*, p.201.
134. Sieur de Rennefort as cited in K.P. Padmanabha Menon, *Histoty of Kerala*, Vol I, New Delhi, 1982 reprint, p.173.
135. F. Figureido, 'Descrição de Cochin' in the *Souvenir of the Fifth Internatinal Seminar on Indo-Portuguese History*, Cochin, 1989 (no page numbers)

From the above, it is clear that the *Santa Cruz* city of Cochin, emerged as a result of the Portuguese occupation, international trade and their vibrant and active process of evangelization, assumed the position of premier city of India in the pre-industrial era. It developed into the most prominent trading centre in the East in the beginning of sixteenth century. The symbolic relationship of the ruler of Cochin with the Portuguese ushered in an era of economic cooperation, cultural diffusion and assimilation. The import of printing technology from Europe on the establishment of the *Madre de Deus* press and the printing of the books brought about revolutionary changes through the explosion of Christian ideals and Western liberalism in a caste-ridden society. Cochin soon emerged as a prominent centre of



education with the facilities for higher education and the churches, monasteries and seminaries established by the religious orders helped to raise many priests and religious persons. A relevant point in the above processes of urban growth and the formation of an ecclesiastical centre and Episcopal city of Cochin was the role of the *casado* settlers and involvement of the Luso-Indians in all the above developmental activities. It is well-narrated in history supported by documental evidences that with the arrival of the Portuguese and their establishments in the port-towns of Kerala, the *casados* rose to prominence as the pioneers directly involved in the various aspects of trade, evangelization and formed themselves into a community of Luso-Indians. They were integral part of the ecclesiastical establishment, municipal system in Cochin and also acted as a *catalyst group* in the cultural synthesis of social life not only in Cochin but almost the whole of Kerala.

## Chapter V

### SOCIAL LIFE OF LUSO-INDIANS

The mixed marriages of Portuguese men with Indian women promoted by Afonso de Albuquerque had its own impact and consequences. The offspring from the Portuguese – Indian wed-lock, labeled as Luso-Indians retained their peculiarities in language, culture and social life over centuries. The Luso-Indian community was formed by the legitimate union of the Portuguese with the women of India. . The Portuguese settlers formed a community of their own and their presence in the Portuguese settlements in Kerala was so prominent that even a sizable portion of the trade during the early 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries were handled by them<sup>1</sup>. It was also a fact that, because of their marriage with native women, the Portuguese could penetrate to the interior areas of Malabar<sup>2</sup>, where pepper and other spices were cultivated. This not only helped the Portuguese to collect quality spices but also to procure them at negotiated prices. The hinterland trade of the *casados* and their relationship with the pepper cultivating St.Thomas Christians of Kerala was well documented by the chroniclers of sixteenth and seventeenth century.<sup>3</sup> For the effective running of the Portuguese system in the port towns the *casados* had a prominent role and to a very great extent the Portuguese interests on Malabar coasts were looked after by them<sup>4</sup>.

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1. Pius Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India 1500 - 1663*- New Delhi 2001, p.121.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

3. G.M.Moraes, 'St.Francis Xavier, Apostolic Nuncio, 1542-1552', *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series, XXVII, 1950, p.288.

4. Pius Malekandathil, *op.cit.*, p.209; also see J.H. Da Cunha Rivara, *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, Fasciculo 3, New Delhi, 1992, reprint pp.328-9.

The main Portuguese settlements during the sixteenth century at Cannanore, Calicut, Cochin and Quilon had hinterland trade centres from where the Portuguese and the *casados*

used to collect pepper and spices. Soon the *Casados* and their descendants became the chief intermediaries and their population and economic power increased and they could extend their influence both politically and commercially in the port towns <sup>5</sup>. The friars came along with the Portuguese fleet looked after the spiritual needs of the Portuguese and the *casados*. The friars also started their evangelization activities and very soon Christians began to increase in number around the Portuguese settlements <sup>6</sup>.

Since the arrival of Vasco da Gama in 1498 till the Portuguese were defeated by the Dutch in 1663, the long period of more than 150 years, the Portuguese maintained their presence on Malabar coasts. By the time they surrendered to the Dutch, there were established many enclaves of Portuguese descendants - the Luso-Indians. The inclusion of the clause to protect the interests of the Luso-Indian community, in the Portuguese deed of surrender <sup>7</sup> to the Dutch, the concern of the Portuguese had about the Luso-Indian community is reflected. In the Dutch deed of surrender of 1795 <sup>8</sup> also, a separate clause (clause 13) was provided for the protection of the *Topasses* or the Luso-Indians.

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5. Sanjay Subramanniam, 'The Tail Wags the Dog or some Aspects of the External Relations of the Estado da India', 1570-1600, in *Moyen Orient \* Ocean Indien*, XVI e-XIXe. S., no.5, Paris, 1988. Also see, Sanjay Subramaniam, 'Notes on the Sixteenth Century Bengal Trade', in *IESHR*, 24/3, 1987, pp.266-89.

6. SRD Vol I, p.444.

7. M.K. Kuriakose, *History of Christianity in India: Source Materials*, Delhi, 1999, p.52, 53.

8. K.M. Panikkar, *Malabar and the Dutch*, Bombay, 1931, p. 181.

During the British period <sup>9</sup> also the Eurasians enjoyed special privileges and many English men married Eurasian women <sup>10</sup> and settled in Kerala. Thus from *Feringee* to Luso-Indian

then *Topasse* during the Dutch period and then to *Eurasian* was the plight of the *mestices* because of the admixture of various ethnic groups over centuries.

The Dutch married from the Luso-Indian community and finally the descendants of all Europeans in India were classified as *Anglo-Indians* during the British period. But, the seclusion of the Luso-Indians by the British and discriminating them had its own effects on the Portuguese descendants. As Stark observes “condemnation of mixed marriages”<sup>11</sup> by the British and denying them positions in high ranks of British Government in India and in services, made the Eurasians realize their position. This was seen in the observation of Goodrich and its effects as highlighted by him were significant. The community had come to realize that “it is in their best interest to unite and co-operate with the other native inhabitants of India.”<sup>12</sup> Thus, there grew up a ‘marginal group’, “whom fate has condemned to live in two societies and in two, not merely different but antagonistic cultures”<sup>13</sup>. They have been earmarked as the “European sons of native women.....and it is surprising that within a few years the Eurasians themselves recognized that they had been set apart as a separate group and began to act as one”.<sup>14</sup>

Even though the term “Eurasian” was the apt word to appellate the community of European descendants, Marquis of Hastings, Governor General of India (1813 – 1823) defined the community as ‘Anglo-Indian’, which reads “A person of mixed Asiatic and non-

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9. H.A Stark, *Hostages to India*, Calcutta, 1926, p.45.

10. Shiv Kumar Gupta, *Marriage Among Anglo-Indians*, Lucknow, 1968, p.14.

11. H.A. Stark, *op.cit.*, p.15.

12. Cederic Dover, *Half-Caste*, London, 1937, p.157.

13. R.E. Park, *Race and Culture, Glencol III*, 1950, p.375.

14. Dorris Goodrich, *The Making of an Ethenic Group, The Eurasian Community in India* (unpublished) P.hd. dissertation, University of California, Berkely, 1952, ., p.2.

Asiatic descent, whose father, grand father or remote ancestor in the male line was born on the continent of Europe, Canada, New Foundland, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa or the United States of America and who is not a European”<sup>15</sup>

During the British period, the Resolution of the Court of Directors of the East India Company (April 8, 1687) addressed to the President of Madras laid the foundations of inter-racial marriages in India, saying “The marriage of our soldiers to the native women of St. George is a matter of such consequence to posterity that we shall be content to encourage it with some expense”.<sup>16</sup> It, thus, gave an impetus, in the form of a policy mandate, to the rise of a mixed Anglo-Indian population in the country.

The Luso-Indian community has gone a long way since the time of its formation during the first decade of sixteenth century. It could withstand the Dutch and the British periods and maintained to a very great extent its cultural identity, customs and manners, even though it had to adapt to the changing times and language constraints. Even though the community of European descendants, during the British period underwent changes in India, in Kerala these changes affected the least<sup>17</sup>. There are so many reasons for this. Firstly, the long period of Portuguese occupation in the coastal towns of Kerala from 1500 to 1663 had made its indelible mark of influence in language, food habits and social set-up, led to the formation of cultural identity to the Luso-Indian community. Secondly, most of their settlements in interior villages and near to the Catholic churches, in some cases which were established by them, had developed a strong bond of kinship relations among them. Thirdly, most of the Luso-Indians had landed properties, coconut palm gardens and occupations like that of iron-smith, copper-smith, carpenter, mason, potter, cobbler, tailor, baker etc.

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15. Shiv Kumar Gupta, *op.cit.* p.15

16. *Ibid.*, p.114

17. Most of the Luso-Indian settlements in Kerala are in the interior villages closer to the coastal towns. By the time the Britishers started the control of administration in the prominent three local kingdoms of Travancore, Cochin and Calicut, the community of Luso-Indians were firmly established here and the influence of British affected them least.

very much adapted to the situation in Kerala. And fourthly, many of them accepted Malayalam as their language of communication, though English was the mother-tongue of the Anglo-Indians.

The over enthusiasm of some British descendants for cashing the 'proud heritage as Britishers' and instigated by the then prominent British descendants, the Constituent Assembly adopted the following definition for an Anglo-Indian:-

“A person whose father or any of whose male progenitors in the male line is or was of European descent but who is domiciled within the territory of India and is or was born within such territory of parents habitually resident therein and not established there for temporary purpose only “<sup>18</sup>

This Constitutional definition however was not relevant or fully correct as the word 'Anglo-Indian' cannot represent descendants of all Europeans<sup>19</sup>. The Portuguese language was spoken till recently in many of the Luso-Indian homes at Cannanore, Calicut, Cochin and Quilon. It will be interesting to note that even today, after 350 years the Portuguese left Kerala, some members of the community still speak Portuguese language in the creole form. The Luso-Indians have adapted to Indian situations and indianised to a very great extent, they still maintain their cultural identity as a separate ethnic group.

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18. *Constitution of India*, Article, 366 (2)

19. The Portuguese descendants in Kerala raised objections on the above naming of the community as 'Anglo-Indian'. But, Mr. Frank Anthony, Member of the Constituent Assembly and other British descendants were advocating for this term and as such, this demand from the community of Luso-Indians, or the argument for the term of *Eurasian* did not get much momentum. In fact, the Constituent Assembly was constituted at the fag end of the British rule and there was no one in the Assembly to argue for the cause of other European descendants other than the British descendants, who usually takes up a false argument that 'only English-speaking are real Anglo-Indians'. However, the matter was again brought to the discussion of Parliament by none other than Mr. Frank Anthony himself and his objections for the Luso-Indians or *Feringees* of Kerala. But his arguments were overruled by the then Home Minister of India, Pandit Govinda Vallabh Pant and the Parliament on 24<sup>th</sup> March 1960. Mr. Pant made it clear that 'there is no condition here that an Anglo-Indian who cannot speak English cannot be considered as an Anglo-Indian'. Also see, *Anglo-Indian Journal*, Cochin, October 1982, p.13-15

After the adoption of Article 366 (2) in 1950, the community of Luso-Indians, whether in Kerala or elsewhere in India became more accommodative towards other European

descendants. The community of Luso-Indians in Kerala, however, was not in favour of English language as they preferred to their own language of Portuguese for domestic interaction. Even their ecclesiastical leadership, who were mostly Portuguese, Spaniards or Italians did not prepare to accept English as medium of instruction as they thought that it was the language of the Protestant British. They feared that their Catholic folk may be inclined to Protestantism through the English language.<sup>20</sup> They were forced to accept English language on the realization that for higher education in independent India English is indispensable. While the other Christian sects advanced their position by opting English education, the Latin Catholic community including Luso-Indians in Kerala lagged behind in this field and went backward educationally and economically.

### **Development of Early Settlements**

The 40 odd Luso-Indian settlements in Kerala are the abiding legacy of Portuguese period in Kerala. The background of each of these settlements can be traced from the beginning of the sixteenth century. Some settlements were established at a later stage, when they settle in the interior places for the purpose of hinterland trade. The other settlements were established when the Luso-Indian were forced to flee from Cochin because of

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20. The English education was started and promoted by the British through Church Missionary Society. A letter of Col. Munro, British Resident in Cochin and Travancore (1812-1816) shows this intention. See, P. Cherian, *The Malabar Syrians and the Church Missionary Society 1816-1846*, Kottayam, 1935, Appendix A, Letter No.1, pp.340-341). It discusses the best means of introducing Protestant Christianity. Thomas Babington Macaulay's Minute of 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1835 shows the use of public funds for English education. In the above background, the Catholic bishops discouraged Catholics to study in the Presidency College, a Protestant institution and instead used to send them either to Madras (now Chennai) and Trichy St. Joseph's College, run by Jesuits. So, only the affluent parents could send their children to these places.

the Dutch invasion of 1663. Some other settlements were developed much later during the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century at Wayanadu and Munnar etc. In most of these settlements, there is one common factor - their attachment to the church. Wherever the Luso-Indians were

settled, it was close to the Catholic church, or they established their own churches where they were forced to settle down.<sup>21</sup>

The *casado* traders and their role in the *Camara Municipal* at Cochin, is well-defined. This background of trade operations of the Luso-Indians continued to some extent even during the Dutch period.<sup>22</sup> During the British period, the Luso-Indian community could survive keeping its identity by their secluded living, maintaining their language, unique culture and their un-shakable faith in the Catholic Church.

### **Luso-Indian Enclaves**

The Luso-Indians usually stay together in one locality in adjacent houses. This is because, they were first lived in Portuguese settlements, near to the *fortelezas* or *feitorias*, for fear of their enemies and also to carry on the trade. Later, this kind of living became a necessity, to protect themselves from physical or cultural onslaughts from other communities. The city of *Santa Cruz* Cochin, Calicut, Cannanore and Quilon are example for this.<sup>23</sup>

At Cochin, the *Cochin de Baixo*, or the city of *Santa Cruz* was developed in and around the Portuguese *feitoria* and the Fort Emmanuel which was destroyed earlier. The present Fort Cochin area is developed at the former *Cochin de Baixo*. The St. Francis Church, Santa Cruz Cathedral, the St. Mary's and St. Briotto's Anglo-Indian schools and the Bishop's House etc. are situated in this area.

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21. In Munnar (Idukki district), Wayanadu, Areepalam (Trichur District), Manjanakad (Ernakulam district), Kunnumma (Alleppey district) etc. where the Luso-Indians settled at a later years of 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, they built churches near to their settlements.

22. At Kayamkulam (Alleppey district), Anjengo (Trivandrum district) etc. developed into Luso-Indian settlements at a later stage when the Dutch were in power. In these places, along with Luso-Indians we could see some Dutch descendants also.

At Cannanore, the Portuguese settlement was developed around fort St. Angelo and the area where the Holy Trinity church St. Tresa's and St. Michael's Anglo-Indian schools are situated. This area is now called Burnacherry. At Calicut, the Luso-Indians were settled near to the Matre Dei Cathedral, near to the sea and port. St. Joseph's Anglo-Indian schools for



both boys and girls separately situated near to the Cathedral. On both sides of the road near to the Cathedral the Luso-Indians had their houses. The fort at Calicut was pulled down in the first half of sixteenth century itself.

At Quilon, the Luso-Indian settlement was developed near to Fort St. Thomas at a place called Tangasserry. The Port is also close to this site. The Infant Jesus Anglo-Indian school, the Bishop's House, the Cathedral church and the Luso-Indian settlement are close to the port at Tangasserry itself.

Apart from the centres mentioned above, at Pallipattin (Vypin island) the settlement is close to the hexagonal fort and to the church of Our Lady of Snow. At Vallarpadam, Chathiath, Palluruthy, Saude, Edacochin, Ernakulam<sup>24</sup>, Kadukutty, Padiyoor, Eloor, Varapuzha, Manjanakkad, Mulavukadu, Thevara, Venduruthy, Nazareth (Our Lady of Loretto) etc. the community is centred around the areas of parish church.

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23. At Vypin, Fort Cochin, Cannanore, Calicut and Quilon the Luso-Indians are staying at adjacent houses and till recently, the elderly members used to speak each other in Portugues. At Cannanore, Mr. Stanly D`cruz still speak Portuguese. His creol Portuguese, a sample of it is attached in the appendix No.IX

24. The Infant Jesus parish at Ernakulam known as '*Parangipalli*' was established close to another Latin Catholic church, in 1822 as a parish exclusively for the European descendants. (*Verapoly Archdiocesan Centenary Souvenir*, Cochin, 1986, p.532). So also the the Loretto Anglo-Indian church known as *Parangipalli*.

### **House Building pattern**

Since the arrival of the Portuguese, the house-building pattern was slowly changing in Kerala. The Portuguese were great masters of building technique in Europe. They introduced

their architectural idioms in their early settlement at Cochin. The Kerala style of thatched houses with mud or wood walls and without much ventilation was replaced with Portuguese style of houses. The Portuguese masons and the *casados* built spacious houses with laterite and lime, in their settlements. When the Dutch invasion took place it was recorded that about 900 houses of Portuguese and *casados* existed in the city of *Santa Cruz Cochin* <sup>25</sup>. Not only at Cochin, but at Cannanore, Calicut and Quilon there existed massive dwelling places of the Portuguese and the *casados*. This house-building pattern was followed by the Luso-Indians in all their settlements throughout Kerala and after 1663, when they fled to interior villages of Kerala for fear of the Dutch, they built houses with laterite and lime. Plinth level of the house was raised by laying the laterite or granite to support the superstructure. Large rooms with doors and windows were provided for cross ventilation. Each room was differentiated by name – the hall was called *saala*, the kitchen was called *cusinja* etc. Instead of the traditional *kilivathil* (small opening on the walls) large *janelas* installed in all the rooms of the house. The new style houses were peculiar in their nature and pattern. The houses were built with high walls and the roofing was done with tiles made of baked clay. These tiles were named ‘Portuguese tiles’ and even now it is called so. Usually, a front *portico* was common for Luso-Indian houses.

The Luso-Indians maintained a well-groomed garden with many ornamental plants and fruit-bearing trees. Some of them were brought from different Portuguese colonies like Malacca, Brazil, Mozambique etc.<sup>26</sup> Cashew, bread-fruit, *ata* (custard apple), pineapple, guava, papaya etc. are examples.

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25. Pius Malekandathil, *op.cit.*, n 1, p.78; See for details, H.K.Jacob ed., *De Nederlanders in Kerala, 1663-1701, De Memories en Instructies Betreffende het Commandment Malabar van de Veringde Ost Indische Campagnie*, The Hague, 1976, pp.Iii-Iiiii.

26. José E. Mendes Ferrão, *The Adventures of Plants and the Portuguese Discoveries* Lisboa, 1993

## Utensils

A variety of kitchen utensils were used in the Luso-Indian houses according to the financial condition of the family. Brass and clay utensils were common. Chinese jars were

used to preserve edible items in brine. Exquisitely manufactured wine tumblers were used. They use spoons, forks and knives at dining table. Different types of porcelain plates became popular instead of clay or bronze vessels and the Luso-Indians imported these items from China<sup>27</sup>. There were soup plates (*tatta vasi*), rice plates, quarter plates, desert plates etc. commonly used in Luso-Indian houses.

Vessels and utensils used by Luso-Indians were of peculiar quality and shape. Rice bowls and spoons made of silver were common. Now, steel, aluminium and other modern utensils replaced the old ones. Also every house had storage jars to prepare wine. Potteries brought from Macau (a Portuguese colony in China) were common, so much so these vessels were called 'Chinese vessels'<sup>28</sup>. Even now, we can see in most of the houses of Luso-Indians at least some pieces of old potteries imported from China.

## Furniture

The Luso-Indians keep their houses well-furnished. Some of them were expert and skilled carpenters. The pieces of furniture hitherto unknown to Kerala were introduced in Kerala. *Mesa* (table) *cadeira* (*Casera* = chair), *armario* (*almara* = cupboard) are some of them. Corner stands to place flower vases, wood-carved cloth stand etc were also introduced by the Portuguese and later Luso-Indians popularized these items. Wine tumblers and

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27. *Vasi* (plate), *peeles* (saucer), *copa* (cup), *pinjaan* (vessel), *cheenachatti* (frying pan made of caste iron – *cheena* = China, *chatti* = pan), this vessel show the Chinese connection maintained through Macau.

28. The pieces of potteries excavated from Fort Cochin were examined by Dr. Teotónio R. D'sousa and Dr. K.J. John and confirmed that, these are made at Macau and were centuries old. When excavation was going on at Fort Cochin near to the present Bishop's house, for laying the foundation of the Portuguese *Padroado* museum, a collection of Macau potteries were seen embedded in mud and sand and experts could trace its origin centuries back.

beautiful pieces of potteries, metal utensils etc. were exhibited by the Luso-Indians in their homes. The artistically designed corner stands, cloth and hat stand, etc. were peculiar to the Portuguese descendants. Another unique piece of wooden stand - *roopakoodu* (in *Malayalam*) - meant to keep the pictures and statues of Jesus Christ and saints, was

introduced by them <sup>29</sup>. Wooden stands with cupboards and mirror fixed with it are peculiar to Luso-Indian homes.

## Food Habits

In Kerala the staple food is rice. The Luso-Indians adapted to the conditions of Kerala and started using the *canji* (rice cooked with water) on occasions as the native people. In olden days, used to have *canji* preparation along with chicken. For example, they prepare rice along with chicken bits and made *canja da galinha*. This preparation is still popular in Portugal. The Portuguese *fidalgos* and *casados* had bread, porridge, milk, egg, *appam*, bread and *stew*, boiled vegetables etc, for breakfast and the Luso-Indians follow the tradition even today. For lunch, rice with vegetables, meat or fish is the common menu. It is a habit among them that soon after lunch and dinner to take some fruits. In the evening between 4 to 6 p.m. they take tea or coffee with home-made sweet preparations like *bole*, *sowlinge*, *penthe-frete*, *figudosi* etc. The supper is generally between 8 and 9 p.m.. with the same menu for lunch.

The culinary habit of Luso-Indians at Kerala is undoubtedly a blend of Kerala and Portuguese colonial traditions. Many of the Indo-Portuguese recipes are peculiar to each as the ingredients of the preparation vary according to their choice. Some recipes are kept as

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29. Making of *roopakoodu* is an artistic job. The Luso-Indian *carpenteiros* (carpenters) are expert in this craft. The *roopakoodu* is usually a miniature of the wooden stands that kept at the altar of many of the old Latin Catholic churches. *Roopakoodu* can be seen in most of the old Luso-Indian houses. The carpenters from Vaduthala, Thevara, Fort Cochin, Saude, Nazareth, Manjanakkad, N. Parur and Pallippuram areas were experts in this occupation.

secret for generation to generation. For example, the *bafada* prepared in some Luso-Indian families will remain for many days without getting spoiled. This is because they add some ingredients (vinegar, bark of *moringa* tree etc.) to preserve the meat as well as to give the

curry more flavour. Among meat preparations, *vindhaloo* (Beef or pork), *estew* (stew) with beef and potatoes with coconut milk, roasted meat chops etc. are the main items. Duck roast is another favourite item for Luso-Indians. The Portuguese not only introduced some of their food-habits but also brought certain dishes after their contact with the Chinese through their colony at Macau and Malacca. Many of their popular dishes such as *balchao*, *caldeirada*, *cabidal*, *feijoada*, *sorapatel*, *quisados* etc. were introduced in Cochin. The favourite dry fish of the Portuguese *bacalhau* was introduced here even though it was not exactly the same fish, but locally came to be known *vakkal*. So also *boroa* and *vinho* (wine) became a part of the household menu. The wine prepared at most of the *Luso-Indian* homes are different from one another and the ingredients added were also kept as secret by Luso-Indian families.

There are also food items for ordinary days and for special days. There are items like *arroz e caril* (rice and curry) and also *alhapiment de bombilins*, *sek de camarao ou caramguejo*, *dal bafad*, *dampaca*, *xacuti*, *guizado de peixe ou carne*, *barrad de neutis*. Etc. Some other recipes are related to certain festivals with typical dishes prepared for occasion. During Christmas season a famous *bolo de sura* is prepared with *sura*, a fermented sap of palm tree. Other preparations during the festival of Christmas are the *boroa*, *doce de grao*, *dodol*, *neuris*, *aranha de cev*, *pao de lo* and *bebinca*<sup>30</sup>. On any festive occasion, the *espetada de leitao* is one of the main and favourite dishes. In addition, the Portuguese introduced a number of sweet dishes such as *dedos de damas*, *pasties de Santa Clara*, *bolo padre*, *arroz doce (Pachoru)* and a variety of bread and cakes

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30. A Portuguese Food Festival was conducted at Cochin on 23<sup>rd</sup> December 2007 under the auspices of the Indo-Portuguese cultural Institute, Cochin when the food items attracted large crowd. Dr. Henry Austin, former Ambassador of India to Portugal also attended this festival.

The Portuguese style of arranging fork, knife and spoon for *banceti* (banquet) on *mesa* (table) covered with white cloth is still followed. The soup-bowls with spoons arranged on the table is peculiarity in most of the standard Luso-Indian get-togethers.

The bakery industry in India was started by the Portuguese in Cochin and the recipes of various types of cakes were guarded as family secrets by their descendants. The many bakeries and confectionaries run by Portuguese descendants in Cochin and other parts of Kerala like Cannanore, Calicut, Quilon etc. shows their one-time monopoly in this profession. The methods to bake different varieties of *pao* ( bread ), *biscuite* (biscut) etc. varies with each family. There will be a *borma* (bakery) , attached with each house and managed by the family members and their servants. Later, these servants , who learnt the methods of making the cakes and biscuits from their Luso-Indian masters started their own bakeries<sup>22</sup>

*Vindaloo* is prepared with meat , chilly, spices, vinegar etc., *cutles* (cutlets, prepared with minced meat or prawns, spices, chilly etc. and fried in oil). *Sowlinje* (sweet preparation, with rice powder and suger). *Pente frito* is prepared with rice powder soaked with water , egg, sugar etc. make small ball like and after that flattened or folded with a comb and fried in oil. The ribs of the comb is seen impressed on the rice powder. Comb is called *pente* in Portuguese , so the preparation is named after that. There is *bolo* (rice powder mixed with coconut and sometimes with banana cut into pieces, cardamom, jaggery or sugar, shaped round-flat , spread on plantain leaves and baked)

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31. The few Luso-Indian families staying at Telicherry in Cannanore district who are now migrated to Cannanore town and to Calicut etc. gave this information. On my verification directly with some bakers( Mr.Madhavan, Delite Bakery, Vyttila, Mr.Sankaran, Regal Bakery, Thevara) and Mr.Narayanan of the famous Cochin Bakery people in Cochin and surrounding areas, the fact found out was, most of them are from Telicherry and nearby areas and admitted the above fact. Some bakers now are the former workers in *Coelho* and *Rozario* bakeries in Ernakulam, Trichur and Kottayam districts.

Almost every Luso-Indian home prepare the grape wine or *vinho*. There are so many ingredients and methods to prepare wine, which each family keep as their family secret. The common method of preparing wine is as follows:-

2 kgs. of black/rose grapes detached from bunches, and dry . Mashed grapes have to be put in the clay jar . Add 2 kgs of sugar to the grape pulp and stir it well. Add 3 litres of boiled water when it is cooled in the jar and stir it well. Also add one handful of wheat (slightly broken). and one piece of cinnamon broken may be added to the pulp to give flavour to the wine. Keep the jar closed with its lid covering with a piece of cloth or plastic to make it air-tight and tie the neck of the jar to prevent from insect to enter. During the first week, stir the contents of the jar with a spoon washed in boiled water. After one week, keep the jar without shaking, air-tight. After 21 days, the clear wine from top has to be collected and fill in bottles. The disturbed wine at the bottom of the jar can be kept in a separate bottle to settle. Fine strainer or clean cloth washed in boiled water is used for filtering the wine before filling in bottles.

The wine can be used after 21 days. But usually , the bottled wine , after keeping it for one week , will be poured into another bottle (only the clear wine, leaving the residue in the bottle) and kept it sealed with wax. The longer period it is kept , the more tastier it will become <sup>32</sup>.

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32 The grapes chosen should not be sour. only the properly ripe and blackish grapes are to be used.. Broken grapes should not be taken. Wine should be filtered and kept in bottles soon after 21 days. The jar, bottles , spoon to stir and the utensils should be washed in boiled water before use. If colour for the wine is less, burnt sugar may be added in liquid form, taking each bottle and see the colour required, or taking sample and add the required quantity of burnt sugar and mix to the bottles. The proportion of sugar to grapes depends on the sweetness of grapes. Do not fill the bottle to the brim, leave a small portion to gather gas. This wine is called *Vinho da casa* (home-made wine).

Sundays and festival days the menu in Luso-Indian homes will be different. Usually, the breakfast will be stew (beef or pork) and bread. The lunch begins with soup and include beef, chicken with vegetables etc.

## **Costumes**

The Luso-Indian community, generally follow the western style of costumes. The sixteenth century Luso-Indians were wearing the dress of their forefathers and completely copying the style of the Portuguese. Later, during the time of Dutch and British, the Luso-Indian community also changed along with the new fashion trends of the Europeans. But even then, it is still seen among them, hundreds of women with the Malaccan dress of *Kebaya* and *Sarong*. Malacan women were married to Portuguese soldiers and they were brought to Cochin. A few of them were brought to Kerala for colonization. Along with them came their cultural idioms including *Kebaya*. Frock also was popular among Luso-Indian women <sup>33</sup>.

The Luso-Indians used to wear loose pants or trousers – *Calsam* (*calças*) with *chatta* or *camisa* and hat. On Sundays and occasions like wedding, Christening etc. he used to wear suit. The early Luso-Indian men used to wear long pants, shirt and sometimes overcoat. Hats were used till about 50 years back. Later, they adapted to local conditions. The men have different kinds of dresses for various occasions. *Chatta* is a kind of T shirt-like dress worn by the Luso-Indians. It was after this dress they were known as *chattakkar*, locally. For festivals like Christmas, Easter, feasts at churches and on other joyful occasions men wear dark –coloured pants with matching shirts and neck ties. But, when funeral, seventh day or thirtieth day observance of deceased, he always wear black pants and white shirts.

Women folk in modern times wear a variety of western type of dresses. Long skirt and top with long sleeves is a common among them. Sometimes, they wear tops with collar. Long skirt and top with long sleeves and a decorative piece of cloth to cover the head was the usual

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33. Western kind of frock and other pattern of dresses are still worn by Luso-Indian ladies. In Fort Cochin, Nazareth, Edacochin, Palluruthy, Saude, Ernakulam, Pachalam, Calicut, Cannanore and in other places.

costume of Luso-Indian women. So also, women folk wear colourful dresses to fit into various joyful occasions. When they go to church they wear simple and sober dresses with a veil. But on the occasion of death of a relative or member of the community, they wear black



jackets. So also, for seventh day remembrance or others days of mourning they wear black dresses.

The *Kebaya*<sup>34</sup> is the typical dress of many of the Luso-Indian women till recent times in Kerala. This shows two aspects. The stagnant stage of the Luso-Indian community in the rural settlements since the day they were fled from the city enclaves when the Dutch conquered the Portuguese and their subsequent decline in the villages for want of proper education and living conditions. The Luso-Indians living in the city improved their economic conditions and adopted the changing fashions in dressing.

The *Kebaya* consist of a checked *mundu* from waist to foot called *sarong*, and a colourful long top without collar, front open which is closed tight with pins or buttons arranged on a chain either of gold or silver. This Malacan dress was introduced by women brought by Afonso de Albuquerque on the return of his Malacca expedition in 1512<sup>35</sup> and afterwards whenever the Portuguese vessels return to India through Malacca carrying Malacan women for colonization

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34 *Kebaya* is still worn by the Luso-Indian women in many of their settlements. The top portion is colourful with long sleeves and the bottom portion is a checked long piece of cloth. The checked bottom portio - *sarong*, was imported. At Bolgatty, Mulavukadu, Manjanakkadu, Elamkunnappuzha, Kunjithai, Chathiath, Vaduthala, and in Trichur district at Kadukutty and Padiyoor also Luso-Indian women use *Kebaya*. This dress had come with the Malacan women ; See Joan Margaret Marbeck, *Ungua Adanza, An Inheritance*, Melaka, 1995, pp.26,37,61.

35. F.C Danverse, *The Portuguese in India Vol. I* AES Reprint, New Delhi , 1992, , pp.238-39. The rich spoils from Malacca expedition and the group of women from Malacca etc. are narrated. Eventhough the ship `*Flor de La Mar`* with its riches were lost, the mention of Malaccan women who were brought to India by Albuquerque deserves special mention.

The women who lost their husbands or fathers were brought for colonization in the Portuguese settlement of Cochin. The long time trade<sup>36</sup> of the Portuguese *casados* with Malacca also paved the way for marriage of the Luso-Indians with the Malaccan women.

With regard to *Kebaya* , in 1935 V.A. Pascal observed as follows:-

“The women of the ‘*Topasses*’ {Luso-Indians} tuck on their waist-cloth on the left side. It is always coloured and double folded and measures about four yards in length and it extends down to the ankles. A bodice without sleeves forms an underwear. A long jacket, made of red or blue-black striped cloth, extending down the knees, is worn outside, like an over-coat. The bodice is not visible externally in as-much as the opening in the front of the jacket is neatly fastened up from the neck to the waist with pins or tiny hooks and eyes, leaving the lower portion alone to stand parted asunder. A scarf, also made of coloured stuff, about two feet square, is neatly and artistically folded and thrown over one or other of the shoulders. When they go to the church this scarf is unfolded and put on the head like a veil. These, too, wear deep mourning black at funerals or while attending funeral services in the church”

Further Pascal quotes from Visseher who observed the dress of Luso-Indian women in the early part of the 18<sup>th</sup> century as follows:-

“They wear a vest over the upper part of the body, without sleeves and open in front; over this a jacket of fine linen, descending below the waist, wide in the body, and tight in the sleeves. Round the lower part of the

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36. Pius Malekandathil, *The Portuguese and the Indo-Asian Trade in Cochin:1599-1570*, *Op.cit.* p.121.

body they twist cloth of various colours and fasten them with pins in front. They wear also stockings and slippers and hang a folded cloth over their shoulders, about a hand-breadth in width, hanging down half-way back and front. This garment they call a *tokes*; it is frequently made of fine stuff edged with gold” <sup>37</sup>

The Luso-Indian children on the occasion of their First Holy Communion wear white dress peculiar to the occasion. The boys wear white trousers or pants with white shirt and the girls wear long white gown with a small white crown. For wedding, the bridegroom wear dark-shaded suit and the bride wear a long white wedding gown. Even, while working in the kitchen, they put decorative apron. At home, the Luso-Indian men wear shorts or loose pants, with light coloured shirt. The women folk usually wear coloured dresses at home suitable to attend their household works.

### **Jewellery**

The Luso-Indians have their own patterns of jewellery for women and men. The men have simple chain to keep their scapular medal and rings. The women have a variety of patterns of jewellery. They have plain chains, necklace either stone-studded or gold made in beautiful designs. They use a variety of bangles, thick and thin ones in various designs. Rings with stones of red and other colours, either natural or artificial stones according to their wealth. Studs for ear either gold alone or with stones were also used by Luso-Indian women

The Luso-Indian women who wear *Kebaya* use ornaments peculiar to them. These women use a beaded chain called *Kotinja*. And they use a hair pin called *tushi* (it is also called *alpanetti*) to keep their tied hair as a bundle shaped on the rear side of their head. This *tushi* is pushed on the bundled hair to keep it in shape. The *tushi* may be either gold with stone-studded or made of silver, which depend on the financial condition. The front

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37. V.A. Pascal, 'Christian Women of Malabar' in *Maharajas College Magazine*, Ernakulam, January, 1935; The Luso-Indian women during the 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries adopted the costumes of not only the Portuguese but of the Malacan women is clearly attested by V.A. Pascal as well as Visseher.

portion of the *Kebaya* which is slit like a *camisa* is closed with buttons of gold hanged from top to bottom in a chain. It is called *pinnum malayum* (it is a chain either in gold or silver, that pass through the button holes of the top dress). These women use bangles of peculiar designs. Usually the gold or silver bangles are designed in zig-zag pattern. Bangles made of

gold or silver with cut designs in between also are used.. The women in *Kebaya* usually wear ear-studs made of gold in flowery designs <sup>38</sup>.

## Language

The Luso-Indians used to speak Portuguese among themselves and to fellow natives in the past. As time changed, they began to mix freely with the natives and learned Malayalam, the native language of Kerala. Eventhough some of them married with Dutch and later with the English, they retained their Portuguese language. One reason for this was that they lived in seclusion in suburban areas. They slowly studied Malayalam and became a part of Kerala society. However Portuguese was the *lingua franca* even after the defeat of the Portuguese by the Dutch and even during the British period upto quite some time, Portuguese was also the *lingua-franca* used by the Indian merchants for all their transactions. The *casado* traders in the sixteenth century who were moving from one port to another at Indian coasts also were instrumental in propagating the Portuguese language which later continued during the Dutch and British period. Lord Clive was using Portuguese language as his medium of communication with native princess <sup>39</sup>. During the eighteenth, nineteenth and even in the

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38. A museum of ‘*Feringhis* and their culture’ is recently opened at Sampaloor, near to Chalakudy in Trichur district, attached with the St.Francis Xavier church, by the initiative of Fr.Joshi Muttikkal. This parish comprise of 450 families of Luso-Indians, 90% of the total parishners. The old and new costumes of Luso-Indians, their jewellery, food items (made of plaster of paris and gave colour) and even old furniture, utensils etc. have been collected and displayed at this museum.

39. J. Gerson da Cunha, *Contribution to the study of Indo-Portuguese Numismatics*, AES reprint, New Delhi, 1995, p.124.

middle part of the twentieth century, the Luso-Indians were speaking Portuguese, in a *creole* form, which even today the elderly people of the community speak at their homes.<sup>40</sup>

The Portuguese language influenced the Malayalam to a very great extent and now more than 200 Portuguese words can be traced in Malayalam vocabulary. In the very first voyage of Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese sailors were fascinated by the language of Malayalam and the words commonly used and some short sentences etc. were recorded by them.<sup>41</sup>

There are quite a number of Portuguese words used at Luso-Indian homes such as, *cusinja*, *sala* (hall), *vasora* (broom), *vasi* (plate), *renda* (lace), etc.<sup>42</sup>

The churches in Kerala especially Syrian and Latin Catholic churches have many Portuguese terms. For example, *covennta* (monastery), *confereria* (confraternity), *capela* (chapel), *padre* (priest), *Kapayar* (sexton) *Contha* (rosary), *procurdor* (purchaser) *Sacristo* (place to keep things for Mass)<sup>43</sup>

There are again more Portuguese words in Malayalam which are used in day today life, such as; *Armario* (almara), *bata* (bata or battha = allowance), *chaapa* (seal), *cipai* (peon), *Janela* (window), *mesa* (table), *cadeira* (chair) etc.<sup>44</sup>

40. In Vypin, Cannanore and Calicut there are some elderly people who still speak a *creole* form of Portuguese.. F.M. Paynter, Maxwell Hendricks, Winny D'sousa of Vypeen, Stanly D'cruz, Leslie Pinto of Cannanore, Bluet Rodrigues of Fort Cochin and Elextion Lopez of Calicut can speak a creole form.

41.. Alvaro Velho, *Roteiro Da Primeira Viagem de Vasco da Gama* (1497 – 1499), pp.95 – 97

42. List of Portuguese words commonly used at Luso-Indian homes, (appendix VIII )

43. List of Portuguese words used at churches, attached as (appendix VII )

44. List of Portugues words generally used in Kerala, (appendix VI)

The Portuguese language in creole form that is remaining still in Kerala, a sample of which as mentioned by Mr.Stanly D'cruz is attached as annexure<sup>45</sup>

There are *Portuguese creole* songs still sung by the Luso-Indians. These songs also help us to know the background of the community.<sup>46</sup>

## Family and Kinship Organization

Though almost everybody is born in a family and seems to know and understand what family is from first hand experience, yet the many special studies which have been devoted in recent years to “the family” bring out very prominently how very difficult it is to define precisely and briefly the institution of family. In a comprehensive and careful study of the family, Burgess and Locke have defined it as a “group of persons united ties of marriage, blood or adoption; constituting a single household; interacting and communicating with each other in respective social roles of husband and wife, mother and father, son and daughter, brother and sister ; and creating and maintaining a common culture “<sup>47</sup> This definition is very much apt to describe the Luso-Indian family in Kerala as it is not complicated as in the case of Hindu joint family. Although the family began in its earliest origins as a reproductive or biological association, it has developed into a primary social unit of the highest importance for man. It influences the whole society in innumerable ways and its changes reverberate through the whole social structure. It is capable of endless variation and yet reveals a

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45. The Portuguese sentences and questions , commonly used , at the family of Mr. Stanley D`cruz of Cannanore. (appendix XI )
46. Kenneth David Jackson, *Sing Without Shame*, Macau, 1990, pp. 25 – 30., List of *creole songs*, (appendix IX ); also see, K.J. John, “International Trade in Sixteenth Century”, in *A Carreira da India e Rotas dos Estreitos*, Anglo do Heroismo, 1998, p.295,296.
47. E.W. Burgess and H.J. Locke, *The Family – From Institution to Companianiship*, New York, 1953 p.8.

remarkable continuity and persistence through change. The central factor of continuity between the old and new family of Luso-Indians, in the course of 500 years of its existence, is an intangible but very real thing, viz. deep family feeling and the affection and solicitude of parents for children which survived the vicissitudes of time. The survival of Luso-Indian families after the dispersal in the backdrop of Dutch onslaughts clearly indicates the capacity of the family to persist under unfavourable conditions. They could form and sustain their

cultural identity even today because of the European family norms and indigenous traditions. Just as man is not born human nor is he born social, an individual is not born even a Luso-Indian; but he becomes human, social and typical Luso-Indian through association and communication and the family is the first and foremost agency in his “cultural conditioning” in this direction, by providing for him his earliest behaviour patterns and standards of conduct which they maintain over centuries. These transmits the cultural heritage to him and thus maintains a cultural continuity between the individual and his society, and indeed between generations to generations of the society.

Luso-Indians are endogamous and strict endogamy sustained their community. Marriages from outside the community is commonly disallowed as per convention. Exogamy was considered derogatory to the community. The household is comprised of a succession of persons connected by blood or marriage, especially father, mother, son, daughter-in-law and their children. The daughters after the marriage live in the house of their husbands .

The Luso-Indian families lie in clusters of small group. They are strictly monogamous. They prefer to live in a nuclear family and joint-family system is uncommon . However , old parents usually are looked after by the youngest son , who inherits the ‘*tharavaadu*’ ( ancestral house). The Luso-Indians show great regard for their old parents and the sons and daughters who stay separate after marriage , join together for feasts like Christmas, New Year , feast at the parish church, birth day of the parents etc. During these occasions, the children bring presents for the parents and greet them . These occasions are celebrated together.

All the members of the family usually have their food together. The members sit together on chairs around the dining table and father usually occupy the prominent seat at the head of the table. The dishes are spread on the table and each one is free to take according to the need. Before and after the meal, a small prayer is said thanking God for providing the day`s meal.

The members of the family go to the church together on Sundays and obligatory days. They wear mild and clean dresses when they go to church. Women and young girls wear

white veil on their head when they go to church. On Christmas, New Year, Easter and parish feasts etc. they wear colourful dresses.

The daily family prayer is important. Usually, the head of the family wake up the members and there will be a small morning prayer. After that, the members as far as possible attend the mass at the close by church. The evening family prayer is a routine practice. The members of the Luso-Indian family meet together at a stipulated time between 7 to 9 in the evening and offer their prayers. Usually, the `Rosary` or *kontha* is recited every day by contemplating the `Mysteries of the Rosary`. The prayers `Our Father` and `Hail Mary` are repeated while the Rosary is recited.

The parish deity or patron saint is considered as special protector of the families in the parish. All the families recite special prayers to this patron saint every day. **The feast of the parish saint** as their protector, is celebrated with much piety and pomp. On the day of the feast, the members of the family who stay far and near come to their ancestral house for a get-together and attend the church services followed by feasting.

The social institution of marriage is the basis of all relations in any social group. First, the husband and wife, their children and grand children forms apparently the family, which again give rise to great grand children and so on. With the marriage of a man and women, his and her parents, grand parents, uncles, aunts and the brothers and sisters of both man and women become the household.

The bond of relationship between the kin among Luso-Indians is intense. The rules of endogamy moulded the Luso-Indian community as an extended kin group. As the number of members in each settlement is limited, there is always a tendency to look for bride and bridegroom from a nearby or far off Luso-Indian settlement for marriage.

There is no concept of one's customary bride or bridegroom (*Murappennu* or *Muracherukkan*) among Luso-Indians, as marriage of uncle's daughter or son or father's niece or nephew is not allowed in the community. The cousins are considered brothers and sisters and cross cousin marriage is a taboo.



As nuclear family is the system followed by the Luso-Indians. There is no complicated kinship relations as in the case of a joint family. To address the uncle the term *tio* is used whether the uncle is father's brother or mother's. So also the term *tia* is used for aunts from both father's and mother's sides. The relationship of godfather (*Padarinjo*) or godmother (*Madarinja*) with the boy (*Filhado*) or girl (*Filhada*), on behalf of whom they undertook the responsibility of their spiritual nurture, though the *Padarinjo* or *Madarinja* are not necessarily have blood relations with the *Filhado/Filhada* their position in the family is next to father/mother.

Even though glaring differences cannot be highlighted, the godfather/godmother relationship, the *filhado/filhada* relationship, the absence of special importance for maternal uncle or aunt, the importance given to elder members of the kins group etc. are characteristics to Luso-Indians. A comparative study of kinship organizations of the Luso-Indians with the complicated Hindu society where exists more than 84 kinships<sup>48</sup>, would show the simple nature of Luso-Indian kinship organization with the limited kinship terms.<sup>49</sup>

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48. Irawati Karve, *Kinship Organization in India*, Bombay, 1965 p.89-91. Of these 84 kinships, many are father's and mother's separate and also male & female separate. So also, son's son's son and daughter's daughter's daughter etc are separate. Again, Irawati Karve has counted man speaking & women speaking terms separate.

49. *Ibid.*, Irawati Karve has noticed 'co-wife, 'co-husband' etc. which has no relevance among Luso-Indians.. Also, for father's or mother's brother's or sister's sons or daughter's or their children etc. are not separately called by different terms, but (*o primo/a prima*) 'cousin'; first cousin second cousin etc.

Concerning the present study, the Portuguese words used by the Luso-Indians among themselves and at their homes are relevant at this context. *Filhado* (godson) *filhada* (god-daughter) *padarinjo* (godfather) *madarinjo* (godmother) are some of the words used by the Luso-Indian community, which are not at all heard among Indians. The kinship terms commonly used are listed below. As the language used by Luso-Indians are Portuguese, Malayalam and later English, the kinship terms are either Portuguese, Malayalam or

English and sometimes an adaptation from these languages and for the formation of unique kinship terms:-

Father	-	<i>pae</i> , papa, dad
Mother	-	<i>mãe</i> , mamma, mummy
Brother	-	<i>irmão</i> ,
Sister	-	<i>irmã</i> ,
Brother -in-law	-	<i>cunhado</i>
Sister-in-law	-	<i>cunhada</i>
Son	-	<i>filho</i>
Daughter	-	<i>filha</i>
Son-in-law	-	<i>genro</i>
Daughter-in-law	-	<i>nora</i>
Uncle	-	<i>tio</i> , uncle
Aunt	-	<i>tia</i> , aunt
Grandfather	-	<i>avô</i> , grandpa, <i>pappanji</i>
Grandmother	-	<i>avó</i> , grandma, <i>ammanji</i> ( <i>mammanji</i> )
Grand son	-	<i>neto</i> ,
Grand daughter	-	<i>neta</i>
Husband	-	<i>marido</i>
Wife	-	<i>mulher</i>
Father-in-law	-	<i>sôgro</i>
Mother-in-law	-	<i>sogra</i>
Sister's son	-	<i>sobrinho</i> (nephew)
Sister's daughter	-	<i>sobrinha</i> , (niece)
Brother's son	-	<i>sobrinho</i> (nephew)
Brother's daughter	-	<i>sobrinha</i> (niece)
Father's brother's son	-	<i>o primo</i> cousin
Father's sister's son	-	“                  “
Mother's brother's son	-	“                  “
Mother's sister's son	-	“                  “

Father's brother's daughter	-	<i>a prima</i>	“
Father's sister's daughter	-	“	“
Mother's brother's daughter	-	<i>a prima</i>	(cousin)
Mother's sister's daughter	-	<i>a prima</i>	(cousin)
Son's father-in-law	-	<i>consôgro</i>	
Son's mother –n-law	-	<i>consôgra</i>	
Daughter-s father-in-law	-	<i>consôgro</i>	
Daughter-s mother-in-law	-	<i>consôgra</i>	
Wife's brother's wife	-	<i>cunhada</i>	( sister-in-law)
Wife's sister's husband	-	<i>cunhado</i>	( brother-in-law)
Husband's brother's wife	-	<i>cunhada</i>	( sister-in-law )
Husband's sister's husband	-	<i>cunhado</i>	(brother-in-law )
Godfather	-	<i>padarinja</i>	
Godmother	-	<i>madarinja</i>	
Godson	-	<i>filhado</i>	
Goddaughter	-	<i>filaada</i>	
Godson's father	-	<i>compadre</i>	
Godson's mother	-	<i>commadre</i>	
Elder brother	-	<i>acha</i>	(a word locally adapted) <sup>50</sup>

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50. Many Portuguese kinship terms are also slowly adapted to local language , in the bargain they are not in use.. The word *suci* for elder sister has been pronounced in some places as *chuchi*, probably by the influence of Malacan connection. In some interior settlements, the word *thaata* is used to call elderly women. This may be by the influence of Muslim connection as it is noticed that among Muslim community the same word is used to call elderly women. Among Latin Catholics , for elderly women the word *thathi* is used.

Elder sister	-	<i>suci</i>	(locally adapted to <i>chitta</i> / <i>chuchi</i> )
Lady	-	<i>dona</i>	(locally adapted to <i>maana</i> / <i>nona</i> )

## Occupations

The Portuguese who were married to native women were freed from the compulsory military service and allowed to settle in and around the Portuguese *feitoria* or fort. The ordinary soldiers and other men who knew carpentry, smithy, tailoring, shoe-making, masonry

work etc. had taken up these jobs and continued in these occupations. Even now, the Luso-Indians are the best carpenters in and around Cochin and their skill of making beautiful pieces of furniture earned them name and fame. During the British period these master craftsmen were engaged by the Britishers to make furniture for their bungalows and stately buildings.

When the Britishers turned to large-scale plantations of tea at Munnar, Wayanadu and Nilgiri hills, the Luso-Indian carpenters and masons were invited to these places for building the bungalows and make furniture for them. When the tea factories came up, it became imperative to construct houses for the workers. Slowly these carpenters were promoted as *mestres* (master craftsman) and many of them later became contractors in the plantations. As the plantations were extended from one estate to another the *mestres* who took up civil contracts became rich and they could amass wealth and could buy properties both at the plantation areas of Munnar and Wayanadu as well as landed properties at their home towns. There were rich estate contractors from Chathiath (Pachalam), Vaduthala, Varappuzha, Palluruthy, Mulavukadu, Perumanoor and Edacochin and other places around Cochin<sup>51</sup>.

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51. The Correias from Chathiath (Peter Correia and Manuel Correia), and from Vadurhala Francis Severance and Manul Luizs, from Vallarpadam A.J. Lopez and Vincent Gonsalves, from Palliport Peter Pinheiro, Joseph Almeida and T.M. D`cruz, from Palluruthy Joseph D`cruz and Carlton Luiz), from Mulavukadu Joseph D`silva, from Perumanoor C.P. Luiz, from Edacochin Rudolph Mendezs and Francis Nunezs, from Varappuza Matheus Pereira, and Francis Correia were some of the prominent *mestres and* contractors from the Luso-Indian community.

The D`silvas from Mulavukaadu, the Lopez from Vallarpadam, the D`cruzs from Palliport, the Correias from Pachalam and the Luizs from Perumanoor had tea and coffee plantations at Munnar, Wayanadu areas<sup>52</sup>.

The *casados* had their trade of spices and other commodities like coir and rice, with other ports of Malabar, Coromandal ports, Maldives and even with Malacca.. They used to collect spices and other commodities from the hinterland areas of Kerala. The interior

settlements of the Luso-Indians apart from the settlements at coastal areas and the concentration of Luso-Indians at the Port areas of Tuticorin, Nagapattanam etc. were because of the flourishing trade of the *casados*. The short-supply of spices from the hinterland areas and the recession during the second decade of seventeenth century, which resulted in the migration of *casados* from Cochin is part of history.<sup>53</sup> It is recorded that out of the 900 odd houses in the *Santha Cruz* city of Cochin only 173 houses were actually occupied when the Dutch conquered, according to the estimation in 1670.<sup>54</sup> In later years the Luso-Indians were engaged in trade but not to the extend of old glory.

In the present circumstances, many of the Luso-Indians divert their skills to modern jobs of information technology, teaching, engineering, fabricating, skilled and semi-skilled jobs in reputed companies. But even now, thousands of Luso-Indians are engaged in carpentry, smithy, tailoring etc. One peculiarity found in these people are that, they are industrious and use their skills and ready to take risk and to start their own work-shops. From the cases studied, those people who were prepared to take risk and started their own business to make use of their skills. most of them have

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52. Joseph D'silva from Mulavukadu who came to Wayanadu in 1940s became a civil contractor and later became a planter and settled at Rippon estate.

53. Pius Malekandathil, *op.cit.* n.1, p.199.

54. H.K. Jacob, ed., *De Nederlanders in Kerala, 1663-1701*, Hague, 1976, pp.1ii - 1iii.

flourished and economically progressed, even though many of them have only just formal education below 10<sup>th</sup> standard.<sup>55</sup>

The engineering skills of Luso-Indians is well-known. It is noticed that, they very easily understand the working of machines and master the skills of its functioning, fault finding and repairing. There are quite a good number of examples for this. Late Leon Padua (from Mulavukadu) was a genius concerning the industrial boilers; he rose to the position equal to Chief Engineer of the FACT Ltd. at Eloor, with a special designation of `Senior

Master Mechanic`, created only for him. So also in the case of Mr.Lazer Paiva of Palluruthy ; Mr.Paiva mastered the skills of wind-mills and in so many other sophisticated machines, and late Leons Paiva was a master boat builder..<sup>56</sup>

The role of Luso-Indian mechanics was prominent in the Cochin Port, to operate and repair cranes, lifts and other sophisticated machines during the formative period of modern Cochin Port. It is reported that , during the early days of the port, cranes and other machineries when become faulty, the port was facing difficulties and when the Luso-Indian mechanics were engaged, they repaired these machines and made them operative . So also

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55. Mr.Manuel Correia (from Varappuzha) is known for his skills in structural engineering and he has set-up his own work-shop in Madras, Mr.Clifford Olivera (from Kumbalangi) is a master brain in transformers and welding machines; he joined Cochin Refineries and retired as Works Manager and later started his own concern to manufacture welding machines., Mr.Denson Coelho (Koratty) is a skilled mechanic who has excelled in this and has his own work-shop, late Mr.Rudolph Mendez (from Edacochin) was known for his skills in vacuum techniques and started his own tin factory in Madras where tins are produced for a variety of products., Mr.Peter Pinheiro (from Pallipport) is known for his expertise in engines for boats. There are again more examples.

56. Mr.Lazer Paiva`s skill in handling the sophisticated machines is well-known. Without formal education , he makes lots of interesting mechanisms in industry, especially with remote control mechanisms , mechanical problems in the construction of large bridges, wind mills and in so many other industrial applications. As an approval for his skills, many companies made him their industrial consultant. Late Leons Paiva was a master boat builder from Palluruthy, with his boat-yards at Palluruthy and Quilon. He was known for his skills in designing and making boats and especially in fishing boats. He had extra-ordinary skill in fault-finding of mechanical boats and also.

during the early days of the port , when ships were anchored, the faults were repaired by Luso-Indian mechanics. The mechanical work-shop of the Port was dominated by Luso-Indians <sup>57</sup>.

When the Britishers set-up the Kannan Devan Hill Produce Company, for tea plantation in High Ranges like Munnar and Nilgiri hills , the Luso-Indian mechanics were engaged for the operation of machines for leveling and construction of factory etc. and also

for the maintenance of the factories. Their trucks, diesel generating machines etc. were maintained by the Luso-Indian mechanics.

In the present day trend of catering of food on occasions such as wedding, engagements, birthday parties, celebrating various occasions, people in Kerala especially in and around Cochin prefer the Luso-Indian caterers as the Luso-Indian cuisine satisfies the tastes of people generally. This is a new arena for the Luso-Indians, in which by now they have already earned a name. The *Rozarios* (Ernakulam, Kotayam, Trichur and Palluruthy), *D`cruzs* (Kottayam, Thoppumpady, west Cochin etc), *‘Morris’* (Fort Cochin and west Cochin areas), *Oliveiras* and *Luizs* (Thevara and Ernakulam) are famous caterers now. Their meat stews, *Vindhaloo*, pork preparations and various kinds of puddings etc. are specialties, for which the people in general have developed a taste.

Bakery industry was introduced by the Portuguese and the Luso-Indians were engaged in this industry since the beginning of sixteenth century. Luso-Indians are good bakers. The bread, cake and various kinds of pastries were introduced, prepared and used by them only.

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57. Basil Cabral, (Crane operator, from Nazareth), Sunny Correya (electrical, from Saude), Francis Gonsalvez (from Vallarpadam), Antony Mendez (Mulavukadu), Ambrose D’silva, Xavier Gomes, Ammar Gomes (Vallarpadam), Michael Meyn (Saude), are few among the master mechanics at Cochin Port in the early days of modern Cochin Port.

So, it was quite natural that they became owners of good bakeries. Right from Cannanore to Quilon, the early bakeries were all owned and managed by Luso-Indians. The *Rozarios* and *Coelhos* were the foremost names in bakery industry of Kerala. Telicherry was a centre of Luso-Indians and later of the British. There was demand for bread and other baked items from the British and there developed flourishing bakeries by Luso-Indians. Later, after the Britishers left India, the Luso-Indians who by then developed marriage relations with the Britishers slowly started shifting from Telicherry. At this time, the local people who were workers in the bakeries of Luso-Indians, who knew the methods of baking, came forward to

establish bakeries of their own in Telicherry and later in other areas; they established bakeries throughout Kerala and these people from Telicherry now have a monopoly over the bakery industry in the State. During the field study, elderly people told about the situation of ten or twenty years ago. It was a practice that during Christmas and Easter season people go first to the *Rozario Bakery*<sup>58</sup> and *Coelho Bakery*<sup>59</sup>. In the interior villages, where Luso-Indians were settled, there will be at least one or two houses, where bread, cake and other pastries were prepared and sold and people call these places *borma*. That is baker's oven.

In defense services, the presence of Luso-Indians and their heroic acts are well-acclaimed sagas of adventures. After independence of India, in the Chinese war as well as the wars with Pakistan Luso-Indian pilots have shown their heroism, the example of Keeler brothers is one among them, and the then Prime Ministers had recorded their special

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58.The *Rozario Bakery* at Ernakulam was situated near the road to Bishop's house before the market canal. Close to this bakery there were other bakeries also from the same family. When their children were migrated to different places, about fifteen years back the bakery was closed.

59.The *Coelho Bakery* was functioning in Market Road on the eastern side of the Popular Automobiles. This bakery was last managed by Mrs.Mary Coelho and when her children who were high officials in Customs Department and in medical profession (later, one son who is a doctor, went to United States) and one son who is a priest in Franciscan order went to Andhra, the bakery was closed about twenty five years back)

appreciation on this. During these operations, after causing heavy damages to the enemies, many Luso-Indian pilots in the Indian Air Force had sacrificed their lives for the nation. In the Navy also, the Luso-Indians have a glorious record of service. Admiral R.L. Pereira, from Cannanore was Chief of Naval Staff of Indian Navy. So also, in the Army, General Reggie Noronha from Tangasserry at Quilon, was deputed to lead the combined forces of the United Nations in Congo. There are so many Luso-Indians who were in various ranks in various defense services of the country.



In the field of nursing , the Luso-Indian women were the pioneers in India. Even during the Portuguese period , they have a record of serving the wounded soldiers during the wars. The names of Ana Veiga, Isabel Fernandez, Ursula Abreu, Isabel Madeira, Barbara Fernandez, Catarina Moreira, Luisa Fernandez and Catarina Lopes were seen in Portuguese chronicles as nursing assistants <sup>60</sup> It is also mentioned the services of Dona Luisa da Silva , a noble woman from Cochin , who provided shelter to the sick during the State Hospital in 1635 was overcrowded with sick who were suffering from scurvy. Later, when the Portuguese and Luso-Indian settlements were developed , the women folk at Luso-Indian homes had several duties to be performed including the nursing of the sick, as the men usually would be out for wars and for trade activities. The Luso-Indian community, over the periods of the Dutch and English and post independence period , have had the services of their women folk like nursing, secretarial works , teachers and matrons at schools etc.

In tailoring , especially in wedding garments, making of bouquet, frocks for Luso-Indian women etc. the Luso-Indian women are specialists, as they follow the latest trends in fashions in these garments.

Off late, Luso-Indians turned to various professions in tune with the changing times. Merchant Navy offered many of them lucrative professions according to their educational,

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60. Diogo de Couto, *Da Asia*, Lisboa, 1778-88, Dec. VI, Liv II.

qualifications , from Captain to deck jobs. Engineering industry, Railway Post and Telegraphs, Customs Department, hotel management etc. were the avenues the Luso-Indians were turned to. Now a days , the jobs in computers and Information Technology are attractive fields for Luso-Indians.

### **Love for Music and Dance**

Luso-Indians love music and it is a tradition among them to sing and dance in most of their functions. The observation of Bishop Joseph Sebastiani that “There is no town or

village of Christians which does not have in its church an organ, harp and a viola and a good choir of musicians who sing for festivities and for holidays, vespers, masses and litanies and with much cooperation and devotion”<sup>61</sup> shows the background of Luso-Indians concerning their love for music. The spread of Portuguese courtly and liturgical musical tradition to Cochin has to be examined in the context of the performance of the Coimbra and Evora schools from about the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>62</sup>

To expect the presence of a Portuguese, or at least European, musical tradition in Cochin between 1500 and 1650 is entirely justified within the context of the intensity of Portuguese religious activities and ceremonies in the churches in Cochin and the rapid and systematic construction of churches and convents at Cochin, Quilon, Vaipicotta, Sampaloor, Kannur etc. and the cultural impact of Portuguese and *Padroado Real* and Portugal’s emergence during the sixteenth century as an active centre of music..

The musical activities and training at San Salvador College of Quilon, Madre de Deus College of Cochin and St.Paul’s College of Sampaloor effected an impact and the music taught and performed in these religious institutions showed the taste and integrity of the Society of Jesus and Jesuit traditions.

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61. Joseph de Santa Maria (Guseppe Sebastiane), *Seconda Speditione Miludive Orientali* , Venice, 1683, iii, p.105
62. Owen Rees, *Polyphony in Portugal C. 1530 C. 1620: Sources from The Monastery of Santa Cruz, Coimbra, New York, Garland, 1995*

The Luso-Indians , who inherited these traditions , continued to love music. Music and dance were part of their life. At home, during holidays, weddings, get-togethers , social functions etc. they sing and dance together. They wear colorful dresses on these occasions and join for dancing. There are occasions like birthdays, engagements, wedding anniversaries etc. the family members, relatives and friends join together , sing and dance with grand lunch or dinner.

The feast at churches is incomplete without the performance of the band. The musicians with their bugle, clarinet, drums, flute etc. play various tunes of devotional music.

The band is always in front of a procession. The musicians also add colour to the procession, as they wear uniform dresses and march ahead according to the course of the procession.

Music tradition of Luso-Indians can be traced from the arrival of Vasco da Gama. During the second voyage, da Gama's ships also included an organist Fr. Masseur and chorist Fr. Pedro Netto<sup>63</sup>. The Portuguese missionaries carried portable organs, which were often used as presentation gifts, and the first organ in India probably arrived around 1500 as a result of this practice.<sup>64</sup> It is seen that, the fleet of Pedro Alvares Cabral in 1500, had accompanied a music troupe also,<sup>65</sup>. Again, for the conduct of the Synod of Diamper in 1599, for singing during the sacred services at the Synod, the Cathedral choir from Cochin had been present<sup>66</sup>.

The Purchase of 'Three large book of chant' in Cochin in 1512 and the *Livro Grande de Canto* for the Portuguese churches in India refers specifically to the very large book of chants that were commonly used in churches in Europe so that one book could serve a

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63. G.B. Ramusio, '*Delle Navigazioni et Viaggi...*', Venice, 1550 cited in Ian Woodfield, *English Musicians in the age of Exploration*, Stuyvesant, 1995, p.182.

64. *Ibid.*

65. A. Meersman, *The Friars Minor, 1291-1942*, Karachi, 1943, p.10

66. Pius Malekandathil, trans. António de Gouvea, *Jornada* (written in Portuguese in 1603), translated in English, Cochin, 2003, p.261.

Sunday choir<sup>67</sup>. The acquisition of the necessary liturgical books for the celebrations of the church calendar in Cochin and around was an obvious priority according to the documents of the first two decades of the sixteenth century<sup>68</sup>. Da Gama's brother D.Ayres Gama mentions specifically in connection with a church in Cannanore that while the building is beautifully decorated "it is necessary to have the books to sing the office" of which there were none<sup>69</sup>. This music would have been for the use of priests and clergy for the celebration of the daily office as well as for the mass, possibly accompanied by organs.

A letter from Fr.Domingo de Souza to the King in December 1514, mentions specifically that ten clerics were used to sing masses and the office from the books ‘with best manner as they could’<sup>70</sup>. Thus in Cochin and Cannanore an infrastructure was established very early for celebrating the office and mass in Chant. At any rate, by the 1540s, the practice of polyphony was being cultivated in the Kerala Catholic churches. The emotional and spiritual benefits of having a sung Mass rather than a spoken one is emphasized in a revealing letter written by Fr.Master Belchior from Cochin in 1561. He writes that people were satisfied only with sung Masses which became necessary for the increased devotion of the Portuguese as well as the native population (*gente da terra*) and for the veneration of Divine mysteries. For the same reason he concludes, the feast of the Nativity is celebrated with many instruments, as well as many *prosas e jubilos*<sup>71</sup>

Despite our lack of the actual sources the systematic introduction of Western music in Kerala with the advent of the Portuguese, it is clear from the tradition of Luso-Indians and other Latin Christians of the region that a strong musical infrastructure similar to that of a small city in Europe was established in Cochin within a few years of the Portuguese

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67. SRD I, pp.127, 431.

68. Ibid., pp.395, 411.

69. Ibid., p.371.

70. Ibid., p. 250.

71. Ibid., 8, pp.464-65

settlements in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. This included the music for signing and ceremonial purposes, the employment of liturgical Chant for celebration of the Mass, the daily office and the feast days and music for processions and other civic events. Organs, trumpets and shaws were brought over from Portugal on the first ship and occasionally these instruments were supplemented with indigenous instruments.

The churches established by the Portuguese missionaries played an important role in popularization of Western music even to the lowest village level. In most parishes of Catholic churches in Kerala children were taught rudiments of Western music in the church or

schools attached to the church. They were taught to play violin and to sing hymns, Psalms and *ladinhas*. Singing of *ladinjas* in Latin was usual till recently in Kerala Catholic churches. Parish schools or choir groups were the nurseries of a number of Luso-Indian musicians of Kerala.

In the Luso-Indian families parents and children used to sing together during prayers and also during occasions like Christmas, New Year Day celebrations etc. Instruments like piano, guitar, violin and drums were played in almost all Luso-Indian homes till recently. Now, piano can be seen only at old ancestral houses as its import is now restricted by the Govt. of India. While violin is the favourite instrument of older generation, guitar is the instrument of the younger generation. Drums are played by those who are lovers of jazz. In olden days, the members of the family sing and play the instruments at home, said Mr. Winnie D'souza, an 82 year old musician from Vypin, who play guitar and also sing even at this age. Mr. Winnie D'souza recently recorded his songs for an album on Cochin. He is a talented singer specialized in 'yodelling' (sing with frequent changes from the normal voice to high falsetto notes) Mr. Emil Issaac is yet another famous guitarist who used to play even from his childhood days. He was a celebrity in Kerala even while he was in college and the St. Alberts College where he was studying always won the title for western music at State level in those days. His brother Rex is also famous as a violinist and the college orchestra at St. Alberts college was led by him while he was a student there. Even after his post-graduation in Mathematics, Rex continued in music as a professional violinist. Their father Joe and mother Emilda, both from Alleppey played both violin and guitar. Mr. Joe Isaacs was considered as 'Maestro' of the musicians in Kerala. For conducting Latin choir, he was the foremost name and on many occasions, when ecclesiastical dignitaries visited Kerala, it was Joe Isaacs who was entrusted with compositions for the occasions, which were acclaimed by the dignitaries and people at large. The respect and regard for Joe Isaacs<sup>72</sup> was so great that he was called 'Uncle Joe' by music lovers and others.

Mr. Godwin Figureido, the famous pianist is yet another celebrity in the western music scenario and especially for conducting choir for Latin and English services we held. A family of musicians, the Figureidos played on prestigious occasions at the Santa Cruz

Basilica, Cochin, when ecclesiastical dignitaries from Rome and Portugal and other places visited Cochin.

The `Coelhos` are another family from Ernakulam in the music world especially in the choir. Coelho senior was the musician in the St.Mary`s church , eventhough it was a Syrian church (now St.Mary`s Basilica; this was the common church for all Catholics formerly, irrespective of Rite differences like Latin and Syrian and the then Eurasian community till 1822). Rev.Fr.Christopher Coelho <sup>73</sup>, a Franciscan is a well-known musician with many compositions to his credit . Besides, he used to sing the Mass and hymns in beautiful voice. Sandra Coelho <sup>74</sup> is a third generation member from the Coelho clan. Sandra is a famous name in Latin and English choir and her melodious voice has made her a sensation in Kerala. She is the main female voice when the Cochin Arts and Communications conducts their concerts at Ernakulam. Her talents have been utilized in many music albums. Her children

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72. Joe Isaacs was honoured with the *Maestro* award by the Indo-Portuguese Cultural Institute, Cochin, for his outstanding contributions to music. Joe Isaacs played violin and also was an expert on organ. He was privileged to conduct the choir for Latin Mass whenever a big ecclesiastical event takes place in Kerala.

73. Rev.Fr.Christopher Coelho, had several books of compositions of hymns to his credit.

74. Sandra Coelho, was honoured by the Cochin Arts & Communications as well as The Indo-Portuguese cultural Institute for her talents and the contributions she made for music.

are also good musicians and at the Infant Jesus Church, Ernakulam and in their colleges they have already became part of the choir and orchestra.

Mr.Pinson Correia from Pachalam used to play magic with his drums. Pinson was part of most of the orchestras in Kerala and his talent on drums were praised by many dignitaries who witnessed his performances .

Lambert Luiz, from Pachalam is an all-round performer. He is a gifted singer, plays violin, guitar and the piano . He along with his younger brother, son and daughter manages his own troupe and the family have performed in many places in the State and other places.

Douglas Aruja, Burton and Jimmy Luiz are the other prominent names in western music. Edmund Gomez, violinist and Johny Gomez his brother who is also an all-rounder with his talent in singing and playing guitar are the famous two brothers in the music scenario in the State. Johny Gomez is not only a gifted singer, he finds time to teach guitar to the younger generation.

The Luso-Indian boys have formed several music troupes in Kerala. Some of which have ceased to exist. *The Glamour Stars*, *The Elite Aces*, *The 13A.D*, *The Brown Circle* etc. are few among them. In the *Jesus Youth Band* , who travel all over the world and sings Christian songs, especially for the youth, most of them are Luso-Indian boys <sup>75</sup>.

The Luso-Indian family celebrations are also noted for their dances. `Ball Room Dancing`, is one of the peculiarities of these occasions. All the men and women irrespective of age participate in the dancing with their pair. There are strict rules for movements and

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75. Luso-Indians , being the pioneers in western music have formed various music troupes , but mainly centred around Cochin. After Emil Isaacs joined the music troupe of Usha Uthup, his other brothers , their cousins and other members have joined various troupes. One of his brothers, Elloy Isaacs turned to Christian devotional singing and he leads the biggest western music choir in Kerala, who sings in most of the ecclesiastical functions. Mr.Stanley Luiz , who went to Gulf for job joined with his friends and formed a troupe who sings for occasions there.

to hold the partner in dancing. The elders will watch the performances of the dancers and any kind of misbehavior from any one make that person disqualify for further dancing. Not only that , the person who misbehaves, bring shame and bad name for the family. So, the people participate in ball-room dancing will be careful to move according to the music as well as the manner required. There are fast dancing tunes for youngsters.

There are dancing styles like *twist, cha cha cha, Jive, Tag, Salsa* etc. in which there are various movements according to the music played.

### **Music for Wedding Reception**

During the wedding reception, there is the 'Grand March', led by the Bridegroom and Bride, along with the relatives and friends (in couples). The couples holding arms will move slowly dancing according to the music played, usually slow, following the bride and bridegroom in a line and move around the dancing hall. After the grand march, a special song will be played for the couple for their 'First Dance'. During the wedding reception usually *Fox Straut* (holding hands one another by the dancers and form a round around the bride and groom, *Waltz* (slow-movement dancing), *Tango* and *Cross-Steps* (usually for youngsters) are the dances usually performed <sup>76</sup>.

Lifting the Bride and Bride-groom: During dancing the other dancers lift the bride and bridegroom on separate chairs and they would be asked to kiss each other while in the lifted position.

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76. To lead and direct the dances, usually an M.C. – Master of Ceremony will be there. It is according to his direction, the various dances are conducted. For the grand wedding receptions, efficient Master of Ceremonies are engaged and the success of the reception very much depends on them. The MCs usually with their elegance add fun and joy to the people gathered and the dances are moved according to the moods of the people on the dancing floor. Some times youngsters are more on the dancing floor, they demand for fast music and the MC will see that such numbers are played by the band. Sometimes, more elderly people are on the floor, the band has to play slow numbers. Mr. Kevin D'Rozario and Mr. Tony Fernandez and many others are there in Cochin to perform as MCs.

Throwing the bouquet: The bride is turned back and ask to throw a small bouquet to the group of girls. The girl who get the bouquet is the 'lucky girl', and the concept is that her wedding will take place soon.

Blindfolding the bridegroom: The bridegroom is blindfolded and send to the group of bachelor boys and ask him to touch one among them. The one who is touched by the bridegroom is the 'lucky boy', who will have the privilege to dance with the 'lucky girl'.



## Celebration of Birthdays

Celebration of birthdays is a custom among the Luso-Indians. Celebration of the first birthday of a child is grand, with the participation of the relatives from both sides of the father and mother. The relatives and friends assemble, cut the birthday cake, distribution of cake, and wine and drinks will be there followed by grand lunch/dinner. The relatives will bring gifts for the child. The *Padarinja* (godfather) and *Madarinja* (godmother) will be specially invited on this occasion.

Concerning Luso-Indians, the custom of celebrating birthdays is followed by rich and poor alike. Especially, they celebrate the birthdays of their father and mother with great affection and warmth. While inviting relatives and friends for birthdays is a matter of convenience in some remote villages of Luso-Indians, in places where they live in colony-style and in nearby houses and in towns like, Fort cochin, Nazareth, Saude, Palluruthy, Edacochin, Ernakulam, Pachalam, Vypin, Cannanore, Calicut, Quilon etc. there is no need to invite the relatives and friends, but they come and wish the person who celebrate his or her birthday and it is a custom that food and drinks have to be served and most of the times singing and dancing are part of the celebrations. The family members and close relatives go to the house of their dear ones on birthdays and greet birthday wishes and for this, usually, no formal invitation is required. At these places, it is a custom, at the house of the person celebrate birthday expect his/her relatives usually in the evening to join them for dinner and the customary birthday celebrations. The cutting of the birthday cake is an inevitable item, with the candle showing the age also is blown and all the people assemble, sing the following song:-

*Happy birthday to you,*

*Happy birthday to you*

*Happy birthday to you dear.....(name of the person celebrate birthday)*

*Happy birthday to you.*

*May God bless you dear,*

*And keep you for years,*

*Happy birthday dear.....(name of the person celebrate the birthday)*  
*Happy birthday to you...*

There is another song also sing on birthday

*It s a hap-hap – happy birthday,*  
*May you live to be a hundred and three,*

*It s a hap – hap – happy birthday,*  
*And still many many more.*

*Take a vow – toke a vow,*  
*On your birthday – your birthday – your birthday.*

*Show about , show about on your birthday,*  
*Your birthday, your birthday.*

*You still look as young as you were,*  
*Happy birthday to you.*

The far away relatives send their greetings either in the form of a greeting card or gift ; now a days wishing birthdays through phone calls or email is common.

## **Wedding Anniversaries**

Celebrating wedding anniversaries is another custom among the Luso-Indians. The family members assemble together either in the afternoon or at night , cut the anniversary cake by the couple , distribute the cake and wine and afterwards the lunch/dinner follows. The members of the family , relatives and friends come and wish the couple , kiss them and give presents. They celebrate usually the twenty fifth wedding anniversary as ‘Silver Wedding’, the fiftieth anniversary as ‘Golden Wedding’ and sixtieth wedding anniversary as

‘Diamond Wedding’. On these jubilee occasions, the couple who celebrate the Jubilee, will attend mass along with their family members for giving thanks to the Almighty to stay long together. For the wedding jubilee celebrations, the couple come in their wedding dress, revive the marriage vows, exchange rings to commemorate the jubilee, at the church.

### **Preparations for the ‘Feste de Natal’**

Celebrating Christmas (*Natal*) is an important aspect of Luso-Indians. Christmas season is festive days for them. Customarily, the community make preparations for the celebration of ‘*Natal*’ at least before three months of the feast. The houses are cleaned, whitewashed, preparations for the making of wine are made. They keep the grape minimum 21 days and then filter and keep it. The children are enthusiastic to make variety of stars and Christmas lights (lanterns prepared by making it with bamboo ply or wood and cover it with thin coloured paper (China paper). New clothes are stitched, according to the latest trends in fashion.

Sweet preparations like *Sowlinge*, *Penthe-frito*, *cheeda*, etc. are prepared and stored in air-tight tins. In many houses, where the household members are familiar to prepare and bake cakes, the preparations are made for the mixing of ingredients before baking the cakes. Sometimes, a few families around the locality will join together and mix the ingredients for baking and they share the cakes, to avoid the difficulty of making the oven for small quantities.

The association of Luso-Indians in many centres conduct ‘Natal Fund’. The functioning of the Fund is, to collect a fixed sum from members every week or month and in the month of December, this fund is disbursed to the members, to celebrate the Natal.

### **Offering ‘Consoada’**

It is a custom among Luso-Indians to send the dishes prepared in their house on Christmas Eve to the houses of close relatives. The dishes are taken in vessels and the vessels are covered in a silk cloth, tied and taken to the houses. In return, from the houses to

where the *Consoada* was taken, they send the dishes prepared in their houses and send back. This custom is still continued in many places. Offering *consoada* is usually done from younger ones to elders as a mark of concern for them. It has another aspect also. By offering the preparations of one house to another by way of *consoada*, the taste and quality of the preparations are taken care of, as it is a sample of the items prepared and for the women folk at home it is a question of their pride to maintain the taste and showing their skill in preparing various dishes on the Christmas eve. Usually, *consoada* is carried to other houses by the children in the family.

The Luso-Indian families take special care to offer *consoada* to the houses of relatives where death has happened in that year. As these families would be in mourning and no festival dishes are prepared at their houses, the close relatives and neighbours take special care to offer *consoada* to these houses. By this custom, the fellow members of the community show concern to the bereaved family and it gives the feeling to these families that they have been taken care of in their misery by the fellow members.

### **Cultural and Social Life**

The Luso-Indian community in Kerala maintain a unique culture of their own. They follow European style in dressing, of course adapted to the local conditions. They behave with pleasing manners like greeting and saluting women especially the elderly ones, elders and superiors. In some interior Luso-Indian centres like Vallarpadam, Mulavukadu, Edacochin, Kadukutty, Padiyoor etc. the members of the family still greet in Portuguese. *Bom dia* (good morning/day) *boa tarde* (good afternoon), and *boa noite* (good night) etc. Of course, with change of times, the above words have been changed slightly, for example, *boa tarde* became *bo tarde*, *boa noite* became *bonote* etc. In most of the other centres, the greetings have now changed to English. They still call uncle as *tio* and aunt as *tia*, the godfather is called *padarinja*, godmother as *madarinja*, godson is *filhiado*, goddaughter *filhiada* and for brother-in-law *cunhado* and sister-in-law *cunhada*.

The Luso-Indians are sociable people. They interact with other communities and have no inhibitions in accepting or exchanging water, food etc. with others. In religious and social functions, the cultural peculiarities of the community are glaringly evident.

### **Baptism**

The Portuguese word *baptismo* is changed with times and colloquially became *bowtise* (as the `p` is silent) for baptism among the Luso-Indians. This is the christening ceremony of the new-born child. While the Christening ceremony is not celebrated by other Christian sects, among the Luso-Indian community this is a function, celebrated with lots of customs peculiar to them. The community consider this as a sacred function as baptism is the first *sacrament* (among the seven sacraments for Catholics) that unites a person with Christ's Church and at the same time, the child is named and identified in the community.

Usually, the *baptismo* of the first child takes place at the mother's place, as for the first delivery the girl is brought to her house by her parents either in the fifth or seventh month. There is a custom to 'visit the pregnant girl' at her house by the relatives of the boy and when they go to visit they carry home-made sweet preparations for the girl.

It is a custom among Luso-Indians, after delivery, the new-born child is given honey in which gold is rubbed. Soon after delivery the child has to be baptized, as the Church insists it. Now a days, as most of the deliveries are taking place at hospitals, the Church allows reasonable time, usually one month, after that it requires the sanction from the diocesan *curia*, for the condonement of delay (reasons have to be submitted before the *curia* for this). Being the first child, the *Padarinja* (godfather) and *madarinja* (godmother) have to be from the side of the father of the boy.

**Role of the *Padarinja* and *Madarinja*:** Among Luso-Indians, in the Baptism of a child, the godparents who answer the baptismal vows for the child, have special significance. The *padarinja* and *madarinja* as they are called are very important persons in the life of their godchild (*filiadho / filiadha*). It is considered that the *Padarinja* and *madarinja* have special responsibility in the character formation of the child. From the day of the baptism, the

*padarinja* and *madarinja* are dear to the child second to his/her parents. On the first holy communion day, confirmation day, engagement day, and wedding day, the *padarinja* and *madarinja* are specially invited and the child get presents from his godparents on these occasions. Even on the day the godchild starts his profession, the godparents are invited to bless their godchild. From the day of the baptism of the child, the *padarinja* and *madarinja* become the *compadre* and *commadre* to the parents of the child <sup>77</sup>.

On the day of the of the Christening, the godparents and the relatives of the father of the child come to the house of the mother of the new –born baby. They have to be given a breakfast first, with the customary items, like *appam*, *biscoito* etc. The new-born baby is given bath by the *aya* or home-nurse assisted by the mother of the child and by her mother. The child is dressed in white cloth and there is the ‘handing-over of the child’ by the *ayaha* to the proposed *madarinja* (godmother). The godmother after taking the child in her hands give some gift (usually, money) to the *aya* as token of the gratitude for taking care of the child. The child is then dressed with the new long, white dress brought by the godmother. After a small prayer before the photo of the Sacred Heart of Jesus , the child is taken to the church by the godmother , godfather, parents of the child, and close relatives. To the boy child’s dress a blue satin ribbon is stitched and the girl child’s dress a pink ribbon is stitched.

Before entering the church, the godparents and the parents of the child approach the parish priest, enter the names of the godparents and the proposed name of the child, in the parish register kept at the church. The godparents have to produce a certificate to prove their

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77. *Compadre* and *Commadre* means equal to father and mother. *Compadre* in colloquial Malayalam became *cumpathri* and subsequently *cumpari*.

identity and parish from the parish priest they belong, if they do not belong to the parish where the baptism takes place.

**Receiving the child:** In front of the church, the priest come to the front door of the church and make sign of the cross on the forehead of the child and welcomes the new-born child to the Christian community. The godmother carry the child throughout the functions of Christening.

**The questions and prayers for baptism:** The priest then recite the prayers and asks certain questions to fulfill the formalities of the church in inviting a member to the Catholic faith. These formalities are observed on the doctrines of the church based on the fundamental beliefs of the Church that man was sinned at Aden by disobeying the orders of the God and thereby sinned and God cursed Adam and Eve, the first man and woman and the generation born out of them 'will be born with that sin' The priest asks the child 'are you leaving satan' and also 'are you leaving all the deeds of satan' for which, on behalf of the child, the godparents have to answer. The priest again asks 'whether you accept Jesus Christ as the Savier', for which also the godparents have to answer.

**Baptism with water:** The priest baptize the child by pouring hooly water on the child's head and by saying " in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit I baptize you".

**Naming of the child:** The priest then name the child as decided earlier by the parents. Usually, the child is given the name of the saint, celebrated by the Church on the day the child was born, and one more name chosen by the parents and the surname (*apelido* or *alcunha*) of the father of the child. The surname is important for Luso-Indians, as this is the name of the family and clan carried through generations and used often to know the identity of the family. The priest then pray for the child as member of the Catholic Church.

**The white dress:** The priest while baptizing the child, wipe the child's head and give him a white dress and pray "let Jesus Christ help you wearing this as symbol of your life purified and protected"

In the life of a Luso-Indian, the role of the *padarinja* and *madarinja* is unique. It is the godparents who answered for the questions asked by the priest during baptism, for and

on behalf of the child. The godparents have to carry the child during the baptism and have to pray and promise the faith in Christ and Church on behalf of the child. The godparents have the responsibility to advise the child for growing up into a an ideal person and to follow the social and religious practices , till he attains age. The godparents also have the responsibility in guiding the child for right education and to choose the suitable profession for their *filhado/filhada* (godson/goddaughter). When he starts his profession, on the first day, the godparents are invited specially and they have to bless the child. So also, on the occasion of the child`s Confirmation and First Holy Communion (these are Sacraments of the Church, confirming the child in Catholic faith and receiving the `host` ie the symbol of Christ`s body for the first time) the godparents are invited. Also, for the fixing of the , engagement and wedding of the godchild, the godparents are invited and given a prominent position. The godparents bless their godchild before he or she goes to the church to get married and it is their prerogative to welcome the married couple in to the house, by kissing both of them on their cheeks. It is also considered a close-relation or friendship between the godparents of the child and the parents of the child. They call each other *compadre* (*cumpari* colloquially ).

**Feasting at the house after baptism:** The Christened or Baptized child is brought to the house and the relatives and friends give gifts to the child. Now a days, a cake is cut together by the father and mother on behalf of the child and with the distribution cake the celebrations begin at home. The cake is followed by *vinho* and the grand lunch follows. It is a custom that the *padarinja* has to bring a bottle of liquor and place it on the dining table when the lunch is started and supply it to the people present. At the lunch , the prime importance is given to the godparents.

## **Marriage**

The cultural identity of the Luso-Indian community is largely reflected in their marriage. From the selection of the partner till the marriage ceremony, the community shows its unique culture.



Among the Luso-Indians, where marriage is very largely dependent upon the choice of the individual. The young men and women have their self-choice of spouses. In most of the cases, the boy and girl have been met earlier, developed affection which lead to love and this is the base for marriage in the community. So, it can be seen that courtship is the best available help, that culminates in marriage among Luso-Indians.

Opportunities to meet boys and girls are abundant among the Luso-Indian community and most of the 'first acquaintances' are secured through the circle of friends. Boys and girls usually get freedom to meet together from a very young age. It is so common among the community to have get-together and dances in connection with marriages, church feasts, picnics, athletic events, birthdays and other celebrations and the like. They meet and talk, know each other, about the family, education, financial status and cultural level etc. Once a boy and girl are attracted after the first acquaintance, they get chances to meet at the place of a common friend or at a wedding or at a meeting at the church etc and the relationship develops. The boy and girl get enough opportunities to know each other and understand each other. Both are, of course, free to continue their 'friendship' at this stage, or to part knowing that the 'friend' is not an ideal person to join with as a 'life-partner'. Thus, in social gatherings, the young men and women have enough occasions to see and meet a variety of young men and women and to choose their own marriage partners. These social gatherings are well-attended and provide a regular outlet for single people. At times, dances are there, songs are sung and 'conversation about prospective courtship partners' are quite frequently heard there. The 'first acquaintance' also get through their kinsfolk – brothers, sisters, nieces, who play a via-media to both, the boys and girls, to come in contact with and further their connections during the courtship period. As the young men and women get frequent opportunities to meet together at social functions, they can interact, which help personality development.

Another opportunity for boys and girls get to acquaint each other is the role they play as 'best-man' and 'bride's maid' in wedding. Usually, the close relatives of a bridegroom become his 'best-men' for his marriage. So also, with the bride, naturally the 'bride's maids' will be her relatives. The bride has to be accompanied to the church by the 'best-men' and

‘bride’s maids’ and they have to team-up during the whole course of wedding ceremonies at the church and at the reception followed on that day and if the ‘homeward’ is held at the bridegroom’s party next day. So these ‘best-men’ and ‘bride’s maids’, usually chosen from among the smart young people in the family, pair-up and in many cases, develop into ‘friendship’ which lead to marriage.

Luso-Indians usually marry from their community only. There are cases, they meet girls from other communities and marry, of lately. The marriageable age is 18 now for girls and 21 for boys. as stipulated by the Catholic Church. Luso-Indians are strictly monogamous. Christianity has strengthened the regulations for marriage and has put restrictions on the marriage of blood relations.

The ‘courting’ continues usually more than six months and sometimes even more.. In earlier days, the courting period used to prolong more as the boy and girl meet at a young age and their ‘acquaintance’ continue and later take time to develop into ‘love’ and continue ‘courting’ and then comes to marriage.

Among the Luso-Indian community, of late, the ‘courting days’ are prolonged as they are quite urbanized and the main emphasis is on social maturity, education and earning ability of the individuals. Now a days, the marriage age for girls in the community range from 21-25 and for boys it is 25 – 30. There can of course about 15% of the girls and boys marry at a late age of 30 -35, because of the family liabilities or the problems with the partner to secure academic qualifications or better jobs.

‘Falling in love’ is a necessary prelude to the marriage among Luso-Indians. The parents, usually give freedom for their children to mix with boys and girls of their age and as mentioned earlier, the boys and girls are ‘attracted’, ‘acquainted’, followed by ‘courting’ or ‘dating’. Regarding pre-marital sex, the Luso-Indians follow Christine doctrine in this regard which explicitly lays down “...sexual pleasure, be it complete or incomplete, may be lawfully desired, carried directly or deliberately enjoyed only by those in the state of matrimony”. Sex outside of marriage is regarded as sinful.

Courtship or dating among Luso-Indians continue independently of paternal approval. Nevertheless, parents of both the boy and girl sooner or later, do come to know of this and normally they do not object to it, when the boy or girl are matching and of the acceptable status. The boy and girl in-turn, have ample time to understand each other by their companionship, mutual gratification, love affection and conversational pleasure. This mate selection and courting period give enough time to both parties to decide when to wed and enter into marital alliance.

Apart from the boy and girl meet and develop acquaintance, of late, when the community members are to stay scattered, proposed marriages are also taking place. This is usually take place through relatives and friends. There are also instances, when a boy see a girl and like her, he informs his desire to marry her and the parents propose the marriage to the girl's parents. If they also like the alliance, the marriage is 'fixed' between the parents, at a formal function in the boy's place.

Dowry in the Luso-Indian community is not common. There are rare instances, the boy's parents demand dowry, which is a trend developed in later years. This was mainly introduced by 'third persons' and 'marriage brokers' as they operate on the basis of commission and even without the knowledge of the boy's parents the marriage brokers demand dowry from the girl's parents making them misunderstood that the boy's parents demanded it. These kinds of incidents have been reported recently. As the 'nuclear families' have been increased, the parents set-apart 'share' for their girl children and this also in a way encourage the boy's parents to go after money when their son attain marriageable age. But, this kind of cases when compared to love-marriages are less in number.

### **Betrothal**

In either case of 'love marriage' or 'arranged marriage', the parents of both the boy and girl after knowing their children's mind to get married, decide to have the 'betrothal'. Betrothal also known as 'engagement' (*Vivaha nischayam*) is a sort of formal agreement to get

married, before the parents and relatives, in front of the parish priest. The priest, after knowing consent make them sign in a register as record of their agreement to marry.

The priest also bless the engagement rings and sometimes the boy and girl exchange their rings in the presence of their parents, relatives and the parish priest, inside the church itself. In certain places, the blessed rings are taken to the girl's house, where the betrothal celebration takes place usually, and in front of the parents, relatives and friends, the rings are exchanged as a token of their engagement.

Cake and *vinho* are served followed by grand lunch. Usually, drinks are also served. The boy usually wears a suit and the girl wear her colourful engagement dress on the occasion of the betrothal.

Soon after the first table, the parents and relatives meet in a room and discuss over the conduct of the wedding, the date of the wedding, time, mode of conduct, the number of 'best-men and 'bride's maids', flower-girls, page-boy etc. It will also be decided the dates on which the three 'banns' (announcement in the churches, to find any impediments are there for the marriage) are to be published. If any demand of dowry is there from the boy's side, customarily, this is the last chance to tell about it, eventhough, it is not considered decent to tell about dowry after the engagement. Usually, this kind of matters are discussed at the boy's house when the parents meet for the 'fixing of the marriage'.

It is a custom that on the day of the betrothal, after the necessary matters are discussed between the parents of both the boy and girl and close relatives from both sides, black coffee is served to the boys party. This is a sign that the formalities concerning the betrothal are over and the boy's party may take leave. The boy after kissing the girl on her cheeks take leave along with his parents and relatives.

The engagement provide a feeling of achievement on the part of two persons. An opportunity is extended to both of them to assess the appropriateness of their choice and, also to the friends and relatives to examine the prospective couple. The young man and woman

come to a stage where they only are to date each other. With the engagement announced or performed the boy and girl move freely, free from other aspirants. Though it is binding on the parties concerned, and indicates that marriage is not far off, yet some engagements are broken after a lapse of some time. It is more because, while the boy and girl move around after the engagement, they get better opportunities to understand each other and certain character, or manners which the other person understand that he or she finds it difficult to cope up with or also suspicion develop of some other relationships.

### **The Ceremonies and Celebrations of Marriage**

In the social life of Luso-Indians, the marriage has a conspicuous position. The marriage rites and ceremonies occupy an important place in almost all societies, because marriage is, undoubtedly, a universal institution. With the marriage, the couple have their former status changed. It is the most momentous happening in their lives; it has a deep underlying significance, especially because it is the founding of a new family unit. "In reality marriage is the most important legal contract in every human society, the one which refers to the continuity of the race; it implies a most delicate and difficult adjustment of a passionate and emotional relationship with domestic and economic cooperation; it involves the cohabitation of male and female, personally attached and yet in many ways forever incompatible; it focuses in a difficult personal relationship of two people the interests of wider groups; of the progeny, of their parents, of their kindred and in fact of the whole community" <sup>78</sup>. This concept of marriage, which is the essence of the relationship not only of two persons but the very basis of human race, can be seen effectively adopted by Luso-Indians.

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78. B.Malinowski, "Marriage", *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol.14, p.94

The Catholic Church, knowing the seriousness of the institution of marriage has made it a sacrament, codified its rituals with biblical background and prepares the boy and girl to approach towards marriage seriously and forcefully reminds the newly married their responsibilities towards the partner, to their off-springs as well as to the Church and society.

The Church also reminds the couple to seek the divine intervention in their life to face the problems in their life <sup>79</sup>.

The Luso-Indian wedding, taking into consideration what is mentioned above, is an event of the responsible union of two persons supported by the active involvement of both the families of the boy and girl, their relatives and friends. What is important now for this study is the way the wedding is conducted, and the customs and traditions followed in the wedding. The preparations for the wedding start with the fixing of the date for the wedding.

### **Fixing of date and the Publication of Banns**

Once the parents of the boy and girl fix the date for marriage, they approach the parish priest of the girl's parish, as the wedding is taking place at the girl's parish church, and fix the convenient time to conduct the wedding at the church and also the dates for publication of the three **Banns** (announcement in the church that the particular girl and the boy are intend to marry and if any impediments are there for the marriage, the parishners are expected to inform the parish priest). Simultaneously, at the boy's parish church also the banns are published.

Wedding dress for the bride, bride's maids, flower girls and page-boy etc. are to be ordered to be made well in advance as its stitching take lots of time with its special designs and embroidery. So also, the bridegrooms suit, best men's suits etc. are to be stitched.

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79. Marriage Preparatory Course have to be attended by the boy and girl who are preparing for their marriage. These courses are conducted under the auspices of the Catholic dioceses. Usually, a 3 day class is held for the boys and girls. Now, along with the class for boys and girls, the parents of the boys and girls are also called and experts in family matters gave the parents the mode of approach to the newly weds and their responsibilities to their sons/daughters after marriage.

**Bouquet** for the bride and for the bride's maids are also to be made in advance. **Wine** is prepared from grapes for all the people attend the wedding both at bride's as well as bridegroom's places. The *convite* (invitation) are printed and it is a custom that the bride's parents personally go to the house of the bridegroom's house and invite them and give the

number of *convite* required by them for their relatives. So also, the bridegroom's parents come to the bride's house and invite them and give the number of *convite* for their relatives to attend the wedding and also to attend the '**homeward**' (coming of the bride and groom to the bridegroom's house after marriage).

Some days before the marriage, in both the bride's as well as the bridegroom's house a **pole** is erected (*Kaal Naattal*) with some flowers tied on top of the pole, for the *pandal*<sup>80</sup> (shamiana) by the parents, relatives and the bride/bridegroom together. For this, they observe the timings of the high tide and auspicious days. With the erection of this pole, the marriage preparation are become active at both the houses of the bride and bridegroom. Relatives and friends will start coming to the house and for them sweet preparations like *penthe frito*, *sowlinge* etc are prepared and kept at the house. The previous day of the marriage, the relatives, friends and neighbours will assemble at the bride's as well as bridegroom's house and there will be an elaborate dinner there. This dinner on the previous night of the wedding is called *casamendo servidor* (*Athazha oottu*). The peculiarity of this dinner is the special preparation of the intestine of the cow. This preparation is called *Tripa* (in Malayalam it is *Kudal curry*. In bridegroom's house, the previous day of the wedding is celebrated as 'bachelor party', as that is the last day of his bachelor days.

The cook (*Kokkie*) and his assistants will be having work throughout the night for the preparation of next days items. The cook will be careful to display his skill in cooking and make special items to earn name before the guests and invitees.

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80. Erecting the **pole** for the *pandal* is a Portuguese tradition. On the occasion of the pole is erected, bride/bridegroom and close kith and kin of the family assemble and they together hold the pole when the pole is put to the pit, symbolic of the joint effort for the forthcoming wedding. It is a custom that the relatives assemble make a collection of money and buy liquor to celebrate the erection of the pole.

On the day of the wedding, the bride is dressed up by her close relatives. Before going to the church for wedding, the bride is given '**farewell**' by the family members and relatives.

She is asked to sit on a chair, usually near to the Christ's consecrated statue or photo in the living room, her close relatives, brother, sister, father and then the mother kiss on both the cheeks of the bride as she is going out of the house to get married and also from the family and going to become member of her husband's family. So also, the bridegroom is given farewell in his house.

The '**bestmen**' of the bridegroom come to the bride's house with bouquet for the bride and also for the bride's maids. One of the bestmen, present the bouquet to the bride and kiss her on her cheeks. The besetmen give the bouquet to the bride's maids also. After having tea from the bride's house, the bride's party come to the church. The bride will be escorted to the church by her father or the elder brother. The bridegroom come early to the church before the bride reach the church and wait for her. The bride escorted by her father or elder brother, **bride's maids, best- men, flower girls** and **page-boy** (ring-bearer) will come to the church slowly and both the bride and bridegroom sit on the chairs kept in front of the altar. The bridegroom sit at the right hand side of the aisle and the bride on the left.

The bride is dressed in a long, elaborate and beautiful wedding gown, which is usually white. White is preferred because the early Christians fathers insisted on the idea of virginity; and whiteness is considered a symbol of virginity and purity. Traditionally, the bride enters the church with her face covered with a veil, which is thrown back after the ceremony is over. The dress of the bride's maid are normally of the pattern that go along with that of the bride and usually mild coloured, less elaborate in style and material.

The arrival of the bride is welcomed by the choir, "Here comes the bride, all dressed in white" The best-men, bride's maids, flower girls and page boy take position behind the bride and bridegroom. The best-men will be with the bridegroom and the bride's maids will be with the bride. The wedding is usually conducted along with the Mass. Readings from the Bible with relevant portions about the marriage, duties of the bride and the bridegroom are read. Sermon and reading prayer or passage which set-forth the significance and purpose of marriage from the Christian point of view, which reads as follows:-



“ Dearly beloved, we are gathered here in the sight of god and in the face of this congregation, to join together this man and this woman in Holy Matrimony; which is an honourable estate.....which Holy estate Christ adorned and beautified with his presence.....it was ordained for the increase of mankind according to the will of the God.....in order that those who are called of god to this holy estate, should continue therein in pureness of living.....for the mutual society; help, and comfort, that the one ought to have of the other, both in prosperity and adversity. Into which holy estate these two persons present come now to be joined”.

Then starts the ‘**Solemnization of Matrimony**’; The priest asks the man and women, individually if they freely consent to the marriage and intend to fulfil the obligations of husband and wife, to which they each reply “Iwill”. Then the priest reminds the bride and bridegroom about the sacrament of matrimony,

“.....(names of bride and groom), You have come together in this church, so that the Lord may seal and strengthen your love in the presence of your families and friends. Christ abundantly blesses this love. He has already consecrated you in baptism, and now He enriches and strengthens you by a special sacrament so that you may assume the duties of marriage in mutual and lasting fidelity. And so in the presence of the church, I ask you to state your intentions.” .....have you come here freely and without reservation to give yourselves to each other in marriage ?

The bride and bridegroom answer “Yes , we have “

The priest then asks “ Will you love and honour each other as man and wife for the rest of your life ? For which the bride and bridegroom answer “yes , we will”

The priest " Will you accept children lovingly from god, and bring them up according to the law of Christ before God and His Church ?". The bride and bride groom "yes, we will".

Priest "Since it is your intention to enter into marriage, join your right hands and declare your consent before God and His Church" . Both bride and bridegroom tell each other by joining their right hands" I.....take you.....to be my husband/wife. I promise to be true to you in good times and in bad, in sickness and in health, I will love you and honour you all the days of my life."

Priest "You have declared your consent before the Church. May the Lord in his goodness strength you consent and fill you both with blessings what God has joined, men must not divide".

### **Blessing and Exchange of Rings**

Priest: Lord bless and consecrate .....(names of bride and groom)in their love for each other. May these Rings be symbols of their true faith in each other and always remind them of their love. We make this prayer through Christ our Lord.

All the participants in the church: Amen.

The ring is usually carried by the **page boy** on a heart-shaped silk-covered holder.

Both Bridegroom and bride now exchange the wedding ring by saying ".....(name) take this ring as a sign of my love and fidelity. In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.

Then the bridegroom and the bride together say the following prayer:

"O God,our Father in Heaven, we now kneel before You very happy, but some what nervous. We feel you brought us together in the beginning, helped our love grow and at this moment

are with us in a special way. We ask you that You stay by our side in the days ahead. Protect us from anything which might harm this marriage, give us courage when burdens come our ways, and teach us to forgive one another”

Bridegroom “ I ask from You the assistance I need to be a good husband and father. Never let me take my wife for granted or forget she needs to be loved. If you bless us with children, I promise to love them, to care for them, to give them the best possible example”.

Bride “ I ask from You the assistance I need to be a good wife and mother. May I never fail to give my husband encouragement. If you bless me with motherhood, I promise to give myself totally to the children, even to the point of stepping aside when they must walk alone.”

Bridegroom and bride together “ We ask, finally, that in our old age we may love one another deeply and cherish each other as much as we do at this very moment. May you grant these wishes which we offer through Your Son Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour, Amen”.

Then the priest and the congregation in the church pray for the couple, and finally the  
**Nuptial Blessing :**

“Father, take .....(name of bridegroom and bride) into Your loving hands, and grant that as they begin to live this sacrament, they may share with each other gifts of Your love, and become one in heart and mind as witnesses to Your constant presence in their life together.....May they live to see their children`s children. And after a happy old age grant them fullness of life with the Saints in the Kingdom of Heaven.”.

After the solemnization of marriage, the bridegroom lifts the veil of the bride and kiss her on her cheeks.

The married couple then signs on the register kept at the church; Two witnesses from both the sides of the bride and the groom also have to sign on the register.

One of the unique nature of the Luso-Indian wedding is the choir. The choir sing beautiful hymns of marriage during the Mass as well as after the Mass. The two popular concluding hymns of the Mass are, *Ave Maria Gratia Plena* and *Showers of Blessing*.

Flowers and now small thermocole balls (coloured) which is called **confetti** will shower on the bride and bridegroom, when they come from the altar after the wedding ceremony is over, by the **flower girls**.

After the wedding ceremonies are over at the church, the bride pins the **favour** (small artificial flower with decoration) on the bridegroom's coat; so also, the bride's maids pin the favour on the bestmen's coats. The 'favours' (smaller in size than the ones given to the bridegroom) are also given to the people from the bridegroom's side, which are pinned to their dress by the bride's maids from the holder that was handed over to the bestmen when they come to the bride's place to give bouquet.

### **Reception at the Bride's Place**

After the wedding ceremony at the church, the bride's relatives first come to their house, where the wedding reception is held. Then, the bride and bridegroom accompanied by the best-men, bride's maids, flower girls and the bridegroom's relatives etc. proceed to the bride's house. At the entrance of the *pandal*, the *padarinja* and *madarinja* of the bride kiss on the cheeks of both bride and bridegroom and receive them first to the *pandal*. Then the father and mother of the bride receive the couple and the relatives inside the *pandal*. At the entrance, rose water, scent and flowers are showered on the newly-wedded couple and all the members of the bridegroom's party.

On behalf of the father of the bride, an elderly person formally invite the bridegroom's relatives and friends to participate the reception. The newly married couple is made sit on the **bridal seats**, specially decorated for them. The bestmen, bride's maids, flower girls and the page boy are seated on both sides of the couple. First the priest is invited to bless the **wedding cake**; after blessing the wedding cake, the married couple together cut the cake and

they first 'feed the cake each other' the cake, which is a custom. The cake is then distributed to all the people at the place. Before drinking the wine, a respectable person is invited to **propose the toast**. After the toast, all people present there raise their wine tumblers and wish 'cheers to the couple' and drink the wine. The bridegroom then answer to the toast. Usually, there will be a **Master of Ceremony** to announce the various formalities of the reception, to invite people and to conduct the Grand March and dances. After , the reply to the toast , the Master of Ceremony will announce to come forward the relatives and friends for **wishing the bride and groom**. The relatives and friends then come in a line, wish and kiss the bride and groom and give them the presents they brought.

After wishing , the Master of Ceremony will announce to have the **Grand March**, with the newly-married couple lead . The bride with her left hand will hang on to the bridegroom's right hand , hold in a hooked position; the other couples joining them in the march, have to follow them and according to the tune of the band, the Grand March will proceed swinging to the rhythm of the music. Usually, the Grand March will proceed inside around the *pandal* or the hall and through the aisle where the reception take place.

After the Grand March, the dances will follow. First the newly-married couple will have their **first dance** together. Then the others will join for the various styles of dancing, such as *twist, cha cha cha , Jive , Tag, Salsa* etc. Ball room Dancing styles such as *Fox Straut, Waltez, Tango and Cross-steps* etc. are also favourite items on dancing floors during a wedding.

As mentioned earlier **Lifting the couple, Throwing the Bouquet** and **Blind-folding the Bridegroom** etc. are some of the items during a wedding dancing. The **Lucky Girl** who gets the bouquet and the **Lucky Boy** who is touched by the groom are to dance at the reception.

### **The First Table or Head Table**

The newly married couple, along with best-men, bride's maids, flower girls and page boy and the bridegroom's party, the *padarinja* and *madarinja* of the bride usually sit at the

‘first table or head table’ for lunch. Fork , knife and all the cutlery are compulsory for the grand lunch. Usually, the first item will be soup, then the stew and bread, the third course will be chicken, pork, cutlets, steamed vegetable, salad, duck etc., the fourth course will be rice, beef or pork *vindhaloo*, vegetable, pickle, bone-gravy etc. During the lunch, it is a custom that a bottle of liquor is kept on the table from the bridegroom’s side. Usually, before the first course start, drinks are served .

Before the first table gets over, an elderly person will get up from the bridegroom’s side and invite the bride’s parents and relatives for **Homeward** (coming of the couple , to the bridegroom’s house along with he relatives of the bride) and the date and time will specify for the homeward. (which was agreed earlier between the two sides). After this the participants in the first table will have to sing **Laudate** (a Latin song to praise the Lord):

*Laudate Dominum Omnes gentes*

*Laudate cum omnes populi*

*Quoniam confirmate et puper nos*

*Miseri cordia ejus*

*Et veritas Dominum manet in eternum*

(now all are to get up)

*Gloria patria et filio et spiritui sancto*

*Sicut erat in principic er nunc*

*Et simper et in saecula saeculorum,*

*Amen*

The *cokki* (cook) then come dancing in his costume, with pudding on a tray, and on the middle portion of the **pudding** keep some liquor and burn it in front of the newly-married couple. The bride-groom now gives some money to the cook as gift .

**Handing over of the bridegroom:**

After the second table gets over, black- coffee is served to all from the bridegroom's side and an elderly person call the parents of the bride and close relatives and performs the handing over ceremony. He holds the hands of the newly-married couple and give to the parents of the bride and tells "I am entrusting them in your protection, any short-comings from them may be excused". The bridegroom's party now take leave, from the bride's place.

### **The Homeward**

The homeward may be on the same day of the wedding , either in the afternoon , or evening if the bridegroom's house is closeby or at any convenient day , if the bridegroom's house is at a distance. The couple, best-men, bride's maids etc. accompany the homeward. At the entrance of the *pandal* at the bridegroom's place, the bridegroom's *padarinja* and *madarinja* receive the couple by kissing them on their cheeks. Throwing of **confetti** ,  **blessing of cake, cutting of cake, sharing the cake, toast , Reply to the toast, Grand March, dancing** etc. are repeated here also. **The first Table, singing of Laudate , gift to cook** etc are also followed. **The handing over of the Bride** at the bridegroom's place is different. Here, the bride is handed over to the parents of the bridegroom in a different atmosphere, as she comes to that house as bride and that is her house in future. The sentiments of the bride, in leaving her parents, house and relatives are expressed here. For the bride's parents also , this create an atmosphere of separation.

The best-men now give presents to their respective bride's maids. Each best-man will go to his fellow bride's maid , kiss her on her cheeks and give her his present.

Now a days, instead of conducting separate receptions at both the bride's as well as bridegroom's places, combined receptions are conducted in parish halls or other halls outside, jointly agreed with both the parties. On these occasions, the number of participants will be large and many formalities are avoided. The handing –over of the bride take place, either at the hall itself or the close relatives go to the house of the bridegroom and handover the bride there.

### **Rituals in -connection with Death**

When death happens in a Luso-Indian house, the body, after washing, dressed in suit (for men) or for women, in white gown and lay the body in coffin. The body will kept in the *saala* (living room) on a table, with a crucifix on the head-side and candles on both sides. The close relatives will sit on chairs/benches on both sides. The close relatives will wear black dress only. The dear and near ones will bring bouquet of flowers and place on the body and pray.

The priest goes to the house of the departed and say the last prayers and the body is usually taken to the church, where usually a Mass is held. After that the body is taken to the cemetery and in presence of the priest who say the last prayers, the body is taken to the grave. Before the coffin is covered with lid, the close relatives will kiss the face of the body one by one and then the lid is placed and the body is buried. Usually, the following song is sung by the relatives, when the body is buried:-

### ***Nearer My God To Thee***

*Nearer my God to thee, nearer to Thee;  
Even though it be a cross that raiseth me,  
Still all my song shall be  
Nearer my God to Thee,  
Nearer my God to Thee, Nearer to Thee.*

*Deep in thy sacred heart, let me abide;  
Though that hast bled for me  
Sorrowed and died.  
Sweet shall my weeping be,*



*Grief surely leading me;  
Nearer my God to thee, nearer to thee.*

*Friends may depart from me,  
Night may come down;  
Clouds of adversity,  
Darken and frown.  
Still through my tears I 'll see,  
Hope gently leading me;  
Nearer , my God to thee, nearer to Thee.*

### **Seventh Day**

Close relatives of the dead abstain from work atleast for seven days. A photo of the dead will be kept in a prominent place at the home where a member is died and usually candles will be lit near to this. Members of the family attend Mass usually on all the seven days and they used to wear only black clothes on these days. On the seventh day, special Mass will be said at the cemetery chapel or at the parish church , for the dear departed member and special prayers are held for repose of his soul. The tomb of the dead is decorated, candles are lit at the tomb. After the Seventh Day Services are held at the church, the priest along with relatives of the dead and his/her friends assemble at the tomb and say special prayers. Family members and relatives will wear black dresses on the Seventh Day is observed. After the church services are over, food is served to all who attend the services. A **souvenir** with the photo of the dead, the date of his birth and date of his death and a prayer is printed and distributed to those who attend the seventh Day services.

### **Month's Mind (30<sup>th</sup> Day Remembrance)**

After one month of the death of a member, the family of the departed will observe the Month's Mind or 30<sup>th</sup> Day Remembrance, to pray for the departed member. Holy Mass is offered at the church, with relatives attended the services wearing black dresses. At the

cemetery, the tomb of the dead is decorated with flowers and candles and special prayers are held at the tomb soon after the church services. Food will be provided to all those who are invited to participate in the 30<sup>th</sup> Day services.

One full year the deceased person's family members will observe mourning, wearing black dresses, and attending Holy Mass and church services etc. Usually, weddings or celebrations etc. will not be conducted at the deceased person's house for one year. The members of the family of the deceased also will not attend weddings of relatives or friends or attend feasts and celebrations.

### **Death Anniversary**

After one year of the death of a member, the family observe death anniversary of the departed.. Holy Mass will be offered at the church, with members of the family relatives and friends attended the church services, the special prayers at the tomb and the lunch after this. The tomb will be decorated with flowers and candles for the occasion. 10<sup>th</sup>, 25<sup>th</sup> and 50<sup>th</sup> death anniversaries are observed by members of the family with Holy Mass and special prayers at the cemetery, along with close relatives, neighbours and friends, followed by lunch/dinner.

### **Offering Flowers at the Tomb**

Offering flowers at the tomb was usually done by Luso-Indians only. It is a custom in European countries, which was followed by the Luso-Indians here. On November 1<sup>st</sup>, the day of the All Saints or November 2<sup>nd</sup> the day for All souls, Luso-Indians go to the cemetery and offer flowers at the tombs of their dear departed ones. This practice is now followed by all.

From the formation in the sixteenth century to the present, Luso-Indians maintained their traditions and cultural traits in spite of the onslaughts of other European cultures like those of Dutch and the English. Their house-building pattern, the household utensils they use, their furniture, food habits, dress and costumes, jewellery etc. are different from others. They retained many of the Portuguese words in their routine interaction in their homes, and church. Because of their intimate assimilation of native idioms and synthesis with Kerala

society many traits of Portuguese culture including more than two hundred vocables, became an integral part of Malayalam vocabulary. The kinship terms used are based on Portuguese traditions, but adapted to local conditions. The profession of Luso-Indians vary from carpentry to smithy, baking, tailoring, masonry work and later years to mechanical works, engineering and boat building. In their social life, their love and passion for music is very evident. Celebrations and merry making is a peculiarity for Luso-Indians. The get-together of relatives and friends to celebrate birthdays, baptism, first holy communion, engagements, weddings, Christmas, New Year, Easter and parish feast are examples of their warmth, solidarity and cordiality. The Luso-Indians observe remembrance days and offer prayers for their dear departed ones. In all these social practices and mode of living the Luso-Indians maintain a unique culture of their own.

## Chapter VI

### LUSO-INDIAN SETTLEMENTS

As we have seen the Portuguese *casados* were first settled themselves near to the Portuguese fort or factory erected on the sea coast. As their earliest settlement was at Cochin and the presence of the convenient and natural harbour, all the commercial operations, the collection of pepper and other spices, its storage in godowns and processing at the *feitoria* (factory) and loading at the ships etc. were carried out mainly at Cochin. Eventhough Vasco da Gama reached Calicut in 1498, he could not make a firm footing there or establish a permanent settlement. The historic voyage of Vasco da Gama was no doubt one of the significant incidents in world history as pointed out by Adam Smith.<sup>1</sup> Vasco de Gama's concern was mainly on trade but he had to face stiff opposition from the Moorish traders of Calicut.

Alvaro Velho who prepared the *Roteiro* (diary) of Vasco da Gama's first voyage gave the description of the places he visited and the language of Malabar.<sup>2</sup> Luis Vaz de Camões in his epic creation *Os Luciards*<sup>3</sup> mentions Cannanore, Calicut, Cochin, Cranganor and Quilon where the Portuguese established their trading posts. The Portuguese forts at Cannanore, Calicut, Chaliyam, Cranganore, Cochin and at Quilon and the factories established along with them were the first centers where the Luso-Indian community originated and later as the trade progressed it became a necessity for them to move to various places. Places of worships and Churches were established in places wherever they settled. As mentioned earlier, the mixed marriages were promoted by the Portuguese authorities and the policy of Afonso de Albuquerque, to encourage the Portuguese men to marry Indian women had already been followed in all the Portuguese enclaves in India. The origin and growth of the Luso-Indian community at these settlements on Malabar coast has already been discussed.

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2. Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, London, p.394.

3. *Roteiro da Primeira Viagem de Vasco da Gama (1497-1499)* por Alvaro Velho, ed. Abel Fontoura da Costa, Lisboa, 1940, pp.39, 95 – 99.

4. Luis Vaz de Camões, *Os Luciards*,. trans. William C. Atkinson, Glasgow, 1952  
Canto. 7, 10

When the Luso-Indian community was centred around the Portuguese trade centres during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Portuguese *casado* trade with the ports in various other parts in India and the collection and procurement of pepper and other spices demanded penetration of the *casados* to hinterland areas. The Luso-Indians slowly started spreading around the port towns during the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The Dutch invasion at Malabar forced them to flee to interior villages and inaccessible islands in the suburbs of Cochin, where there were no Dutch influence and established themselves there and adapted to local conditions. This chapter deals with the Luso-Indians settlements in modern Kerala. These settlements were spread out in Cannanore, Calicut, Wayanadu, Trichur, Ernakulam, Alleppey, Quilon and Traivandrum districts of the present Kerala. Even in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, these settlements with the 'concentration' or 'presence' of the Luso-Indian community shows the indelible marks of the Portuguese influence. Apart from the forts, churches and palatial buildings which the Portuguese built in Kerala, which may perish in the course of time, the community of Luso-Indians and Roman Catholicism originated from the Portuguese will last for centuries. This community with its peculiarities and unique culture is still a vibrant set of people recognized by the Constitution of India. They have formed the Luso-Indian or Anglo-Indian Associations in almost all their settlements, so as to stand together and to uphold their identity.

### **Cannanore**

Cannanore is one of the earliest Portuguese settlements on Kerala coast. We have seen the geographical locations of the area in the previous chapters and also the political background with Kolathiri as the ruler of the place traditionally known as Kolathunadu. During the time of the first Portuguese Viceroy Francisco Almeida, a strong fort was built at Cannanore (Fort *St. Angelo*) in 1505 with a Portuguese settlement and chapel in the name of Our Lady of Immaculate Conception, inside the fort. Later, Viceroy Almeida who was a devotee of St. James, named the church after the saint.<sup>4</sup> This church is still existing inside

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4. SRH I, Lisboa, 1947-58, p.331.

the fort, even after 500 years. In the year 1543 St.Francis Xavier visited Cannanore on his way to Cochin and met the flourishing Luso-Indian community. In and around the Portuguese fort Luso-Indians and other Latin Catholics swelled up in the course of years.

In 1512 there were about 100 *casados* in Cannanore<sup>5</sup> There were 344 Roman Catholics of indigenous origin of whom 174 were men and 170 women, in the year 1514 at Cannanore.<sup>6</sup> The king of Portugal had given dispositions in 1509 to help the poor Christians.<sup>7</sup> In 1523 there were 200 Portuguese and 700 Roman Catholics of local origin in Cannanore.<sup>8</sup> *Santa Casa da Misericordia* was also functioning in Cannanore.<sup>9</sup>

At the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century Fr.Pascal built a small chapel at Burnacherry. According to tradition, when it was time to renew and enlarge the chapel it happened that a Portuguese ship called *Sanctissima Trindade* was sailing off the coast of Cannanore and encountered with a heavy sea and it was in peril of being sunk. The sailors of the ship who were devotees of Our Lady prayed to her and they were miraculously saved and landed off Cannanore.

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5. SRD I., Lisboa, 1949, P. 151

6. K.J. John, *The Road to Diamper*, Cochin, 1999, p.82 ; Also, Silver Rego, *Documentação*, pp.254-255. see the letters of Affonso Velho, the Vicar of the Cannanore fort and Jorge de Mello, the Captain of Cannanore fort.

7 *Ibid.*, p.272.

8. *Ibid.*,II,p.17, Letter of padre Afonso Fernandez.

9. Pius Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and Maritime Trade of India*,New Delhi, 2001, p.105.

There they saw a small church and went inside for thanksgiving . Fr.Pascal, priest of the place exhorted them to help to renew and enlarge the church at Burnacherry. The leader of the ship Joseph de Almeida and the sailors willingly accepted Fr.Pascal`s suggestion and helped him to build the church and the church was named after the ship ‘Most Holy Trinity Church’ . Hundreds of Luso-Indian families were settled here. Soon after 1950, slowly many of these families left the place for want of better opportunities for their professions.<sup>10</sup>

At present the Luso-Indian families , numbering about 60 are staying around the Holy Trinity Church, which is elevated to a Cathedral with the formation of the new Diocese of Cannanore . Beautiful mansions of the Luso-Indians are still seen near the Holy Trinity church as well as to the beach side. Few members of the Luso-Indian community are residing near to the Cantonment area.

There are two prestigious schools at Burnacherry , started by the Luso-Indians, mainly for the community . The St.Michael`s European School (now, Anglo-Indian School) now managed by the Jesuits and the St.Tresa`s European Girls High School (now, Anglo-Indian Girls School) presently managed by the Cannosian Sisters . Attached to this school, there is a Teachers Training School (English medium) the one and only of this kind in the State of Kerala.

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10. During field study in May 2004 Rev.Fr.Clarence, vicar of the church of Holy Trinity, Burnacherry, Cannanore narrated about the Luso-Indian families residing at Burnacherry and also about the affluent families like Nettos, Pereiras, Pintos etc. and their co-operation and support to the church. He also informed that many families left Cannanore to join their sons/daughters who are working in far away places. Mrs.Hazel Thomson, former Principal, St.Teresa`s Teachers Training School, Burnacherry also confirmed this statement. She informed that trained teachers from St.Tresa`s are much in demand and some families left Burnacherry with their daughters who are teachers.

The Luso-Indian community is now organized under the banner of the Anglo-Indian Association. The present president is Mr. Stanley D`cruz, who was working with Indian Railways for about 30 years and the Secretary is one Mr. Benny Hurtis, who worked in the plantations. Mr. Stanley D`cruz, gave an account <sup>11</sup> of the prominent Luso-Indians of Cannanore. Mr. Ancel Netto (migrated from Tangasserri, Quilon) was a teacher in St. Michael`s School, Mr. C.F. Pereira, who was nominated M.L.A. in the Kerala Legislative Assembly (1960 -64), Mr. Hartwel Noronha Retd. District Registrar (who was the brother of Bishop Maxwell Noronha of Calicut Diocese), late Admiral R.L. Pereira (Chief of Naval Staff, India), Mr. Desmond Netto I.P.S. (Inspector General, Crime, Kerala Police)

Fort St. Angelo at Cannanore, with its strategic position and mighty nature attracts crowd even today. This fort remains as a symbol of strength exercised by the Portuguese right from the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and the presence of the Luso-Indian community now in Cannanore with their Portuguese *creole* remains as an example of the lasting influence of the Portuguese.

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11. Mr. Stanley D`cruz gave a first hand account of the historical background of Cannanore, especially Burnacherry and the Cantonment area during field study in May 2004. His narrations about the establishment of the Holy Trinity Church and the old bungalows resided by the Luso-Indians of Cannanore were interesting and informative. Mr. Leslie Pinto, Joint Secretary of the Association also joined during the time of the field study. Mr. Stanley D`cruz speaks Portuguese in the *creole* form. He wrote and gave the conversation form of 16 questions and answers in creole Portuguese. He called his committee members and a few men and women of the community, most of them are following the western kind of dressing and Mr. D`cruz offered *vinho* which he prepared at home.



## Telicherry

Telicherry is about 30 kilometers south of Cannanore town. There were about 20 families of Portuguese descendants inhabited here, some twenty five years ago<sup>12</sup>. But majority of them have shifted from there to Cannanore, Calicut and Cochin. The family of D'cruzes actually had three houses. Of which, now there is only one. The other two families have shifted. Telicherry, since the occupation of the British at the fag end of eighteenth century, began to show British influence. The Luso-Indians residing at this area were slowly shifted to other places, as they maintained the Portuguese traditions and practices. The British established themselves in Telicherry built a fort which remained as a centre of administration and learning of the British. Bakery industry was the main occupation of the Luso-Indians at Telicherry as bread and other baked items were in demand among the British descendants of the area.. It is interesting to note that now among the bakers all over Kerala, a sizable portion are from Telicherry who were either workers in the bakeries of Luso-Indians at Telicherry or their next generation. After India became independent, the members of the Luso-Indian community enjoyed job reservations in Railways as the European descendants were preferred in Railways. Those who got employment in Railways were forced to settle at places where they got postings.

## Mahe

Mahe or *Mayyazhi* as it is known in the vernacular is situated about 10 kilometers south of Telicherry and was one of the few pockets occupied by the French in Kerala. This place was a Union territory till recently, and now the administration is with the newly formed Pondicherry State. There were a few Luso-Indian families staying at Mahe, but recently most of them have shifted to places like Calicut, Cannanore and also to Pondicherry. Still some Lusk-Indians migrated from southern settlements are seen at Mahe.

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12. The D'cruz family was shifted from Telicherry to Cannanore. Portuguese *creole* was using at their homes.

## Calicut

Calicut, the historic place where Vasco da Gama landed in 1498 needs special mention. Pedro alvares Cabral, Afonso de Albuquerque and the later Portuguese officials were keen to establish their factory at Calicut. After the Treaty of friendship between the Zamorin of Calicut and Afonso de Albuquerque in 1513, the Portuguese built a fort at Calicut and was described as the best fortified castle in India.<sup>13</sup> A chapel dedicated to Our Lady of Immaculate Conception was also erected inside the fort.<sup>14</sup> Soon the Roman Catholic community grew up near the Portuguese settlement through conversion and inter-marriage.<sup>15</sup> The Luso-Indians were active in Calicut during the sixteenth century and this prominent port in Malabar coast was always in the forefront of so many political as well as commercial movements and had its reflections on the social scenario also. The Zamorin was having strong hold on the Moorish traders residing at Calicut and consequently the Portuguese settlement and the religious orders were always not much comfortable. Even amongst these disturbances, the Luso-Indian community slowly emerged at Calicut and could survive all the adversities during the past five centuries, though large-scale migrations to Australia have taken place since 1950. The *Chembotti Theruv* (street of the copper smiths) at the heart of Calicut was occupied by Luso-Indian and Konkani Catholic merchants, but their number is less now.

In 1532 with the help of the Raja of Tanur or Vettom (a few miles south of Calicut) the Portuguese erected a fort at the mouth of the Beypore river at Chaliyam, but it was destroyed by the Zamorin and Muslims after forty years. St. Francis Xavier visited this place in 1549.<sup>16</sup> The President of Anglo-Indian Association, Mr. Elexton Lopez, a retired supervisor of Plantations from the Wayanad hills, Mr. Charles Paiva, Secretary, a pharmacist in Govt. Medical College, Mr. Trever Fernandez, Vice President, a Diesel Generator Mechanic and Govt. contractor furnished details of the Luso-Indians of Calicut, Rozarios are more in number among the community members.

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13. H. Morse Stephens, *Rulers of India; Albuquerque*, Oxford, 1892, p.131.

14. Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da India II*, Lisboa, 1858-64, pp.329-36.

15. K.J. John, *op.cit.*, n.6., p.83.

16. Ferroli . D. *The Jesuits in Malabar*, Bangalore, 1939-51, p.127.

Now, there are more than 120 families of Luso-Indians in Calicut. They are staying near to the 'Mater Dei' cathedral.<sup>17</sup> Jesuits missionaries were responsible for the spiritual formation of Catholics in Malabar during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. During the period of their suppression Carmelite fathers took up that task with the support of Luso-Indians. While describing the activities of Jesuit Mission Fr.Banfi observes:-

The Jesuits had a glorious past in Malabar in the Far East. However, in the recent history due mainly to the suppression of the Society of Jesus and the evils that followed, no mission work was undertaken during the last century [19<sup>th</sup>]. There was hardly any school under the Jesuits during the period of their suppression, while all activities in the three parishes of Cannanore, Tellicherry and Calicut was centred around the Eurasians or Anglo-Indians of European and Asian blood who constitute half of the population.<sup>18</sup>

The Jesuits brought up the education system in Calicut. St.Joseph's European School was functioning, which during later years was converted into St.Joseph's English School and again changed into St.Joseph's Anglo-Indian School. There are separate schools for boys and girls.

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17. . During field study Mrs.Jennie D'silva, who is 78 was explaining about the Luso-Indian families residing in Calicut during the last 50 years. The road opposite to St.vincent Industries, on both sides many Luso-Indian families were staying. The names she remembered were, Henry Rozario, the De Gama, Manager Pierce Leslie, Peter D'silva, Napolian Fernandez (Nappie) from Mahe, Mary Tellis who was speaking Portuguese, Audrey Fernandez, Antony Fernandez (Postal Dept.), Alroy D'costa, and so on. George Barbsa's house was close by. Mrs.D'Silva was narrating about the old glory of the Luso-Indians at Calicut; Francis Rozario was District Judge and George Rozario was a sub-Judge., George Gonsalvez (83) was working in Commonwealth Trust, a reputed Company in garment making at Calicut.

According to Mr.Elexton Lopez there were quite a number of Luso-Indians who used to speak Portuguese at their homes till recently. Some are migrated and others are in old age or passed off.

18. Emmanuel Banfi, 'A History of the pioneering Jesuit Mission in the Diocese of Mangalore' in *Among the Outcastes*, (year and place not given), page VII

Though the church was established in Calicut in 1513 it had undergone several vicissitudes and hostilities over centuries. The present *Mater Dei* church came into being in 1725 with the support and patronage of Zamorin and pastured by the Jesuits. Calicut was under the jurisdiction of *Padroado* diocese of Cranganore in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and Jesuits were the parish priests of *Mater Dei* church. The parish congregation was comprised of the Portuguese descendants, Luso-Indians and native Catholics.

In 1793 two European schools were established by Fr.Gabriel Gonsalves the then Vicar of the Mater Dei church, one for the Portuguese and the second one for the native Catholics <sup>19</sup>. The history of this school from 1793 to 1860 is scanty but from the school records, it is clear that the Carmelite Missionaries had the reins of St.Joseph's European School of Calicut in 1861. When the Jesuits returned to Malabar, after the period of suppression, they again took up the management of this prestigious school in 1878, Fr.A Muller S.J. being the first Manager <sup>20</sup>

The Luso-Indians are very much attached to the *Matre Dei* Cathedral at Calicut. The Church choir is noted by their presence. Jesuits were entrusted with the administration of the Diocese of Calicut since its establishment in 1923. After Rt Rev.Dr.Aldo Maria Patroni S.J., an Italian, the last foreign Bishop of Calicut, Rt.Rev.Dr.Maxwell Valentine Noronha (a Luso-Indian) was appointed as Bishop. The late Archbishop of Shillong (Dibrugarh) Dr.Hubert D`Rozario S.D.B. was from Calicut. Msgr. Rodrigues, former Vicar General of the diocese is remembered with gratitude by the people of Calicut for his great services.

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19. St.Joseph's High School celebrated its bicentennial Jubilee in 1993. See *St.Joseph's High School Bicentenary Souvenir*, Calicut, 1993, pp.48-54.

20. *Ibid.*, The present St.Joseph's Anglo-Indian Schools for Boys and Girls are separate, play an important role in the educational scenario of Calicut. The dedicated priests and nuns take much care in not only maintaining good results but in the case of discipline

and extra-curricular activities also these schools stand in front among the schools at Calicut.

### **Wayanadu**

Wayanadu is the hilly district of Kerala situated on the north eastern boundary of Calicut. This district was formed only lately after the formation of the State of Kerala. The Luso-Indians reside in this district were migrated to this place from various parts of Kerala during the period of the British, when tea and coffee plantations were started in this hilly region. The climate of this area was ideal for tea and coffee plantations and for the Europeans the climate of this area was also suitable.

When the tea seedlings were planted and slowly it became necessary to put up dwellings for the workers as well as bungalows for Europeans. There required the services of skilled carpenters and smiths to make furniture and other requirements for the bungalows. The large scale plantations were started during the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century and by the time the tea leaves were about to be plucked, it was required factories to process it. The building of houses for workers, bungalows for the Europeans and other high officials and factory buildings required lots of carpenters. It was in these circumstances, many of the Luso-Indians from Cochin, Calicut, Trichur and surrounding areas were attracted to the tea plantations of Wayanadu, where they were given facilities for employment as carpenters, smiths, supervisors, and contractors by the European plantation owners, mainly British. Being the descendants of the Europeans fluent in English, the Luso-Indians were getting preferential treatment at these plantations.

On the way from Calicut by road to Wayanadu, beginning from Vythiri, Chundale, Kalpetta, Mananthavady, Sultan's Battery, Rippon and in the neighboring estates the settlements of Luso-Indian families are situated. During field study, from Advocate Jude D'Silva, President of their association at Wayanadu it is gathered that his father Joseph D'silva, was a migrant from Mulavukaadu, an island close to Ernakulam. He came to Wayanadu in 1940 as a petty contractor in the tea estate managed by a British company. Slowly, he engaged himself by taking civil contract works and today owns more than 100 acres of land at Rippon estate, where all his sons are settled in independent houses. A visit to

his house at Rippon estate on a Sunday, there was a get-together of all his sons and their families. Their father Joseph D`silva is particular that all Sundays after Mass, his sons and families necessarily have lunch with him. It was definitely an occasion to watch how the family members are assembled at one place with the sons, their wives and children to be with their father and grand father. Mr. Joseph D`silva was liberal enough to construct and donate a church for the settlers there – the St. Antony`s church.. One of his sons, Ancy D`silva is an Asst. Executive Engineer with the State Public Works Department. Advocate Jude D`silva practice at Kalpetta Bar, besides, he is a Notary advocate also. Mr. Jude Vincent Pereira, is the Secretary of the Association, whose parents were originally from Padiyoor, in Trichur district. Mr. Martin Lopez, another Luso-Indian has his own shop (sales of watches and clocks, at Kalpetta). Together we came to Chundale, the centralized location of Wayanadu. Mr. D`cruz, (Junior), stays in a palatial house near to the Chundale junction. His father, late T.M. D`cruz was a civil contractor who had contributed much to the establishment of the churches at Wayanadu and also to the various projects of the Diocese of Calicut.

Late Mr. T.M. D`cruz was honoured by Pope with the title of *‘Bene Merenti’*, for his services to the church. Mrs. Tresa Rebeiro, stays near to the St. Jude`s Church at Chundale. She told that her late husband was from Narakkal, at Vypin Island and she is from Vaduthala, Ernakulam, and came to Wayanadu before more than 50 years ago. Now, her sons and daughters are all settled in Wayanadu. It is gathered that, there are more than 140 families of Luso-Indians in Wayanadu in and around the above mentioned estates.<sup>21</sup>

At Chelot near Chundale the Diocese of Calicut is having an estate of about 1000 acres. It is gathered that this estate was donated to the diocese by a European descendant Mr. Gifford. This estate is having the cultivation of coffee and tea mainly and also have a tea factory in it.

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21. Mr. Jude D`silva and Mr. Vincent Pereira gave the number of Luso-Indian families, based on a survey conducted by them recently. The number of Luso-Indian families going out of Wayanadu is increasing because of the men find jobs in Gulf countries and their families shift to cities of their origin for convenience.

### **Padiyoor**

Padiyoor is a place situated in Trichur district, 25 kilometers south of Trichur town and 10 kilometers south west from Irinjalakuda town. This place is 60 kilometers north of from Cochin. Mr. Peter Rozario, is the President of the Association there and Mr. Peter Pereira, former President. It is gathered that there are more than 160 families of Luso-Indians residing at Padiyoor. It is also informed that their ancestors were migrated to this interior village during Dutch invasion of Cochin, as this was in the Zamorin's territory. Of these 160 families 70 families of Pereiras, 20 families of Pinheiros, 5 families of Rocha, 3 families of Nunez, 2 families of Rebello, 5 families of Figares (originally Figureido), 5 families of Rodrigues are identified. It was also revealed that, this settlement of Luso-Indians dated back to more than 400 years.

The Association is managing a school, the Don Bosco European School at Padiyoor, which is a Govt. Aided School. They have also a club building, where they conduct meetings and other activities. Many members are engaged in the locally available professions. One interesting aspect is that during field study it is gathered that there are 99 persons from the community working in Gulf countries from this small place. A good number of them are well-off. Mr. Augustine Pereira, who was in Gulf for many years has helped many to go abroad to seek jobs. He is now migrated to Newzeland with his family. He has donated 40 cents of land for the construction of a church at Padiyoor and also donated Rs.800000 towards the cause of the church<sup>22</sup> The members of the community have also formed an independent society at Padiyoor and have established an Upper Primary School, St. Sebastian School, a Govt. Aided School. A committee elected by the society is managing the affairs of this school. A club for Luso-Indians is functioning at Padiyoor for the recreation of the members (it is now named as 'Anglo-Indian Club')

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22. Mr. Peter Pereira gave the details of the families of Luso-Indians at Padiyoor, and the generous deeds of their forefathers who had contributed much towards the cause of the church.

### **Areppalam**

There are 20 families of Luso-Indians at Areppalam., of these, from the Coutinhos, Montos, Correias and the Prize families . Many are now shifted to Bangalore, Bombay , Delhi etc. as their children are employed there and their vast areas of land and palatial houses are now sold to local people. Late nun Sr. Coutinho was from Areppalam. Horace Coutinho and Anne Mary are her cousins. The Correia family is now shifted to Tellicherry. The Monto family donated the land, and cost for the construction of Sacred Heart church at Areppalam . A slab inscribed their contribution is still kept at the church. A number of Luso-Indian ladies with the traditional *Kebaya* are seen at Areppalam and Padiyoor. . But they are all above 60 years of age. Rt.Rev.Msgr. Augustine Pinheiro, former Vicar General, Diocese of Vijayapuram belongs to Padiyoor. The other priests from Padiyoor are Fr.Pinheiro and Fr.Edwin Figares .

### **Kadukutty**

Kadukutty is a village in Trichur district and this place situates 30 kilometers south of Trichur Town and 50 kilometers north of Cochin. Considering the number of Luso-Indians settled in one centre, this place is one of the biggest centres of the community. About 1000 members in more than 400 families reside here. This settlement of Luso-Indians was formed after 1663 following the Dutch invasion of Cochin. It is also interesting to note that, Ambazhakkad, one of the oldest Jesuits centres in Kerala is close to this place. So also , Sampaloor (after *Sao Paulo*), where the church in the name of St.Francis Xavier is situated. This church, it is reported that is quite famous for many miraculous incidents . Sampaloor is well known in history as there existed a Jesuit seminary in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It was the biggest centre of learning in Asia during the period. Many prominent Jesuits were professors here. Attached to the seminary there was also a printing press run by the Jesuits and several important books in Tamil and Malayalam were printed here. The famous Tamil-Portuguese dictionary of Fr.Anton de Proenca was also the product of Sampaloor Press. The Jesuit establishment came up in this territory of Zamorin in the wake of Dutch invasion of Vypin and Cranganore. It is believed that St.John Britto offered mass here. So also this church was blessed by the presence of Fr.Constantine Beschi, one of the scholarly and illustrious Jesuits of 18<sup>th</sup> century. A memorial for Beschi, hailed as 'Veera Mamunivar',



can be seen at Sampaloor. The remains of the old church destroyed by Mysorean invasion can still be seen near to the present church. The Luso-Indians at Kadukutty, a good number of them are engaged in agriculture. There are extensive paddy fields, and other crops like plantain, areca nut etc. Mangoes and jack fruits are plenty, growing in almost all compounds. The Association of Luso-Indians manage a school there – the Luiz Upper Primary School, a Govt. Aided School. Close to this school is the St.Paul's church, a sub-station of the St.Francis Xavier's Church of Sampaloor. The parish church of all the Luso-Indian families is the St Francis Xavier's Church, situated on the other side of the Chalakudy river. There is a chapel at Kadukutty in the name of St.Paul. The prominent family names are the Correias, Simenthys and D`costas . There are Rodrigues, Fernandez , Figares (Figureido), Luiz , D`silva and Pinheiro. One interesting aspect noticed at Kadukutty is the number of ladies in the Malayan costume of *Kebaya* . The house-building pattern of Luso-Indians at Kadukutty is to suit to their agricultural background. Most of their houses are constructed with a long verandha at the side of the house. This is to keep the bundles of paddy after harvest and to separate the grains from the plant and store it there to facilitate drying.

From Kadukutty hailed late Msgr.Joseph Correya, who was Diocesan councilor of the Archdiocese of Verapoly. The other priests from Kadukutty are Fr.Antony Correya (Diocese of Vijayapuram), Fr.Paul Denzil Luiz, Fr. Francis D`silva and Fr.Douglas Pinheiro (Verapoly). Mr.Angelos D`silva, Mr.Joseph D`cunha are office-bearers of the Anglo-Indian Association at Kadukutty. They informed about the community and the Anglo-Indian school functioning there. It was told that Dr.Mrs.Beatrix D`souza, the Anglo-Indian nominated Member of the Parliament has allocated Rs.1000000 from her M.Ps Local Area Development fund to construct a community hall at the Luiz School compound. Mr.Donald Fernandez gave further details of Kadukutty<sup>23</sup> about the old families settled from Cochin and other areas.

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23. Mr.Donald Fernandez (Retired Plant manager, Neyveli Lignite Corporation) has narrated the nick names of each families at Kadukutty. The recent migrants to Kadukutty, after the 2<sup>nd</sup> World War, are known by the name of the place where they migrated . For example '*Palluruthikkar*', '*Cochikkar*', '*Venduruthikkar*' etc. Incidentally, the elder son of Mr.Donald Fernandez, is working in Canada as Engineer and married to a Portuguese girl from Açores.

### **Koratty**

Koratty is in Trichur district, 55 kilometers south from the Trichur town. The Luso-Indian settlers in this area are recent migrants to this place for jobs in the Madura Coats (formerly J & P Coats). There are about 60 Luso-Indian families. The president of their Association is Adv. James Pinheiro. Mr. Joseph Rodrigues, George Gerard D`ross and Daison Coelho and their families are shifted from nearby places to Koratty for the sake of employment.

### **Kalamasserry**

Kalamasserry is in Ernakulam district and 10 kilometres north east of Cochin. There are about 50 Luso-Indian families residing at Kalamasserry area. This is a recent settlement, the members are coming from the nearby areas for employment in the industrial establishments started after 1950. Mr. Gilroy John Luiz, is the President of the Association. Mr. John Rocha, is settled there after his retirement from Military Engineering Service. The house of Mr. Gilroy is palatial<sup>24</sup>. Incidentally, he is the son-in-law of late Stanley Paul Luiz, originally from Perumanoor, Cochin and one of the founders of the association for Luso-Indians in the State. Mr. Stanley Paul Luiz was the founder of the Southern Engineering College, Chalakudy, one of the pioneering institutions in India for Aeronautical Engineering.

### **Palliport**

Palliport is at the northernmost end of the Ernakulam district and located at the north edge of the Vypin island. This is a historic place where one of the earliest Portuguese forts was erected. This hexagonal Fort still exists in good shape. Palliport had witnessed several conflicts during the Portuguese period as the Fort situated in a strategic position was maintained to control the pepper load coming from interior hinterland. On the other side of the river, towards Cranganore there is another Portuguese Fort known as 'the Kottappuram Fort' (now in ruins). During the Portuguese period it was acclaimed as Cranganore Fort.

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24. Mr. Gilroy John Luiz narrated the services of late Stanley Luiz and his brother Tony Luiz (A.A.D. Luiz) for the Luso-Indian community in Kerala. The tomb of Stanley Luiz is still seen at the cemetery of the church of St. Pius X Church, Kalamasserry.

It is also positioned in a strategic point. Palliport (Pallipuram in vernacular) no doubt is an old Portuguese settlement, now with nearly 100 families of Luso-Indians. The popular surnames of the Luso-Indians are de Almeida, Pinheiro and Mendez. There is the famous and ancient church of Our lady of Snow (*Madonna Dela Nive*). The original church is believed to have constructed by the Portuguese in 1602. There was a leper asylum during the Dutch period and now a convent and school are functioning there. Mr.Peter Pinheiro, president of the association for Luso-Indians is an excellent marine-mechanic and Mr.Christy de Almeida, who is an educationalist in Canada but comes to his home village every year. Mr.Peter Pinheiro narrated <sup>25</sup> the background of the establishment of the church of Our Lady of Snow – *Santa Maria Maggiore* known as *Madonna dela Nive* and the precedence of appointment of a trustee of the church from among the Luso-Indians and also about the families now residing at Palliport.

Rev.Dr.Athanesius de Almeida, who was Definitor General of the Carmelite Congregation in Rome and now Professor of Theology in Sacred heart Theological College, Alwaye, Rev.Dr.Antony Pinheiro, Professor, of S.H.T. College, Alwaye are two prominent priests from the Luso-Indian community at Palliport. Late Joseph Pinheiro, Headmaster in St.Mary`s High School, Alwaye, who hailed from Palliport was honoured by His Holiness with the title of ‘*Bene Merenthi*’ for his contributions to the educational field and his services to the Church.

With the establishment of the Portuguese fort at Pallipuram in 1507-8 a few Portuguese and *casados* settled down in the area. Because of the strategic position of this settlement intermediaries for trade from the neighboring region migrated to Pallipuram and slowly there emerged a Catholic community comprised of indigenous people and Luso-Indians. The Portuguese Jesuits established a seminary near the fort of Pallipuram and hence this place is in the island of Vypeen, the seminary came to be called Vypicotta

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25. Mr.Peter Pinheiro explained the details of the church of Our Lady of Snow and the old church cemetery church which were built in gothic style. Some of the old houses were sold by the Luso-Indians who migrated to Bombay and Madras when they got jobs in these cities. At the nearby St.Mary`s High School the old block still retains the Portuguese architectural style.

Seminary. From ferroli's account it is clear that the seminary was founded at the site in 1577 and on account of the expulsion of the Portuguese by the Dutch from their territories, the seminary was transferred to the compound of Mar Sleeba church at Chennamangalam (Chennotta) in the kingdom of Parur where it was continued to be called "Vaipicotta. On a granite slab embedded on one of the pillars of the convent at the original seminary site of Pallipuram there is the following inscription:-

"This site was granted to the Portuguese by the Raja of Cochin in 1600 for the building of a seminary. The Portuguese buildings which served also as a fortress were occupied by the Dutch in 1661 and the present Leper Asylum was established here in 1728"

As indicated in this inscription of a later date the Vaipicotta Seminary was later converted into a leper asylum by the Dutch. After the Dutch the site was occupied by the English. In spite of the political changes and the consequent calamities at Pallipuram, the Luso-Indian community flourished in this settlement without much hindrance.

### **Kunjithai**

Kunjithai is in the Chittattukara Panchayat, located at the opposite side on the eastern direction Palliport. This settlement is in Ernakulam district. About 120 Luso-Indian families are staying at this island and most of them are from poor economical background. President of the Association of Luso-Indias at Kunjithai is Mr. Antony Mendez. Mr. Vincent Rocha and Mr. Stanley Cabral assist him. Mr. Vincent Rocha narrated<sup>26</sup> how the Luso-Indians came to this island centuries back for fear of the Dutch and were forced to stay there. He was narrating the sad plight of the people who were denied proper education. There are a number of women in the Malayan costume of *Kebaya*, at Kunjithai. Many members depend on the cultivation of coconut trees and quite a good number of them have their own land.

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26. Mr. Vincent Rocha gave a detailed account of the educational and economic situation of the Luso-Indians at Kunjithai and also narrated the struggle the former leaders had to establish the Our Lady of Snow school there. They are now trying to upgrade this school to atleast an Upper Primary.

The leaders of Luso-Indians as early as 1945 tried to establish a school at Kunjithai atleast to provide primary education to the people there. Our Lady of Snow Lower Primary School was established at Kunjithai in 1946 and slowly the members of the community started sending their children to this school. Now, this is a Govt. aided school. From the M.P.L.A.D scheme of Dr.Mrs.Beatrix D'souza 800000 rupees were allotted to this school for a new school building. The de Almeida family of Palliport donated 62 cents of land to this school in 2002 as a generous gesture to perpetuate the memory of late Fr.Joseph de Almeida. It is gathered that more than 120 families of Luso-Indians are staying at Kunjithai. Many of them are in poor living conditions. They speak the local language and some of them are even use a number of Portuguese words at their homes.

### **Chathanad**

Chathanad is a closeby island to Kunjithai accross river Periyar and North Parur and towards South. There reside 20 families of Luso-Indians, mostly Rebellos and a few Rochas. The members of Rebello family, the affluent of them go to the cities like Cochin and continue their education and there are few members who hold good positions like lecturers in colleges and business executives in reputed firms and companies.

### **Manjanakkad ( Narakkal )**

Manjanakkad is 15 kilometers southwards from the north end of the Vypin island and in Ernakulam district. . . President of the Association of Luso-Indians Mr.Andrew Rodrigues was working with Indian Railways in Bombay for more than 30 years. Mr.Rodrigues explained the condition of the community when he came to Manjanakkad after his retirement from Railways 15 years back, he is closely associated with the welfare activities of Luso-Indians. He also told<sup>27</sup> that he has first hand information about the situation of the

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27 Mr.Andrew Rodrigues could re-organise the Luso-Indians at Manjanakkad and by his efforts only they could buy the land and put up an office-building there.

community in the past as his father Corneli Rodrigues was the leader of the community those days. A number of Luso-Indian ladies wear *Kebaya* at Manjanakkad, most of them are elderly. This settlement of Luso-Indians is a small village and majority of the people depend on coconut plantation and its related products. At present there are more than 225 families of Luso-Indians. Now busses are started plying to Manjanakkad from Vypin. From the main road (Vypin – Munambam road) at Narakkal there are narrow roads towards eastern side which go to Manjanakkad

There are 5 families of Oliveiras residing at Appangad close to Manjanakkad.

Mr.Raymond Rodrigues, Jt. Secretary and Mr.Dolby Durom are active workers of the Luso-Indian Association of Majnakkad They could buy 8 cents of land and put up a building worth Rs.600000 as an aid from their Central Committee. A Kintergarten is functioning under the auspices of their Association. Eventhough most of them speak the local language at their homes, they use lots of Portuguese words in their conversation. . Mr.Rodrigues prepares excellent *vinho* at home . The youngsters who have gone out of this place and had better education and better placements. He pointed out the example of his niece who is an Air Force pilot in Delhi and about the members who went to Gulf countries for employment .

**St.Francis Xavier`s Church,** Manjanakkad : The Luso-Indians of Manjanakkad belonged to the parish of Holy Family church, Perumpillil and they found it difficult to reach the church which is little bit away from their settlement. Some 25 years ago, while Fr.Paul Denzil Luiz was the Vicar of the church, they made an effort to build a separate church at Manjanakkad, attached to the old chapel of St.Francis Xavier which was more than 300 years old. The wooden statue of St.Francis Xavier which was brought from Goa by the great grand parents of the present members, is venerated with much piety by the local people in the old chapel. The efforts made results later in building up of the church and the establishment of St.Francis Xavier`s Church and a separate parish in 1998. Fr.Gladwin de Almeida , a Luso-Indian, is the vicar here.

### **Elamkunnapuzha**

Elamkunnapuzha is closer to Manjanakkad in the Vypin island and is 10 kilometers south of Pallipuram. There are 150 families of Luso-Indians residing at this area. Many of them are D`cunhas, Pinheiros , Sequira, Rocha and so on. The Pinheiros at this area are having more Negroito features. There are few families of Correia also. Most of the families are not from sound financial background. They depend mainly on coconut farming and related professions. The educational standards are not very high. But there are educated people who work either in govt. undertakings or abroad in Gulf countries . Elamkunnapuzha is one of the early settlements of Luso-Indians who fled from Cochin in the wake of Dutch invasion in 1663 .

The Luso-Indian community of this settlement is managing a European Primary School , a Govt. aided school which has earned reputation as a good school. During the year 2003 this school was allotted Rs.800000 from the M.P.L.A.D scheme of Dr.Mrs.Beatrix D`souza, the Anglo-Indian nominated Member in the Parliament, and a new building is constructed for the school with this fund.

The president of the association of Luso-Indians is Mr.David Pinheiro. He was also a member of the nearby Malippuram panchayat and became the President of the Panchayat during 1996 to 2000. Mr.Pinheiro was nominated to the Kerala Legislative Assembly in 1991 ( 1991 – 1996) to represent the Anglo-Indian community in Kerala as per Article 333 of the Constitution of India. Mr.George Sequira, a member of the Luso-Indian community , is the present member of the Panchayat at Elamkunnapuzha.

### **Ochanthuruth**

Ochanthuruth is just 5 kilometers north from the southern end of Vypin Island. This settlement of Luso-Indians is in Ernakulam district and there are about 140 families. Most of them are having the surname of Figureido. There are also a few Rebeiros and Simenthys. Many of them are engaged in menial jobs related to coconut farming.

Mr. Judeson Figureido who is President of Anglo-Indian Association narrated the educational, social and financial conditions of the members there. The beautiful and ancient church of *Cruz Milagiris* is at Ochanthuruth. The present parish priest there is Fr. Mathew D'cunha, a Luso-Indian.

There is a school, the Cruz Milagiris School, managed by the association, is a Govt. aided school. The buildings are old and the school compound is congested. Mr. Figureido informed<sup>28</sup> that they have bought separate land close by and has planned to put up a new building there. There are a few educated people from Ochanthuruth working in various parts of the country and in Gulf countries. There are a few priests also from Ochanthuruth from the community. The prominent among them is Rev. Fr. Paul Figureido, who has secured post graduate degree in electronics and serve as Director and Principal of the Little Flower Engineering Institute, Kalamassery

### **Varapuzha**

Varapuzha is an important centre of Carmelite monks who were looking after the Apostolic Vicariate of Malabar. This island which is called 'Edampadam' is said to be a 100 % Christian area of which about 200 families are Luso-Indians. This place was the headquarters of Carmelite Congregation as well as the Vicariate Apostolic of Verapoly which later became the Archdiocese of Verapoly. The headquarters was shifted to Ernakulam in 1905. The Luso-Indian community at Varapuzha is a closed-knit one. The houses are situated around the old Carmelite church, with a planned layout of roads even though narrow. There are by-lanes leading to the cluster of houses. The president of Luso-Indians at Varapuzha is Mr. Robert Correia who informed about social conditions of the members there<sup>29</sup>.

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28.. Mr. Judeson Figureido reported that, with the help and assistance of the Central Board of Anglo-Indian Education, 15 cents of land was bought close by to the present school and planning to construct a new building for the school.

29. Mr. Robert Correia narrated about the contributions of the members of the community towards the maintenance of the church at Varapuzha. He also narrated the help from Mr. Manuel Correya, a businessman from Varapuzha settled in Madras.



Most of the Luso-Indians at Varapuzha are Correias . There are also Pereira, Rodrigues, Mendez , D`cruz and Fereira . Matheus Fereira and lazaer Feriera were boat owners ( the name of the Varapuzha – Ernakulam ferry boat was *St.Matheus*, owned by the Ferieras) Mr.Manuel Pereira is the Treasurer of the association. He is also a boat owner with a number of tourist boats including the air conditioned luxury boat *Stella Maris*.

There are quite a number of educated people from the Luso-Indian community from Varapuzha who serve in various walks of life. Some elderly women wear *Kebaya* at Varapuzha settlement.

There are a number of families of Luso-Indians staying at **Chettibhagam** (this place also form part of the Varapuzha ) mostly they are D`cruzs. It is gathered that originally this place was *Jettibhagam* - after the word *jetty* . The Edampadam area was represented in the local Panchayat by Mr.Watson Rodrigues till recently. It is gathered that the Luso-Indians , came to this island after the Dutch invasion of Cochin. It is also understood that , the *Casado* traders who were engaged in trade during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were familiar with Varapuzha as there flows a branch of Periyar towards Arabian Sea and the hinterland trade of pepper and other spices were to be brought through this river to Cochin.

### **Cheranellore**

Cheranellore is on the eastern side of Varapuzha (Edampadam) across the backwaters . This is a place recently inhabited by some families of Luso-Indians. There are about 50 families staying near to the Varapuzha jetty side, Kacherippady and near to the present St.James Church. These families were shifted from the nearby areas for the sake of going to the big industrial undertakings came up at Eloor area after the independence of India.<sup>30</sup> Mr.Justin D`costa is the Secretary of the Association of Luso-Indians there and also

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30. The Luso-Indians are now shifting from the busy City of Cochin to Cheranellore , for more convenience and the number of families at Cheranellore are on the increase.

Mr.Edwin Figureido. Mr.D`costa assist him . The members of the area are poor and the educational level also is not very high. Ordinarily , the aim of the youngsters are to get a job at the so called Public industrial undertakings at Eloor or Always or go for some computer education ,and get job at the business concerns in Ernakulam . As the city of Cochin is not far , now there is a trend to migrate people from the city for want of convenient places to construct spacious houses.

### **Moolampilly**

Moolampilly is a small island beyond the northern part of Cochin city. The settlement of Luso-Indians at this place was developed after the Dutch Invasion of Cochin in 1663. As part of my field study , I had been to Moolampilly and met Mr.Peter D `Avarevu and Secretary of the Association Mr.James Fernandez. It is gathered that their great great grandfathers came to this island centuries back and those days there was no facilities for education and no proper jobs or better opportunities for them. All their activities are centred around St.Augustine's church. The only profession available in the island was pottery making and many Luso – Indians turned to pottery making . The *Moolampilly chatty* (clay vessel for cooking) was famous for its quality.

The Luso-Indians who were engaged in pottery making were organized during 1960s and formed a cooperative Society and registered it - *the Kaliman Vyasaya Sahakarana Sangam* - Clay Industrial Cooperative Society. This society was formed by Luso-Indians for making the pottery in large scale , to market them and stabilize the demand and supply of the clay and to ensure a steady income for the members. But, after some years mismanagement led the society in financial crisis. Eventhough , the Central Board of Anglo-Indian Education was prepared to pay off the debts of the society, some persons with vested interests interfered in the matter and finally it was taken over by the church. The members were further misled by some persons and ultimately the Society was closed down.

The Luso-Indians have an office building at Moolampilly attached with the *Kaliman Vyvasaya Sahakarana Sangam*. Even this building was not given to the Luso-Indians when the society was taken over . The Central Committee of the Luso-Indians interfered in this

matter and gave money to buy the piece of one and half cents land where the office is situated. Now, some of the former members of the society make 'Thandoori oven', which is in demand. There are about 150 Luso-Indian families reside at Moolampilly. Most of them are de Avarevu, Fernandez and Kaduthose, Cardoza) The members are economically and educationally backward as they did not get proper education and facilities for suitable employment.

### **Kadamakkudy**

Kadamakkudy is an island village on the northern part of Moolampilly. There are about 30 families of Luso-Indians residing at this settlement, most of them are poor and without proper education. As they are cut off from the main land and educational and employment facilities were not there, they could not come up in life.. Mr.Joy Avarevu and Mr.Jose Pereira represent the association there. It is gathered that young people from the island are now going for higher education. Eventhough poor, one of them became a graduate engineer and got accommodated in Govt. Service. From the central committee of Luso-Indians deserving students get scholarships, though the amount is small.

### **Mulavukadu**

Mulavukadu is an island lying on the western side of the present Cochin Corporation. This is one of the centres where the Luso-Indians fled and settled when the Dutch occupied Cochin in 1663. There are at present about 150 Lusk-Indian families at Mulavukaadu. Mr.Antony Aruja and Mr.John Dias represent the Luso-Indian Association who gave information about the community.<sup>31</sup> The members of the community, eventhough from poor educational background, are hardworking and they engage in carpentry and other semi-skilled jobs. The technically qualified ones go out of the island and work in some Industrial undertakings. Before some years, smithy was a rewarding profession and the Paduas of this island were famous for their skills in black-smithy. Now, a number of people have gone

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31. Many of the Luso-Indians from Mulavukadu are working at various Govt. undertakings and private companies. Many of the D'silvas from Mulavukadu have migrated to tea estates of Wayanadu and Munnar.

to Gulf countries for employment. The association is managing a school – the St. Francis L.P. School at Mulavukadu and this school provide facilities to study upto 4<sup>th</sup> standard. Leonard Lopes, one of the pioneers of English education among the Lusk-Indian community was from Mulavukadu. Women wearing ‘*Kebaya*’, could be find among Luso-Indians in this place. They were called ‘*chuchi*’ – a creole form for ‘*suci*’ - elder sister in Portuguese. ‘*Nona*’ is another word for elderly women – creole form for ‘*dona*’ means a respectable lady. It is also noticeable that the Lusk-Indians use many other creole forms - ‘*bo-dia*’ for *bom dia* – good morning, ‘*bo-darde*’ for *boa-tarde* - good afternoon and ‘*bo-note*’ for *boa noite* - good night.

### **Bolgatty**

Bolgatty or Ponjikkara as it is known in vernacular, is the southernmost portion of the Mulavukadu island. About 100 families of Lusk-Indians are residing at Bolgatty. As the place is close to the city of Ernakulam and till recently ferry boats were operating between Bolgatty and Ernakulam, the members at this place are more educated comparing to people of other islands. Mr. Nicholas D’coutho is the secretary of the association of Luso-Indians and Mr. Patric Liveira is one of the active office-bearers.

From Ernakulam, people used to depend on *machuva* - a small boat painted colourfully and rowed by *Pangayams* for crossing over to the island of Bolgatty. The Luso-Indians are expert in making of these *machuva* which had their origin in Portugal.

Mr. Nicholas D’coutho is the Secretary of the Association of Luso-Indians at Bolgatty.. There are many prominent members from this area who got public recognition. One such name is Miss Bentela D’coutho, who is a footballer in Indian team and she is also selected by F I F A - Federation of International Foot Ball Associations, as an International Referee to control the games at last Olympics. Miss Bentela D’coutho recently visited Portugal in connection with an international foot ball event. A good number of Latin Catholics intermingle with the Luso-Indians of this settlement and their culture has diffused and influenced the natives.

## Vallarpadam

Vallarpadam is one of the historic places concerning the Portuguese descendants in Kerala. First of all, the establishment of the church of Lady of Ransom by the Portuguese during the sixteenth century. The incident in connection with the establishment of this church, according to popular belief was that a Portuguese ship passing through the Arabian sea was caught in the rough sea and the sailors were all frightened and on the verge of death. They all prayed to our Lady and were saved miraculously. As a gesture of thanksgiving, the sailors came to the shore and put up a chapel in the name of our Lady, which later developed into the famous church of Our Lady of Ransom. Now, this church has been declared as a national shrine and pilgrim centre. Vallarpadam in some earlier records is mentioned as 'Baaliporto'. It is gathered that the old church existed in the name of the Holy Spirit was dismantled and the new church was constructed by the Portuguese in the name of our Lady of Ransom. As such both the feast of the Holy Trinity and the Lady of Ransom are celebrated at this church.<sup>32</sup>

It is quite natural that Vallarpadam, a small island, close to the old Santa Cruz city of Cochin became a Luso-Indian settlement, especially after the invasion of Cochin by the Dutch in 1663. As per the information gathered from Mr. Maxwell Rozario<sup>33</sup>, Paul Gonsalves and Josey Gomes, there are about 100 families of Luso-Indians in Vallarpadam. It is gathered that the Luso-Indians at Vallarpadam formed South Malabar Anglo-Indian Association as early as in 1934 which was later renamed into Federated

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32. James Thoppil, *Our Lady of Vallarpadam and the Christians*, Cochin, 1977, p.22

33. Mr. Maxwell Rozario gave a detailed picture of the social, educational and economical position of the Luso-Indians at Vallarpadam. Affluent Luso-Indians in the area like Carl Gomes and Joseph D'cunha (from Elamkunnappuzha) owned vast areas of landed properties near to the church.

Anglo-Indian Association in 1939. The vibrant community in Vallarpadam established a chapel at Vallarpadam in 1894 in the name of St. Sebastian and every year the feast is celebrated by a committee under the auspices of the association of Luso-Indians .

For the welfare of the members of the community a society called *the Friend in Need Society* was established in 1964. This society gives financial assistance for sickness , for funeral services and in natural calamities to the affected members and to their families. There is a school managed by the association at Vallarpadam - the St.Antony's school , which is a Govt. aided school.

Compared to other Luso-Indian centres , Vallarapadam settlement is a colony of like-minded people . Most of the families are staying close ,on both sides of the road leading northwards from the church. The houses are maintained neatly, with curtains and old furniture are polished and maintained properly. They welcome guests by wishing either in Portuguese *Boa tarde* or in English 'Good afternoon'. Many ladies use the western kind of dress. They use lots of Portuguese words during conversation and at many houses they make good *vinho*.

The association has its own office-building. Regular meetings are conducted at every month. The subscriptions to the *Friend in Need Society* is also collected every month. Frank Lopez, Pius Rozario, Joseph D'silva and Basil Gonsalvez served the organizations during the earlier years.

### **Vaduthala**

Vaduthala is in Cochin city limits itself and this is the northernmost part of the city of Cochin. At this area more than 450 families of Luso-Indians are residing. The members of the community are concentrated near to the present 'Peoples Road' as well as at the 'Jesus Road' and 'Golden Street' . Many of the members of the community are engaged in carpentry, masonry, smithy etc. as these were the profession engaged by them during earlier

days. Lately, many of these carpenters and masons became contractors of furniture and civil works.

The association of Luso-Indians manage a school, the Holy Family Eurasian Upper Primary School at Vaduthala. Mr.Jacob Vaz, Mr.Robert D'Almeida <sup>34</sup> and Mr.Basil Fonseco are office-bearers of the Association of Luso-Indians.

The association also is managing a computer centre, and facilities are provided to members of the community to attend short-term computer courses conducted after office-hours to facilitate the students, employees and house-wives to attend computer operations. Mr.Jacob Vaz informed that the association conducts besides other activities, the New Year Day celebrations on 1<sup>st</sup> of January every year. On this day, it is customary that many of the members and their families assemble at the school hall, singing songs, cutting new year cake, dancing and merry making.

The establishment of the Don Bosco Youth Centre at Vaduthala by the Salesians of Don Bosco in 1956 was a remarkable incident concerning the area. Now half a dozen priests and nuns from the Luso-Indian community serve in this congregation including Rev.Fr.Joe Fernandez who became the Rector of Don Bosco centre, Vaduthala and later the Vice Provincial of Southern Province of Salesians.

The association also conducts a welfare fund to help the sick and to give funeral aid to the family of the deceased members. Majority of the Luso-Indian community at Vaduthala are lower middle class. Many Luso-Indian women wear *Kebaya*.

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34. Mr.Robert de Almeida informed that the members of the community comes under the parish of the Lady of Mount Church, Chathiath. He also told that the members are active in all the programmes of the Don Bosco Centre at Vaduthala, where a Technical School and a centre of Bharatidasan University is functioning, so that many have acquired technical qualifications and M.C.A. degree.

## Chathiath

The important land mark of Chathiath is the Church of Our lady of Mount Carmel. This historic church was established after the fleeing of Luso-Indians from the *Santa Cruz* city of Cochin because of Dutch invasion. They were dispersed and settled in the interior areas of Cochin and it was in 1673 a turning point in the policy of the Dutch took place when the Dutch Governor H.A. Van Rhee de came into contact with Fr.Matheus of St.Joseph of the Carmelite order. Fr.Matheus was interested in Botany especially in the medicinal plants of Malabar and had prepared descriptions of the numerous plants of Malabar along with their sketches. Van Rhee de who was also interested in the flora could manage to get the description of plants along with the sketches from Fr.Matheus of St.Joseph and in lieu gave permission to construct a church and erect a cross at Chathiath and arranged the land under the jurisdiction of Varekkat Kaimal of Cheranellore through Prince Iravi Raman. The church dedicated to Our Lady of Mount Carmel was completed there in 1673<sup>35</sup>. Fr.Paulinos a Sancta Bertholomeo says that Van Rhee de accorded sanction in copper plate (*in lamina cuprea a id facultatum dante*) and that the site for construction was given by the gentile chief, Iravi Raman<sup>36</sup>, the lord of the locality. The place was then a part of *Anchikaimal* (the present Ernakulam) which was under the Dutch over lordship at that time and it was included in the Dutch possessions, given in *Visscher's Letters from Malabar*<sup>37</sup>.

The actual name of the place where the Luso-Indian families are settled around the Chathiath church is called Pachalam. This is a place on the south of Vaduthala and on the eastern part of Chathiath and is in the Cochin city itself. In this area about 450 Luso-Indian families are settled. This is one of the biggest centres of the community in the State. Mr.Horace Gabriel Lopez and Mr.Alexander Correia are office-bearers of the association of Luso-Indians at Chathiath.

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35. K.S.Manilal 'Hortus Malabaricus, Indian Ethnobotany and Carmelite Missionaries', in *Christian Heritage of Kerala*, ed., K.J. John, Cochin, 1981, p.158

36 Fr.Paulinos of Sancta Bartholomeo, *India Orientalis Christiana*, Rome, 1794, pp.87,88,89.

37. Major Drury, *Letters from Malabar*, trans., Madras, 1862, pp.42-43.



The Luso-Indian houses are situated near the street close to the Mount Carmel church . On both sides of the street (this road is named *Peter Correia Road*, ) the Luso-Indians have put up their houses side by side. .Peter Correia was one of the prominent members of the Luso-Indian community and he was the former Chairman of the erstwhile Ernakulam Municipality. Many among the community are educated because of the Catholic schools around this place. There are the Infant Jesus L.P. school, the Lady of Mount Carmel L.P. school, the Lady of Mount Carmel Convent High School for girls and the St.Joseph' Boys High School are functioning within the area of the parish. So , there are quite a number of boys and girls with University degree and passed several professional courses.

The former presidents of the association and prominent members were Francis Correya, Edward Rodrigues, Francis Severance, Joseph Dias, Joseph Aruja ( Joma ) , Paul Correia, Clemecs Correya. Their services to the Luso-Indian community was laudable. The Association is having a welfare Fund to help its members on the occasion of sickness, for studies and to help the relatives of the deceased members for the funeral services.

Pachalam (Chathiath) is an important centre of western music. Carol singing during Christmas season with the enactment of the birth of Jesus and angel's singing are colourful and joyous occasions. The New Year Day is celebrated with much pomp , music and dinner. The western music troupes originated from Chathiath are '*The Glamour Stars*', '*The Elite Aces*', '*The 13 A.D.*' and '*The Brown Circle*' etc. Emil Isaacs, Rex Isaacs, Elridge Isaacs ( all three are brothers), Pinson Correia, Stanley Luiz and Douglas Aruja are well-known musicians from this place.

Luso-Indians of this area prefer Western fashions in dressing and the changing fashions are reflected in their day today living . So, amongst others this place is known as 'London Pachalam'<sup>38</sup>.

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38. The Luso-Indians known for their western way of living and the people around the locality considered this place as the centre of western fashion and traditional western music. There are well-known musicians and instrumentalists from this place. The Lopezes were the traditional *Kapyars* at the Chathiath church. Carmelites priests from Europe, mainly from Spain were the vicars here till 1926.

### **Manjummel**

Manjummel is the Catholic centre in Eloor town is in Ernkulam district and is near to Kalamasserry. This area is known for its huge industries like F.A.C.T., T.C.C., Indian Aluminium Co. etc. There are about 70 Luso-Indian families living in this area. They are here for the last three or four centuries but those days only 25 or 30 families were settled. The rest of the families are from the nearby areas migrated to Manjummel for the sake of jobs in the industrial undertakings at Eloor. Majority of the families are Corrayas. There are also D'cruzes, and Pereiras . Mr.Nelson Correya and Mr.Stanley Correya , are office-bearers of the Association of the Luso-Indian community at Eloor. Most of the Luso-Indians are working in the companies there . The presence of the Carmelite Monastery has influenced the social and religious life of the community . The younger brother of Nelson Correya, Rev.Dr.Bosco Correya is a Carmelite. Mr.Nelso Correya, also serve in politics. He is a Member of the Eloor panchayat and always in the forefront for conducting meetings and functions of the Association of Luso-Indians at Eloor <sup>39</sup>.

The old Carmelite monastery and church attached with this are quite magnificent. The European Carmelite prelates who were serving at this monastery gave a firm foundation for their order of Discalced Carmelites at Manjummel and priests and lay brothers from all over the State could be seen at this monastery. There is a hospital also function at Manjummel. This was founded on 19<sup>th</sup> March 1885 by Bro. Nicholas Verhovoan, a European descendant from Vypeen, who was also a physician. The Luso-Indian community at Eloor is very much attached with the Carmelite monastery and church and they always make it a point to support the church with all their mite and participate for the celebration of feasts and other activities at the church.

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39. Annual *Natal* celebration under the auspices of the Luso-Indian Association is a big fete. Most of the Luso-Indian families assemble at a convenient house to celebrate Christmas. Singing Carols and feasting are the usual items at the fete.

## Ernakulam

This area is the central place of the district of Ernakulam. There are about 150 Luso-Indian families residing at this central part of the city of Ernakulam. Soon after the defeat of the Portuguese by Dutch in 1663, the Luso-Indian families were migrated to Ernakulam area from Cochin crossing the backwaters and with the establishment of the Chathiath church many of them settled there and about 50 families were settled further south of Chathiath Anchikaimal church, later became parishners of Infant Jesus church when it was established. The Luso-Indian families are centered around the Infant Jesus Church, Ernakulam. Actually, this church itself is called '*Parangippalli*' (church of Luso-Indians). The Rodrigueses, Diass, Alvens, Rozarios, Gomeses and Coelhos are the prominent families at this place.

Mr. Joe Coelho (a Retd. Superintendent of Customs Dept) and Mr. Linus Rodrigues are President and Secretary respectively of the association of Luso-Indians at Ernakulam.<sup>40</sup> As the members at Ernakulam have the facilities for education, because of the presence of so many Catholic schools and colleges, many are educated and well-placed. There are doctors, engineers and advocates of the community from this place. The prominent priests from this place are Rev. Fr. Christopher Coelho (a Franciscan, who is known for his skills in music), Rev. Fr. Tomy Rodrigues (now in U.S.A.) and Rev. Fr. Nelson Libera (now in Rome). The Dias family is known as the family of advocates, Judges and police officers. M.V.A Dias was District Judge, Robin Dias was known as an eminent Lawyer and he was a Notary advocate also, R.S. Dias was Circle Inspector Dias and Mary Dias was Senior Govt. Pleader.

The family of Davids is famous for costume designing, floral decoration, stage decoration and bouquet making. In the past they were experts in the *pintara* work in the church during festivals. Wedding dresses are designed by them in the latest fashion and their fashion designs have been widely acclaimed at exhibitions.

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40. The Luso-Indian families at Ernakulam are a close-knit set of people. Most of the families join together quite often for functions like marriage, Christenings, birth days etc. They have formed a Fraternity Organization and under its auspices monthly meetings are held, with music, entertainments and dinner. Another activity of this Organization is conducting picnics every year.

The Coelho family is known for their musical skills. Three generations of musicians are traceable from the family. The Coelho senior was musician in the St.Mary's cathedral (the former *Anchikaimal* church and present Bascilica), Fr.Christopher Coelho is a notable musician and Sandra Coelho with her melodious voice has earned fame in the musical scenario.

The Christmas function every year at the Infant Jesus church is conducted by the Luso-Indians. Carol singing in English, Latin and Portuguese is performed on this occasion with gifts to children. A *Natal Fundo* is conducted by the Association with monthly contribution collected from members and in December before Christmas the fund is distributed to members in lump sum.

**The Infant Jesus Church** of Ernakulam was established exclusively for Luso-Indians in 1822 and became a parish in 1825. The common church for the whole Catholics at Ernakulam was the St.mary's church (known in records as Anchikaimal church.) In 1821, when the Latin Catholics have decided to separate from this church and formed the St.Francis Assisi church<sup>41</sup>. The Luso-Indian community found it difficult to get along with the Syrian and Latin Catholics, and they wanted to have their own church.. It was gathered that, to conduct discussions for having a separate church of their own, a group of the prominent Eurasians used to assemble in a country boat away from the shore in Ernakulam backwaters, for keeping the discussions confidential.

The Eurasians possess vast landed properties at Ernakulam. Mrs. Maria Teresa Augustus wife of Mr.John Augustus, the first judge of Cochin State, donated land for construction of the Infant Jesus church. Her third daughter was married to one Manuel Valiaparambil and this family was given a sizable share of the property of the Augustus' share. According to the document prepared in cudjen leaves, possessed by the Church<sup>42</sup>, the description of the

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41. Adv.Simon Dias, 'The Infant Jesus church and its Origin', *Gratiia*, Souvenir published in connection with the 175 years of the church, Ernakulam, 2001, pp.50,51.

42. *Ibid.*, ; also see, Bro. Leopold, *The Latin Christians of Malabar* (Mal.) Manjummel, 1938, pp.250-256.

scheduled property is that , on southern boundry the St.Francis Assisii church, on the eastern side is the property of Kattikkaran Thareedu, ie. The eastern boundary of the present Crystal palace hotel, and the northern boundary is the Thottathussery parambu- the present High Court premises and the western boundary is the *kaayal* (backwaters) with a pathway from east to west, through the above mentioned property. Subsequently, the pathway was developed into the Banerji Road Mrs. Maria Teresa Augustus has very specifically mentioned in the document that the land is granted for the specific purpose of the church.

As per the bye-laws of the church, the *Combraria* (confraternity) of Our Lady of Assumption is the administrative body of the church. Only the members of the Eurasian community are eligible to enroll as the members of the confraternity. Trustees are elected from the confraternity members who have had to conduct the feast of Our Lady of Assumption as its *presidenti* (president).

#### **Cochin East (Kaloor area)**

Luso-Indians residing at the eastern areas of the present Ernakulam town ‘ Kaloor, Palarivattom, Vyttila, Tripunithura, Kakkanad etc. were migrated from various Luso-Indian settlements for the sake of either jobs, business or in connection with their professions <sup>43</sup> . These families have now formed their own association. Mr.Clifford Oliveira, president of that associaton. is a retired engineer from the Cochin Refineries Limited . Originally he belonged to Kumbalangi, an island south east of Cochin. He came and settled at Ernakulam for the sake of his profession, and retired as Works Manager from Cochin Refineries. He has his own business establishment for manufacturing of Welding Transformers.

Every year they conduct at least six functions. The Annual General Meeting, Children-s Day, Pound Party, Family Picnic, Youth Day and New Year Day celebrations ,

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43. According to Mr.Clifford Oliveira there are more than 150 families of Luso-Indians staying in the above mentioned areas . The members have to come far and near ,but they come for the functions of the Association to maintain their traditions and culture.

and dance. The members, even though scattered in various corners used to assemble with much enthusiasm and cooperate with the functions organized by the association. A career guidance seminar was organized by the association in 2003 and the youngsters from all over the State were invited to this which turned out to be a grand success. Lt.Col. Loveline Oliveira, offered computer education to the youngsters of the area at a concessional rate in his computer institute. Mr.Douglas Fernandez, Godfrey Mendez are the two active persons behind organizing the activities of this association.

A socio-economic survey conducted by the association showed very interesting details. Majority of the members were migrated from the nearby islands of Vallarpadam, Mulavukadu, Varapuzha, Vyppin, Kumbalangi etc. As these areas lack transportation facilities to reach the Industrial concerns in Kalamasserry and Ernakulam areas, those members who are from these areas found it convenient to settle in Kaloor, Palarivattom areas to go to their work-spots. Some others were migrated to carry on their professions like structural engineering works, fabrication etc.

### **Perumanoor**

Perumanoor is in the heart of Cochin City and is the centralized place concerning the activities of the Luso-Indian organizations . Coordination of activities of various Luso-Indian organizations took place in 1922, when late Chev. Paul Luiz, timber merchant and landlord organised the first meeting of Luso-Indian leaders. For the co-ordination of the activities of the community organizations , and formed a central organization was formed in 1951 with late Stanly Paul Luiz (S.P.Luiz) as President and it was registered in 1953 with the initiative of late Andrew Antony Luiz (A.A.D. Luiz) . His brother Stanly Paul Luiz was its President<sup>44</sup>. Late Stephen Padua and Joseph Pinheiro (Palliport) played a major role in bringing together various associations under the umbrella of the central organization.

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44. *Golden Jubilee Souvenir* of the Union of Anglo-Indian Associations, Cochin, 2003, p.15,16.

The sixty families in this area are well-knitted and move together in all the activities of the organization. They used to conduct functions on different occasions every year. They observed 'Youth Evening', seminar on 'Self-employment Opportunities', 'family get-together', 'Christmas celebrations and carol singing' and Annual General Meeting every year <sup>45</sup>.

It is in Perumanoor the prestigious Chev.C:P. Luiz Memorial High School is functioning , which is adjudged as one of the best High Schools in the State. This school was established in 1945 by the efforts of Luso-Indians and is a Govt. Aided school. The school is having the best computer centre in the state at the High School level. This computer centre received Rs.700000 worth computers from the M.P.L.A.D scheme of Dr.Mrs.Beatrix D'souza, M.P. The headquarters of the Luso-indian organizations are functioning at Perumanoor. Late A.A.D. Luiz donated 25 cents of land to construct the office and the school at Perumanoor <sup>46</sup>. Also , the central office of the 11 Govt. aided Luso-Indian schools are also situated here. The old palatial houses of Chev.Paul Luiz was situated near the Cochin Shipyard.

### **Thevara**

Thevara is one Kilometer from Perumanoor Junction , and is the southern part of the city of Cochin. There are about 150 families of Luso-Indians settled here. Many are economically and educationally backward. The Luso-Indians at Thevara are the descendants of *casados* who were migrated from the city of Santa Cruz at Cochin soon after the Dutch invasion . Because of the lack of facilities for education and employment they became educationally backward and economically weaker. Many of the Luso-Indians stay near *Mammanji Mukku* (*Mammanji* = a Luso-Indian grandmother is called *Mammanji* in Malayalam, *Mukku*=Junction in Malayalam))

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45. Ms.Tresa Luiz, Councilor of the Corporation of Cochin representing the area of Perumanoor and Mr.Oscar Luiz, an active member of the association of Luso-Indians gave details of the Luso-Indian community at Perumanoor-Kadavanthra area.

46. Gift deed document No.1309 of 1957, Sub Registrar office, Ernakulam dated 13.6.1957

Many members of the community are poor. However, they are united and meet quite occasionally for the functions organized by the association <sup>47</sup>.

Luso-Indian community of this settlement is comprised of carpenters, masons etc. There are members working in Govt. departments, Navy, Telegraphs and in some reputed companies. The association is managing a kindergarten. They have their own office-building also. Monthly meetings are conducted and a variety of programmes are held every year. The Christmas and New Year Day celebrations are colourful every year and all the members and their family participate in this function.

At Thevara many Luso-Indian ladies wear the *Kebaya*. There was a small hand-loom factory at Thevara to make the 'checked-cloth' (*sarong*) to cover the bottom portion below the waist along with *Kebaya*. It was called '*Thevara Thuni*' (This was because, there was another type of bottom cloth used to be brought from Madras, which was called '*Madras Thuni*' *Thuni* in Malayalam is cloth) <sup>48</sup>. This cloth resemble the '*mundu*' in Malayalam, but it is checked in a peculiar design.

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47. Mr. Peter D'silva, a fair and green-eyed carpenter, who is also one of the active workers of the association of Luso-Indians at Thevara. is staying at Thevara and claims that his ancestors had settled there for more than three or four generations and his great great grandfather also was a carpenter. His sister, a fair and green-eyed beautiful girl, completed her Teachers Training course and is now teaching in one of the schools managed by the association. Mr. Nelson D'silva, a post-graduate in economics, who is also an active worker of the association. Mr. Stephen Sequira, a fair, green-eyed ex-Navy personnel, who is now the president of the association of Luso-Indians at Thevara gave information about the members there.

48. Mr. Peter D'silva informed that those Luso-Indian ladies who were wearing *Kebaya* used to buy the checked bottom '*Thuni*' (*sarong*) from the small hand-loom factory at Thevara. Eventhough the *Madras Thuni* was of better quality, there was no steady supply of it and therefore the women used to buy *Thevara Thuni*. Later, when the demand became less, slowly the loom became uneconomical and forced to stop production.



Thevara St. Joseph's church, is known for the Novena to St. Jude Thaddeus . The small shrine and statue of St. Jude were donated by the wife of late Chev. Paul Luiz. The Luso-Indians at Thevara are very much attached to the church and in the activities and programmes of the church they are in the forefront. One of the Trustees of St. Joseph's parish, is Mr. Pascal Sequira from the community.

### **Venduruthy**

Venduruthy is an island between Mattancherry and Ernakulam and almost 75 years ago , during British period this island was connected by two bridges on either sides and the island was extended south-westwards and formed the Willingdon Island. Venduruthy is mentioned in old records as *Venduturuttu* <sup>49</sup> . More than 60 families of Luso-Indians were settled at Venduruthy <sup>50</sup> and with the establishment of the Headquarters of the Southern Naval Command , the Navy required more space and they extended their offices towards south and occupied the areas around the church. The Luso-Indian families were forced to leave Venduruthy and to settle down at nearby areas.

The Ss. Peter and Paul church is quite famous as the wooden-carved, centuries old and artistically designed altar of this church used to attract many people from India and abroad. This beautiful church of the Portuguese period is now under the Archdiocese of Verapoly and cater to the spiritual needs of the few locals as well as the Catholic Navy

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49. *Travancore Archaeological Series* Vol. I, ed. T.L. Gopinatha Rao, Trivandrum, 1988 reprint, Paliyam Plates of the 322<sup>nd</sup> year of the Pudu-Vaippu Era, p.65

50. Mr. Peter D'coutho informed that his relatives who are staying far and near make visits to Venduruthy not only to see his family members but to visit the ancient Venduruthy church of which they keep with piety and great regard.

personnel who are staying in the Southern Naval command. The Portuguese, and later the *casado* settlers and now the Luso-Indians took care in the protection of this ancient church.

### **Nettoor**

Nettoor is a place situated on the eastern side of Thevara and this was an isolated island till recently. Now, the new National Highway 47 was connected through a bye-pass with bridges constructed on both sides of this island with the mainland of Ernakulam on one side as well as the other side with Panangad. There are 25 families of Luso-Indians at Nettoor, most of them were shifted from the Island of Venduruthy when the Naval Base was extended and occupied their land, some 50 years ago.

### **Vengola ( Ponjacherry – Perumbavoor)**

Vengola or Ponjacherry is a place near to Perumbavoor, in the Ernakulam district. This place was identified to make a colony for Luso-Indians in 1952 by the efforts of late A.A.D. Luiz, while he was the M.L.A representing the community in the Kerala Legislative Assembly. 101 acres of land were allotted to be distributed to the members of the Luso-Indian community as a social welfare programme and to encourage colony style of housing to protect the unique culture of the community. The name of the Society<sup>51</sup> registered was - The Vengola co-operative Colony Society Ltd., Perumbavoor. Eventhough the land was allotted to some people, those days the place was forest-like, with lots of shrubs, was away from the main road. Majority of the people who got allotment of land, refused to take it and their lands were encroached by the local people<sup>52</sup>.

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51. Circular issued by A.A.D. Luiz dated 9<sup>th</sup> December 1955, *Golden Jubilee Souvenir* Published by the Union of Anglo-Indian Associations, Cochin, 2003, pp.99-101.

52. Mr.Charly D'silva and Mr.Percivel Pereira informed that the allotted plots were unsuitable for building house and the urban Luso-Indians were not used to cultivate at the land. As these plots were uninhabited for long time, the local people found it a convenient opportunity to encroach.

Some 20 persons availed the opportunity and built their houses. The land was fertile , suitable for rubber and other crops. Now , 20 families of Luso-Indians are settled at Vengola . There are other 3 families at Perumbavoor - Antony Padua, Rozarios and Harry D'ross. There are 5 families settled at Kothamangalam. They are originally from Vaduthala, Thuruthippuram and Thevara ( Dias and D'cruz).

### **Munnar**

Munnar is a hill station on the Western Ghats and now included with the newly formed district of Idukki. The place is 165 kilometers away on the eastern side of Ernakulam district and some hills of Munnar are more than 8000 feet high. Because of the high altitude the weather at Munnar is cold and ideal for tea plantations. There are about 100 families of Luso-Indians settled at various estates in and around Munnar. The Luso-Indians came to Munnar either as carpenters or contractors <sup>53</sup>. All these families are settlers migrated from Cochin and other places for the construction of tea factories and bungalows required by the Europeans when they started plantations in Munnar and surrounding estates around 80 years ago. The Mount Carmel church Munnar is the centre of meeting place for all the Luso-Indians in and around Munnar <sup>54</sup>

The Luizes from Ernakulam, Pinheiros from Kadukutty, Lopezs from Vallarpadam, Mendess from Edacochin and Correias from Pachalam were the prominent settlers in Munnar.

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53. Antony Pinheiro, 'A search Into the Origin of My Surname', *Anglo-Indian Journal*, July 1991, pp.10-11.

54. Rev.Fr.Joseph de Almeida, Parish Priest of the Mount Carmel Church, Munnar was from Pallipport. Later, Rev.Fr.Almeida became the Vicar General of the Diocese of Vijayapuram. Mr.Franco Luiz informed that as the estates are 10 to 25 kilometers away, regular meetings of the Luso-Indians at Munnar is not easy. However, they used to meet on the occasion of celebrating Christmas and New Year , usually conducted at the Mount Carmel Church premises. Msgr.Augustine Pinheiro, who was originally from Padiyoor, was parish priest at Mount Carmel church for nearly two decades..

Quite a number of Luso-Indians were flourishing civil contractors at Munnar with the Kannan Devan Hill Produce Co. , a British Concern. A few names among them are, Manual Peter Correya, A.J. Lopez, Francis Severance, Marian Luiz and so on. As the tea plantations were started during the British period and , the Luso-Indians were preferred by them to carry out the works of the bungalows, furniture for them and later the tea factories and workers quarters etc.

### **Palluruthy**

Palluruthy is the south-eastern area of Cochin and part of Ernakulam district. The concentration of Luso-Indians is at Thoppumpady, around the St. Sebastian church . There are about 250 families of Luso-Indians residing in this area <sup>55</sup>. They have large extend of lands. Right from the 16th century , they were engaged in trade, ship building etc. The Paivas are still boat-builders. Mr.Lazar Paiva, is a skilled technician known for his invention and development of wind-mill technology and lots of other devices . . Mr.Godwin Figureido is known for his musical talents. Msgr.Francis Figureido, was Vicar General of the Diocese of Cochin and was proficient in Portuguese and he has translated many historical documents from medieval Portuguese.

The association for Luso-Indians is well-organised here. They have a two-storeyed office building and Kindergarten. The name of the building is *Msgr.Francis Figureido Memorial Building* at 'Biveira Road' near to Pyary Jn. The Biveira Road is in memory of late Mr.Dominic Biveira, who was Councilor of the erstwhile Mattancherry Municipality. There are two prominent families at Thoppumpady area known by their nick names. One is

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55. According to Mr.Godwin Figureido, Leslie Biveira, Lazar Paiva and Aurelian Figureido the Luso-Indians were settled there for centuries. Even during the Portuguese period the sphere of operation of the *casado* settlers were spread out to Palluruthy area. The *Santa Cruz* city of Cochin which was situated at *Cochin de baixo* is just 3 kilometers from Palluruthy.

*Velikkettu* (Luizs) and the other is *Adakkamaram* (Biveiras). The *Velikkettu* people are so named because a cluster of Luiz families are staying in one compound. *Veli* in vernacular means thick fencing equal to a compound wall. The *Adakkamaram* people are so called because of the tall nature of the family members. In vernacular *Adakkamaram* is areca nut tree which is a one-stemmed tall tree. Every year during Christmas and New Year Season, both the *Velikkettu* and *Adakkamaram* families conduct *Banquiti* (Banquet) at their places and the prominent families are invited. It is gathered that each family would wait for the other family to hold the *Banquiti* first so that when the other family conducts the *Banquiti* they could conduct it with more pomp and colour. The association conduct their Christmas and New Year Day celebrations with much enthusiasm and a variety of programmes. The arrival of Santa Claus, the distribution of gifts to children, Carol singing, auction of articles brought by members, cake and wine distribution and dinner and dance are the regular features every year.

In the affairs of the St. Sebastian Parish church as well as the Our Lady's Franciscan church, the Luso-Indians take special care and interest. Earlier, mainly the Luso-Indians were supporting the St. Sebastian's church. As population of others increased, the number of trustees were increased and now out of 4 trustees 1 trustee is from Luso-Indians and 3 others carry on the affairs of the church. The St. Sebastian's church is called *Kochupalli* also.<sup>56</sup> At Palluruthy we see quite a good number of expert carpenters among Luso-Indians who make *roopakkoodu* (small alter-like wooden structure to keep the picture of Sacred Heart of Jesus and other saints). They make the *rupakkoodu* artistically designed and carved in wood.

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56 Mr. Leslie Biveria informed that the small ivory statue of 6 to 9 inches size was first erected at the Karuvelippady *Capela* and about 150 years back it was consecrated in the present St. Sebastian's church.

The Luso-Indians , who are great devotees of the Saint Sebastian were always in front to celebrate the Saint's feast . So also , in the celebration of the feast of Our Lady at Franciscan Monastery church, the Luso-Indians take special interest as this Monastery had European priests. The names of Fr.Santhoos and Fr.Gilbert and their services, especially for the orphans , are remembered with gratitude by them.

### **Edacochin**

Edacochin is situated at the southern end of the coastal part of Ernakulam district. For centuries this place was a centre of Portuguese and their descendants. The Luso-Indian community has made a strong impact at this place by their presence. There are about 250 families of Luso-Indians staying at this place <sup>57</sup> Spread from the present Acquinas college area to the Aroor bridge, the houses of Luso-Indians could be seen. The St.Lawrance church at Edacochin is still maintaining its charm with its gothic style and the ancient structure reminding the Portuguese period .

Among the Luso-Indian community at Edacochin majority are Mendes. There are also Nunes, D'sousa, Fernandes, Rebello and so on . There is an Upper Primary school, the Pauline Victoria Mendez Memmorial School is functioning at Edacochin since 1945 and the association is managing it. This is also a Govt. aided school. In 2002, from the M.P.L.A.D scheme of Dr.Mrs.Beatrix D'Douza, Rs.800000 have been allotted to this school and a new school building has been constructed with this amount.

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57 Mr.Jude Mendes , Mr.Francis Fernandes and Mr.Desmond Nunes from the Anglo-Indian Association at Edacochin informed that the Luso-Indians were more prominent before the Independence of India and those days a good number of them possessed vast areas of land at Edacochin and a sizable portion of income from their property they spent for the maintenance of the church

A good number of Luso-Indians of this coastal town are in the fisheries business. They have fishing boats, ice factories, canning centers and export offices. Mr. Gordon Mendez is a prominent handicraft shop-owner and exporter from this place. There are a good number of Estate contractors at High Ranges from Edacochin. Some of the Luso-Indians from this place work in Gulf countries.

The Luso-Indian community is a close-knit community at Edacochin. They meet on different occasions. Their Christmas and New Year Day functions provide the members occasion to meet together. Mr. John Fernandez who represented the community as M. L.A in the Kerala Legislative Assembly (1996 – 2001) is from this place.

### **Perumpadappu**

Perumpadappu is a place at the western side of Edacochin. About 125 families of Luso-Indians are staying at this area. Many of them are of low economic background and engage in carpentry and associated jobs. The community is proud of their background, but the lack of education has pulled them backward in finding jobs. It was quite interesting to note that they meet often either for some wedding or engagement or Christening. The members are somewhat managing themselves with their present professions<sup>58</sup>. They are hard-working and survive without assistance from anyone. They have learnt to survive with whatever job or profession available around. It is also notable that with the development of Cochin port and the industries around, the members of the community manage to carry on with their skill. Rebellos, D'couthos and D'sousas are the main surnames in the community at Perumpadappu.

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58. Mr. Albert Rebello, who is the President of the Association of Luso-Indians and Trustee of the Santa Cruz church, Perumpadappu gave details of the Luso-Indians at Perumpadappu. A creole form of Portuguese for many words are still use at Perumpadappu. For eg. *Vasi* (plate), *peeles* (saucer), *Vasora* (broom) etc. The Luso-Indian cuisine also is peculiar at this place. They make tasty fish such as *Sardinha cosido*.

## Cheriakadavu

Cheriakadavu is a small place near to the sea-shore on the way to Kannamali at west Cochin. Only 20 families of Luso-Indians are settled at this place. Majority of them are D'cruzs. There are Rodrigues and Oliveira also. This small group of Luso-Indians were settled here after 1663 during the Dutch period mainly as bakers. Cheriakadavu is closer to the old city of *Santa Cruz* Cochin and from the account of the Dcruzs who are bakers settled here, their families were migrated from the Santa Cruz city of Cochin and during the time of Dutch and the English they used to supply bakery items to the Europeans at Cochin and surrounding areas.

The D'cruzs make a variety of bakery items and Portuguese delicacies including the *Pente Frito*, *Sowlinge* and *Orappam* (a Luso-Indian delicacy similar to *Bebinca*, but without different layers) <sup>59</sup>.

Eventhough small in number, the families at this area are affluent and also hard-working. The Luso-Indians at Cheriakadavu meet very often as they are small in number. They meet every Christmas and New Year Day at a convenient place and celebrate the day with much pomp and colour. The members contribute generously for the common cause and the family members attend in the functions held at the houses of each member.

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59. Mr.Dennis D'cruz is a prominent Luso-Indian, owns the Denmas Bakery and is a reputed caterer who supplies food on all occasions. Long time he was manager of Rozario Bakery and Hotel at Kottayam. Mr.Samson Rodrigues is a lawyer and mainly concentrate on Tax Consultancy. Mr.Dennis' brother, who was working in the Telegraphs Department, after his retirement came to catering business and later became the owner of a number of restaurants. His restaurant at Willington Island 'The House of Commons' is quite famous for Luso-Indian dishes. During Christmas season, Luso-Indian special pastries like *Bebinca* and *Orappam* are prepared at Denmas Bakery, which they supply only to close relatives.



## Saude

The place Saude is close to the sea at west Cochin. About 150m families of Luso-Indians are staying at this place. Actually, the name *Saude* is Portuguese and means 'health'. This place got the name after the church of Our Lady of Health – *Nossa Senhora de Saude*. This church was established in the beginning of the sixteenth century itself as this place is very close to the *Santa Cruz City* of Fort Cochin. Later, the old church was damaged by sea erosion and a new church was constructed little more away from the coast.

Most of the Luso-Indian families are residing near to the Saude Church and on both sides of the road on the eastern side of the church<sup>60</sup>. There is another church, the St.Louis Church, Mundmveli on the eastern side of Saude. The old Church of *Nossa Senhora de Saude* is now demolished and a new church has been constructed, eventhough there was objection from some parishners to demolish the old gothic style church. This happened because of the bifurcation of the Diocese of Cochin in 1952. Certain areas and parishes were given to the newly formed Alleppey Diocese, based on the profession and background of people in the area.

The Luso-Indians have their own office-building for their Association and a Kindergarten. The association is managing the *Loretto Anglo-Indian High School*, which is a Govt. aided school, near to the *Church of Our Lady of Loretto*. They have a *Natal Fund*, conducted by collecting a fixed sum every month from members and distribute the lump sum amount in the month of December to celebrate Christmas. New Year Day celebrations are conducted every year at the compound of a member, convenient for assembling the crowd, with singing, dancing, dinner and merry making. Every year,

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60. Mr.Ralph Faria, Mr.Ignatius Saisa, Mr.Louis Cabral and Mr.Sunny Correia at Saude informed about their yearly get-together under the auspices of the Anglo-Indian Association. Every year they select a Luso-Indian house with a convenient compound and decorate the place during Christmas and New year season and conduct get-together of all the luso-Indian families in the locality. Apart from carol singing and dance, special Luso-Indian dishes are served on this occasion.

scholarships are distributed to the top-scoring students of the community , in 10<sup>th</sup> std., Plus-two course and Degree level with special appreciation to the students who score high marks in professional courses. The ladies at this area , a good number of them still wear western type of dresses and they prepare very tasty wines at home . They prepare *Vindhaloo* , a meat delicacy of Luso-Indians. Preparation of wine prior to *Natal* (Christmas) take place in every Luso-Indian house at Saude and it is a custom that during Christmas and New Year season, they visit each other and hold get-togethers. On these occasions they consume the home-made wine (*Vinho da casa*). Christmas season also make Luso-Indian women busy in the preparation of *Penthe Frito* and *Soulinge*, both are special Luso-Indian preparations.

At Saude and Mundamveli areas there are a few families with Dutch surnames, mainly Meyns.

### **Nazareth**

Nazareth is a place close to Saude. About 150 Luso-Indian families are residing at this place <sup>61</sup>. Actually, the place *Nazareth* is named after the place associated with Jesus Christ. The Portuguese who settled in Cochin from sixteenth century and their descendants slowly moved southwards and occupied this area . The association of Luso-Indians have an office of their own at Nazareth where a Kindergarten also is functioning. Mr.Vincent Fernandez, originally from Alleppey and settled down at Nazareth is the senior most leader in the association.

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61. Mr.Darrel Cabral, Mr. Kevin D'silva , Mr.Vincent Fernandez , Mr.Alfred Rodrigues , Mr.Judeson Fonseca and Mr.James Pereira, gave details of the Luso-Indians at Nazareth. They explained the background of the settlement of Luso-Indians at Nazareth. Mr.Vincent Fernandez narrated early days of the association as well as the struggle the former leaders underwent in building up the organizations.

Every year the association conduct the New Year Day celebrations in a colourful way with signing, dancing , dinner and with lots of games to attract the children as well as to maintain the culture of the community. The Luso-Indian ladies in their traditional dresses used to come for the new Year Day celebrations and the elders lead the singing with their traditional songs. There were some Portuguese creole songs which the elders were singing during the functions and celebrations.

The members of the Luso-Indian community here engage in various professions. Some are still carpenters, some others work at Cochin Port and related business firms of Export and Import dealings . Some others are in transportation business and some others are civil contractors , air-condition technicians and interior decorators.

The Luso-Indians at Nazareth have their own church, *the church of Our Lady of Loretto*, known as *Parangippalli*. This church was constructed by Luso-Indians and blessed by Don Jose Bente Martin Rebeiro, Bishop of Cochin on 11.2.1930. It was a sub station to the parish of *Nossa Senhora de Saude* parish till recently . The land to construct the church was donated by the family of Bartholomew Oliveira<sup>62</sup> When the non Luso-Indians who are staying around find it convenient to come to this church, the Bishop of Alleppy made it a parish for all Catholics in the area. Still, the feast of St. Sebastian is celebrated by Luso-Indians as this is the tradition of the church.. There are 183 Luso-Indian families now at this parish. The shrine in front of he Loretto church was constructed in 1955 with the active support of late Mathew D'coutho, who was also the President of the Anglo-Indian Association and Manager of the School there.

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62. Mr.Willy Faria and Mr.Franklin Saisa , Trustees of the Loretto church pointed out that the family of Oliveiras donated the land for the church and the Loretto Anglo-Indian School. The *Confereria* of Our Lady of Loretto is constituted by Luso-Indians and customarily the feast of Our Lady of Loretto is celebrated by Luso-Indians on December 15.

### Fort Cochin

Fort Cochin is the citadel of Luso-Indians in Kerala . About 250 Luso-Indian families are settled at this place. It is also called the cradle of Luso-Indian culture as this small area shows the signs of the European presence even now. The image of the old city of *Santa Cruz* is still reflected at Fort Cochin <sup>63</sup>, at least by the presence of the Santa Cruz Cathedral (now Basilica), the St.Francis church, where Vasco da Gama's mortal remains were buried first. The nearby old buildings and roads heralds the hidden presence of the Portuguese and the colonial past . The background and social life of Luso-Indians at Cochin were narrated by some elderly people <sup>64</sup>. Some very old members of the community at Fort Cochin used to speak creole Portuguese. Late Innocent Lopez, originally from Vallarpadam was one among them.

The remains of the first Portuguese fort built in India - Fort Emmanuel of Cochin, can still be seen in land and sea. The '*Kottavalappu*' (the yard of the Fort and surrounding area) , The Dutch Palace, which was built by the Portuguese and renovated by the Dutch, Vasco da Gama Square, Albuquerque Jetty, the Santa Cruz church also called as '*Kottappalli*' (Fort church) etc. are the remnants of the colonial past.. The two schools, St.John de Britto school and the St.Mary's School , both started by the Luso-Indians for their children's education are well-maintained even today.

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63. K.P. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, Vol I, New Delhi, 1982, p.167

64. Mr.Boney Vernom, Capt.Frncis Fernandez, Mr.Albert Pinheiro, Mr.Andrew Rocha and Mr.Antony Fernandez gave details of the Luso-Indian families. J.E. D'coutho, Nevil Gonzago, F.L.D'coutho, Hillary Luiz, Mrs. Rosy D'cunha, Sunno Moraes and Innocent Lopez served the community during the past years. So also Mrs.L.E.D 'Rozario, Mrs.Myrtle Biveira , willo D'coutho, Dr.Darrel Moris and Capt.France Fernandez have made their efforts to keep the association of Luso-Indians live and active.

Both these schools received Rs.500000 each from the M.P.L.A.D scheme of Dr.Mrs.Beatrix D'souza M.P.

The vicissitudes of Fort Cochin from the days of the Portuguese and later, the *casado* traders and after that of the Dutch and the English, has influenced the Luso-Indian community. The community has underwent lots of changes. But they could maintain the unique culture of their own.

The association of Luso-Indians had an office and club in Princess street till 2000 . It had to be vacated as the building was too old. Dr.Beatrix D'couza, the M.P. had allocated Rs.1500000 to the association at Fort Cochin to build a Cultural Centre and community hall. But the money could not be utilized as a suitable land could not be purchased in time <sup>65</sup>

The Christmas celebrations every year is a grand affair for the Luso-Indians at Fort Cochin <sup>66</sup>. Almost all members of the community assemble for the Christmas celebrations (*Feste de Natal*). Carol singing in English , Latin and Portuguese by the choir is an attractive item every year. The Luso-Indians at Fort Cochin celebrate the feast of Our Lady of Rasary with much pomp and colour. It is a tradition at Fort Cochin that the statue of Our Lady is carried by the elder members of the community and these members would be in full suit. The procession is accompanied by the students of St.Mary's Girls School, and

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65. Mr.Clifton Vernom informed that they planed to establish a 'centre' for the study of Indo-Portuguese history at Fort Cochin, and also to take steps to protect the Portuguese monuments at Cochin.

66. Christmas and New year season at Fort Cochin is feasting time for the whole population. Christmas lights and Carol singing are all over the place and the families will have their relatives as visitors to take part in the festive season. For tourists , this is the best season to visit Fort Cochin. In connection with New Year day celebrations a 'Carnivel' is held on 1<sup>st</sup> January, with fancy dress, tableau etc. which has become a big attraction.

Luso-Indian ladies in their traditional and colourful dresses. This custom is followed even today on 1<sup>st</sup> of October or the following Sunday. The *Padroado* Diocese of Cochin followed many Portuguese customs during earlier days. The Bishops were appointed by His Holiness Pope only with the consent of the King of Portugal, the high offices in the Bishop's house were occupied by the Portuguese priests and the prayers and practices in the church were in Portuguese.

The New Year Day dance is a custom followed by the Luso-Indian association of Fort Cochin. Live band play popular dancing tunes and the young and the old participate in the dances. This Day is peculiar for colourful dressing by ladies and special dishes served at the hall. The old city of *Santa Cruz*<sup>67</sup> was damaged by the Dutch vandalism, but still Fort Cochin retains its peculiar charm. Eventhough, Govt. authorities have banned demolition of old buildings and declared the old City of *Santa Cruz* as 'Heritage Zone', still reckless demolition and constructions are taking place, with the silent consent of the authorities. The Santa Cruz Basilica, St.Francis' church, and the adjacent buildings are maintained as it is.

Dr.Mario Soares, the President of the Republic of Portugal included Cochin in his itinerary during his visit to India in 1992 and spent two days at Cochin. He offered help to set up an Archives at the Bishop's House, Cochin to preserve the old documents specially of the European period in the modern scientific way. The President and his team were welcomed at the Bishop's house with Portuguese songs by the 'Choral Ensemble' of the Indo-Portuguese Cultural Institute, Cochin and entertained them with Portuguese dishes prepared by the Luso-Indians at Fort Cochin. The office-bearers of the Association of Luso-Indians were specially invited to the Bishop's house on these occasions. The president also unveiled a plaque at the Vasco da Square at Fort Cochin to place on record the relationship of Cochin with Portugal since 1500 (appendix )

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67. Pius Malekandathil, op.cit., pp.74 - 77.

## Fort Vypin

Fort Vypin is the area opposite to the Fort Cochin, on the other side of the shipping canal. This place is called Azheekkal also. The Portuguese named the island ‘*Isola Santa*’ – Holy Island.<sup>68</sup> About 70 families of Luso-Indians are settled here. The Fort vypin is a historic place as this area is adjacent to the shipping canal and also witnessed the bitter wars of the European powers. The Portuguese and their descendants fled to Vypin on Dutch vandalism, taking their possessions and together they brought the altar of their church and placed it at the church of Our Lady of Hope - *Nossa Senhora da Esperança*. The altar, which was not fitting in at the Vypin church as it was brought from Fort Cochin church, was evidently noticeable. When the Gulbenkian Foundation of Portugal offered to set-up the Portuguese *Padroado* Museum at the Bishop’s House of Cochin, it is learnt that, they insisted to get this centuries old altar as a condition to implement the project. But, the Vypin people initially were not prepared to part with their prestigious piece of antique of the Portuguese period. Finally, because of the interference of Mr. Francis Mathew Paynter, the people of Vypin agreed to shift the altar to the museum. Now, this altar is displayed at the Portuguese *Padroado* Museum attached to the Bishop’s House at Cochin. Recently the church of the *Nossa Senhora da Esperança* was renovated and restored its old beauty with the help of the *Fundação Oriente*, a Portuguese Foundation.

The Luso-Indians at Fort Vypin, is an interesting group. They still retain the centuries old customs of the Portuguese. In language, food habits, costumes, and in religious practices, they follow many peculiarities compared to people even from the neighboring areas. Some of them still speak the *Creole Portuguese*, they prepare the Portuguese recipes quite often, and they wear the traditional European dresses. During the feast of Our lady of Rosary, they recite the Rosary and prayers in Portuguese. They celebrate their weddings, engagements, birthdays at

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68. Kenneth David Jackson, *Sing Without Shame*, Macau, 1990, p.25.

the Parish Hall, with singing, dancing and dinner. Certain old *Portuguese Creole* songs are still sung by the Luso-Indians at Vypin.<sup>69</sup>

The Luso-Indians are staying around the church of the *Nossa Senhora de Esperança*. There are a number of pathways called 'church lanes' and on both sides of these lanes the Luso-Indians have put up their houses. Family names include Pinto, Lopes, Concesso, De Souza, De Cruz, Lobo, De Costa, Paiva, Oliveira, Manuel, Roberto, Rodrigues, Fernandez, Pereira, Rodrigo, Alexo, De Ross etc.

In the parish of *Nossa Senhora de Esperança*, the Luso-indians have two confraternities (*confereira*). One is the Confraternity of Infant Jesus and the other is the Confraternity of the Lady of Rosary. Every year two feasts are conducted from Monday to Sunday. The feast is celebrated by a '*Presidente*' or President chosen by the Confraternity. There were a lot of protocol and formalities connected with it which are followed according to the precedents. It was compulsory that every man has to wear a suit, for the feast day. After the feast, there will be a party, with drinks and a variety of meat preparations served with bread. Toasts were proposed. There were several customary toasts, one for the Bishop of Cochin, another toast is for the Vicar of the Parish, and for every toast small drinks are served all round. One is for the '*Presidente*', that is the present president, then another toast is for the '*Presidente defunto*', ie the defunct president, last years president, and so forth. In this gathering speeches will be only in Portuguese, because English was considered the language of the 'butique keeper', the shopkeeper.<sup>70</sup>

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69. Ibid., p.26, 27.

70. Ibid.,28



Alleppey is known as the *Venice of the East*. The beauty of this place with its enchanting waterways, canals, backwaters, the variety of country boats, the coir industry and the beautiful varieties of the coir products etc. make this place a feast for the eyes of people from outside this area. No wonder, when the Portuguese came, even though during the initial years they were not very much concerned about the places where the availability of pepper was less, slowly with the progress in the *casado* trade, the hinterland business was increased and pepper was brought from the hinterlands and from the places where it was cultivated through the canal system, backwater transportation and by the rivers to Cochin. The interior parts of the present Alleppey district, where the St. Thomas Christians had their cultivation of pepper and other products like ginger, cardamom etc.<sup>71</sup>, the *casado* traders reached for the procurement of these items and slowly they started using the waterways to bring the spices to Cochin Port through Alleppey. The coir products and the thick coir yarn were required for the ships and that was also a reason for the settlement of *casados* at Alleppey. But, during the early days of Portuguese in India, there is no evidence of a large scale settlement of the Portuguese at Alleppey. It was only after the Dutch and English entered in the coir business and started their establishments at Alleppey, the Luso-Indians started settling at Alleppey. Later they became prominent in the social life in this place. To mention a few, A.J. Veiyyara, was the chief Secretary of Travancore, Robert Veiyya and his brother Charles Veiyya and Mr. Gomez were Medical officers, Mr. D'Netto was the District and Sessions Judge.

Some Luso-Indians had established business concerns, mainly in the export of Coir products. They were, Thomas D'cruz, Joe Fernandez, Edward Fernandez, and R.D. Noronha. Mr. V.A. Noronha was Manager in Federal Bank. The association of Luso-Indians at Alleppey is led by Mr. L.J. D'clause, Antony Cardoza, Melvil Vaz and Pius Netto<sup>72</sup>. At present there are about 150 families of Luso-Indians at the Alleppey settlement.

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71. Pius Malekandathil, *op.cit.*, p.47

72. Golden Jubilee Souvenir, Union of Anglo-Indian Associations, Cochin 2003, pp.102, 103.

**Kunnumma (Thakazhy, Ambalappuzha) and Poracad**

Kunnumma is a village in Alleppey district, close to Thakazhy . These places are known along with the famous Ambalappuzha . There are about 20 Luso-Indian families in those areas. Most of them are *Noronhas* and *D'cruzs* who own vast areas of lands. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the above places were important water-ways through which the spices were brought to Cochin port for the Portuguese and the *Casado* traders were intermediaries for the procurement of pepper and other spices. Later, they got married to the local women in the area and settled in those areas. The Noronha family donated the land and constructed the Holy Family church at Kunnumma <sup>73</sup>. But the original church was demolished except the plinth. Sr.Mary Augusta, who serve the nearby orphanage informed that the Noronhas of Kunnumma were very rich and influential people and their generous offer only made the construction of the church possible . The northern wing of the old church, which was specially made and set apart to accommodate the Noronha family to participate in the Holy Mass. Rev.Fr.Mathew Noronha belonged to this family.

Some of the old houses of the Noronhas with wooden walls , ceiling, rice storage, and furniture are still maintained at Kunnumma . The old and palatial houses of the *D'cruzs* and other *Noronhas* are still seen.

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73. Mrs.Rosylin Noronha, Mr.Sonal Noronha and Rv.Sr.Mary Augusta of the Orphanage attached to Holy Family church, Kunnumma narrated the details of the Luso-Indians families at the locality.. Mr.Alexander Correia, originally from Chathiath, whose sister got married to the Noronha family of Kunnumma has bought some land at Kunnumma . Recently, some old palatial houses of the Luso-Indians were bought by big business groups in tourism business and changing it to heritage hotels to attract tourists.

At Mavelikkara, there is a small settlement of Luso-Indians. This was considered to be the fragment of *casado* traders who were settled there as an after effect of the hinterland trade for the procurement of pepper from the interior areas<sup>74</sup>, where the cultivation was carried out. Today, only 5 Luso-Indians families are there at Mavelikkara - the Fernandez and Nigli. It was gathered that Mr.Christy Fernandez I.A.S. is from Mavelikkara. So also the ancestors of Nigli family were settled at Mavelikkara. Prof.Stephen .G. Nigli, Professor of Engineering College, Trivandrum, the former M.L.A at Tamilnadu Mr Oscar Nigli, the present M.L.A of Karnataka Mr.Ivan Nigli are from Mavelikkara.

### **Clappana**

Clapana is a quiet village in Quilon district. It was an important trade centre (*Angadi*) where the *casado* traders were in operation. Clappana had a number of Luso-Indian families. But today most of them have migrated from there, for the sake of education, jobs and for better living conditions. The distinguished families like Rozario, Fernandez, Mendez, D'cruz, Netto of Quilon hail from Clappana. Rev.Dr.Augustine John Rozario,, former Principal, Fatima Matha National college, Quilon and former Vicar General, diocese of Quilon, Msgr.Bernard D'cruz, another former Vicar General of the Diocese of Quilon, Fr.Vincent Fernandez, Vicar General of the diocese of Kottar, Fr.Antony Hickman, the first Salesian priest from Kerala, are all hail from Clappana<sup>75</sup> The Azheekal parish of Clappana is thus blessed with quite a number of priests and distinguished personalities.

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74. Pius Malekandathil,, *op.cit.*, p.53.

75. Christy Rozario, 'A Beautiful Little Village Called Clappana', *Souvenir* published on the Sacerdotal Golden Jubilee of Msgr.A.J. Rozario, Quilon, 2002, p.66.

### **Kayamkulam**

Kayamkulam is on the southern part of Allepey district and was known as an important trade centre. The Portuguese used to collect pepper from the St. Thomas Christians of Kayamkulam.<sup>76</sup> The Portuguese *casados* maintained their trade relations with these centres for the procurement of pepper and in later years, a settlement of Luso-Indians originated at Kayamkulam. Some families of Dutch descendants were also settled at Kayamkulam, as the Dutch had also made a treaty with the King of Kayamkulam<sup>77</sup>. The Rozario family had business establishments at Kayamkulam and many families of Luso-Indians later shifted to Cochin, Quilon and nearby towns for the sake of education, employment and better living conditions.

### Quilon

Quilon was an important trade centre on the Malabar coast even before the Portuguese reached there. It was described as one of the pepper ports on Malabar coast. Finding the importance of this place, Afonso de Albuquerque had established a factory at Quilon as early as in 1503<sup>78</sup>. Large quantities of pepper were brought from Quilon to Cochin for export to Europe<sup>79</sup>. In 1519 a fortress was erected at Quilon<sup>80</sup>. With the establishment of the factory and later the fort, the commercial operations had been increased and the settlement of the Portuguese and the *casados* became large. Soon, along with the church and related institutions, the *Santa Casa de Misericordia* also started functioning at Quilon<sup>81</sup>.

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76 Pius Malekandathil, , op.cit. p.152

77. *Ibid.*, P. 259.

78. Gasper, *Lendas da India*, tom.I,p.407

79. Pius Malekandathil, op.cit.,p.113.

80. Gasper Correia, op.cit.,, tom.II,p.577

81. Luis de Pina, *Expabsaõ Hospitalar Portuguesa Ultramarina, Seculos XVI/XVII*, Lisboa, 1943, pp.31 - 5

The pepper trade through the port of Quilon and through the hinterland waterways helped Quilon to increase its trade. The missionaries who came along with the Portuguese had established churches at Quilon and the nearby areas. Quilon, even before the arrival of Portuguese, was known for the presence of a Christian community of St. Thomas Christians and later, in 13<sup>th</sup> century, it seems that the visit of John of Monte Corvino, a Franciscan in 1291 on his way to China visited Quilon. The Franciscans and Dominicans have done evangelization works in India from 13<sup>th</sup> century. The account of Jordanus Catlani in *Mirabilia Descripta* (the Book of Wonders) about the condition of Christians in Quilon and other parts of India was submitted to Pope John XXII, and promptly by his Bull dated August 9, 1329 raised Quilon to the status of a City and the seat of a Diocese. Also by another Bull dated August 11, 1329, the Pope appointed Jordanus Catalani as Bishop of Quilon<sup>82</sup>. But, the martyrdom of Jordanus Catlani in 1336, checked the growth of Roman Catholic Mission in India. However, the advent of the Portuguese gave a new impetus to the Christians of the region. The European missionaries who accompanied the Portuguese established their monasteries and churches near the Portuguese *feitoria* at Quilon and slowly it emerged as a Portuguese settlement comprising the Portuguese, Luso-Indians and native Christians. The Luso-Indian community in Quilon was a vibrant set of people and very much attached to the Church<sup>83</sup>.

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82. Jerome Fernandez, 'The Diocese of Quilon', ed., K.J. John, *Christian Heritage of Kerala*, Cochin, 1981, p.384.

83. Msgr.A.J. Rozario, former Principal of Fatima Mata National college, Quilon and Vicar General of the diocese of Quilon, gave very useful information about the Luso-Indian community at Quilon and surrounding areas. With the establishment of Fort St. Thomas, the nearby area – Thangasserry became a Portuguese settlement. The establishment of Infant Jesus church made the place the centre of religious activities also. Thangasserry, a 96 acres small hamlet once upon a time was inhabited only by Luso-Indians. With palatial houses and affluent people, Thangasserry became an important settlement for all the European descendants and the social life of this small hamlet was different from the nearby areas. In language, food habits, costumes and in education Thangasserry remained a unique place. The Bishop's house of Quilon was also established here and the two schools for European descendants are yet another attractions.

Thangasseri, a place close to the sea was chosen for the centre of Portuguese operations. This place ideally located for the ships to come in and for loading and unloading operations and was convenient to the traders. The high altitude of the land near to the sea gave a safe place to put up buildings and churches, as the rough sea could not easily reach the heights. The Infant Jesus church, the bungalows of the Portuguese officials, monasteries and convents and the Luso-Indian settlement enriched the colonial life in Quilon.

Apart from Thangassery, there were at Chavara, Neendakara, Eravipuram and Kovilthottam etc. small fragments of Luso-Indian settlements sprang up in due course. This was because of the hinterland transport system which brought pepper from interior areas and for the sake of convenience the *casados* had been settled in those places.

Now, the Luso-Indian community at Quilon is at cross roads<sup>84</sup>. Thangassery, once the cradle of Luso-Indian culture is slowly losing its charm because of large scale migrations from this place to Australia, Canada etc. At the lanes at Thangassery, Luso-Indian homes are still seen on both sides. The Infant Jesus Cathedral, known for its colonial style has been replaced by the new Cathedral. The 14 stations of the *Way of the Cross* at the lanes at Thangassery reminds the roads of Goa, frequented by erected crosses. The two prestigious schools, the Infant Jesus High School and the Mount Carmel High School, established mainly for the Eurasians, still maintain its reputation as institutions of quality education.

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84. Francis Thangassery, a local historian narrated the past and present situation at Quilon. According to him, among the present population who claim to be the descendants of the Portuguese at Quilon, a sizable number of them are not real descendants. Many of them claim to be descendants are for education and job reservations allotted for Anglo-Indian community, in which are included the Luso-Indians also.

The Association of Luso-indians was functioning at Quilon earlier under the leadership of Mr.Quental, Dr.N.P. Fernandez, Donald D’cruz, T.R. Faria, Nepolian Fernandez, Berty Faria, Anto Morris , Ralph Morris and others. Gen,Regi Noronha, who led the U.N. Missions in Congo, representing India , Dr.N.P. Fernandez, who served as veterinary surgeon and Superintendent and also served in the Indian Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi are from Thangasserry. A number of priests and nuns from the Luso-Indian community of this settlement served in the vineyard of Christ in different parts of the world. Many of them served as nurses in the Defence Services. In Railways, Post / Telegraphs, Customs / Excise, the Luso-Indians from Quilon found their career and excelled in their field

Now, there are about 150 Luso-Indian families residing in and around Quilon town. At the neighbouring villages like Chavara, Neendakara, Eravipuram and Kovilthottam there are scattered families of Luso-Indians <sup>85</sup> Most of the affluent families of Luso-Indians were now shifted from Quilon. Thangasserry is a unique hamlet where there are a few Luso-Indians families still staying with their traditions. . Gen.Regis Noronha’s house has been donated to a convent. So also, many Luso-indians have given their wealth and property to the church before their migration to prospective cities or abroad.

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85. Mr.Mathew Norbert Fernandez , secretary of the Association of Luso-Indians at Quilon informed that his Associatin includes not only Quilon town, but Thangasserry, Clappana, Chavara, Kovilthottam, Eravipuram etc. The Fernandezs, Farias, D’cruzs etc. who had large extend of landed properties are either sold most of it or shifted their residence to the town of Quilon. The fall of coconut price at a point of time forced many of the Luso-Indians sold their coconut gardens. Many Luso-Indians have taken up jobs in railways and other Central Govt. departments and shifted their residences to other states where they are posted.

During the field study, the problem to differentiate Luso-Indians from non-Luso-Indians was felt, as there are so many people with Portuguese surnames (*apelide*). From early days itself, when the missionaries converted the local people, it was a practice that they used to give some Portuguese surnames, to the child or person who was converted<sup>86</sup>. Usually, the priest will choose the name of the local Captain of the Portuguese fort or the priest will choose his own surname. Sometimes, the surname of the *Padarinjo* (God Father) was given to the baptized child. For example, when two St. Thomas Christians from Parur were selected and sent to Rome for priestly studies they returned as George D’cruz and John D’cruz. And when a Brhamin from Quilon was converted and became a Jesuit priest his name was Fr. Pedro Luis S.J. Such people who were converted, still retain their surname and in Quilon and the neighbouring coastal areas there are lots of people with Portuguese surnames. In addition, during the British period when European companies like Piercie Leslie, Harrison & Crossfield etc. were established, many educated Catholic natives accepted the European surnames so as to get a placement. This practice was called ‘taking *Alcunha*’. With the European surname or *Alcunha*, they got preference in European companies.

### **Trivandrum**

Trivandrum, the southernmost district in Kerala was an area which had not gained much importance during the Portuguese period 1500 – 1663. The reason was that, there was no natural harbour developed during that period and there was no trade of spices centred in that area. During later years, due to the hinterland trade of *casados*, the collection of pepper increased even from interior areas of Trivandrum, and the *casados* made all efforts to collect pepper from all available cities. It was in these circumstances, the areas south of Quilon were explored by the *casados* and small settlement of families took place in some areas of Trivandrum district.

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86. Dr. Henry Austin, former Ambassador of India to Portugal, who hails from Chavara, Quilon, gave a structure of the Luso-Indians settled in and around the town of Quilon and details of the prominent persons from the community. According to Dr. Austin, the Luso-Indians who were settled in and around Quilon areas had married from other Catholic families who were not Luso-Indians but had a Portuguese surname (*Apelido*). So much so, now it is a delicate matter among family members at Quilon.



It was the water ways , the main routes of transportation, that led the Europeans to Trivandrum. The 16<sup>th</sup> century waterways south of Cochin was the backwaters of Cochin, Ezhupunna, Cherthala, Quilon , through river Periyar and backwaters - Vembanaattukayal , Ashtamudikayal, Velikayal and Chakathodu which lead to Trivandrum town. These are the water ways used by the hinterland traders used during those days. And the entrance through waterways to Trivandrum was Pettah.<sup>87</sup>

The scattered Luso-Indian families in and around Trivandrum established the St.Anne's church in the 18<sup>th</sup> century at Pettah and this was the first Luso-Indian settlement established in Trivandrum.<sup>88</sup> Later, when the Britishers came to Trivandrum , the Catholics among them started coming to St.Anne's church and for their spiritual needs they depended on this church. Those Luso-Indian workers from Cochin and Edacochin who came to Trivandrum for boat building also started settling down at Trivandrum . During the British period the Luso Indians and the other Catholic Britishers who came for the construction of railway lines also married local women and settled down at Trivandrum.<sup>89</sup>

In the history of Luso-Indians at Trivandrum, the St.Anne's church has a prominent position. For long time, the Luso-Indians were the controllers of this church, as the church was maintained and administered mainly by the community for their spiritual needs. During those days , the right to celebrate the main feast of this parish was entirely to the Luso-Indians<sup>90</sup> In the course of time , Luso-Indians and other Catholics from the areas of Anjengo, Mampally, Puthukuruchy, and Murikkumpuzha were migrated to Trivandrum and this resulted in the formation of a powerful group of Catholics at Trivandrum.

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87. Parish Directory, St.Anne's Church, Pettah, Trivandrum, 2002, P.11.

88. *Ibid.*, p.11

89. *Ibid.*, p.11.

90. *Ibid.*, p.11

During the British period, the political scenario of the erstwhile Travancore was controlled by the British policies and the European descendants had their share in the administration. Due to the intermarriages among the Portuguese, Dutch and British descendants, their progenies - the *Eurasians* as a community developed in Kerala. Now, at Trivandrum the Luso-Indian families are scattered and settled at various corners of the town. The *Eurasians* have their own association <sup>91</sup>

From the account of Mr.Nigli, the following members of the Luso-indian community were prominent during yesteryears ‘ Rev.Fr.John Fernandez, Parish priest, St.Joseph ‘s Cathedral, Trivandrum, Mrs.Daisy Gomes, Dental Surgeon, Dr. Ronald M. Gomez, Mr.Leslie Edmond Gomez, Mrs. N.B. Morera, , Mr.George Malcom Gomez, Mr.J.R. D’coutho, Mr.S.R. Fernando )the famous architect) ; Miss H. Gomez M.A., L.T., Mr.P. Correia, Mr. Percy D’coutho, Mr.Joe Fernando, Mr.M.P. Fernandez, Mr. Clifford D’coutho, Miss G. Miranda, Mr.G.P. Noronha, Miss Norma Miranda, Mr.Vincent Andrews Cardoza, Mrs.S. Morera, Mr.Hermen E. Lopez, Asst. Supdt. of Police, Mr.Stephen Netto. <sup>92</sup>

There were very prominent Eurasians from Trivandrum apart from the names mentioned above. Among them the names of Mr.Maurice E. Watts and his sister Miss Dora H. Watts deserve special mention. Mr.Maurice Watts was Diwan of Travancore and Miss Dora Watts was the Principal of the Maharajas college for Women at Trivandrum, and also was the tutor of Maharani.

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91. Mrs.Imelda Roberts (daughter of late S.R Fernando), Mr. Stephen Nigli , Mrs.andMr.Morera and Mrs.Lopez are the office-bearers of the Anglo-Indian Association at Trivandrum.

92 The names have been extracted from the files of Prof. Stephen J.Nigli

Mr.S.R. Fernando (Stephen Robert Fernando) a gifted architect who was known all over India for his skill in designing big buildings , monuments and churches. It is learnt that

he had designed 92 churches all over India that includes a number of churches in Goa, Trivandrum (in designing the Plalayalam St.Joseph's cathedral, Mr.Fernando also played his major role), Kottayam and other places. No wonder, his son Stan Fernando (Stansilaus Robert Fernando, now settled in Chennai) became famous throughout the country and abroad for his unique designs of massive structures noted for their beauty. Incidentally, the St.Francis Assisi Cathedral in Ernakulam was designed by Mr.Stan Fernando and when His Holiness Pope John II recorded his appreciation when he visited this church in 1986.

Mr.A.A..D. Luiz, a well-known Anthropologists, who wrote a book on *The Tribals of Kerala*, was also an M.L.A. While he was in Trivandrum, a variety of programmes were organized by the association of Luso-Indians at Trivandrum. They organized a large meeting of the representatives of the Luso-Indians at Trivandrum on 25<sup>th</sup> July 1954 and a reception was also given to Mr.Pattom A. Thanu Pillai, the then chief Minister of the erstwhile Travancore-Cochin State. On 15<sup>th</sup> April 1955, the then Chief Minister Mr.Panampilly Govinda Menon was also given a grand reception.<sup>93</sup>

There was a 'Friend-in-Need Society' functioning for the Luso-Indians at Trivandrum. The office of which is still seen near to convent Road. Large scale migration of the members of the community has affected the strength and solidarity of the Luso-Indians in Trivandrum.

The Luso-Indian community has contributed much to the church and its institutions at Trivandrum. It is gathered that the land where Bishop Pereira Hall is situated at the heart of the town was donated by the Lopez family. Vast areas of land was made available by the Govt. to house the present Techno-Park at Trivandrum from one Luso-Indian family.

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93. *Souvenir* published by the Union of Anglo-Indian Associations, Cochin, 2003, p.118.

There were very prominent Luso-Indians holding high positions in the erstwhile Travancore state<sup>94</sup>

The Palayalam St. Joseph's cathedral, was built with the generous contributions from the members of the Luso-Indian community and this Cathedral, now stands as a bastion in Trivandrum city. The tomb stones of a good number of Luso-Indians could still be seen at the St. Joseph's Cathedral as well as at the St. Anne's church, Pettah.

**Chirayinkil** and **Anjengo**<sup>95</sup> are remote pockets in Trivandrum district, where scattered Luso-Indian families are settled. From the Luso-Indian families settled at Trivandrum town it is gathered that the Luso-Indian soldiers who were in the British service married from various places of Trivandrum district and they had served at the Anjengo fort and settled at the nearby areas of the fort.

One difficulty in identifying the real Luso-Indians at Trivandrum district as in the case of Quilon was the Portuguese surnames (*Apelido*) given to the forefathers of the non Luso-Indian Catholics when they were baptized. As mentioned earlier, here also the surnames of the Portuguese Captain, chieftain or *Padarinjo* was given to the baptized child. Their generations continued to add the surname with their Christian

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94. Herman Lopez was the pilot officer to Sree Chithira Thirunal Balarama Varma and later became the Supdt. Of Police, Traffic and Railways. His daughter showed the innumerable medals and honours given to him and she proudly showed the piano of her illustrious father. At Dr. Antony Morera. Clement's house, his son and family are staying now. Dr. Clement was the founder Director and Principal of Trivandrum Dental College.

95. Chirayinkil or *Chirayinkeezhu* in vernacular is about 35 kilometers north of Trivandrum town. Anjengo is 45 kilometers from Trivandrum town, where the remnants of the old British fort is still seen.

name, and many of them admit that they are not Luso-Indians<sup>96</sup>. There are instances, these people claim the education and job reservations allotted for Luso-Indians, make use of their Portuguese surnames and even marry Luso-Indians<sup>97</sup>. But, the Association of Luso-Indians keep an old record of real Luso-Indians<sup>98</sup>.

In the coastal areas of Trivandrum district , we come across people with Portuguese surnames, who are the generations of the converts during the Portuguese period. The former Vicar General of Trivandrum diocese , Msgr.James Kulas explained that the situation of these people and their social and economic conditions which is below average. These simple people, most of them are fishermen and poor are deeply religious also maintain their love and affection towards St.Francis Xavier and there are a good number of churches constructed in the great saint's name.

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96. Prof. Lawrance Lopez, retired from University college, Trivandrum and Mr.John Gomez, retired from Kerala State Electricity Board and many others admit that they are not Luso-Indians. At Varkala, in Trivandrum district , one Mr.Asarias Pereira who informed that even though a Portuguese surname is there with his name , he is not a Luso-Indian.

97. There are both men and women with Portuguese surnames married to Luso-Indians. Prof. Mary Fernandez is married to one Placid Lopez, who is a real Luso-Indian from Ernakulam and one Shaji Lopez married to Prof.Johny Gomes , who is a real Luso-Indian from Vallarpadam.

98. Prof.Stephen J.Nigli, Secretary of the Anglo-Indian Association, Trivandrum keep a record of members prepared almost fifty years back and informed that he will issue community certificate only to the family members of the persons entered in his old register.

## **Scattered Families at Remote Centres**

### **Trichur**

In Trichur , scattered in and around the town, about 80 families of Luso-Indians are residing. These families , most of them were migrated from nearby areas for the sake of employment and business. The Rozarios , the well-known bakers are settled at Trichur for more than 100 years. John Fernandez, who was Superintendent of Police (Reserve) in Trichur and his family had vast areas of landed properties in town. Actually, the 50 cents of land which is used as cemetery of the Sacred Heart Latin church is still in the name of late John Fernandez. The Sacred Heart Latin church is the centre for the Luso-Indian community in Trichur. Recently, the Luso-Indians of the town assembled at the Sacred Heart Church hall and decided to form an Association of their own <sup>99</sup> Two acres of land was given to the St.Joseph's Latin Convent by late John Fernandez at a very nominal prize for the establishment of educational institutions.

**Mathilakam and Muttikkal:** Mathilakam and Muttikkal are places in Trichur district. Mathilakam is near to padiyoor and 20 kilometers south of Irinjalakuda. Muttikkal is near to Mala and these places were once inhabited by small groups of Luso-Indian families. At Muttikkal , the prominent family of D'rosses was staying. This family owned very large extend of land at Muttikkal. Even now, some members of the D'ross family are staying at Muttikkal <sup>100</sup>.

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99. Mr.Silvester Gonsalves, president of the newly formed Association of Luso-Indians at Trichur , along with Mr.Joseph Fernandez, Boban D'silva, Mrs.Hazel Francis and Mr.Syton D'silva have conducted a survey and traced about 80 families in Trichur town area. Mrs. Metilda Fernandez, Retd. Deputy Collector, Trichur stays in Trichur town.

100. Mr.Harry D'ross from Muttikkal , is now staying at Mudikal, near to Perumbavoor as he was employed in Travncore Rayons there. The members of the D'ross family are also settled at Ernakulam and Vypin areas also.

### **Kumbalangi**

Kumbalangi is an island situated 15 kilometers south west of Cochin. There was an old settlement of Luso-Indians mainly of the *Oliveira* family . As there was no facility for

frequent transportation, those who are employed in commercial establishments at far away places shifted from here. Fr.Denson Oliveira of the Cochin diocese who had been to Portugal for his studies, is from this family.

### **Kothad, Kandanad ,and Chariyanthuruthu**

These are islands north west of Ernakulam. About 40 Luso-Indian families are residing in these islands. Among them there are carpenters and mechanics who are working at Cochin city and other nearby towns.

### **Poochakkal**

At Poochakkal, an interior place of Alleppey district near to Cherthala about 3 families of Luso-Indians are settled. At Thykatuserry, a nearby place, 5 families are settled. There are a few Luso-Indian families settled near Chandrioor. Their surnames are Livera, Fernandez and one family of Dias (at Chandrioor). Gilroy Fernandez, a clerk at Cochin Corporation office is from Poochakkal. Adv.Nicholas Dias, after his retirement from K.S.R.T.C. is practicing at Ernakulam district courts and High Court.

From the above 40 odd Luso-Indian settlements, it is seen that most of the Luso-Indians are settled near to port towns of Cochin, Quilon, Calicut and Cannanore. It is also pertinent to note that about 60% of the Luso-Indian population is residing in and around Cochin city. Settlements at Quilon, Cochin, Vypeen, Calicut and Cannanore were established almost 500 years ago; whereas, about 25 new settlements were established in the interior villages soon after Dutch invasion of Cochin in 1663. The Wayanadu and Munnar centres were established only in the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century. The scattered families and small clusters were established with shifting of residences for the sake of profession or business. At 37 centres Associations have been formed. Altogether, the Luso-Indian population in Kerala is numbering around one lakh.

## Chapter VII

### THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND LUSO-INDIANS

Luso-Indians of Kerala are zealous Catholics, devoted to Church, priests and Catholic Hierarchy. Their life is centered around sacramental life at every stage of life. They do not have any observable Hindu stamp in the socio-religious life as in the case of other Catholic communities of Kerala. The Luso-Indians are born and brought up in pristine Catholic faith from birth. They ardently follow Western Catholicism and the Roman Pontiff is their supreme head of the Church. They do not claim any succession from St. Thomas as in the case of traditional Christians and new Christians of Kerala. The Luso-Indians are descendants of the Portuguese ancestors who married native women and settled down in this land of cultural diversity in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. They followed over centuries the culture and religion of their Portuguese ancestors in the Indian environment and assimilated Indian ethos. But in religious matters they never compromised and during the invasion of the Calvinistic Dutch, they faced atrocities in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. They fled from their citadels in the coastal Kerala to the interior villages to safeguard their Catholic faith. They established themselves in their new rural settlements and continued their religious life. The Luso-Indians are very generous to the Church and Church-owned institutions. They are in front to celebrating the feasts of saints and confraternity, in donating to the Church and in constructing chapels and churches. Their religious fervor and piety, combined together is the salt of their life. The celebration of a feast in his parish church was often the life's ambition of a Luso-Indian. It is in this background an attempt is made to trace the Luso-Indians' identity in the mosaic of traditions of Kerala Church along with the contributions of Luso-Indians to the Catholic Church in this concluding chapter.

The tradition of St. Thomas, the Apostle, is deep rooted among the 'Syrian Christians' of Kerala. It is on the basis of this tradition, the morale of their existence is built over the centuries. The migration of a group of Christians from Persia to Malabar under the leadership of Thomas of Cana in the 4<sup>th</sup> century is yet another tradition. Some probability is found on the reference to Christianity in the account of the mission of Theophilus in the middle of the fourth century<sup>1</sup> about the Christianity in India. There is dispute on the period of which



Thomas of Cana arrived at Cranganore . The traditional belief that in 345 A.D. during the reign of Perumals of Mahodyapuram he arrived is disputed by modern researchers as they attribute the period of Perumals between C. 800 – 1124 A.D. <sup>2</sup>. Portuguese author Dionisio wrote in 1578, 'it is now 753 years since the Quinai Thome came from Babilonia' (i.e. in 825 A.D.). He says 'all this is according to an inscription written on a sheet of iron, which the Portuguese found in the possession of the Christians <sup>3</sup>. Diogo de Couto wrote, 'the arrival of this man (Thome Canoneo) was in about A.D. 811, as is found in the Chaldean books of those Christians <sup>4</sup>. Kulasekhara Perumal of the period appears to have given a charter of privileges to Thomas of Cana and the Persian Christians accompanied <sup>5</sup>. This charter, however, has been lost, but the contents copied from the original version is preserved in the British Museum and published <sup>6</sup>. The charter is written in the 9<sup>th</sup> century *vatteluth* character and granted by the Cheraman Perumal of the period.

Another group of Christian traders from Persia is said to have arrived in Quilon in 822 or 823 and the founding of Quilon is credited to these settlers in 825 A.D. the year in which is reckoned the '*Kollam Era*' (Kerala Era) which still is used as local calendar year. It is clear from these traditions that the early Christianity in Kerala was introduced from Persia.

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1. Eugene Tisserant, *Eastern Christianity in India*, Trans. and adapted by E.R. Hambey, Bombay, 1957, pp.7-8.
  2. K.J. John, *The Road to Diamper, Cochin*, 1999, p.14 : also see, M.G.S. Narayanan, *Political and Social Conditions of Kerala Under the Kulasekhara Empire*, 800 to 1124 A.D, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Kerala, Trivandrum.
  3. Dionisio, Report of 1578, ARSI Goa, 12-11, ff.439-441.
  4. Diogo de Couto, *Do Asia*, XII, book III, Ch.5, Lisboa, 1788, p.285.
  5. T.K. Joseph, See the article by Monteiro D'Aguair in *Kerala Society Papers*, Trivandrum, 1929, series 4, p. 169-200.
  6. *Ibid.*,

The early Christians maintained their allegiance to East Syrian Patriarch of Seleucia – Ctesiphon <sup>7</sup>. For over centuries pre-Portuguese Christians of Kerala had no proper Christian formation in the modern sense and practically not distinguished with other Hindu sects. The traditions of Manichaeism, Nestorianism, Buddhism, Judaism etc. seems to have integrated in their cultural and social life. Until they came into contact with the western missionaries, the pre-Portuguese Church in Kerala was a closed corporation <sup>8</sup>.

The Roman Catholic missionaries, with Pope in Rome as its head, could not proceed to Asian region because of Arab resistance, till 13<sup>th</sup> century. With the establishment of religious orders like Franciscans and Dominicans, the Roman Catholic Church could send the message of Jesus to countries of Asia. The first missionary of this kind - John of Monto Carvino, a Franciscan was landed in Quilon in 1291 <sup>9</sup>, then an ancient port in Kerala coast. Friar John worked among the Persian Christians and could baptize hundreds of them, during his thirteen month stay and formed the first set of Roman Catholics in India <sup>10</sup>.

The Dominican Friar Jordanus Catlani continued the evangelization work initiated by John of Monte Carvino and concentrated his activities in Quilon among the Persian Christians. In 1328 he left for Europe, met the Pope and conveyed the news of his efforts at Quilon and convinced him of the need to establish a diocese. The Pope accepted his suggestions and after evaluating the situation, established the bishopric of Quilon under the Archiepiscopal See of Sultanieh in Persia through a Papal Bull *Ad Perpetuom* on 9<sup>th</sup> August 1329 <sup>11</sup>. Jordanus Catlani was appointed its first bishop. Circumstantial evidence show that Bishop Jordanus reached Quilon in 1330 <sup>12</sup>, and established his Cathedral church. Bishop

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7. P.J. Podipara, *The Thomas Christians*, London and Bombay, 1970, p.65.

8. G.M. Moraes, *A History of Christianity in India*, Bombay, 1964, p.293.

9. Vanden A Wyngaert, *Jeran de Monte Carvin*, 1924, p.20

10. Tisserant, *op.cit.*, p.20.

11. G.M. Moraes, *op.cit.*, pp.98,99.

12. Julius Richter, *A History of Missions in India*, Edinburg and London, 1908, p.40.

Jordanus while visiting his mission centers in Thane, was stoned to death by Muslims in 1336<sup>13</sup>.

It seems that after the death of Bishop Jordanus, the evangelization and the continuation of the activities of the new diocese become stalled and slowly became defunct. The only reference available after the martyrdom of Bishop Jordanus was about the reception given to Papal Nuncio Bishop John Maringolli, while returning from China landed at Quilon on 23<sup>rd</sup> March 1346 at the Cathedral church of St. George<sup>14</sup>. After that no undisputable records are available about the Catholic missions in India for about a century.

### **Missionary Activities of the Portuguese**

The discovery of new sea-route to India by Vasco da Gama in 1498 paved the way for great economical, social and religious changes in India especially in Kerala. The privileges granted to the King of Portugal by Pope in 1442 through the Bull *Jus Patrnatus* and again in 1452 through the bull *Dum Diverse* entitled or empowered the Portuguese to take measures for the propagation of Catholic faith, facilitating the activities of the Church, nomination of the prelates for the diocese, to the Holy See etc. The privileges in case of Portuguese Patronage or *Padroado* briefly were the following:-

- 1) The possession of dioceses involving the task of watching over the administration of funds set aside for their use by the Crown.
- 2) The nomination to the Holy See by the King of Portugal of the prelates of the said dioceses within a given period.

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13. H.C.Perumallil, ed., *History of Christianity in India*, Alleppey, 1972, p.44.

14. Moraes., *op.cit.*, p.104.

- 3) The presentation by the King to the Bishop not only of the Canons, but Also of cures (parish priests) holders of prebends etc. <sup>15</sup>

Pedro Alvares Cabral, the second Portuguese navigator reached Malabar in 1500 and along with him were 8 Franciscan missionaries. Eventhough the fleet was well received by Zamorin at Calicut on 13<sup>th</sup> September 1500, West Asian Muslim merchants managed their influence on Zamorin against the Portuguese and attacked the Portuguese on 16<sup>th</sup> October 1500 and killed three Franciscan friars. Four remaining missionaries were friars Henry Alvares of Coimbra, Francis da Cruz, Simon de Guimoraes, Louis do Salvador and lay brother John de Vitoria escaped to Cochin and settled there. They slowly started their evangelization work. Friar Simon de Guimoraes worked among the Persian Christians and Friar Francis da Cruz engaged in the conversion of infidels. It appears that Friar Louis do Salvador left for Cannanore and worked among the infidels for some time <sup>16</sup>. The friars of Cochin extended their evangelization work across the Vypin island with the help of the Brhamain convert ,Christened as Michael de Santa Maria <sup>17</sup>.

The expedition of Joao da Nova from Portugal which reached Kerala in 1501, brought four more Franciscans who divided among themselves between Cannanore and Cochin. Every year each fleet from Portugal brought more friars <sup>18</sup>. In 1522 the Franciscan Friars erected Friary of St.Antony at Cochin <sup>19</sup>. In Cochin, from both among Muslims and Hindus were converted to Roman Catholicism <sup>20</sup>. Many Persian Christians, referred to as `Thomas

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15. K.J. John, *op.cit.*, p.74.

16. A. Meersman, *The Friars Minor 1291 -1942*,Karachi, 1943, , p.11.

17. A.M. Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India*, I, Bangalore, 1984, p.375.

18. A.Meersman, *op.cit.*, pp.12-13.

19. A. Meersman., *The Ancient Franciscan provinces in India, 1500 -1835*, Bangalore, 1971, , p.311.

20. G. Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier , His Life His Times II*, trans. M. Joseph Castello, Rome, 1973-82, pp.493-494.

Christians` by the Portuguese chroniclers, were properly instructed in the doctrines of Roman Catholic faith and administered baptism by the Franciscan friars. Thus the number of Christians at Cochin reached up to 10,000 in 1518 <sup>21</sup>. The Poorer converts were attracted to Roman Catholicism on account of the help and protection given to them by the Church. The King of Portugal in 1509 had ordered that, relief should be administered to the poor Christians in Cochin <sup>22</sup>. According to Silva Rego, the first among the converts were people who were in direct contact with the Portuguese. Among them were the Kerala women who lived with the Portuguese, Thomas Christians and merchants who profited by their trade with the Portuguese.

The Portuguese built a fort at Calicut and a chapel inside the fort and dedicated to Our Lady of Immaculate Conception <sup>23</sup>. Soon, Roman Catholic community grew up near the Portuguese settlement through conversion and intermarriage. Joao da Cruz, a *Chetti* by caste, who got converted while in Lisbon as the envoy of the Zamorin and on return to Calicut he was very zealous in promoting the faith sometime around in 1516 <sup>24</sup>. When Duarte Nunes, Bishop of Dume visited Calicut in 1522, the indigenous Roman Catholic population of Calicut was 200 <sup>25</sup>.

Quilon, the seat of the diocese established by Bishop Jordanus Catlani, already had a Christian population even though they lost their vigour for want of spiritual formation. When Affonso de Albuquerque made treaty with the queen of Quilon, clauses were inserted in it to safeguard the interests of Christians <sup>26</sup>.

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21. A. Meersman, *op.cit*, p.309.

22. SRD, I, pp.69-70.

23. Gasper Correia, *Lendas da India*, II, Lisbon, 1858-64, pp.329-36.

24. *Ibid.*, p.556.

25. SRD, I p.444.

26. Braz de Albuquerque , ed., Albuquerque, *Commentarios do Grande Afonso Albuquerque*, Lisbon, 1774, ch.5.

Crangannore, the once prominent Christian settlement was under the threat of Muslims and with the arrival of the Portuguese with considerable military power, the Christians sought protection which was granted to them. The Portuguese constructed St. Thomas Fort of Crangannore at Kottapuram on the banks of river Periyar in 1536, garrisoned to prevent the attack by the Zamorin <sup>27</sup>.

In the circumstances the Syrian Christians began to depend more on the Portuguese for their religious needs and social security, and on the request of Mar Abuna Jacob, the East Syrian bishop of Kerala, who desired to be baptized and instructed in the Roman Catholic faith, the Portuguese King sent Fr. Alvaro Penteadó entrusting him the task of bringing these native Christians into Catholic Church <sup>28</sup>. The efforts of Fr. Alvares Penteadó slowly brought Mar Jacob and Mar Thomas, from the East Syrian church at that time on the pay-roll of the Portuguese Treasury <sup>29</sup>. Mar Jacob accepted the Roman Catholic faith and instructed his people in this faith and was instrumental in converting thousands of Syrian Christians to the Catholic faith <sup>30</sup>. The Franciscans had opened a college at Cranganore in 1541 for raising priests from among the traditional Kerala Christians <sup>31</sup>. The college was under the charge of Fr. Vincent de Lagos. In 1539 four students of Syrian Christian parents were sent to Lisbon for Roman Catholic priesthood <sup>32</sup>. The Franciscans who began the work of evangelization of Cochin, Cranganore and other Portuguese settlements in Kerala found themselves unable to cope up with the amount of work, asked help from other religious orders. Fr. Ferdinand Lapoz, superior of the Cranganore college wrote to the King of Portugal in a letter of 1557, sought the help of Dominicans and the Society of Jesus <sup>33</sup>.

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27. R.S. Whiteway., *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, New York, 1969, p.291.

28. SRD, II, 358 ff.

29. *Ibid.*, IV, pp.477-78.

30. SRD, II, pp.213-15, iii, p.19

31. SRH., I, p.398.

32. G. Schurhammer, *op.cit.*, p.20. also Vol.II.p.486.

33. A. Meersman, *op.cit.*, p.71.

### **The Era of Francis Xavier**

The arrival of Jesuits, Francis Xavier and Paul Camerino marked a significant phase in the Catholic missionary activity. Francis Xavier and his companions in the Jesuit order reached Goa on 6<sup>th</sup> May 1542. They were obliged by the terms of the *Padroado* and were aware of the privileges of the Portuguese King in the matters of their sphere of activities. Xavier studied the problems of missionary activities in the country and made efforts to learn the vernacular. By the end of 1544 he had baptized in Travancore about 10,000 people. In his letters dated 20<sup>th</sup> January 1545 from Cochin, Xavier requested King John III of Portugal to increase the subsidies to India considering the increase in the number of population of Roman Catholics as a result of vigorous evangelization<sup>34</sup>. To establish a Jesuit mission in Quilon, Nicholas Lancillotti was sent there in 1549. He started a college in Quilon in the same year and named it 'Salvador College' where Portuguese, Latin and Catholic doctrines were taught. In 1552 he enlarged the college and built a beautiful church attached to it. In 1574 there were about 12,000 Catholics in Quilon<sup>35</sup>.

### **Padroado Diocese of Cochin**

Being the headquarters of the Portuguese, Cochin was not only the center of all commercial operations but the center of control for the evangelization activities also. The port, the Santa Cruz Church, the seat of Episcopal see and the Portuguese settlement gave Cochin a unique position among the cities in South India. The trade relations of the Syrian Christians and the intermediaries had with the Portuguese and the arrival of Western missionaries through the port of Cochin paved the way for the concentration of attention to this city and Cochin played an important role in the early missionary activities in Kerala coast. The Catholic Encyclopedia defines that, Cochin had the honour of being the 'Cradle of Christianity in India'<sup>36</sup>. The foundation of the Santa Cruz church was

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34. G.Schurhammer and J. Wicki, ed., *Epistole S. Francisci Xavierii Aliaque ejus scripta*, Rome, 1944-45, p.252.

35. K.J.John, *op.cit*, p.91 :Also see the letter of George de Castro in DI, Vol. II, p.754

36. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol.IV, p.76.

laid on 3<sup>rd</sup> May 1506 <sup>37</sup>. The city was mainly inhabited by Roman Catholics , Lusk-Indians and the Portuguese and the population was about 15,000 <sup>38</sup>. As early as in 1542 Francis Xavier visited Cochin. Later, the Franciscan seminary, the renowned library, St.Francis church (the present `Lenthappally`), the *Madre de Deus* Jesuit college established in 1550, the *Santa Casa da Misericordia* (House of Mercy) and other institutions , were concentrated in Cochin. By the evangelization work in the vast mission field in the South and Eastern India the number of Catholics through conversion were increasing day by day. The great monasteries and majestic churches enriched the beauty of Cochin. As a result of these achievements and increasing demands the Roman Pontiff Paul IV erected the Diocese of Cochin by his Papal Bull `Pro Excellenti Pro Eminentia' dated 4<sup>th</sup> February 1577 and declared Goa as its Archdiocese <sup>39</sup>. The Pope also declared the church of Santa Cruz as the cathedral of the new diocese and its boundaries extended from Cannanore to Cape Comorin and the whole of North Eastern India and Ceylon.

The early Christian settlers of Crangannore slowly started shifting to Cochin owing to the decline of sea-port and also because of the growing trade at Cochin. Several Luso-Indians from the Diocese of Cochin became Missionaries and served in different parts of Asia including Ceylon. Under the Portuguese, Cochin became a powerful Christian center on the Malabar coast. The Cochin Diocese under the *Padroado* regime flourished in the number of institutions and the number of Catholics. The 400 year old *Padroado* rule lasted till 18<sup>th</sup> July 1950. Thus the origin and growth of Luso-Indians could be traced from the establishment of the first Portuguese settlement at Cochin since 1500 A D.

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37. Gasper Correia., *op.cit.*, Vol I, p II, p.156.

38. G. Schurhammer, *op.cit.* Vol.II, pp.289-90.

39. D. Ferroli., *The Jesuits in Malabar*, vol I, Bangalore, 1939, p.147.



### **Contribution of Luso-Indians to the dioceses of Verapoly, Quilon and Calicut**

The Portuguese maintained their power in Kerala till 1663 with their settlements and trade centers concentrating mainly on the port towns of Cochin, Calicut, Cannanore and Quilon. In and around these port towns the Christian population was concentrated and later in these places the first Roman Catholic dioceses were established. In consequence of the decline of *Padroado* administration, the first center of Carmelites sent by Propaganda Fide, Rome was established at Verapoly, a small island near Cochin and the Vicariate of Malabar was erected in 1659 by suppressing the *Padroado* Archdiocese of Cranganore and was brought the Syrian Catholics under the new Vicariate. Later, in 1886, the Vicariate was transformed into the Archdiocese of Verapoly.

The Diocese of Quilon claim a history of 700 years. Being one of the two main ports in the Malabar coast, Quilon had access to travellers from China and Persia and the possibility of a settlement of Christians cannot be ruled out. So much so, as mentioned earlier John of Monte Carvino, a Franciscan came to Quilon in 1291. Later, the Dominican friar Jordanus Catlani of Severac and four Franciscans reached Quilon in 1321. The diocese of Quilon was erected in 1329 and Jordanus became the first bishop there<sup>40</sup>. Syrian Christians were converted under him in the diocese and slowly Latin domination was established. With the death of Bishop Jordanus, the vitality of the new diocese was diminished and slowly it become defunct. Much later, with the arrival of the Portuguese in 1502, a Portuguese settlement was developed at Quilon. Much efforts were made by the Portuguese with liberal financial support to evangelize the areas in and around Quilon and the old diocese of Quilon became part of the diocese of Goa in 1553.

St. Francis Xavier's visit to Quilon in 1544 stimulated the Christian activities there. In 1557 when Goa was raised to be an Archdiocese and Cochin was dismembered from Goa and

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40. Jerome Fernandez, 'The Diocese of Quilon', *The Christian Heritage of Kerala*, ed., K.J. John, Cochin, 1981, p.384.

made suffragan to Goa, Quilon remained part of the diocese of Cochin for the next 280 years. On 28<sup>th</sup> April 1838, Pope Gregory XVI published his Brief *Multa Praeclara* and made Quilon part of the Vicariate of Malabar, having its seat in Verapoly. Quilon became an independent diocese on 1<sup>st</sup> September 1886 with Msgr.Ferdinand as Bishop, suffragan to the Archdiocese of Verapoly.

The traces of Christians in some parts of north Malabar was reported by Ferolli.<sup>41</sup> It was by the arrival of Vasco da Gama in 1498 at Calicut the evangelization began in these areas. Though Padre Pedro de Covilham accompanied Vasco da Gama in his first voyage and landed at Calicut<sup>42</sup>, the initial efforts of him was not on favourable grounds. The Franciscans accompanied Pedro Alvares Cabral in his visit of 1500, could preach Gospel after some initial difficulties with Zamorin, the ruler of Calicut. They could build a small church which may be the first church built by Portuguese in India<sup>43</sup>. In Cannanore, the Portuguese could establish a fort (Fort St.Angelo) and a factory around which a good number of Catholics along with *casado* settlers mainly under the care of the Franciscans, could develop and prosper<sup>44</sup>. They also could build a convent there and had made some conversions<sup>45</sup>. From Cannanore many zealous missionaries went to preach the Gospel in the neighbouring areas and some of them were martyred by the Moors<sup>46</sup>. During the Governorship of Affonso de Albuquerque, the restrictions on conversions were lifted in Cannanore and people from all castes began joining the Catholic Church. A good number of

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41. D.Ferrolli., *op.cit.*, , vol.I, p.69-70; also see, Maxwell Valentine Noronha, 'The Diocese of Calicut', in *Christian Heritage of Kerala*, ed., K.J. John, Cochin, 1981, pp.392-401.

42. *Ibid.*, p.86.

43. *Ibid.*, p.92.

44. A. Mundadan, *St.Thomas Christians, 1498-1552*, Bangalore, 1967, p.95.

45. Moraes, *op.cit.*, p.129.

46. D. Ferrolli., *op.cit.*, p.97. Fr.Martin da Guarda was martyred at Cannanore and in the fortress of Kunhalee, near Badagara, in a mosque Fr.Francis Gallego was beheaded.

Muslim and Hindu women embraced Christianity in Cannanore so as to marry Portuguese soldiers<sup>47</sup>. St. Francis Xavier visited Calicut and Cannanore in 1549<sup>48</sup>. In 1597 the Zamorin was prepared for an alliance with Portuguese and facilitated the preaching of Gospel and building of churches<sup>49</sup>. From 1601 onwards, after the founding of the Malabar Province of Jesuits, the Mission work was carried on by the fathers inspired by the zeal of Padre Giocomo Fencio, known as the Apostle of Calicut<sup>50</sup>. After the suppression of the Society of Jesus the territory was entrusted to the care of the Carmelite Fathers and made part of the Vicariate of Verapoly and later under the Vicariate of Mangalore.

The present diocese of Calicut was erected by a Papal Brief of Pope Pius XI dated June 12, 1923 by which the then diocese of Mangalore was divided into those Mangalore and Calicut and Calicut was entrusted to the Jesuits. The first bishop of Calicut was Rt. Rev. Dr. Paul Perini S.J. (1923 – 32) The fourth bishop was Rt. Rev. Dr. Aldo Maria Patroni, an Italian Jesuit (1948 – 1980). Bishop Patroni's period was noteworthy with the all-round progress of the diocese especially in evangelization and education. His Malayalam speeches were famous for its lofty ideas and that of a great visionary. On the resignation of Bishop Patroni in 1979, Rt. Rev. Dr. Maxwell Valentine Noronha was elected Bishop and was consecrated on 7th Sept. 1980.<sup>51</sup>

### **The Synod of Diamper**

The Synod of Diamper held by the Portuguese Archbishop Alexis de Menezes of Goa in 1599 at Udayamperoor, near Cochin was mainly intended for the Catholic formation of

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47. SRD I, p. 151. letter of Albuquerque written in April 1512; Also see, Moraes., *op.cit.*, p.137.

48. D. Ferrolli., *op.cit.*, p.127.

49. A. Mundadan., *op.cit.*, pp.212-13.

50. *Ibid.*, p.249.

51. Maxwell Valentine Noronha, 'The Diocese of Calicut', *Christian Heritage of Kerala*, ed., K.J. John, *op.cit.*, p.401.

the St.Thomas Christians, in the Latin mould . It was a difficult task in the background of the age old contacts of Kerala Christians with the East Syrian Church of Babylon.

The Synod of Diamper is still a subject of controversy, over the jurisdiction of Alexis de Menezes and the purposes of the Synod. Jonas Thaliath, former Syrian Catholic bishop of Rajkot raised this matter in his book *The synod of Diamper* <sup>52</sup> .

Msgr.Gregorio Magno Antao, former Chancellor of the Archdiocese of Goa, in his thesis *De Synodi Diamperitanae Nabura atque Decretis* ( at the Pontifical Gregorian University, Roma, in 1938) defended that the Synod was valid <sup>53</sup> . K.J. John, Professor of History and Archeology, Calicut University in his book *The Road to Diamper*, defends the decrees and canons passed by the Synod and argue that they were framed for understanding the fundamental teachings of the Catholic faith and morals as follow-up of the Council of Trent and the Synod was valid and well within the jurisdiction of Alexis de Menezes <sup>54</sup>. Even Jonas Thaliath wrote:-

“It (the Synod) effectively removed some of the abuses arising out of the ignorance of the people and clarified the Catholic doctrine leaving no room for ambiguity” <sup>55</sup>. He also states “It must be recognized, that the development evinced by the Church of Malabar in later times was, due to a considerable extent, to the stability of organization it received under the Latin rule and the Malabar Church will be ever grateful for that ” <sup>56</sup> .

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52. Jonas Thaliath, *The Synod of Diamper*, Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, Roma, 1958, reprint, Bangalore, 1999, p.173-74.

53. Pius Malekandathil , trans. *Jornada of Dom Alexis Menezes* Quoted by Raul Nicolou Gonsalvez, Archbishop of Goa, in his message , Kochi, 2003, p.XI.

54. K.J.John,*op.ci*, p.144-45.

55. Jonas Thaliath., *op.cit.*, p.173.

56. *Ibid.*, p.174.

### **Introduction of Printing**

The invention of printing press in 1450 by John Guttenburg was one of the greatest factors that helped learning in all spheres of life. In the year 1556 the first printing press was founded in India. By order of the King of Portugal, Dom Joao III, a printing press was shipped from Lisbon to Abyssinia in order to carry on missionary work there. But the ship drifted and landed in Goa. It was thus the printing began in India much earlier than in Russia or America. In all probability *Doctrina Christao* of Dom Francis Xavier that came out in 1556 was the first book published by this press.

The Portuguese settlements in Cochin, Quilon, Vaipicotta and Sampaloor had educational institutions attached with them and printing presses were established in these centers. In the light of evidences available, the earliest book printed in Kerala belongs to the Quilon press established by Fr. Joao de Fario S.J. which was attached with the San Salvador Seminary in Tankassery. The book was titled *Doctrina Christam* and had 16 pages. Mr.T.M. Chummar supports the contention that the first printing press in Kerala was established at Fort Cochin, by the Portuguese in 1577, and the book titled *Doctrina Christiana* which was printed in this press in 1577 in Tamil letters. Evidently, his theory is based on the testimony of Bishop Marcellinus on the witnesses given by Fr.Paulinus in the *Voyage to East Indies*<sup>57</sup>

The liturgy, church services and ceremonies and more than 200 Portuguese words in Malayalam show the involvement the Portuguese had in the religious and social life in this place. After the Dutch conquest in 1663, the Portuguese descendants – the Luso-Indians, took up the task to a very great extent. In serving the Church and supporting its activities; in

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57. George Veliparambil, 'Early Printing and Origin of the Press in Kerala: Contribution of Christian Missionaries', ed., K.J. John, *Christian Heritage of Kerala, op.cit.*, p.162

also see, K.J. John, ed., *Thampuram Vanakkam – Christian Doctrine in Malabar Tamil*, Publication Division, University of Calicut, 2005.

establishing new churches and maintaining them ; and in defending the various external threats to the Church, the Luso-Indians were in the forefront. Right from the year 1676 with the selection of Raphael de Figueredo Salgado, a Luso-Indian from Cochin, as Vicar Apostolic of Malabar and titular bishop of Adrumenta ( *Malabariae Vicarius Apostolicus*) and coadjutor to Alexander de Campo. The Luso-Indians played major role in the Episcopal administration of Kerala Catholic Church. He was a ‘ Canon Visitor and Governor of the vacant Episcopal See of Cochin’. Bishop Raphael was consecrated at Calicut in 1677 by Dom Thomas de Castro, Bishop of Fulcivilens and Vicar Apostolic of Travancore, Tanjore and other places this side of Ganges.<sup>59</sup> He died on 12th October 1695 and his tomb is now seen at St.Mary’s Syrian church, South Pallippuram, near Cherthala.

Luso-Indians contributed their might and wealth for the Church. Bishop Maxwell Noronha of Calicut from among the Luso-Indians is a recent example. The former Vicar General of the Diocese of Cochin Rt.Rev.Msgr. Francis Figureido , Msgr.Augustine Pinheiro and Msgr.Joseph D` Almeida, who served as Vicar Generals for the diocese of Vijayapuram. Msgr. A.J.Rozario, former Vicar General of the diocese of Quilon who also served as Principal, Fatima Mata National College, Quilon and Rt.Rev.Msgr. Emanuel Lopez, and Msgr.Sebastin Luiz, former Vicar General of the Archdiocese of Verapoly were among the prominent Luso-Indians. Considering the centuries old relations with the Portuguese and the Luso-Indians , it is a precedence in the Archdiocese of Verapoly, to appoint a Luso-Indian either as Vicar General, Chancellor or Procurator. Rev.Dr.Athanasius D` Almeida who served as Definitor General of the Carmelites (O.C.D) is another prominent Luso-Indian. Around all the ancient Latin churches in Kerala, the concentration of Luso-Indians were/are at Ernakulam. Large extent of land and huge sums of money were donated to the Archdiocese of Verapoly and other dioceses by the Luso-Indians for the establishment and maintenance of the churches. There are innumerable examples – past and present, and this tradition is still

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58. L.M. Pylee, *St.Thomas Christians and the Archdiocese of Verapoly*, Cochin, 1977, pp.180-81.

59. Paulino a San Bartholomaeo, *India Orientalis Christiana*, Rome, 1794, p.79

followed by Luso-Indians as they consider the progress of the Church is of paramount importance for them. The zealous missionaries from the Luso-Indian community , mainly from Cochin and surrounding areas served at far and near places in evangelization service. Fr.Manuel de Gama , a Cochinite was deputed to Ceylon as a missionary in 1605. The following Luso-Indian clergymen worked as missionaries at different parts of Asia and suffered martyrdom at the hands of infidels:-

1. Fr.Jose de Madre de Deus, a Cochinite of the Franciscan Order.
2. Fr. Francisco Contreira, a native of Cranganore of the same order
3. Fr. Manuel D'trinadada, a Cochinite of the same order
4. Fr.Mareo de S. Catreirina “
5. Fr.Amadeu de Nossa Senhora “
6. Clergio Fr.Jose “
7. Fr.Joao de Amaral “
8. Fr.Francisco de Chagar “
9. Fr.Gasper de S. Thome, a Cochinite of the Dominican Order <sup>60</sup>

In the churches of Kerala , whether it is Latin Rite or Syrian Rite, still many of the Portuguese customs and traditions are followed. In Latin Catholic parishes, where a concentration of Luso-Indians are there, the Portuguese traditions are more. In many of these churches, the people who serve in the churches were Luso-Indians. The titles of officials in churches , like *chemmador*, *escrever*, *procurdor*, *Cappiar etc.* are still in use.

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60. Casimiro Christovão de Nazareth, *Mitras Lusitanas no Oriente*, Tomo 3, Nova Goa, 1924, pp.202, 203, 207.

In the Dioceses of Quilon, , Alleppey, Cochin, Kottapuram Verapoly, Calicut etc. the Luso-Indian priests have rendered their services, far beyond their numerical number and the churches and other institutions they built formed the very foundation of the Catholic church in Kerala. The following is a brief account of this:-

### **Luso-Indians at Quilon diocese**

Very Rev.Father John Rebeiro , prominent Luso-Indian priest was born in Mavelikkara in 1863. FrBenjamin d`cruz, parish priest of Santa Cruz Cathedral, Fort Cochin helped him in his education, Fr.Rebeiro was sent to *Pontifical Collegie Urbane de Propaganda*, Rome and there he obtained the Degree of doctor of divinity with distinction. Perhaps the first priest in India to have secured the Doctor of divinity.. Later he succeeded Fr.Benjamin D`cruz as the Vicar of Santa Cruz Cathedral, Cochin. After relieved from Cochin, he settled at Mavelikkara. Fr.John Rebeiro at Kunnam (Mavelikara) and Fr.Lawrance Pereira at Charumood were the pioneers in the **Reunion Movement** initiated by Mar-Ivanios, a native of Mavelikara and founder of the Syro-Malankara Catholic Church . Mar Ivanios was formerly a bishop of the Jacobite Church.. Fr.Rebeiro was instrumental in founding the Sacred Heart Home and Sacred Heart Church at Mavelikkara.

Bishop Dr.Lawrance Pereira of the diocese of Quilon was nominated on May 26, 1930 as the Bishop of the new diocese of Kottar. Fr.Lawrance Pereira is hailed as the greatest missionary of the diocese of Quilon Fr.Pereira could bring a good number of Jacobite families including five Jacobite priests with their families to the Catholic fold. Fr.Charles Fonseca was an eminent scholar and served various parishes in the Trivandrum diocese. Fr.Richard Rozario was born in Kayamkulam and served the diocese of Kottar . Rt.Rev.Msgr.Vincent Fernandez B.A., L.T. hails from Clappana and served as Vicar General of Kottar . For many years he was principal of Mount Crmel High Schoool, Nagercoil. Rev.Fr.Cyril Motha worked among the Syro-Malabar and Malankara Catholics and the oppressed classes for many years. Fr.Harry D`souza hailed from Kayamkuilam and worked many years among backward classes. He was also warden of Infant Jesus Anglo-Indian High School, Tangasserry and prefect of St.Raphael`s Minor Seminary. In the mission field , he put up several churches, spending a sizable income that he inherited from his parents.



In the diocese of Quilon, Very Rev.Fr.Dias served as diocesan councilor, and Rt.Rev.Msgr,Bernard D`cruz as vicar general, with distinction. It was mainly through the efforts of Msgr.D`cruz that the Infant Jesus Anglo-Indian Schol was established in Tangasserry. Fr.John Fernandez (from Eravipuram, Quilon) was a popular parish priest in St.Joseph`s Cathedral, Trivandrum. Msgr.Vincent Fernandez B.A., L.T. and Fr.Richard Rozario served the Kottar diocese. Rev.Sr.Theodira , sisiter of Rt.Rev.Msgr.A.J. Rozario, belonging to the Carmelite Sisters of St.Tresa has been a school teacher and she secured the State Award for Teachers in recognition of her services.

### **Luso Indians at Alleppey and Cochin Dioceses**

The Diocese of Cochin was established by Pope Paul IV on February 4, 1557 and the diocese of Alleppey was created on June 19, 1952 bifurcating the cochin diocese. Many distinguished priests from the Luso`Indian community served these dioceses. Rev.Fr,Charles Noronha who was born in 1888 was parish priest of the church of Our Lady of Hope (*Nossa Senhora da Esperança*), Vypin. Rev.Fr.Stepohen Noronha was appointed as the first *Procurator* of the newly formed Alleppey diocese. Both Fr.Charles and Fr.Stephen belonged to Poracad, Ambalappuzha. Rev.Fr.Andrew Gomez of Fort Cochin was the parish priest at Mount Carmel Church, Allepey, when it was part of the cochin diocese. Rev.Fr.Mathew Noronha, also from Poracad was Manager of St.Michael`s College, Sherthalai. Rev.Fr. Clinton D`coutho from Saude was parish priest at Arthumkal church.

As members of the Luso-Indian community were preferred for priesthood during the Portuguese period, the priests from the community were posted to responsible position in the diocese of Cochin, during the early years of the diocese. Rev.Fr.Bernard D`cruz and Rev.Fr.John Rebeiro were parish priests in the Santa Cruz Cathedral. Later , when the community was mixed with the Dutch and other Europeans, conversions of Dutch , and English people who were Protestants , to Catholic faith was increased . The community also absorbed all the European descendants . Rev.Fr.Joseph Meyn hailed from Saude was ordained at Alleppey seminary by the Bishoop of Cochin , Dr.John Gomez Pereira in 1888. He was secretary to the Bishop of Cochin for a long time and well-versed in Portuguese

language. In addition to his pastoral duties he had to translate Portuguese correspondence into English.. Msgr.John Gomez, brother of Rev.Fr.Andrew Gomez was the parish priest at the church of Saints Peter and Paul, Amaravathy.

Rt.Rev.Msgr.Francis Figureido was a distinguished priest of the Luso-Indian community, who was born in 1898 at Thoppumpady. He was Vicar General of the diocese of Cochin for a long period. He was also the Administrator of the Cochin diocese and was elevated as *Domestic Prelate* in 1947 and *Protonotary Apostolic* in 1974. Msgr.Figureido was a linguist and well-versed in Latin, Portuguese, Italian, French and English, besides Tamil and Malayalam. He was also proficient in music an inherent gift of Figureidos.

Br.Nicholas Verhoven was a famous physician belonged to Vypeen , born in 1841. He acquired the required qualification from Medical School in Cochin and later joined the Carmelite Monastery at Koonanmavu . Br.Nicholas started a dispensary in Manjummel and earned name as a good physician and later this dispensary grew to the St.Joseph's Hospital in 1888. His humanitarian services as a good physician and services to the poor was appreciated by all including the Bishop of cochin , Dr.Leonardo Melano, Archbishop of Verapoly , ruling Royal families of Cochin and Travancore etc. In recognition of the Services of Br.Nicholas , he was honoured with gold rings and medals by the Maharaja of Travancore .

Br.Nicholas sent Br.Isidore, son of Paul D`costa from Fort Cochin, to Calcutta Medical College and on his return after medical graduation, he joined the Carmelite Monastery, Manjummel . Br.Nicholas was responsible for the construction of several roads, construction of churches in Manjali and Thottekkattukara and made research on indigenous medicines and also grown Ayurveidc herbs. Br.Nicholas died in 1937 at the age of 97 and his funeral services was attended by numerous priests and nuns. A statue of Br.Nicholas was unveiled by the then British Resident , D.P. Scoose, at the premises of the hospital at Manjummel, as a monument of his services.

The following religious members also from the parish of Our Lady of Hope, Vypin, served the Church. Rev.Sr.Collete D`Souza - Congregation of Teresian Carmelites; Justin Lowe (lobo) – Canossian; Bertyl Paynter Ph.D – Carmelite, St.Tresa’s’ Melrose D`Ross, Theresian Carmelite.

Rev.Fr.Francis D`Nazareth (Fort Cochin), Rev.Fr.Denson Oliveira (Kumbalangi), Rev.Fr.Saiza (Saude). Are from the diocese of Cochin. The Directory of Cochin diocese for 1895 shows that Very Rev.Fr.Antony D`Padua was the Vicar of St.Lawrance church, Edacochin. The Rev.Sisters from this parish are:- Tresa Mendez - Canossian, Cannanore, Cessay D`souza – FMM, Our lady of Nativity Convent, Shirva, Uduppi, Josephine Mendez – FMM, Rosary Convent, Gungoundary, Hyderabad, Jacintha Mendez – Mercy Convent, Aroor.

From the parish of Santa Cruz, Fort Cochin, apart from priests like Msgr.John Gomez, and Rev.Fr.Andrew Gomez and Francis D`Nazareth, we find Rev.Fr.Valentine D`cunha S.J. and Rev.Srs. Phyllis Alvarez – Canossian, Mary D`cruz – Canossian, Phyllis Morris – Xcalcutta, Dishantil D`coutho – St.Tresa’s , Ernakulam and later at Abu Dhabi, Cassio Fernandez – St.Tresa’s , Ernakulam, and Philo D`coutho – Sacred Heart, Lucknow.

The following priests of the Luso-Indian community are seen to have been parish priests at the Church of Our Lady of Life, Mattancherry :-Rev.Fr.Francis D`cruz, 1879, Rev.Fr. Alvaros, 1890, Rev.Fr.A.D. D`souza 1898, Rev.Fr.Antony Suarus, 1898, Rev.Fr. Daniel A Everette, 1910 and Rev.Fr. Francis Figureido , 1937. Rev.Sr.Catherine Lambert was also from this parish.

### **Luso-Indian Priests at Vijapuram Diocese**

Vijayapuram is known as the Mission diocese which was formerly part of the Verapoly archdiocese. Even during this time several Luso-Indian priests and nuns were serving in this area . The following are the Luso-Indian priests :- Very Rev.Fr.Francis X. D`Aruja of Mulavukadu, Rt.Rev.Msgr.Augustine Pinheiro (from Padiyoor) was Vicar General of the diocese. He was also vicar of the Mount Carmel church, Munnar for long

time., Rt.Rev.Msgr.Joseph M D`Almeida M.A. (from Palliport) was also Vicar General of the diocese and Vicar of the Mount Carmel church, Munnar. Rev.Fr.Antony Correya (from Kadukutty), and Rev.Fr.Justine Pinheiro also serve at Vijayapuram diocese.

### **Luso-Indians at Archdiocese of Verapoly**

This is the diocese from where quite a number of Portuguese descendants came forward to work in the vineyard of Christ. Msgr.Joseph Correya (from Kadukutty) who was Dioceseian Councilor and served the archdiocese in many ways. He also served the community as the first Treasurer of The Central Board of Anglo-Indian Education. Msgr.Emmanuel Lopez (from Chathiath), was Vicar General of the Archdiocese and known as the 'saintly priest'. Msgr.Lopez, also served as patron of the Anglo-Indian Education fund for about 34 years. He was honoured by His Holiness Pope with the title of *Privy Chamberlain* and later with *Protonotary Apostolic* (supernumerary), Msgr.Frnacis Fernandez (from Chathaiath) served the archdiocese as Chancellor and also as Director of the Lourdes Hospital. Msgr. Wencelaus Pereira belonged to Infant Jesus Church, Ernakulam and opted for missionary work in Jhansi.

There were quite a number of priests from the Luso-indian community at the Archdiocese of Verapoly, past and present: Late Rev.Frs.Romold Luiz, Clement Correya, Ignatius Aruja, Joseph D`Almeida, Antony Rebeiro,, Charles D`cunha, Blaise D`Almeida, Vincent Pinheiro, antonym Lopez, Paul Luiz, Stanley Padua , Francis Xavier Aruja, Leo Rocha and Sylvester Lopez were known for their zealous pastoral works and rendered very valuable services to the Archdiocese.

Among the present priests the following are prominent by their various qualities and services rendered:- Very Rev.Fr.Simon Fernandez, who served as Director of Lourdes Hospital, Ernakulam and Holy Angels Institute, Kalamasserry, Rev.Fr.Paul Figureido B.A., B.Ed., N.Engg., P.Engg, Canada served as director and Principal Little Flower Engineering Institute, Kalamassery, Rt.Rev.Msgr.Sebastian Luiz, Vicar General, Director of Holy Angels Institute and Manager of St.Alberts college, Ernakulam, Rev.Fr.Paul Denzil Luiz, Parish Priest, Infant Jesus church, Ernakulam, Rev.Fr.Antony Pinheiro, Rv.Fr.Joseph Zimendi,

Rev.Fr.Charles Lopez, Rev.Fr.Francis Avarev, serving at Nalgonda, Rev.Fr.Francis D`cruz, serving at Andhra Pradesh .Rev.Fr.Joseph Pereira, Trivandrum, Rev.Fr.Joseph D`Cruz, Cathedral, Indore, Rev.Fr.Antony Dominic Figureido B.A. B.Th., Rev.Fr.Douglas Pinheiro, Director Family Apostolate, Rev.Fr.Francis D`silva, Adjutant Vicar, Dioceseian Curia, Rev.Fr.Francis Dixon Fernandez, , Rev.Fr.Francis Glanson Aruja, Rev.Fr.Francis Nelson Libera, former Secretary to the Archbishop, Rev.Fr. Hollin D`cruz, Very Rev.Msgr.Jain Mendez, Apostolic Nunciature, Philipines, Rev.Fr.John Capistan Lopez, Rev.Fr.Johnson D`cunha, Director, Catechetics & Bible Apostolate, Rev.Fr.Manuel Lopez, Rev. Fr.Mathew D`cunha, Rev.Fr.Michael D`cruz, Asst.Director, Assisi Vidyaniketan, Rev.Fr.Paulson Simethy,

Other religious priests are: Rev.Fr.mark Vivera O.C.D., Br.D`cruz, author of *Christian Perfection* (in Malayalam), Very Rev.Dr.Athanasius D`Almeida OCD, former Provincial and Definitor Genral, Rome, Rev.Fr.Marcel Rozario OCD, provincial procurator, Rev.Dr.Antony Pinheiro OCD, Professor, Pontifical Seminary, Alwaye., Rev.Fr.Joe Fernandez SDB, Rector, Don Bosco Youth Centre, Vaduthala, and now Vice Provincial (S. India), Rev.Fr.Sebastian Jacob OSJ, superior delegate, Alwaye, Rev.Fr.Christopher Coelho OFM, Hyderabad (musician and lyrist of hymns), Rev.Fr.Manuel Mendez OFM, Artist, Rev.Fr.Joseph Lopez SVD Bombay, Rev.Fr.Tomy Luiz M.A SVD, Rome,Rev.Fr.Joseph Fernmandez SDB, Chathiath, Rev.Fr.Francis Fernandez S.D.B. Chathiath, Rev.Fr.Sistus Correya SDB, Chathiath, Rev.Fr.Pius Figureido OCD, Ochanthuruth, Rev.Fr.Francis Rebeiro OCD Perumpilly, Rev.Fr.Manuel Rebeioro, Perumpilly, Rev.Fr.Francis Adolph Avarev, Jhansi, Rev.Fr.Joseph D`Avarev, Jhansi, Rev.Dr.Joseph Correya O.C.D , Rev.Fr.Antony D`cruz O.C.D.,, Rev.Fr.Jolly D`silva , Rev.Fr.Basil Padua O.C.D., Rev.Fr.Gladwin D`Almeida OSJ, Archbishop Hubert D`Rozario S.D.B., who was Archbishop of Dibrugarh, Assam , belonged to the diocee of Quilon.

There are religious women, past and present who have served both the diocese as well as various other congregations.

### **Luso-Indians at Congregation of Teresian Carmelites (C.T.C.)**

Very Rev. Mother Dorothy (Lopez) former Headmistress of L.M.C.C.G.H.S., Chathiath, Rev.Mother Rozario (Lopez) Superior, Rev.Sr.pauline (Lopez) former J.M. St.Joseph`s High School, Verapoly and St.Xavier`s Alwaye, Mother General, director of NCCW of the Archdiocese, Superior of North Indian Region of the Carmelite Congregation., Rev.Mr.Francina (Mendez) Former Superior , Pisa (italy), councilor of Mother General., Rev.Sr.Audrey (Correya) Former Regional superior, Northern Province (India).

### **Carmelites of St.Teresa**

It is remarkable that the founders and builders of St.Teresa`s convent , Ernakulam and the Congregation of St.Teresa, its college and other institutions were Luso-Indians. The founder, Mother Teresa was a Portuguese descendant from Madras. The Portuguese settled at Mylapore shifted to 'Black Town' (the present George Town) and later came into contact with the Britishers there. Mary Grace D`Lima who became Mother Teresa subsequently was the eldest daughter of Peter D`lima, an officer with the British at Fort St.George. Fr.Alphonsus who was appointed parish priest of Mount Carmel church, Alleppy managed to convince Mary Grace D`Lima to join him in Alleppy. She left Madras and arrived at Alleppey on May 14, 1879, the very day on which Mother Magdolen (French) had arrived from Cannanore. They started a new school in the parish. Later Grace was clothed in the habit of Our lady of Mount Carmel on April 29, 1883 taking the name of Sister Teresa of St.Rose of Lima. In 1884, Sister Teresa`s two step-sisters , Mary Josephine and Anne Elizabeth D`Lima came to study at St.Joseph`s Convent Alleppey.

In 1887 Sr.Teresa was summoned to Ernakulam by the Carmelite Fathers. On the initiative of Fr.Candidus , started the construction of a convent in 1887 at ERnakulam. Sr.Teresa was only 29 years and just two years professed as a Carmelite Tertiary, when God was pleased to place on her young shoulders the burdon of founding the religious order of the Carmelites of St.Teresa. The founding of the St.Teresa`s school and later the St.Tresa`a College were milestones in the history of Ernakulam as these institutions have contributed much for the women`s education not only in the district of Ernakulam but to the whole State of Kerala. A number of Sisters, who were pioneers of women`s education in Kerala, were

Luso-Indians. Sr.Beatrice ( Mary Jsephine), Sr.Mary Agnes (Mary Stevenge), Sr.Josephine (Ann Elizabeth D`Lima), Caroline Jane Isaacs, Catherine Gilson, Sr.Ursula ( Mary D`costa) are other women educationalists from Luso-Indian community.

Sr.Beatrice became the first Principal of St.Teresa's College. Mother Teresa was succeeded by Mothers Margaret Mary, Veronica, Mary, Alphonsus, Rita and Bernadine, respectively – all Portuguese descendants. Mother Veronica (1921 – 1934), Mother Mary (1934 – 1952), Mother Alphonsus (1952 -1964), Mother Rita (1964 -1976) all hail from Luso-Indian families. Mother Alphosus hailed from the Godinho family of Areepalam and Mother Rita from the D`costa –Scolt family of Ernakulam.

### **Luso-Indians at other Congregations**

Rev.Dr.Hilary (Rodrigues), Rev.Sr.Patsy D`coutho, Vimalalayam, Rev.Sr.Augustine (Lopez), Sisters of Charity, Calicut, Rev.Sr. Crecentia de D`Almeida, Sr.Philomina Fernandez, Sr.Ritsel de Almeida, Sr.Ann Fernandez (all FMA congregation -Salesian) are few among the Rev.Sisters from Luso-Indian community.

### **Luso-Indians at Calicut Diocese**

Dr.Maxwell Valentine Noronha had the good fortune to become the first indigenous bishop of Calicut diocese. Rev.Fr.Tomy Rodrigues (from Verapoly Archdiocese ) is serving at Calicut diocese. At present he is in United States, serving in a parish and also representing the diocese of Calicut in various projects of the diocese.

### **Churches Built by the Luso-Indians**

In keeping with the noble tradition of their forefathers, the Luso-Indians of Kerala were always in the forefront to build churches and to support the church in all its requirements. There were innumerable churches built by them. Some of them are;-  
For the constructin of St.Annes Church, Pettha, Trivandrum, St.Joseph`s Cathedral , Trivandrum, the Luso-Indians had contributed the major share, quite a number of churches in the coastal areas also received liberal help from the Luso-Indians.

The Infant Jesus Cathedral. Tangasserry , Quilon was built by the generous support of the Luso-Indians. The St.Joseph`s Cathedral at Allepey and many of the old churches were built from the generous contributions of the Luso-Indians.

The Santa Cruz Cathedral (now Bascilica) at Ccohin was built by the Portuguese in 1506 and later , reconstructed and maintained by the descendants of the Portuguese. The church of Our Lady of Hope (*Nossa Senhora da Esperança*) , Vypin , church of Our Lady of Health at Saude (*Nossa Senhora da Saude*) , St.Sebastian`s church, Thoppumpady, St.Lawrance Church, Edacochin etc. were all built by the initiative of the Portuguese descendants. The church of Our lady of *Loretto* , at Moolmkuzhy, Saude , known as *parangippalli* , was built by the Luso-Indians exclusively for them. The St.Francis church, Fort Cochiin, the first church built by the Portuguese in India is now an attractive monument of the Portuguese period. But it is now administered by the C.S.I, as the last colonial power in India was British.

At Archdiocese of Verapoly, the old churches at Verapoly island, and other churches by the Carmelites were built with the support mainly of Luso-Indians. The Infant Jesus church, Ernakulam known as *parangippalli*, was built by the Eurasians in 1826 exclusively for them. St.Francis Xavier`s church, Sampaloor (Kadukutty) near Ambazhakkad, Sacred Heart church, Areppalam, St.Sebastian`s Church, Kadavanthara (built and donated by Chev.C.J. Luiz), St.Jude`s chapel, thevara was built and donated by Mrs.Mary P. Luiz (wife of Chev.C. Paul Luiz), the church of Our Lady of Ransom, (now Bascilica and national Marian shrine) Vallarpadam was established by the Portuguese and later the the Portuguese descendants renovated it. Also the St.Sebastain`s chapel at Vallarpadam , was established by the Portuguese descendants and even after 110 years , the feast is celebrated by the Luso-Indian community and maintain the chapel well. The church of Our Lady of Snow at Palliport also was built with the support of the Luso-Indians.

At Calicut, the *Madre Deu Cathedral*, built by the Jesuits had the backing of the Eurasians there. As the place where Vasco da Gama was first landed, Calicut has a glorious history with a number of churches built by the Portuguese and many of them were later destroyed in wars.



At Wayanadu, the St.Jude's Church, Chundale, was constructed with the active support of the Luso-Indian estate contractors, especially of late T.M. D`cruz, who was honoured by His Holiness Pope with the title of *Pro Ecclecio et Pontifice*. So also, the St.Antony's church, at Rippon, Wayanadu was also constructed mainly with the support of Mr.Joseph D`silva, estate contractor and planter.

At Cannanore, the Holy Trinity Church (now Cathedral) was built by the Portuguese in the first decade of the sixteenth century and later renovated by the Portuguese descendants. Inside *Fort St.Angelo*, which was built by the Portuguese in 1505, they had built the church of Our Lady of immaculate conception and later renamed St.James church. This church is still existing inside the fort even after 500 years.

A recent example of donating land and building church by the Luso-Indians, is the church now under construction at Padiyoor, Trichur district, under the diocese of Kottapuram. Mr.Augustine Pereira, has donated 40m cents of land and Rupees.8,00000/- (rupees eight lakhs) for the construction of a church.

### **Papal Laureates**

The Portuguese descendants, were always in front to work for the Church and for its institutions. Many of them have donated lands, houses, their entire properties to the church. They have worked for the upbringing of various institutions for the Church and also had rendered yeoman services on occasions of crisis for the church and its interests. Some of them were honoured by His Holiness Pope with various Papal honours:- Chev.C. Paul Luiz, (Perumanoor) with *Knighthood of St.Gregory*, Chev.C.J. Luiz (Ernakulam), *Knighthood of St.Gregory*, Joseph Pinheiro (Palliport) with the title of *Bene Merenthi*, Peter Correia (Chathiath-Pachalam) with the title of *Bene Merenthi*, A.J. Lopez (Vallarpadam) with the title of *Pro Ecclecio et Pontifice*, Francis Mathew Paynter, with the title of *Pro Ecclecio et Pontifice*, Randolf D` Netto, with *Pro Ecclecio et Pontifice*, Lilian D` Moraes, with *Pro Ecclecio et Pontifice*, T.M. D`cruz (Wayanadu), with *Pro Ecclecio et Pontifice*, and Francis Cornelis Aruja, with *Bene Merenthi*.

The 163 years long Portuguese presence in Kerala and the efforts they made to build the Catholic church are to be evaluated considering the number of Catholics in this place and the progress achieved in the spheres of religious and social life. The Gothic and Romanesque style of churches and various other institutions still display and witness the power and influence the Portuguese exercised here. Their descendants - the Luso-Indians, who have inherited the traditions of their forefathers, still maintain these traditions to a very great extent.

The evangelization and works of charity initiated by the Portuguese in the beginning of 16<sup>th</sup> century was instrumental in raising the Catholic Church in India. It was by the tireless efforts of the Portuguese and their descendants, the namesake Christians who were in Kerala when the Portuguese arrived, were brought to the right path of Catholicism. The Synod of Diamper held in 1599, was a milestone in the history of Christianity in India, by which single great incident the Thomas Christians were properly instructed and brought to the fold of Catholic church.

The Luso-Indians took up the great task and mission of supporting the Church in its laborious process of evangelization, establishing of churches and other religious institutions. Besides, along with the Portuguese clergy, it was Luso-Indians who were destined to take up the responsibility to carry on the mission of the Church initially for a long period and it was only later the indigenous people were allowed to join priesthood and other religious congregations. The great number of Luso-Indian priests and nuns served the Church, is a lasting testimony to their contributions to the growth of Church in Kerala. It is also pertinent to note that, the Luso-Indians consider it their responsibility to support the Church and work for the Church, which they still continue.

### **Luso-Indian Contribution to the Nation**

Despite their numerical smallness and slender resources, the Luso-Indians of Kerala have not lagged behind in contributing to the general welfare and progress of the state and its people. Sylvester Mendes, Captain of the Topasses rendered highly useful service as diplomat during the Dutch period. In compiling the famous '*Hortus Malabaricus*', the services of a Luso-Indian had been conspicuous. It was Emmanuel Carneiro who translated the description of each plant from Malayalam <sup>61</sup>. The family of Carneiro is still in Cochin. From 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards in ship building, the Luso-Indians and later the Eurasians had an important role. From early days the Paivas of Cochin were associated with the ship-building activities in Cochin. Later during the British period Pony Gueizler <sup>62</sup> and his son Cornelius Gueizler were considered to be master ship builders. Among the ship owners of Cochin there were a few D'cruzes and D'souzas and some of them were captains of ships too.

As leaders of people and officers of Government, quite a good number of Luso-Indians have played prominent and highly useful roles. Mrs. Lizie Gertrude D'costa who was the Chairperson of the Fort Cochin Municipality was the first lady in the whole of India to rise to that distinguished position. Mr. Peter Correia was Municipal Chairman for 10 years in the erstwhile Ernakulam Municipality. In the Municipal Council of Quilon, Mr. Dann Gonzago served as Vice Chairman while Mr. Jose Pereira of Padiyoor and Francis Severence of Chathiath and Francis Noronha of Poracad and David Pinheiro of Elamkunnappuzha were elected as Presidents of Panchayat. Manuel Simethy of Kadukutty, George Sequira of Elamkunnappuzha, Peter Correya of Vallarpadam, Dennis D'costa and Antony Simethy of Kadukutty, Mrs. Kaduthose of Moolampilly, Jaison D'cunha and Teddy Mendez of Mulavukadu, Nelson Correya of Manjummel, were served as members of Panchayat.

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61. Stephen Padua 'A Peep into History', *Souvenir of The Union of Anglo-Indian Associations*, Cochin, 1975, pp.68-69

62. K.L. Bernard, *Flashes of Kerala History*, Cochin, 1977, p.178

Dominic Bavaria of Palluruthy was elected to the erstwhile Mattanchery Municipality Nelson Mendes (originally from Vaduthala) was elected to Nelliampathy Panchayat, where he had his business. Tresa Luiz of Perumanoor, Deleena Pinheiro of Pachalam and John Rebello of Edacochin were elected to the Corporation of Cochin.

Several Eurasians were holding responsible positions in the Government Services not only in the States of Travancore and Cochin but also in the Malabar district. Mr. Maurice Watts was *Diwan* of Travancore, the highest official in that State in 1924-28 during the regency of Maharani Sethu Lakshmi Bai.<sup>63</sup> His sister Dora Watts was Principal of Maharaja's College for Women Travandrum. Mr. A. Viyera was Chief Secretary to the Government of Travancore and Mr. Francis Rice was Chief Secretary to the Government of Cochin.

Departments of Excise, Police, Education, Engineering, Medicine and Law owe much to the loyal and efficient services of Eurasian officers in the States of Travancore and Cochin. As Excise Commissioners in Travancore State M/s. A.J. Vanross and A. Hoogwerf modernized the Department while Mr. H. Brown who was Superintendent of Salt and Excise in Cochin State brought out the Cochin Excise Manuel. H. Williams served as Conservator of Forests in Cochin State.

Dr. Daniel Francis Gunther was the Head of the Cochin Medical Department and George Horatio Gunther who was a Judge and later Supdt. of Police. It was on his report (The Gunther Report) the Cochin State Police was reorganized. Herman Lopes of Trivandrum was Pilot Officer to Sree Chitira Tirunal Balarama Varma and Supdt. of Policed, Traffic & Railways. Dr. Harry De Mello of Ernakulam and Dr. Padua of Mattancherry were well known doctors. The services of Drs. Mrs. D'souza Williams as Civil Surgeon were well appreciated both at Trichur and Mattanchery. So also, that of Mrs. Izy Sawyer as Superintendent of Government Women's Hospital, Trivandrum, Drs. Gomes, Brandeburg, Edger Burby and Vincent Lopes served in Defense Services. Dr. Antony Morera Clement was founder Principal of Trivandrum Dental College.

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63. T.K. Velu Pillai, *Travancore State Manuel*, Vol II, Trivandrum, 1940, p.71

Luso-Indians and Eurasians have left their impression on other Departments also. William and J.O. Surrao were conservators of Forests in Cochin and Travancore respectively. Mr. Stephen Netto was inspector General of Registration. Mr. Hartwell Noronha, brother of former Bishop Maxwell Noronha of Calicut, was District Registrar in Cannanore. . Mr C.J.B. Netto of Trivandrum and Mr. Darrel Jones of Ernakulam were served as Chief Engineers and Mr. Robert D'coutho served as Deputy Chief Engineer in Kerala State Electricity Board .

Brigadier William Napier of Trivandrum retired after a distinguished service. Retd. General Reggie Noronha of Congo fame, hails from Tangasserri, Quilon. He was decorated with MC and Bar during the Burma campaign, with the rank of Brigadier. He was the Commander of not of Indians but of the UN Forces in Congo. For his exceptional services there, he was awarded the *Visisht Seva* Class I Medal. Admiral E.L. Pereira from Calicut was Chief of Naval Staff of India. Rear Admiral L.A. Lowe, VSM is from Vypeen.

In the journalistic world, the Luso-Indians and Eurasians have left indelible foot prints. The first editor of the now defunct *Cochin Argus*, started in 1860 was Francis Rice who subsequently became Chief Secretary to Cochin *Sarkar*. *Cochin Argus* was edited by Francis Augustus (1890 -1901) and later on by Christian Pereira and Hamilton Pereira. E.W. Nigli and his E.F. Nigli were associate editors of *Malabar Herald* . J.M. Platel edited the now defunct *West Coast Spectator*, *The Standard* edited by M.A. Hoogerwerf.

Among the new generation, Maxwell Fernandez who was a Gold Medalist in journalism , became the first Head of the Department in the faculty of Journalism in Calicut University. Later, he joined as News Editor with *Indian express*. Maxwell was again noted for his sensational coverage of some news and articles in *The Week*. Mr. Ignatius Gonzalez was Chief News Editor and Bureau Chief of *Malayala Manorama* at Ernakulam. Later he became the Joint Director of Manorama Institute for Mass Communication at Kottayam. He has a number of articles and books to his credit and was awarded the 'Titus Brandsma Award' and 'Media in Your Continent Award' for his excellent articles.

In the educational field, quite a number of Luso-Indians have contributed for raising the educational institutions and teaching standards in Kerala. There are innumerable examples. Prof. Richard hay of Tellicherry was recently retired as Principal from Govt. College, Mokeri. Mr. Antony Aruja and Mrs. Novella D'cruz were Principals in Aquinas College, Edacochin. Mrs. Iris Paynter was awarded with President's Medal for Teaching and Ms. Audrey Nigli is winner of Dr. Radhakrishna Award for 'Best Teacher' from the Govt. of Tamil Nadu in 2001. Dr. Marian Pinheiro from Palliport is now Principal, VM Salgoacar College, Goa.

Dr. Christy Fernandez I.A.S., hails from Mavelikara, after taking senior positions in Central Govt. became Chairman of Coir Board and now serve as Secretary to the President of India. Mr. Desmond Netto I.P.S., from Cannanore, was till recently working as Inspector General of Police (Crime) and Dr. Branson Corrie I.F.S. from Cochin is Chief Conservator of Forests, Kerala.

## Conclusion

This study on the Social History of Luso-Indians in Kerala is attempted to elucidate and to trace out the continuous presence of the Portuguese traditions. The discovery of new sea-route to India via Cape of Good Hope, rounding South Africa and the arrival of the Portuguese in the fag end of fifteenth century to Malabar, resulted not only in the direct trade of spices but also in the encounter of cultures. The Malabar polity, fragmented into native kingdoms and principalities, had compartmentalized social structure and comprised of four strata making a pyramidal structure of hierarchical order. It was described as *Varna* system. *Brhamins* were at the apex followed by *Kshtriyas* (rulers), *Vysyas* (traders) and *Sudras* at the bottom of the *Varna* model. Those who belong to any of these *Varna* only had a social status in the traditional society. This system of traditional India was disturbed as a result of *Varna Samkara* or mixing of different classes either by exogamy or hypergamy and the progenies of such union were categorized in terms of innumerable *jaatis*. Each *jaati* had its own occupation and thus the whole society was divided into water-tight compartments. The Portuguese described this unique social system as *casta*, a Portuguese word for a breed or race, as this system was new to them.

The Portuguese, who explored South Asia, especially Kerala, for spices, like pepper, clove, cinnamon etc. had to establish constant or in a way permanent relationships with the above mentioned different occupational groups of people to make available the spices and to facilitate for its trade and export. The unfavourable situation in Calicut created by the Zamorin through the instigation of Arab or West Asian Muslim merchants, who were rivals of Portuguese in trade, made the Portuguese turn to Kolathiri of Cannanore and the Raja of Cochin, who were opposed to Zamorin. Slowly, the Portuguese realized the rivalry existed among the rulers and different occupational groups of *jaatis* and gradually assimilated to the Kerala situation. The Portuguese could establish treaties with these kings and also with the Queen of Quilon and made sure the availability and regular supply of pepper. Besides, sanction to construct forts and factories were also secured by them from the regional chieftains. As such, Portuguese forts were established at Cochin, Kottappuram, Palliport, Calicut, Cannanore and at Quilon.

Portugal, a tiny country with two million population then, could not have afforded to spare men to carry on their commercial operations, sea-born empire or maintain their forts and settlements overseas. In this situation, Affonso de Albuquerque, the second Portuguese Governor in India, initiated the policy of mixed-marriages (*Politica do casamentos*) to create a population of *mestices*. He encouraged the Portuguese men to marry local women and settle in the Portuguese enclave in India. His aim was to

create a group of people, to settle in India and facilitate the Portuguese commercial and religious intentions. The local people called them *Feringi (Parangi)* first, and later during the Dutch period as *Topasses* or *Chattakkar*. Even though, the Portuguese people, with their background of Moorish domination and subjugation over centuries in their own country and mixing with them, Albuquerque preferred fair-skinned local women for the Portuguese men to marry. But the non-availability of enough fair-skinned women, the physical necessity of the men and absence of colour prejudices among the Portuguese, encouraged them to marry local women. The *casados* (married Portuguese men), made their presence felt through hard work in matters of trade and other commercial operations in the *Estado da Inda*. The progenies of this wed-lock titled the Luso-Indians, formed a separate ethnic group among the society in Malabar. The *Parangis* emerged as a, a separate endogamous *jaati* in Kerala's social structure.

The Portuguese were defeated by the Dutch at Cochin in 1663. The Luso-Indians were forced to mix with the Dutch and during this period, as mentioned, they were called *Topasses* (the meaning of this word is after '*dwibhashi*' – translator, as the Dutch required the help of these people to communicate with the natives). The Dutch were defeated by the British in 1795 at Cochin. Some members of Luso-Indians interacted with the British also. Authentic marriages were taken place with the English and the Luso-Indians. By this time, the few Germans, Italians and French people who were in India also intermingled with the Luso-Indians and the community started to be called *Eurasian* during eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. With the Independence of India and the adaptation of the Constitution in 1950, the *Eurasian* community is categorized as *Anglo-Indian*, at the instance of British descendants who were more powerful with the regime.

The present study shows that among the *Eurasian* community in Kerala, 90% are Luso-Indians. Unlike the European descendants in other parts of the country, the Luso-Indians in Kerala, right from the early Portuguese *casado* settlers of Kerala, considered it as their motherland and adapted to the local conditions to a very great extent. They owned extensive landed properties for over centuries, engaged in their respective professions, and lived together with their own kith and kin, maintaining their unique culture, costumes, culinary habits and language. They were attached with their church, which they built and maintained. During the Dutch invasion, the Luso-Indians were forced to flee to interior villages of Kerala, where they settled themselves establishing their own churches. Even today, the 40 odd Luso-Indian settlements scattered right from Trivandrum to Cannanore, maintain their peculiarities. Their presence



is noted for the neat and clean style of maintaining their house, westernized style of dressing, special dishes and the language mixed with creole Portuguese..

In the social and religious life, the Luso-Indians have their own identity and peculiarities. They prefer to live in a colony style of dwellings. This is because of their concern for a traditional way of life, unique culture and language. They are a fun-loving sect of people. They quite often meet together for occasions like birthdays, baptism, marriage etc. In the case of baptism, first Holy Communion and marriage, the Luso-Indians have their own style of functioning. The Christmas, New Year day, Easter and parish feast days, there will be celebrations at Luso-Indian homes, irrespective of economic status.

Among Luso-Indians in Kerala, the kinship organization is distinct and they follow their own unique way. Apart from the close kinship group, the Luso-Indians maintain a co-ordial relationship with their cousins, nephews and nieces. The *padarinja* (godfather) and *madarinja* (godmother) and *filiado/filiada* (godchild) and the *compadre/commadre* (the term used to call the *padarinja* and *madarinja* of the child by his/her parents) relationship is a glaring peculiarity among Luso-Indians. This particular kinship formation many a times exists even without a conjugal alliance or blood relationship. As a small minority, they always want to keep in touch with their blood-related kiths and kins. This is facilitated by the celebrations of birthdays, wedding anniversaries, baptism, engagement, weddings etc. where most of them re assemble and exchange their bond of affection.

The Luso-Indian wedding also is unique. The 'best men', 'bride's maid', 'flower girls', 'page boy' etc. are peculiarities. The bride will be in her 'wedding gown'. The function starts with the 'exchange of rings', followed by wedding reception, distribution of cake and wine, dance, singing of *laudate* at the banquet etc. make the Luso-Indian wedding different from others. The absence of *Thali* rite during marriage is a conspicuous feature as the other Catholics follow *Thali* rite.

In costumes, the Luso-Indians have their own idiom. While men usually wear panrts, shirts, suit etc. the women wear western pattern of dresses. One peculiarity found among many of the Luso-Indian ladies is the *Kebaya* they wear. This dress is believed to have introduced here by the Luso- Malacan women brought during the sixteenth century and afterwards.

Their culinary habits are also unique. The meat and fish preparations were made special by adding the indigenous spices, coconut, vinegar etc. As a result, quite a number of special dishes were introduced here. *Vinhdaloo*, *Bafada*, *Sardinha coshido* etc. are few of them. Sweet preparations such as

*Pente Frito, Sowlinge, Bebinca, cheeda, bolo, fig dosi* etc were introduced by using rice powder, coconut, jaggery etc. The introduction of *pão* (bread), *bisqueite* (biscuit) and a variety of pastries and thereby the profession of baking is introduced by the Portuguese, and continued by the Luso-Indians.

The professions like carpentry, smithy, tailoring, shoe-making, masonry work etc. were popularized. By introducing new furniture like *mesa, cadeira* (*Kasera*=chair), *banco* (bench) *Armario* (almaraha) and a variety of other furniture. They enriched Kerala culture. They added these household items in Kerala. Building of big and sea-worthy ships and making of bridges with bricks and lime were introduced here by the Portuguese.

The Malayalam language is enriched with more than 200 Portuguese words of common use. Apart from these, the Luso-Indians use quite a number of Portuguese words at their homes even today. Most of the words used at Catholic churches were introduced by the Portuguese, such as *Padre, chemmador, procurdor, escrever, presidenti, novena, Natal, Pascal, Conta, visita, relicario, osti* etc. Among Luso-Indians, still a few Creole Portuguese songs are popular.

The Portuguese and subsequently Luso-Indians were instrumental in establishing the Catholic Church in the country. It was one of the intentions of the Portuguese for coming to Malabar and to the East and they did their might to spread the message of Christ not only in Kerala, but also in other parts of the country and in the neighbouring areas also. In this venture, the Luso-Indians also were participated and continued the missionary work.. They built churches, monasteries, schools, colleges, seminaries, etc. They established hospitals, leper asylum, and the *Santa Casa de Misericordia* (Holy House of Mercy), through which did lots of philanthropic and welfare activities such as caring of the poor, the sick, the prisoner, treating the wounded soldiers, protection of the aged and orphans etc. *Cofeteria* of Kerala Catholic churches is a Luso-Indian legacy. Though the Portuguese had vanished from the Kerala scene almost five hundred years ago, their hidden presence continues even today through Luso-Indians and the Catholic Church.

## **Appendix I**

### **Copy of the Charter that King D João, Our Lord Granted Cochin Town, and the Petition on Account of which the same was Legally Transcribed on to Parchment what was Earlier on Paper**

I the Law graduate Silvestre Alvares, joint magistrate holding powers on behalf of the King, Our Lord, in this *Santa Cruz* city of Cochin etc. I do make it known that whom this document given along with a charter letter and the text of a petition is shown to, and by knowledge thereof may rightfully pertain to the judges, magistrates, supervisors and representatives of the said city, I was requested to order that a document may be given to them, along with the text of a petition that was submitted to me by them, and a patent-letter from the said Lord shown to me along with, because they were expecting to use it, and contents thereof, in order to possess and to preserve their powers and rights as are in the same petition and charter letter, the text word by word being as follows. Christian era 22 March 1538 in this *Santa Cruz* city of Cochin, in

establishment of myself, official named herein after Fernão de câmara , chamber 's official of the said city came up, and he gave one petition and a patent letter of the King, Our Master. It was written on parchment , it appeared to have been signed by the said Lord, and sealed with a seal of Royal Arms of the said Lord. The said Fernão de Ferreira requested me that same order-petition and charter-letter, as follows hereafter. I Gomes Soares wrote this, signor Reis de Moraes, and common magistrate António Moniz, and João de Chaves, and Jorge de Rego, supervisors, and Estasio Ferreira, city representative, who are at present in this *Santa Cruz* city of Cochin (p.1 overleaf) we make it known that we have in this city a patent letter of Our Lord the King by which honourable privileges, which we are presenting here, which is written on parchment since it has been mishandled and we fear that as it was in such a bad (rotten) shape, that it will not be read, we requested that it may be transcribed by two official and give unto us the clear copy (transcription) which may be fully reliable and wherever it may come to be shown, and we may get one or another (copy) to keep in our possession in which justice shall be done to us as it is there in the same petition, being signed by Rui de Moraes, magistrate and by João de Chaves, and de Rego, municipal officers , Estasio Ferreira, city representative , and overleaf the same order as follows was written , from the same magistrate, as transcribed, the category of city, which the applicants mention in legal language, which shall be authentic (reliable) since the said privilege (category) is stated on parchment which is very mutilated and torn so that it is almost illegible, so that the applicants may not loose their rights. Dom João, by the Grace of God, King of Portugal and Algarves, here and beyond the seas, master of Guine and conquest, navigation, commerce of Ethopia, Arabia, Persia and India etc. I make it known to all those who see this letter of mine that the married Portuguese residing in my town *Santa Cruz* of Cochin, in Indian lands prayed tome for the grace, which

having consideration for the services rendered unto me in the said lands as they colonized the said town and are married to local women, and had children born of them, and there they built many homes at their own and wanted to live there up to the end of their life, and serving our Lord and me, I was pleased to make (raise) the said town (vila) in a city, and grant to the entitles holding charges (offices) of judges\magistrates city representatives (p.2 overleaf) and officers of the chamber who carry out the governance and administration of the same city, privileges, mercies, grants and facilities which are and these we, and are held (enjoyed) by the citizens of my kingdoms, and their petition being seen by me and taking into account the services rendered to my Lord the King, and whom that glorious Holy Father may guard, and me, in those lands, and as they are married, have wives and children and populated the said vila (town) *Santa Cruz*, it is my high pleasure that hence forward it may be called city and as such may avail of all honours, graces, privileges, facilities, and fraquisas (inscriptions) which are given to by my pleasure (mercy), that it may avail of fully without anything less, and so I desire, and it is my pleasure that those who exercise services as judges, magistrates, representatives and municipal (chamber) officers who are in the governance and administration of the same city, may use the privileges of citizens of my city, and those who may go in future. This charter has been ordered to be given, signed by me and bearing lead seal, which they remember to their honour, and mercy (concession) that I make unto them because of their services, and I order my chief captain and Governor, that hence forward that now and hereafter will go to those lands that fully that may be compiled with, and get compliance of and, they may avail of all that therein is bestowed, and I make concessions to them, without leaving any doubt nor impediment, without least detriment to power, jurisdiction, and authority, which I have given and I have already given to my chief captains and Governors of the

said land. This is given in my Lisbon city on 12.3. Bartolomeu Fernandez wrote this , year 1527 Christian era of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was written on parchment, it looked as if signed by the King our Lord, and therein there a series of retros which was green and white wherein a round seal of lead was stamped, and thereon the Royal Arms of the said Lord, and on the heading it was said (patent) letter by which Highness turned the vila (town) of *Santa Cruz* Cochin into a city, and on the coast it was named in the chancellery , and at the foot of the letter there was a note which seemed to have been signed by the said Lord which read as follows:- with good intent, that this letter may be routed through the chancellery even though the time lag taken, it may be issued by chancellery, solely, it shall be issued. This was done by Duarte Gonsalves in Lisbon, on 24.9.1503 (sic) , and the said petition being so transcribed and letter as well, as said earlier, well and truly, by the clerk who wrote this without any additions or omissions that may raise doubts, a propos of the applications of the said judges and magistrates , and city representatives, I ordered him to give this document which is written on two half sheets of paper along with this without any thing (any word) nor interpolations, nor any thing that raises a doubt and was (checked) corrected by Francisco de Morta and Braz Fernandes, clerks, before me, who corrected here, in their hand (writing) and mark, whereby it must be treated as much as the original patent letter given in this *Santa Cruz* city on 27<sup>th</sup> March , under my symbol , and seal of Our Lord the King with me serves Gomes Soares, clerk before me, wrote this , in 1538 Christian era. Nichil Silvestre paid, this document was checked up by us. Braz Fernandes and Francisco Mota clerks (p. 3) in the presence of magistrate of this city, and it is being signed by us - Francisco de Mota and Braz Fernandes.

(Translated from Portuguese to English)

Source: Mss. BAL, Códex No.51 –VII-14,fl.1

## Appendix II

### **Order of the Governor Munis Barreto Enabling the City of Cochin for Minting the *Bazarucos* Coins**

The Governor of India , I do make it known to those who may see this charter of mine that in regard to what has been said by Gasper Alexandre, general attorney of Cochin city in the petition written at the back, and what has been alleged. Therein, I deem it fit, and I am pleased to grant permission in the name of the King, my master, to the said Cochin city to order a person to mint *bazarucos* coins over there (city) who shall be capable enough to do so. The person so ordered to shall, enjoy all the privileges and facilities that the mint master who is minting *bazasrucos* of this city of Goa has. I so notify the revenue superior of His Highness and the captain of the said Cochin city and other officials and persons concerned and I order to them that this may be implemented and may be got complied and observed as has been said, with no doubt nor objection whatsoever and this (charter) shall be valid as letter as issued

in the name of His Highness and stamped with its hanging seal, notwithstanding the ordinance in the second book title 20 that lays down that where the effect of the issues that will last longer than one year may be set down in letters and being communicated by charters may not be valid. Tomi Gonsalves did this in goa on 28.31577. Mateus Pires caused this to be written. Governor António Munis Barreto Cunha paid (p.40) 200 *reis* and to the officials 120 *reis* . Bras Menezes, registered in the chancellery Mateus Pires for your Highness to see registered in the book 6<sup>th</sup> pg.275. Domingo de Chaves, registered. Mateus Pires, I am pleased to, in the name of His Majesty as it is necessary in his service and common weal of the Cochin city to confirm the order, at the back, of the Governor António Munis Barreto and I order that it may be compiled as contained therein with no doubt nor objection whatsoever. This was done by Jorge de Lemos in Cochin on 15<sup>th</sup> December 1581. Fernão Teles, the above note (addendum) may be compiled, as contained therein today 10<sup>th</sup> January.

( Translated from Portuguese to English )

*Source:* Mss. BAL, Códex No.51 – VII-14, fl.39v.



### **Appendix III**

**Contract and Understanding Between the King of Cochin and the Viceroy Dom Duarte de Menezes and the Magistrates and Judges Elected by the People of this city of Cochin, about the Rights of Harbour Duty of the City of Cochin , and Customs.**

In the year 12<sup>th</sup> December 1584, in the monastery of Saint António of this city of *Santa Cruz* of Cochin, in the attendance of the very illustrious Dom Duarte Menezes of State Council, of the King Our Lord , and Viceroy of India as well as Itaquanacha Menon, captain general of the camp of the King of Cochin and chief Minister of his kingdoms, and Angara Menon, interpreter of the said King and Nicolão Petroquino superior of the revenue, of His Majesty and Doctor

Duarte Dlegado de Varojão, judge of enterprises of the said Lord, who now serves as the general superior and Jorge de Quiros, chief attorney of the accounts of India and Diogo Corvacavalesco of the house of Our Lord Jesus Christ and licenciante João de Faria, secretary of this state and Alezio Fernandes de Monte Rojo and Diogo Prado, and diogo de Faria , magistrates António Rebeiro, and Baltazer Arnão Lobo, Juises João Coreade Aroujo, attorney for the said city. Manuel Fernandes Ambrosio Rodrigues, attorneys of the small embarkations, and the twenty elected by the people thereof (city) who are hereafter named and Domingos Francisco Gasper de Sebra, António Gomes, João Rodrigues attorneys of the professional organizations of the said people, and all being present, it was said by the said Master Dom Duarte de Menezes, Viceroy of this state that they found that the people of this city has been annoyed (deprived) and do not wish to agree in any manner to the custom duties that the Count Dom Francisco Mascarenhas wanted to impose (allot) to them without giving an opportunity of hearing them nor intimated in regard to this imposition of God and His Majesty and it has been subject of public gossip among magistrates and the persons in the governance of the city, and to having received messages through authorities that may be parties to this understanding (arrangement) , and may God not mind the enmities between the people and the Cochin King and the Count and other persons who in these traffic (business) prevailed, that on behalf of the said Count were put forth in the said customs which was set down for recording without being called. The said magistrates, judges, attorneys, chief of professions and the elected twenty by the people to make this contract as verified from registration which was made by the people copy of which is hereafter quoted. It was the same that they in the name of the city, as thereby they would serve the King, Our Lord and the Master Viceroy, D.Duarte de Menezes of their own accord, and free will and no coercion from

any person, in the name of the people whose powers they have, and were elected for this transactions consented to the imposition of the said custom duties and rights thereof, in the manner declared below. If by violence there be looted of the port of the said Master, the Viceroy in the name of His Majesty a condition might be imposed on him, and the customs would accept that immediately the officers that the said Master Dom Duarte de Menezes may be named in the customary manner, and in this they shall see that they are serving His Majesty and the Master Viceroy who by no other means, form no manner, nor through any other person or interested person, may consent many scandals that has preceeded and were happy by the text of the chapters of this contract inserted, the custom may be set down in this where it is deemed fit by the said Lord may deem fit, in this and in all that is affirmed and here below specified, of free will is was consented to in the name of the people whose magistrates judges and attorneys and those elected and by him the said Master Viceroy Dom Duarte de Menezes was also suggested that because of many differences that existed among the officials of revenue of the King, Our Lord, and the king of Cochin, about the rights that both of them had about the port duties of this city, each one of them trying to have them by just right, and on account of many reasons that both parties alleged, it was a matter for displeasure to both sides, and occasion for breach of old friendship in which this state always maintained with the King of Cochin, therefore it would be convenient to the service of both the kings and peace of the people make a settlement and agreement for guarantying this peace and friendship which lasted so long. For this reason the said king of Cochin told that he in his name and those of his successors, for this and many other proper respects was ready to make good the defects, he did it fit to accept and grant convention (compromise) and agreement between and his most illustrious master and the magistrates and judges, attorneys, trade representatives

of this city, and those elected in the name of the people, were practiced, dealt, and set down, and he wanted that of all this a record should be made that Master D. Duarte de Menezes may forego more claims which he had and could have in the name of the King of Portugal in receiving and collecting the duties in the Cochin Port, that he may remain in the right to the dues and ownership that in the port he may have and has according to this agreement and contract the said King of Cochin renounced and foregoing of all right and action, which he now has, had in the rights of properties of persons which by this understanding, he declares as belonging to the Kings of Portugal in the order and chapters mentioned below, at the end of which the said king, and his honourables, along with the said magistrates and judges, representatives elected by the people of this city have signed in this contract and understanding and along with persons named above and witnesses who are present.

And whereas the grounds and action on which the King of Cochin bases his claim which is to receive for himself the right (taxes) on all properties of the Portuguese and Christians who may go to cochin port, and charter of the King D. João of holy glory whom god may bless, by which grant was made of the said rights and at the foot thereof, (it was said) the Governor may comply with it who was Martim Afonso de Sousa and other Governors of these states and also one letter of His Majesty wherein he has promised grants, honours and favours, that so far were made unto him, he made his Chief Minister to show to the Cochin King the said charter that the authority which he had in the said duties, as well a charter, by which order had been given by the Viceroy Dom Antão de Noronha by which all merchandise entering the Cochin port, pertaining to the married men of the said city shall pay unto him the duties, which shall be collected in the manner of Goa customs towards His Majesty as detailed in the

same charter which and the charter of the King Dom João I, the King it make it known to you Nuno de Cunha, my chief captain and Governor of Lands of India and Afonso Mexias my revenue supervisor that hence forward may go and to any other persons who this charter of mine and the contrary belongs to me by right, that I am pleased so long as it is my pleasure and I do not order to the contrary to make benefit to the King of Cochin which he may enjoy with pleasure by me best wishes I intend to give to him this charter from now onwards for his to have and collect all duties (rights) on merchandise which may be brought to the said cochin city by any Christian Portuguese who deal with that merchandise, as it is collected for me on account of them. However I notify you and order to you, that he may be allowed to have and collect on the basis of presentation of this charter, from now onwards, the same duties of the aforesaid, as collected for me at present, and no objection may be put to him, no doubt nor objection whatsoever, because I am so pleased that, this charter of mine may be fully implemented and observed in all matters, according to the contents thereof, and I am pleased that this may be valid and comes into force as a letter signed by me and stamped by my seal, and issued by my chancellery, notwithstanding my ordinance to the contrary. This was done by Pero de Alcasova Carneiro, in Lisbon, on 24.2.1530. Reis - this may be complied - this charter of the king our master according to the contents, Cochin 12.2.1543. Martim Afonso de Sousa, - This charter of the king our lord may be complied with according to its contents – Cochin 7.12. This was done by the secretary in 1550. – Viceroy this may fulfill. In the capacity of Master Viceroy, I order, and when any person is not willing to pay the duties they may come up before me, and the Licentiate Andre de Mendanha. This charter may be fulfilled, of the King Our Lord, according to its contents. Goa 17.11. 1561. Count Viceroy of His Majesty Dom Filipe by the Grace of God King of Portugal and of Algarves, here and

overseas, in Africa, Master of Guine and conquest, navigation , trade with Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India etc. I do make it known to you dear of Cochin that having been estimated in my succession to these kingdoms of Portuguese crown and being now authorized to take possession of the states that the said crown has in those parts of India , I wished to write to you , for you to do it, to know it and be aware that all grants , honours and favours that so far the said crown had, shall be made hence forward to you, justly as during the reign of King D. Manuel , my grandfather of glorious memory, I shall receive with pleasure that you write to me and inform me always about all that concerns you and you may act in matters of my service , as I owe to your very honourable and noble person whom Our Lord (God) may enlighten with His blessing and keep well (protect). Written in Badajos, 7.11.1580. The King by order of His Highness Nuno Alvares Pereira, charter of the Viceroy of India. I do make it known to all those who see this charter of mine, that I deem it fit, and order that the king of Cochin, to be paid duties on account on all merchandise that enter in this harbour, of the residents with houses of the said Cochin, and the King my Master orders that collection may be made from them, as made from Muslims and Gentiles, who enter and leave the same harbour considering that the harbour is theirs, and His Highness has so said I have issued order by which he shall be fully paid with no doubt. As soon as the merchandise enters the harbour the captain and the revenue superior of said Cochin should arrive and make them pay and carry out (the order), with no doubt nor obstruction whatsoever therefore I notify them so, the said captain and the revenue superior, and I order them, that so it may be compiled and observed with no doubt nor objection whatsoever failing which, if the said duties are not paid they shall be liable to penalty to which they incur in, those who do not pay the duty to the King , my Lord, and this shall not be routed through chancellery, not withstanding

ordinance to the country. This was done by Rui Menezes in Goa on 13<sup>th</sup> November 1566. This was caused to be written by Nunes Alves Quarneiro. Viceroy`s , charter to the king of Cochin for the knowledge of Your Highness registered. Rodrigues Monteiro, registered in the book 3<sup>rd</sup> of Cochin settlement pgs 47 thereof by me in Cochin on 4<sup>th</sup> January 1567, Lopo Dias Picamso`s record which was set down in the chamber (municipality) and of more that was set down in the municipality about what the King of Cochin passed therein, and whatever else was divided and set down on 1.9.1584 in this Cochin city. The King of Cochin was present, and also his ministers, and the judges and supervisors moreover officers of the said municipality and the twelve attorneys of the trade organizations, and many honourable men, and military men, and citizens, of this city who had been summoned by order of the said king, and in the presence of all, as has been said, they were told by the said king of Cochin through his interpreter, in jangarao language, in loud voice, which was heard by all the officials of the municipality and other people, that he had not come to this meeting (table) more parted (tired) by wars which he had with Zamorin and other wars, and other occupations of his kingdoms, rather than because he had felt the discomforts and hardships that the house owners and residents of this city had borne in the last winter, about the changes he had made injustice of concessions (facilities), which for their properties they used to taxes to the said King, and because he was forced to wage war with the said Zamorin, and his intention will be to make peace and give concessions and bestow honours and grant facilities (posts) to all these people, and not to cause any aggravation and he would keep his Chief Minister Itaquenacha Menon who was present so that , in his name and stead, deal with the city about the means and action that on this business (deal) should be taken, and about what has been set down, the God and His Majesty may be served as well as these people, and the said King

being satisfied that said people and officials had thanked , and he said that what has been said is necessary , and soon after the said King left, the said officials told the same people , that they had heard, it will be necessary to deal with this subject with the said proclaimer , and this relates to common weal of all the people . If he cannot gather all the people each day, as it seems already necessary, their honours should elect some persons among the people as bailiffs (messengers, announcers) whom they know as God fearing , and dispassionate, zealous of service to His Majesty, and common weal, and who had sufficient wisdom and capable of bearing the work, that the people being satisfied with this , with more persons, it was resolved that on behalf of all the people twenty persons, may be elected as citizens of the city and from posts of bailiffs who would be entrusted with propagation of this deal to the end ,and that what these may do and determine, (pg.49 v) as the said officials of the municipality and the said people would do and carry out really worthy with all the formalities and clauses which to that purpose they may give and grant and they undertook to approve , and confirm it, and carry out fully according to the document as may be received as necessary as the said is registered in the name of the King of Cochin which will be signed on behalf of the King of Cochin, In further confirmation thereof, and in faith thereof, I Gasper Alexandre, clerk of the chamber (municipality) of this city set this down which is signed by the honourables that were present together with all other officials of the municipality on the date and hour as cited above, and myself, the said clerk, wrote it down. The copy of the said deed (settlement) ? Gasper Alexandre, clerk of the said municipality copied here from the original where all are signing, in truth thereof, not adding or curtailing anything which may raise doubt, where I have signed on 12.12.1584, Gasper Alexandre. This deed was made in municipality where twenty four persons were elected on 4<sup>th</sup> of September 1584, in this *Santa*



*Cruz* city of Cochin in the municipality and house of its council, present were the honourable judges, magistrates and other officers of it (municipality), the twelve attorneys of trade organizations, as well as many other noblemen, military men, and citizens according to the regiment of the municipality. As all were together it was said by the central magistrate Diogo de Prado, to them that they had recalled to elect by majority the twenty four persons. (ie) 20 citizens of its regiment and four bailiffs, twelve attorneys of trades. To this effect it was fixed in the chamber (municipality), lastly, and votes being immediately taken by the judge (pg.50) António Pereira de Leaserda and Alvaro Fernandez de Monterujo, Miguel Pereira, Manuel Botelho, Cabral Miguel de Araujo, Dinis de Torres, Manuel de Vale, Andre de Quintal, Fernão Machado, Jorge de Fonsequeas, António Carvalho, Jorge Nunes, Manuel Francisco Pinto de Azevedo, Fernão de Fonsequea, Domingos Montigo, Gasper de Melgoza, Gasper Pico, António Mendes, Rui Felgueira, Lourenco Vas Pegado, these twenty citizens and out of twelve attorneys, of trade the following came outç Gasper de Sebra, Goldsmith, António Gomes, another Goldsmith, João Rodrigues, Domingos Francisco, small boats manufacturers to whom oath was administered immediately, to each one separately, that they must serve well and truly God and Our Lord the King, and welfare of all the people of this city. They promised to do so, and as it so happened, I the clerk of the municipality made this record which is being signed by all along with other honourables officials, who were present and the honourable officials of the chamber (municipality) on the day, month which was aforesaid, the copy of the said record was made by me in the book of deeds where it is set down, I vouch the people of Cochin have signed today 12<sup>th</sup> December 1584. Gasper Alexandre and these papers seen and read in the presence of his most illustrious honour and others present, and entire deal being considered and discussed to be put into practice, and the right that the King of

Portugal had in the duties (taxes) of the port of Cochin, in order to avoid disputes and in the interest of peace among the people and renewal of old friendship between the King of Cochin and Our Lord the King it was immediately after, said by the said honourable Viceroy in the name of King of Portugal and his successors and by the said King of Cochin (pg. v) in his name and his successors and by magistrates , judges, attorney, trade representatives and those elected by the people what they would abide by the form and manner as declared in the following chapters:-

**Item:** First of all the King of Cochin, in his name and his successors gives up all the right and action, that he had so far and could have by the said charter of Dom João , as in the letter of His Majesty, as in any other way, that may be about the rights (duties), on the merchandise of the Portuguese who are not house owners in Cochin, in all rights and his action, and in any right which may pertain to him, he has or may have , he renounces and transfers from now onwards, the King of Portugal and his successors, so that they may have and collect through his officers the same duties which by this chapter and agreement belongs to him.

**Item:** The honourable Viceroy Dom Duarte de Menezes, by this present contract, was renouncing in the name of His Majesty and the kings of Portugal and his successors all the right, action, which belong to him, in the Cochin port, much by this agreement belong, and are declared to belong to the King of cochin, and accepts the renunciation that the said King, His Majesty does, and deems fit to provide and concede the conditions in this contract which are as follows:-

**Item:** That in the Cochin city the said King consents and deems it fit, in his name and in the name of his successors, that total stock may be taken of all merchandise which enters there by sea or land and leave, which shall pay duties, shall be paid according to this order etc. by the unmarried and other persons under obligation to His Majesty, at the rate of six percent and certain rights of customs deeds to the officials, and the house owners of the said Cochin shall pay to the Kings of Cochin on account of all properties at the rate of 3 ½ percent for entry only, and the house owners for departure, nil, to the said King, besides, the unmarried also such as the *casados* (married men or house owners ?) sic. Shall pay one percent on account of city.

**Item :** The said King of Cochin shall be paid by the Muslims, Gentiles, Jews, Armenians, Mucuas, Christians, Venetians, Christians of São Tome, local Christians of the south and Parana Christians (or house owning) of this Cochin city because the latter have paid 3 ½ for entry only and one per cent to the city, which (the latter) shall be paid by the above named kinds of people.

**Item:** The Kings of Portugal shall have the taxes on all merchandise which the Portuguese and their officials and Indo-Portuguese (mixed-Portuguese, Eurasians etc.) of Portuguese descent, Christians of the north of the land who send to the said customs of which six percent have been paid, for entry as well as for departure and lagimas of officials, and the said one percent to the city. Besides, the said house owners of Cochin shall not have to pay lagimas because in this condition they have entered into contract.

**Item:** All persons subject to the King of Cochin, provided they do not come with their merchandise from the northern side the right thereof shall belong to

said Cochin King, and similarly the Christians of the northern side who arrive with their merchandise from south, the rights thereof do not pertain to His Majesty. In the event, with time taken or for another reason the ships come toto, those which come from southern part are unable to touch this part of cochin, to pay the rights (dues) which in the manner they are bound to, the King of Cochin, in such a case they shall not be liable to pay, and no other customs, since the persons who are liable to the said King, shall be compelled to pay the said duties to these customs, who shall be the house owner's of Cochin, as the line above says, coming to pay the said duties (pg.51 v).

**Item:** That the dispatch of all merchandise belonging to the king as well as Our King the Master, shall be made entirely from one table and house by some of the officials and no dispatch shall be outside the said house, and there shall be restrictions so that no merchandise may go out of it unless it is first dispatched, failing which they shall be forfeited according to the ruling (regulations) fixed for this purpose.

**Item:** That the King, Our Lord may be bound to help and favour the collection of rights of King of Cochin and shall send his officers to collect them as his own are collected, and shall not order that the customs duty payable by house owners and residents of the lands of the King of Cochin where arrive ships from South China, Malaca, Pegu, Tenasserim, Martaban, Bengal and all other parts of south, going to Goa shall not compel the said persons to go with said merchandise to Goa.

**Item:** That the entry to Cochin port shall be exempt from duties in regard to those persons who wish to enter into the said river nor shall they be bound to

pay, however if they sell their goods at the same entry point (barra) or unloading them from one boat into another, shall be liable to pay the taxes to any one of the Kings, according to his right as said in the wrongly written exemption (sic).

**Item:** That the goods of the unmarried and other persons who are liable to customs which arrive from the said southern part, which by this contract belong to His Majesty going to Goa city are bound to pay customs duty of it (Goa) and not to unload nor leave Cochin without permission from the Viceroy of India.

**Item:** That the expenditure on account of watch and maintenance of the said customs of Cochin, etc. small embarkations, sentries; the Portuguese as well as *pianis*, and staff of the said customs, may be made at the cost of the misled which there might be (pgs 52) and if there be none, the expenses shall be borne by both the Kings in halves, of the respective amounts, by each one of them, and as for the regulations that may be made for the said customs, the Viceroy shall lay down who shall lay down who shall pay, and how much by each of them, on account of food provisions, perquisites, and how much by any one in occupation of the space in the high seas.

**Item:** Regarding the officials of the said municipality the Viceroy shall provide in the name of His Majesty the persons as may appear to him, and they shall provide in the name of His Majesty the persons as may appear to him, and they shall be such as are accustomed to watch in the Goas customs with declaration of the King of Cochin for their appointment, because only the judge of the said customs, who soon after, entrusted the licentiate the Francisco de Frias with the said posting during his life, and he will show one person whom the Viceroy who now is there and those who will hence forward be there, shall be happy to

serve him so long as the said city does not allow that the works alone, because with this condition this function is bestowed on him..

**Item:** In the same manner, the said King of Cochin may appoint one written among the two who will be in the same customs on this occasion; only he appointed Diogo Rodrigues to serve him till the end of his life, and of these two posts (charges); with these conditions the honourable master shall send letters in the name of His Majesty.

**Item:** And the said functions of judges and the writer and all others of the said customs remain free to be provided for by His Majesty and his successors to whom deemed fit, since they are his own other than the three declared below who are other clerk that the said King of Cochin, may provide (appoint) as he wishes, who will write down his duties (taxes) and shall be from any kind of persons according to his wishes, and this function shall remain free and independent for him, and his successors and in the same manner he may appoint one accountant and one interpreter (pg.52v) .

**Item:** And as for judges they will get their customs fees which belong to them from those who pay duties, to His Majesty and also they shall have from those who pay to the said Cochin King, with declarations that by death of the licentiate from those who pay to the said Cochin King, with declarations that by death of the licentiate Francisco de Frias, judge of the said customs the customs fees that he may get or to the persons which on account of services rendered unto him on the part of those who pay rights to the said King of Cochin shall be left to be given to anyone as desired by the King of Cochin.

**Item:** And the writer that the said king may so appoint, as well as the interpreter, shall get the emoluments that pertain to them on behalf of the King of Cochin, and they are debarred from taking any on behalf of the King nor the clerks (writers) of the said Master shall take on behalf of the said King of Cochin.

**Item:** And this contract and agreement shall be compiled and in the manner as provided and all conditions contained therein and declared in the same manner in which they are laid down, and in case they are not so fulfilled and maintained, the said contract shall be null and as if it had never been done and shall remain in the condition as it was when made.

**Item:** The same contract and agreement as laid down and specified with all the condition and declarations therein, was accepted by the said King of Cochin in his name and in the name of his successors, in the said Kingdom, conceded and undertaken as for himself and his successors to fulfill fully and nothing less, because the entire contents of this contract he was happy with, which he conceded and accepted as has been said, and the honourable Dom Duarte de Menezes too. In the name of His Majesty and of other Kings of Portugal and his successors he accepted and conceded in the same manner, according to the contents of the same contract so that fully and without any omission (pg.53) it may also be fulfilled. The same was accepted and conceded by the magistrates, judges, attorneys, trade representatives and those elected by the people of the said city in the same manner and form as declared above with such condition and declaration which in this contracts, conditions, stipulation (as there are) therein, it is reserved for the King, Our Lord the supreme power to approve and to, as it is fit, and more useful, or to order that which is necessary for his service and for

its maintenance he ordered that which is necessary for his and for its maintenance he ordered that this record is made, and deed of contract and agreement which his very illustrious honour signed as well as the King of Cochin and the revenue superior, magistrates, judges, attorneys, trade representatives, those elected, whose names are declared below and named, and witness António de Sequeira Cavaleiro of the association of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Martin Pereira Caveleiro, noblemen of the house of Our Lord King, Alvaro de Roges, another military and noblemen of the house of the said Lord and João de Frias, secretary of this state caused this to be written and three copies were issued of the text of this, signed by the Master Dom Duarte de Menezes, Viceroy, one to be given to the said King of Cochin and the other to Nicolau Perogo Chino, revenue supervisor to be used by his, and for record, in the book of customs and the settlement, and the other to remain with the clerk along with the secretary of this state in Cochin on the said day, month and era as said before ' signed.

**Item:** And it was settled that to satisfy with something for the officials of the settlement (*feitoria*) because some of them have less accommodation for the functions because of those newly created in the customs, as deemed to be at their cost, and in these condition provision shall be made for them.

**Item:** And it is declared that those who owe to the King of Cochin etc, the Muslims, Jews, Gentiles and other groups that have been declared before (pg. 53 V), it is declared that they are liable to pay to the said King on account of carrying away the goods in small boats.



**Item:** Also it was declared that the residents of Cochin at the height (north) that enter this port with their ships shall be bound to come up to the front of customs, and officers there of shall go to see and search and finding that they do not carry anything else than food provisions and pertain to the said residents of Cochin, north, the Nairs as well as the other groups of people, they shall allow them to go away (disembark) to the said Cochin, north, in order and manner which the said King and his official may determine for that purpose.

**Item:** And it was further declared that one percent above which is paid to the city shall be paid as per the agreement that is made in the municipality, and by virtue of such agreement and in conformity with the same they may withdraw each time it may be necessary.

**Item:** And that any merchandise of house-owners to any customs of this state on accidental (casual) reasons, may be dispatched and having given security, they shall return to pay duties to the said King of Cochin, and the duties shall be paid on the basis of certificates of assessment.

**Item:** And that any merchandise of house-owners to any customs of this state on accidental (casual) reasons, may be dispatched and having given security, they shall return to pay duties to the said King of Cochin, and the duties shall be paid on the basis of certificate of assessment.

**Item:** The house owners shall not pay the said custom dues, except on dispatches which are charged.

**Item:** And nothing shall be paid by house-owners on account of merchandise purchased from them from shall embarkations nor on those which in the same manner are purchased from house owners.

**Item:** Where some goods arrive belonging to the said house owners by land or river on the way, they shall not be obliged to pay, at any meeting point, and only shall pay at the rate of three and half percent.

**Item:** All merchandise of he said house owners shall be dispatched in the general customs of the city with such declaration that there are twelve house owners and one such embarkation in the said customs with their goods to be dispatched , that one house owner and one embarkation may be dispatched, and hence forth the dispatching may be executed in this order.

**Item:** The Master Viceroy seems it fit that after his contract is signed, copies may be immediately made of all the papers and concessions, that the officials of the said city will show, and His Honour ordered that one copy may be given to the municipality. This was written by me Antonio de Cunha.

**Item:** First of all the said King of Cochin and signatory ordered it that this contract may be read in toto by the prince which was read and conveyed to him by his interpreter and the said contract is being signed by all persons mentioned above and checked up with the original which remains ion the possession of the secretary of state, and I João de Frias, secretary of this state checked up with the original which remains included in the book of contracts of the state on 8<sup>th</sup> January 1585. João de Frias, Berbnardo de Siqueira, Teixeira de Masedo, public notary and financial officer of the King , Our Lord, in this *Santa Cruz* city of

Cochin, I do certify and vouch that the handwriting of superscription and the mark which lies belong the above contract of João de Frias now secretary of this state is what I do certify having seen him signal often, and I have in my possession marks similar to that which (pg 54 v) is at the foot of the said contract and in firmness there of I have issued here the certificate drawn by me, and signed under my own mark which is such as followed in Cochin on 12<sup>th</sup> March 1585 with the lines , which meant what was done truly.

António Borges de Sousa, chief representative with powers from the King, Our Master, in this city of *Santa Cruz* of Cochin, I do make it known to all those who see this rehabilitation certificate of mine, that the handwriting of the superscription and the mark that lies at the foot of this contract rests by João de Frias, who is now secretary of this state, and in confirmation there of I caused this to be issued, signed by me, and stamped with royal seal and full faith and credit may be given to the copy of the said contract because I have endorsed it given in Cochin on 12<sup>th</sup> March Pero Vas Solino clerk of the office of the revenue superior of the said city did this, 1585. He paid twenty *reis* and four for signature António Borges de Sousa and ten *reis* paid. António Borges de Sousa.

*Source:* Mss. BAL, Códex No.51-VII-14.fl.45

(Translated from Portuguese to English)

## **Appendix IV**

### **Award by Martim Afonso de Souza, in Confirmation of Charter Letter which the King Our Lord Granted to the City of Cochin**

Martin Afonso de Souza, of the council of the King Our Lord his general captain and Governor of these parts of India, I do make it known , to all those who come to have knowledge that with reference to magistrates, attorneys and trade corporations, I was shown this copy written overleaf issue<sup>3d</sup> by Our Lord the King, by which , the town (villa) was made into a city of this town of *Santa Cruz* of Cochin , as it was on very worn our parchment, and which copy I do confirm and (pg.13v), approve and I have to, in the service of the said Lord, get its compliance made and it may be retained as if it were the original, undoubtedly, and no objection may be raised to it, and Means (sic) wrote this in Cochin on 27<sup>th</sup> November 1542 - signature – Martin Afonso de Souza -

(Translated from Portuguese to English)

*Source:* Mss. BAL, Códex No.51 – VII-14,fl.1.

## **Appendix V**

### **Bocarro's Description of the Fortress and City of Cochin in the Early Seventeenth Century**

The fortress and Cochin city are situated at nine degrees and forty minutes on the northern (sic) side of the coastal land of Malabar. It was the first land where Dom Vasco da Gama was received peaceful by that "Quaimal" (Kaimal) who is now crowned king by the Viceroy Dom Francisco de Almeida who built up the fortress in the year 1500 which was later on expanded by Francisco de Albuquerque, brother of the great Afonso de Albuquerque. The population of the place subsequently went on increasing, and it came to be affluent and one of the populated cities of the world. This city was built up along the river as one enters the stay-bar. Close to its mouth there is a plain sand beach, there is no other similar one. Also there is not a single elevation inside or outside the city. Its layout is an obtuse triangle, because it lies on a stretch of land which on its side towards the jungle away is interjected by a canal which enters into it from

the river which on high tide surrounds more than half the city. The length of the city stretches from (the church of), Our Lady of Guidance along the river till the site where the pepper is weighed ; it is two thousand and five hundred paces, and its maximum width from the bulwark which stands at the end of the river upto the bridge over the creek is eight hundred paces. It becomes more and more narrow towards the fag end. The pepper I weighed in a house which is close to the river. It is thirty paces away, which might have been so with another intention than to weigh pepper, as was done for years. It is used even now. But time has been damaging it, waters entering into the wall, which is almost about to fall.

In this manner, it does not serve even to weigh the pepper, which is done below the hut thatched with palm leaves. From the said bulwark, which lies at the end of the river, upto the Augustinian monastery the distance is hundred and sixty paces. Before the weighing site of the pepper is reached ,a wharf has been constructed for the use of ships quite at the bank down the river, to prevent it (river) from eroding the city, as it has been from bulwark down wards for want of a wharf or anything for that matter impeding the river from so doing. The under-current of water is even damaging the bulwark. And also, a wall may be built on the river to protect the city.. Hundred paces along from the said church of Our Lady of Guidance upto the said bulwark at the end of the river, there are three more unprotected bulwarks. This is not well up, and the structure is imperfect. So also the wall is, which is a little above four meters, and four spans wide. Hence it is evident that these are not capable of resisting artillery assault.

On the side of the jungle, from the corner of the land where pepper is weighed, up to the wall which surrounds the city turning to the right side, it is

open over 200 meters, without a wall. The same starting there from continues along the said current of river into the land, washing the base of the wall to the height over four meters. And so upto the church of St.Lazer, to a length of seven hundred paces, where there are four bulwarks which are unfinished and to be completed. Between the church of St.Lazer upto the church of Our Lady of Guidance the wall lower to a length sever hundred paces, which do not make a little<sup>3</sup>more than two meters, and it is so plain that it has not a single parapet till it reached the said end of Our Lady of Guidance, where the wall around the city ends. Its entire circuit is 2200 paces wherein five hundred *casados* comprising the Portuguese and brown Christians are living, out of which 300 are whites and 200 brown. They are fine soldiers having guns, spears and swords in much large quantity than people to wield them, each one of them has one or two slaves who use to carry the arms.

The fortress where the captain lives lies at 12 paces away from the bank of the river. At present it is not in the shape of fortress, it is transformed completely into quarters of the captain, it has one verandha facing the river, it is fifteen paces long and seven paces wide. . A tower stands from here a wall of small height stretches on the side of the margin of the river which is constructed into the form of a chain which called 'trunk' (*tranco*). In the customs there are houses wherethe Revenue Superior resided and at the end there are houses of chief guard, where there was a bulwark at which a turn to Mandovin is taken. O(n the other side it goes on to the houses where supervision (*vereacão*) is being done, and there is the office of the municipality (*câmara*). From there it returns to Mandovi which consists of stall of clay mud, so that at its back side there is no fortification, not even defensible, and outside it is very little so , and inside much less, where there are not even many residential houses, without

artillery, canon, nor anything for its defense. The artillery which is fixed to the said walls is not more than a thick cannon of bronze weighing twenty pounds which is placed on one of the bulwarks which is called *Madre de Deus* (Mother of God), which lies at the stay-bar, and three falcons of cannon metal on the said bulwark called *Santa Cruz* at the end of the river and two more falcons of bronze and cannon metal in the magazine (store house). For this purpose, there are more than abundant ammunitions in two store house which are in this city, out of which one pertains to His Majesty, and the other to the city, and there is enough gun powder to meet any situation. As the other people living in this city are hunters they know how to manufacture gun powder as per requirement and have in their houses many good guns which also serve them for other purposes.

The Ministers and officials who are in Cochin earn early salaries as follows:-

- The Cochin has one captain who earns four hundred thousand reis as salary, making 1333 xeraphins, one anna and forty reis.....001\$333:1:40
- One Revenue Superior for loaded ships who earns 800 thousand reis amounting to 2666 xeraphins, three annas and twenty reis.....002\$666:3:20
- \* One Reenue official 150 thousand reis amounting to 500 xeraphins.....000\$500:0:00
- \* One chief of factory (establishment) and chief Governor of province (Alcaide-mor) and treasurer (tax collector) two hundred and fifteen thousand



reis which make seven hundred and sixteen xeraphins, three annas and twenty reis.....000\$716:3:20

The said person has on account of accommodation when he does not live in the houses of the factory, thirty five thousand reis which make hundred and sixteen xerafins, three annas and twenty reis.....000\$116:3:20

- Two clerks of the factory forty thousand reis each, make two hundred and sixty six, three annas and twenty reis.....000\$266:3:20

\* One chief guard, forty thousand reis making hundred and thirty three xerafins, one anna and forty reis.....000:\$133:1:1.40

One Revenue Supervisor hundred thousand reis making hundred and thirty three xerafins, one anna and forty reis.....000\$133;1.40

- One Governor fifteen thousand reis which make fifty xerafins...  
000\$05030

- One bailiff fifteen thousand reis making fifty xerafins.....000\$050:0:00

- The jailor fifteen thousand reis which make fifty xerafins, three annas and twenty reis.....00\$050:3:20

One judge (assessor) of the weight of pepper forty thousand reis which make hundred and thirty three xerafins, one anna and forty reis.....000\$133:1:40

- One mint master eighteen thousand reis, which makes sixty xerafins..000\$060:0:00
  
- \* One chief of stock and store fifty thousand reis which make hundred sixtysix xerafins, three annas and twenty reis.....000\$166:3:20
  
- One master (*mestre*) of stock and store forty six thousand reis which make hundred and fifty three xerafins, one anna and forty reis.....000\$153:1:40
  
- One official calker thirty thousand reis which make hundred xerafins.....0001\$100:0:00
  
- One master of cooperage (workshop) twenty one thousand, six hundred reis, which make seventy two xerafins.....000\$072:0:00
  
- One Interpreter of factory eight hundred reis per month making thirty two xerafins per year.....000\$032:0:00
  
- \* Two Nair clerks who serve in the factory of rafts in the pepper business each one eight hundred reis per month which make sixty four xerafins.....000\$064:0:00
  
- One Panikkar and four Nairs who serve in the factory of sailing rafts in pepper trade earn altogether five, three pardaos of gold per month which are

equal to one thousand eight hundred reis which make annually forty three xerafins, one anna.....000\$043:1:00

- One Nair to weigh who keeps his hand (weighs) on the weighing scale of he pepper six hundred reis per month which make twenty four xerafins per year.....000\$0:24:0:00

\* One Interpreter of the King of Cochin who also is engaged in pepper business seven hundred reis per month making twenty eight xerafins per annum.....000\$0:28:0:00

- Twenty natives as security of captain, six hundred reis to each per month which yearly make four hundred and eighty xerafins.....000\$480+0+00

- Two guards of the prison, each one six hundred per month making forty eight xerafins.....000\$048:0:00

- The Governor and bailiff of the city had each one six piães , each pião earning three hundred and sixty reis which make hundred seventy two xerafins and four annas.....000\$172:0:00

- Three bombardiers who earn their quarterly pay and provisions.....

- Two bailiffs, one of revenue, the other of customs, erving fifteen thousand reis, each one making hundred xerafins.....000\$100:0:00

\* Half the salaries of the office keeper and customs guards sixty seven thousand and two hundred reis, the other half is paid by king of cochin who earns two hundred reis and twenty four xerafins .....000\$224:0:00

- The accountant of the customs has out of royal revenue eighteen thousand and equal amount is given by King of Cochin making sixty xerafins.....000\$060:0:00

- The exchange of moneys at customs threethousand and equal amounts is paid by the king of Cochin up fifty xerafins.....000\$050:0:00

- To the side cloth of the customs committee three thousand reis making ten xerafins.....000\$010:0:00

- To the boat man of Revenue Superior, for six months service, sixty five thousand reis making two hundred and sixteen xerafins, three annas and twenty reis.....000\$216:0:00

The salaries of ecclesiastical dignitaries which are paid to them, each one per year as follows:-

- The City of Cochin has a Bishop, out of nine hundred thousand reis per year, he gets eight hundred thousand for himself and hundred thousand for his priest holding jurisdiction in litigation and chief vicar, amounting to three thousand xerafins.....003 & 000:0:00

\* In the said city there is also a see and its chapter (organization of secular priests) where the Dean earns eighty thousand reis, the four dignitaries, viz. the chorus master priest, treasurer, the archdeacon, the teacher of primary education, each one of them seventy thousand reis, and two more secular priests (conegos) sixty thousand each of them, altogether, amounting to three thousand , six hundred xerafins.

- The sub treasurer ten thousand reis, four bearers, maces of chorus, each one four thousand reis, the assistant priest of the see patriarchal church fifteen thousand reis, the master of the chapel fourteen thousand reis, the bearer of the heavy mace, then thousand and eight hundred reis, the player of organ seven thousand two hundred reis, to the office of see administration hundred thousand reis for petty expenses of the vestry/sacristy, sixty thousand altogether making seven hundred and seventy six xerafins, three annas, and twenty reis.....000\$776:0:00

\* The said city has besides the ecclesiastical see which is also a parish, five churches with vicars, which are Our Lady of Aguadalipe, Our Lady of Anunciada, Our Lady of Good Journey (Boa Viagem), Our Lady of Guidance, Our Lady of Compassion, where each vicar earns forty thousand reis, as salaries and petty expenses of vestry coming, altogether, to seven hundred and sixty xerafins.....000\$760:0:00

- Besides, outside the city there is the parish church of Our Lady of Grace, with the same salaries, the other of Sam Tome, another of Our Lady of

Hope, in Vypin, another of Saint Lourenco, in the above castle, another in the João island, to each one the same forty five thousand six hundred reis which make sixty four xerafins.....000\$64:0:00

- Inside the same walled city there is the church and monastery of Dominicans where the number of the same society friars is not fixed, which in any case shall be between twenty five to thirty who ordinarily have 25 candies of wheat, twenty of rice (*arroz*), two barrels of wine of Portugal, and six pitches of oil.

\* The said walled city has besides, in the inside one church and monastery of St. Augustine where usually there are twelve to fifteen friars who ordinarily receive from revenue five hundred xerafins.....000\$500:0:00\* The same walled city has inside it a church and monastery of Saint Francis where usually twenty friars of the said order, or some more or less who usually have fifty xerafins for medicines.....000\$050:0:00

- The said church of Our Lady of Hope of Vypin which also accommodates the said Franciscan missionaries have usually three bundles of cotton clothes, three candies of wheat, six candies of rice (*arroz*) and fifty xerafins cash.

- The same walled city has in the inside, a church of St. Paul with a college of clergy of the Society of Jesus, called Madre de Deus which is paid one thousand and five hundred pardaos, out of gift of gold assigned in the official stations of the Divar island of Goa which make one thousand and eight hundred xerafins.....001\$800:0:00

- the Father of Christians (*Pai dos Christãos*) of this city's religious orders gets thirty thousand reis which make hundred xerafins...00\$100:0:00
- There is a church outside the wall of the city, called San Lazaro, where the sick suffering from ailments prevailing in this city are fed. Its chaplain gets twelve thousand reis making forty xerafins.....000\$040:0:00
- In this city there are more over some houses along the beach at the walls, wherein His Majesty's hospital functions. Annually it is ordered to pay to it three hundred thousand reis for treatment of the Portuguese, and other expenses of shop/medicines and physician and staff, if necessary, the brothers of Milan come up to there, which make one thousand xerafins.....001\$000:0:00

And not withstanding all the above said salaries and emoluments that each one earns as per the regulations in spite of great decline in revenues of this state, dwindling a large part of the said expenses, so that the posts Revenue Inspector (*veador*) and his clerk were abolished, because the ships are not going to be loaded at that place, for pepper trade, in those arriving in Goa, the chief of the factory is entrusted, or those whom the Viceroy may order, so that the bill of expenditure which goes from Goa to Cochin is as follows:-

From Goa, every year are going between fourteen and fifteen thousand xerafins so that after the expenses are made for war personnel of Cranganore fort, which is as pointed before, five thousand eight hundred and eight xerafins, the rest is paid to the Cochin city captain and officers; not the full salaries but

half to some, and two parts to others and less to others and the same applies to the clerics who are more deprived of the salaries, hence on many occasion, this see remain closed and the vicars are paid much less than anybody else, which in the acute poverty of the land/country makes all to move about suffering from many shortages.

On the upper side of the river, at the distance of one league from Cochin , a tower called *castedo de cima* stands at the margin of the river which is not more than a house in a square of twenty paces, on each side of two upper storey where six falcons (cannons) are set, four of iron and two bronze, mounted on artillery carriages, with enough ammunition and one captain who helps them without any salaries from the Royal Revenue being satisfied with small benefits and small gains which they preserve only on the memory of the great victory which the great Duarte Pacheco won against Zamorin.

The income that His Majesty receives in this fort of Cochin is very little because customs duty which is paid there is to the King of Cochin also takes from all *casados*, whether brown or white, which is not more than three and half percent and the same is paid to the said king , by all gentiles (non Christians) and native Christians, who come from the Fishery coast and Ceylon and for this reason the other foreigners/travelers white and brown who pay to His Majesty at the rate of nine percent; try to pay firstly to the king of Cochin. They deprive by fraud and misdirected a lot of His Majesty's revenue, so that this city which had been once very rich came to be reduced to extreme poverty, for shortage of trade, our own as well as the misdirected trade. All this makes it of little value because the maximum that is collected today by way of duties to His Majesty in these customs are seven to eight thousand xerafins and to the King of Cochin



four to five thousand xerafins., and so that the income is almost equal to expenditure made for the city, taking apart Cranganore which is paid in this factory.

In this city fees to the amount of two percent that the residents offered of their own accord of their accord in the year 1621 when Ormuz was lost, in order to purchase artillery for the city, because they saw how the city was short of it, they feared another similar. Success which they had at Ormuz where it was due to lack of artillery as well as fortress all of which they had not, since the said fees are not collected from other than the subjects of His Majesty, the amount is very little. Till today only two heavy artillery pieces (items) , one of which is already mentioned is lying in the bulwark *Madre de Deus* (Mother of God) , at the stay bar and the other was sent in the fleet which on 15 November 1634 left for Cochin which is also of the same , of 20 to 22 pounds caliber, both casting around 10,000 xerafins.

Besides these two percent of fees, which are collected by the municipal officer of the city, and expenditure is made out of it, one percent more is paid on all kinds of goods belonging to Christians, the income is allotted to the fortification works, of the wall as all other sorts as may be necessary.

Besides this, city has other income as well as other small states have, which is spent by municipal Alderman and other officials, as ordinarily they call it for common welfare. This income nowadays is so low they feel deprived of it, and not getting it, sometimes coming through fees from the tax collection centre (*consulado*) only, on account of something unusual.

The ruler of the territory which is around this city of Cochin is the King of Cochin, a gentle who is so well reputed for his loyalty to the Portuguese, and because of the later, he is ever in a state of war with Zamorin. He is brother in arms of His Majesty, friend unto his friends and enemy of his enemies. He is not silent neither on our behalf nor on his own, because we made peace with the Zamorin, and he continued to be at war with the King of Cochin. While the King of Cochin was receiving in his territory the Ambassadors of Achem/Aquem, who came to Cochin city because this King had sieged Malacca, besides having sent Ambassadors to the state, never to surrender themselves, but they were sent to Dacham, with whom he seeks to trade and have contacts. Also there had been many contacts as earlier he had sent Ambassadors, and embassies had been stationed before the Dutch at Palicate (palikkatt) and many other places. In particular, he had so decided from the old loyalty to the Portuguese that his forefathers had maintained towards the Portuguese.

As to Christianity, we have a lot of it all over his lands. Not only the Christians of St. Thomas who are the best warriors with him as well as many of his other subjects who converted themselves to Our Holy faith upon preaching the gospel but none of these are 'Nairs' who are his war personnel, his nobility, or the said Nambuthiries who are their priests, because the said King may impose punishment to any one among those converts himself, and so contravenes, and therefore he may suffer.

However, outside the wall of the city, His Majesty has no jurisdiction whatsoever, because all around belongs to the King of Cochin of whatever type,

coconut grooves, islands or lands owned by the Portuguese men and who enjoy their fruit such as there are many scattered in his kingdom.

This apart, the King of Cochin has many other rulers in the interior particularly in many islands, formed by many branches of rivers, because all that land is criss-crossed into parts, so that they are very fresh (fertile) and navigable by small embarkations. So that life thereon is much more comfortable. Most of these rulers keep up very good correspondence (response) with the state, and in case the Portuguese have any difficulties. It is often because of bad dealings or little care with which they deal, as has happened sometimes and some of these rulers are so friendly towards the Portuguese that they gift them lands for cultivation and sowing. All these lands are very fertile, that many do not accept them.. What is more to be esteemed by them is that all desire Christians of St. Thomas with beautiful churches and priests, so that there is mass on any day in one of the churches, and someone who is confessing and administering all the sacraments.

In the cultivated lands that lie at this forest, the most important is pepper cultivation which is all the riches (source of wealth) of this Malabar, which is done on any tree and the plant that gives the pepper is a creeper which is cultivated at the base of the trees, and it goes on climbing in the same manner. It should be taken into consideration that these links are not cut which are supporting the pepper tree which gives its fruit rather they give it heat with which the crop is more abundant.

Another matter is that in this Malabar very good quality of *Angelino* (*aanjali*) timber is available abundantly very durable for many years, so that if

many ships or embarkations of any type are required to be made with any preparation those can be built up. Within a year and in less time; because, since there are many carpenters as many as needed can be engaged. So no work was left undone on account of their non-availability. The iron is not so much available, but possibly it could be found in the interior. The coir for ropes, is abundant and very strong. Cotton cloth may be made in the interior of the land in the Cape Comorin or in Nagapattam. In this manner, from this city of Cochin many ships can be launched, as well as embarkations which are constructed every year which are among the best and more durable than those all other parts of the world, which can carry promptly much load from the said land; such as pepper, curium (mollusks) which is the bark (*buzio*) of trees of aromatic plants of therapeutic use, which comes there in great quantity from Maldiv islands, all the aromatic bark of the trees, as much as wanted, cinnamon, hard and thick skin of animals, dry ginger, and four preservatives and cocoa (coconut), also called Mata peixe, *couserias* (bones) wheels of wooden logs with iron folds with chains; and mobile revolving discs with tackles, pulley blocks of only one pole, and wooden planks of uncommon width could be loaded in only one ship to the great convenience of those who carry them wherever they wish. Rice is not much seen in the land, although the browns and the whites are also supplying. The clothes from Tuticorin come by land, and from Nagapattam and Bengal by sea, so that in this city abounding in provisions of fish and meat, there are no other need than some wheat which is not there, and with this exception, ships can be launched, built up and loaded not only one, but as many as required, as well as embarkation of whichever type.

The river of this city is 8 to 9 bracas (fathoms) deep with a big flow of water which comes into it to run into sea, however, the width is so much is so

small that it is within a gun shot which reaches from one bank to the other , and at the entrance of the stay-bar, it has a beach of sand crossing it like others. At the same place there is the canal which now and then lingers at south and south east and west. Since the bottom is of loose sand it carries on the brings back by force of monsoon by the flow of waters from the hill, now towards one bank, then towards the other. The bottom of this canal is between 15 to 18 palmos of hot waters of the ocean, where there is a very convenient harbour which is less resorted to than it would have been otherwise, had the harbour been deeper so that large ships could enter because within the river they would remain with all facilities where many ships of two thousand candies are in the quay with plank on land, unloading and loading. But in redress of this inconvenience, it has one advantage which is that the stay bar is close by the city so that any embarkation coming out by the side of the coast can be loaded in very short time as it has been done and depart. The coastline runs from Cape Comorin by the same route towards the north and south as has been said , the water currents the blowing winds are the same, except the north west, on the northern coast, it does not steer as much as in a lower point which is always reached beyond and so also the winds that blow from the other coast, from beyond Comorin reach more to the city; it is a wind which is called “vara” (cane) of Coromandel which is from the south and blows striking with such force from 15 to 20 November, more or less, and enters only with much rain, and rare is the month when it is not there, in this Cochin city and it is more healthy, since for most of the time, it is an occasion of lot of fever in Goa, notwithstanding the waters being in bad condition as they are as if in a watery place for which reason they have some difficulties, because of heavy (swollen) feet which they call “panicais” and the place is such as where the steps of the horses are not well, while there are excellent exits and field for them, as it is the St. John ground where there is one

church and monastery of friars of Franciscan order, which is called by the same name who live on alms, and at the same beach down below where lie the said churches of St.Luis and Our Lady of health, the former 800 passos (steps) from the city and the latter at 1100 or a little more or less. The church of Santhiago belonging to priests of society with some coconut trees standing further at a distance, of two thirds of a league from the city by the beach.

In the city of Cochin there are some embarkations which are called "tonees" (country boats) where in they travel upto an end of 4 to 5 *palmas* (*palmo*: a linear measure) and between 15 to 20 'covodos' (24 inches) long and a large Patana of five or six *palmas* which they can carry to their one top floor which they call or lop gangway, size of a small house which they call *baileo* (mobile-plant form) which is covered on the top by the palm leaves and closed by flanks, which can accommodate many persons who go even in monsoon for fishing in the sea, in which they are so safe, and those have only one mast.

Navigation from Cochin was very much in older times and great carriage as the main navigation was towards the south, the Dutch, the British and the Danes took over it and caused loss of many embarkations, so that it seems that it was one of the richest lands in the world, having so much to loose, and as it was not all exhausted, as it became and there being no land so much abounding in provisions and so cheap. One of the main reasons that reduced it to misery, which is there, is the lack of the ships of the kingdom, which were plying there, always taking load which now a days they do not, because many ships are not deemed to be safe. It is the Dutch who ply on this coast.

The main parts to where navigation from Cochin was going on was towards China and Manila; with many slaves from Manila and clothes from Tuticorim and pepper although prohibited, and even many ropes of coir and cinnamon from jungle, flour, salt petre and all kinds of goods from Portugal, particularly wines, oils and other provisions and almonds, dried grapes and dates from Persia and Arabia, the same being carried to China, besides a lot of silver coins and items where there is shortage of them; the Chinese prepare a beverage with pepper, because of which they purchase it at high price, and finish all that is taken. However, the losses suffered by the said Cochin city in these voyages, caused by the Dutch, that is now one year or more, they do not send any ships and when they do it, it is in a small rowing boat which is sold over there, always fetching gold the value of which is 1000 xerafins.

The other important voyage which was being done from Cochin was towards Bengal when the port and township of Golim was there, and the vast port of Bengal which was otherwise the large population of Dianga. The voyage was being done with so many ships during monsoon; of them to come from Bengal, favourable to navigations, and more towards Cochin, all loaded with rice, sugar, lacquer, salt petre, iron and many kinds of clothes, as well as shrubs, as cotton, ghee, chillies, gram, largely abundant wax and even wheat and many other items of best quality quilt, beds each ship carrying such material to the value of 20,000 xerafins. But after the said two towns were depleted, and the two harbours were extinct, only one or two small vessels ply to the Orissa port where there is not more than one Portuguese captain who is subject to the tyranny of Muhammedan mogores who do not profess any truth, from where little do they fetch, and always each ship amounts to some 20,000 xerafins. The time when

they go to Cochin is from April to May, in one Monsoon, and the other season is September, what they carry is pepper, despite much obstruction to them.. All goods from south Draga, Calaim and Tutenega and cloth from China and Portugal and jewels of precious stones and seed pearl, because now a days, what goes is very little because of the said reasons. The occasion comes in December till March.

The other parts where the residents of Cochin go usually to do their trade is Tuticorim on the Fisheries coast which derived its name from such pearl which was being fished up there. For twenty three years, it is not being done, as the 'chipo' which is the same as oyster where the said seed pearl is born is not there, as they go by river inside, up to Copulão (Quilon) they ply all the time, and on returning from November to March, what they carry is not more than gold or 'patacas' (silver coins) in which there are always losses, and some concealed pepper, dates, sandalwood and rose waters (*agues rozados*), and what they mainly bring are clothes called 'chachas' and some seed pearl that from the said times are taken from the old chipo from where large seed pearl was being taken. Great quantity of it is purchased for His Majesty and some iron, even though much rice in reasonable price, which is of good quality than any where else from India, the seed pearl are very 'chanco' and the said seed pearl which are fished out at the sea, which serves Bengal, those Negros make bangles for their wrists and the hens here are the biggest and the best ones.



(Translated fro Portuguese to English)

*Source:* António Bocarro, Livro dos Plantas de Todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoaçõe do Estado da India Oriental in A.B. Bragança Pereira, ed., *Arquivo Português Oriental*, Nova edição, tomo IV, II, Parte I, Bastora, 1937-38. ( The text of this most valuable compilation was made in 1630.)

## APPENDIX VI

### Portuguese Words in Malayalam

#### Words generally used in Malayalam

<u>Malayalam</u>	<u>Portuguese</u>	<u>Meaning of the word</u>
<i>aayha</i>	<i>aia</i>	nurse/maid
<i>alamari</i>	<i>armário</i>	cupboard
<i>aalath</i>	<i>amarra</i>	strong rope
<i>almayu</i>	<i>alma</i>	soul
<i>alpandi</i>	<i>alfândega</i>	customs duty
<i>amaram</i>	<i>amarra</i>	cable of a ship
<i>anaara</i>	<i>ananá</i>	pineapple

<i>aspatri</i>	<i>hospítal</i>	hospital
<i>aata</i>	<i>ata</i>	custard apple
<i>aeree</i>	<i>feira</i>	fair (market)
<i>ovudotor</i>	<i>auditor</i>	one who verify the accounts
<i>astma</i>	<i>asma</i>	asthma
<i>balde</i>	<i>balde</i>	bucket
<i>banch</i>	<i>banco</i>	bench
<i>bankethi</i>	<i>banquete</i>	banquet
<i>batata</i>	<i>batata</i>	potato
<i>batheri</i>	<i>bateria</i>	battery
<i>bazaar</i>	<i>bazar</i>	market
<i>barcas</i>	<i>barcaça</i>	large boat
<i>bilimbee</i>	<i>bilimbi</i>	fruit of Avirhoa
<i>pattalam</i>	<i>batalhão</i>	batttalion
<i>biskottu</i>	<i>biscoito</i>	biscuit
<i>borma</i>	<i>fôrma</i>	baker's oven
<i>botton</i>	<i>botão</i>	button
<i>botel</i>	<i>botelha</i>	bottle
<i>burma</i>	<i>berrima</i>	drill (to make hole)
<i>cameeza</i>	<i>camisa</i>	shirt
<i>culer</i>	<i>colher</i>	mason's spoon
<i>canalu</i>	<i>canal</i>	canal
<i>cappy</i>	<i>café</i>	coffee
<i>capaz</i>	<i>capar</i>	to castrate
<i>Catholican</i>	<i>Católico</i>	Catholic
<i>Chaaaya</i>	<i>chá</i>	tea

<i>changaadam</i>	<i>jangada</i>	raft
<i>chaapa</i>	<i>chapa</i>	seal, stamp, impression
<i>chaaak</i>	<i>saca</i>	sack
<i>churuttu</i>	<i>charuto</i>	cigar
<i>chaave</i>	<i>chave</i>	key
<i>chinter</i>	<i>cinzel</i>	chisel
<i>Christiani</i>	<i>cristão</i>	Christian
<i>Chunnambu</i>	<i>chuname</i>	chunam (from lime)
<i>copa</i>	<i>copa</i>	cup
<i>copy</i>	<i>cópia</i>	copy
<i>cordao</i>	<i>cordão</i>	string to tie horse
<i>cemetery</i>	<i>cemitério</i>	cemetery
<i>consul</i>	<i>cônsul</i>	consul
<i>commander</i>	<i>commundante</i>	commander
<i>comminji</i>	<i>companhia</i>	company
<i>cusinji</i>	<i>cozinha</i>	kitchen
<i>curry</i>	<i>caril</i>	curry
<i>diyabu</i>	<i>diabo</i>	devil
<i>dosha</i>	<i>doce</i>	spongy cake of rice flour
<i>emprador</i>	<i>imperador</i>	emperor
<i>esmola</i>	<i>esmole</i>	alms
<i>gavarnador</i>	<i>governador</i>	governor
<i>generaal</i>	<i>general</i>	general
<i>gudam</i>	<i>gudão</i>	godown
<i>govi</i>	<i>couve</i>	cauli flower
<i>aspatri</i>	<i>hospital</i>	hospital
<i>inglishu</i>	<i>Inglês</i>	English

<i>irayal</i>	<i>real</i>	a Portuguese coin
<i>ressi</i>	<i>reis</i>	a Portuguese coin
<i>Iskul</i>	<i>escola</i>	school
<i>Istri</i>	<i>estrirar</i>	to iron (to stretch)
<i>Jaara</i>	<i>jarra</i>	jar
<i>Jenala</i>	<i>janela</i>	window
<i>Juba</i>	<i>juba</i>	a shirt without collar
<i>kamis</i>	<i>camisa</i>	shirt
<i>kaasu</i>	<i>caju</i>	cashew
<i>kalpathi</i>	<i>calafete</i>	a caulker
<i>kathu</i>	<i>cartas</i>	letter
<i>kasera</i>	<i>cadeira</i>	chair
<i>kaapiri</i>	<i>cafre</i>	negro
<i>kappithan</i>	<i>capitão</i>	captain
<i>kalusam</i>	<i>calças</i>	trousers
<i>kaarp</i>	<i>garfo</i>	fork
<i>koora</i>	<i>couro</i>	tanned leather
<i>kuzinja</i>	<i>cozinha</i>	kitchen
<i>koki</i>	<i>cozinheiro</i>	cook
<i>kommantaar</i>	<i>comandante</i>	commander
<i>kappas</i>	<i>capar</i>	castrate
<i>kappus</i>	<i>capuz</i>	hood
<i>koleri (kolasseri)</i>	<i>colher</i>	trowel
<i>koratavu</i>	<i>corda</i>	rope
<i>lanter (rantal)</i>	<i>lanterna</i>	lantern
<i>Lanthakkar</i>	<i>Holendas</i>	Hollnder, Dutch
<i>lesu</i>	<i>lenço</i>	hand - kerchief

<i>lelam</i>	<i>leilão</i>	auction
<i>maamam</i>	<i>mama</i>	breast
<i>mesa</i>	<i>mesa</i>	table
<i>mestri</i>	<i>mestre</i>	master craftsman
<i>navali</i>	<i>navalha</i>	pocket knife
<i>osti</i>	<i>hóstia</i>	consecrated wafer to serve during mass
<i>parantiriyis</i>	<i>Francês</i>	French
<i>pattakku</i>	<i>pataco</i>	an ancient Portuguese coin
<i>patakam</i>	<i>foguete</i>	crackers
<i>padiri</i>	<i>padre</i>	priest
<i>pagadi</i>	<i>paga</i> , pagmentu	a kind of tax, payment
<i>paatha</i>	<i>pato</i>	duck
<i>pangayam</i>	<i>pangaio</i>	oar
<i>paapa</i>	<i>papa</i>	pope
<i>pinjani</i>	<i>palngana</i>	a flat dish
<i>periteri</i>	<i>pedreiro</i>	stone mason
<i>pena</i>	<i>pena</i>	feather writing pen
<i>pera</i>	<i>pêra</i>	guava (pears also)
<i>peepa</i>	<i>pipa</i>	a barrwl, a tub
<i>peetha</i>	<i>fita</i>	ribbon
<i>pickaasu</i>	<i>picareta</i>	pickaxe
<i>pintar</i>	<i>pintar</i>	to painter
<i>pinjha</i>	<i>pinha</i>	pine wood
<i>pippa (vipa)</i>	<i>pipa</i>	cask
<i>pistal</i>	<i>pistola</i>	pistol

<i>peetha</i>	<i>fita</i>	ribbon
<i>peeles</i>	<i>pires</i>	saucer
<i>poleesu</i>	<i>policia</i>	police
<i>porku</i>	<i>porco</i>	pig
<i>portico</i>	<i>pórtico</i>	porch
<i>praaguka</i>	<i>praga</i>	to curse
<i>rack</i>	<i>arraca</i>	arrack (distilled spirit)
<i>reshiti</i>	<i>recibo</i>	receipt
<i>rattal</i>	<i>arratel</i>	pound
<i>renda</i>	<i>renda</i>	lace
<i>reepa</i>	<i>ripa</i>	piece of wood
<i>rondu</i>	<i>ronda</i>	patrol
<i>salad</i>	<i>salada</i>	salad
<i>sabbu</i>	<i>sabão</i>	sallas
<i>sabola</i>	<i>cebola</i>	big onion
<i>sapaat</i>	<i>sapato</i>	shoe
<i>secretaria</i>	<i>secretária</i>	secretariat (office)
<i>secretario</i>	<i>secretário</i>	secretary
<i>shotati</i>	<i>sorte</i>	lottery
<i>soop</i>	<i>sopa</i>	soup
<i>tambaku</i>	<i>tobacco</i>	tobacco
<i>tambor</i>	<i>tambor</i>	drum
<i>tanassu</i>	<i>tenaz</i>	tongs
<i>taaripu</i>	<i>tarifa</i>	tariff
<i>tesora</i>	<i>tesoura</i>	scissors
<i>teserer</i>	<i>tesoureiro</i>	treasurer
<i>tital</i>	<i>dedal</i>	thimble

<i>tothu</i>	<i>todo</i>	measurement
<i>tuvala</i>	<i>toalha</i>	towel
<i>vara</i>	<i>vara</i>	linear measure
Vthak	pateca	Water melon
<i>varandha</i>	<i>varanda</i>	verandha
<i>vasi</i>	<i>bacia , bacio</i>	bowl, plate
<i>vender</i>	<i>vendedor</i>	salesman
<i>vijagiri</i>	<i>bisagra</i>	hinge
<i>vinju</i>	<i>vinho</i>	wine
<i>villitu (villissu)</i>	<i>veludo</i>	velvet
<i>vilumbi puli</i>	<i>biimbim</i>	bilimbim
<i>violin</i>	<i>viola</i>	violin

## Appendix VII

### Words in connection with church

<i>altaara</i>	<i>altar</i>	altar
<i>apostolan</i>	<i>apóstolo</i>	apostal
<i>arulica</i>	<i>relicário</i>	the casket to keep the host for blessing during benediction
<i>assenti</i>	<i>assistente</i>	assistant
<i>bula</i>	<i>bula</i>	bull
<i>bowthise</i>	<i>baptismo</i>	baptism
<i>Christiani</i>	<i>Christão</i>	Christian
<i>chemador</i>	<i>chemadeiro</i>	messenger
<i>cemiteri</i>	<i>cemitério</i>	cemetery

<i>combreria</i>	<i>confreria</i>	fraternity
<i>caapa</i>	<i>capa</i>	long outer coat of priest
<i>capela</i>	<i>capela</i>	chapel
<i>chaplin</i>	<i>capelão</i>	chaplin
<i>contha</i>	<i>conthar</i>	rosary (to count
<i>devas</i>	<i>devato</i>	loud prayer during lent
<i>darsana</i>	<i>darse</i>	people helping at church
<i>este</i>	<i>esteio</i>	arrange table to place dead body
<i>elathor</i>	<i>eleitor</i>	elector
<i>eskrador</i>	<i>escritor</i>	writer
<i>coventa</i>	<i>coventa</i>	monastery
<i>cumbinjimento</i>	<i>cumbinjimento</i>	to accompany the funeral procession
<i>kastisal</i>	<i>castiçal</i>	candlestick
<i>kathu</i>	<i>carta</i>	letter
<i>kumbassaram</i>	<i>confessor</i>	confession
<i>latinja</i>	<i>latinja</i>	litiny
<i>Natal</i>	<i>Natal</i>	Christmas
<i>novena</i>	<i>novena</i>	nine days prayer
<i>osti</i>	<i>hóstia</i>	Host (symbolic of body of Christ served during mass)
<i>pascal</i>	<i>Páscoa</i>	Easter



<i>Papa</i>	<i>Papa</i>	Pope
<i>paadiri</i>	<i>padre</i>	priest
<i>porthithor</i>	<i>porthithor</i>	piece of host
<i>presidenti</i>	<i>presidente</i>	president (one who leads the parish feast)
<i>patrameni</i>	<i>patrmónio</i>	inheritance
<i>ratal</i>	<i>retalho</i>	place to keep statues or pictures
<i>ramlethe</i>	<i>ramalhete</i>	flower carved on wood
<i>sacrari</i>	<i>sacrario</i>	tabernacle
<i>surpillis</i>	<i>surpillis</i>	white gown of priests to reach till knee
<i>sanqu</i>	<i>sanqu</i>	cloth to wipe chalice
<i>sankirty</i>	<i>sacristia</i>	place to keep articles for mass
<i>sacristan</i>	<i>sacristão</i>	sacristan
<i>stole</i>	<i>estola</i>	ecclesiastical vestmenn
<i>tocha</i>	<i>tocha</i>	large candle
<i>tiserer</i>	<i>tesoureiro</i>	treasurer
<i>viasacra</i>	<i>viasacra</i>	way of the cross
<i>visita</i>	<i>visita</i>	visit (to church)
<i>vagamente</i>	<i>vagamente</i>	amount of allowance
<i>ventosa</i>	<i>ventosa</i>	flower vase
<i>venchiripu</i>	<i>benzer</i>	to bless

*ventinja**bentinho*

scapular

## Appendix VIII

Words used among Luso-Indians

<i>almosa</i>	<i>Almoço</i>	lunch
<i>alfinete</i>	<i>alfinete</i>	safety pin
<i>bowthisam</i>	<i>baptismo</i>	baptism
<i>bole</i>	<i>bole</i>	cake
<i>bankiti</i>	<i>banquete</i>	banquet
<i>cear</i>	<i>cear</i>	supper
<i>convit</i>	<i>convit</i>	invitation
<i>kotinja</i>	<i>cotinja</i>	a beaded chain
<i>pao</i>	<i>pão</i>	bread

<i>sala</i>	<i>sala</i>	living room , hall
vassoura	vassoura	broom

Most of the Portuguese words mentioned first were used early by Luso-Indians only but slowly adopted by others. Still, there are many words in Malayalam , which are originated from Portuguese . For example, *juba* = a kind of shirt, *lavanca (elavanco)*=a rod used to husk coconuts, *machuva (manchuva ?)*=a small country boat with blunt back, *pankayam (pangaio ?)* =oar, *pingani (palangana)*=a flat dish, *revekka (rebeca ?)*= fiddle, *turunku (tronco ?)*=jail, *tamblere (tamblere ?)*=drinking vessel - the root words have to be explored.

### GREETINGS

<i>bom dia</i>	<i>bom dia</i>	good day/good morning
<i>boa tarde</i>	<i>boa tarde</i>	good afternoon
<i>boa note</i>	<i>boa noite</i>	good night

## Appendix IX

The Portuguese creole songs sing at Cochin and surrounding areas were many. These songs were usually sung during get-togethers and family functions and now , only old people sing these. In certain songs , the situation of the Luso-Indians during the seventeenth and eighteenth century also reflects.

### *Singly None, Single None*

Creole	English version
<i>Singly None, Singly None</i>	: Singly None, Singly None
<i>Eu cara case</i>	: I want to marry you
<i>Casa note porta note</i>	: No house, no gate
<i>Cale lo case ?</i>	: How can I marry you ?
<i>Servico note</i>	: I have no job

<i>Dote note</i>	: I have no dowry to pay
<i>Cale lo case ?</i>	: How can I marry you ?
<i>Morta mater um vez</i>	: Death kills only once
<i>Voce mater cada hore</i>	: You kill (me) every hour
<i>Appa lo asse</i>	: I will bake appam
<i>Minha senhor</i>	: My (dear) man
<i>Pootoo lo coze</i>	: I will cook pootoo
<i>Assim minha senhor</i>	: That way my (dear) man
<i>Nossa vida lo passé</i>	: We will live our life
<i>Voce minha frente</i>	: You are in front of me
<i>Bonito donzela</i>	: Beautiful young lady
<i>Nossa lo case</i>	: Let us get married
<i>Nona minha, Nona Portugal</i>	: My lady, lady of Portugal

### Britannia

Creole	English version
<i>O Britannia, O Britannia</i>	: Oh Britannia, O Britannia,
<i>O Britannia, linda amor Britannia</i>	Oh Britannia, my pretty love Britannia
<i>Linda amor li la lay</i>	Britannia my li la le,
<i>Britannia Linda amor</i>	Britannia my pretty love.
<i>Barco China jada vela capitão</i>	: A Chinese boat put up her sails,
<i>Querri parte Bengalina ne meo</i>	for the skipper he wanted to start,
<i>Braco li la lay</i>	Bengalena was in his arms, li la lay,
<i>Naon cavale dispida</i>	and from her it was hard to part.

- Voz ingreta disamorasa, bosa* : You are ungrateful and you are  
*Porta na vi, Eu lo vain e terra* unloving, your portals I will cross  
*Estranho, li la, lay* no more, in far lands will I roam, li, la  
*Esmolas lo pedi.* lay, begging alms from door to door.
- Vinte anno eu massel, toda terra* : My age is twenty today, in distant  
*Eu ja olha naon achar um minha li* lands I have travelled, no girl have  
*La lay, de me propri idade.* I met, li la le, whose age did  
with mine agree.
- Vosa alto fantasia quanto tempo lo* : Those fantastic notions of yours  
*Duro como folha se papel, li la lay* how long, think you, will endure?  
*Dally vento lo leva* The breeze will scatter them, li la le,  
as papers lifted from the floor.

### Marilihia

Creole

English version

- Onti noite intire eu ne vossa porta* : All last night I was at your gate,  
*Morrendo cum frio sin* dying of the cold and unknowing  
*acha um reposta,* my fate
- Marilihia dai me consalção, tirai* : Marilihia, console me with love,  
*Dor de corção* and the pain from my heart remove.
- Amor manda chama eu na sabe* : Love made me , but no way  
*Caminho, fortuna sercade cum* can I find, and a crown of thorns

- Corna dispigna* : my fortune doth bind.
- Amor nouka dava ninguem* : Love yields no bliss, and night and  
*Allegria se lagry tristi de noite* : day, in tears am I bedewed always
- Fogue de fougou cum agua se* : Water, the fire of the oven  
*Paka, fugue de me peite cum* : extinguisheth, the fire of my heart  
*Morti se paka* : will be consumed but my death.
- Parmi ja acha um lenço riba de* : on our kitchen top a kerchief did I  
*Cousigna lance cougueside de* : find, and it bore the name of our  
*Nossa Rossigna* : Roshinha kind.
- Parmi tignere un amor tode* : The soldiers in barracks, nay , all  
*Tignere noya, a ta na barrac ne* : men envied me , the love of a girl  
*Boca de soldadi* : who greatly loved me
- Olha, quante vi treze massev curto* : Yonder come three youth of statre  
*Aquely de meio golose de poot* : all short, the one in the middle's  
: age greedy for put.
- Ja sande candia sin bata azeite* : Save oil in the lamp, it will not  
*Senhora disti casa corçoã laiti* : shed light, the heart of my,  
: Hostess, as milk it is pure white.
- Ja sei um lua fronte se meu rosta* : A moon before my face doth rise  
*Ja vira saphire contre diamonti* : and sapphire with diamond in  
: splendor vies.
- Magry massev masseve affemade* : Beware the slender youth, the girl  
*Eli lo levai parvos enganade* : faced boy, by artful wiles he will  
: thee decay.
- Se querrai tama amor* : Seek you love, then home come  
*Vine mingana terra* : with me , your fair form a ship  
*Corp fasez barc* : whose sails your arms be.  
*Braco fasez vella*

- Sequerre tama amor, inda vem* : Seek you love, then come child  
*Crianca deitado ne cole* to my breast, lie still in my lap  
*Tomar confianca* and fear not to trust.
- Marilia minha Marilia* : Marilila my Marilia  
*Minha doce coração* My sweet heart  
*Abri vossa boca* open your mouth  
*Dai me consoloção* and give me consolation.
- Cada viz que eu limbro* : Whenever I think of your welfare,  
*De vossa bonade* My heart becomes sad  
*Coroção fica triste* And my eyes filled with tears.  
*Olhos salted large.*
- Eu com vos juntado* : You and I together vowed a  
*Ja fez hum concerto* vow that we should not die apart,  
*Nada morrer longe* But should always together.  
*Senad vossa Puerto.*
- Ai do mino que for fazer* : What is there for me to do  
*Sendo nada considerar* I can think of nothing,  
*Sequeminte for amado* For the sake of love  
*Para hoje eu penar.* I am pain today.

**Papa gaio vade - Green parrot**

- Papa gaio vade* : Green parrot  
*Santhad en tha save* Sitting on the fence  
*Batha bath agu* Bearts its wings  
*Panja manga vede.* Picks a green mango.

**Anala de Ouro - Ring of Gold**

*Anala do ouro* : Golden ring  
*Saith padra junthe* With seven stones  
*Caim cara isse* whoever wants the ring  
*Casa minja junthu* Marry me.

### Três Rosas - Three Roses

*Eu pas sa po bassa pota* : I was passing through your garden  
*Parda fini chucha na pai* A fine stone pierced my foot  
*Ce mal dithu thras minyana* Three flirtatious girls  
*Panja rosa cum so pai.* Plucked roses with their feet.

*Rosa prathu, Rosa brancu* : Black rose , white rose  
*Rosa varde cavalathu* Green tomboyish rose  
*Isie thras rosa* These three roses  
*Fasa parmi pathuvadu.* Troubled me.

*Anatha da unka consalaism* : Anatha give me consolation  
*Theru minja donu da coraisam* Take the owner from my heart  
*Jafoy panja rosa, Anatha* I went to pick up roses Anatha  
*Nay althu monthony, Anatha.* On the high mountain, Anatha

*Anatha da unca consolation* : Anatha give me consolation  
*There minja there donu* Take the owner from my heart  
*Jafoy panja rosa, Anatha* I went to pick roses , Anatha  
*Nay althu monthany, Anantha* On the high mountain , Anatha



*Rosa ja thum greethi, Anatha*  
*Eu ja tha um cararu, Anatha.*

Roses gave a scream, Anatha  
 I fled Anatha.

### **Appendix X**

**The plaque unveiled by Dr.Mario Soares, President of the Republic of Portugal at the Vasco da Gama Square at Cochin on 29<sup>th</sup> January 1992**

*Neste cidade de Cochim se iniciou em 1500 do convivio das culturos Asiatica e Europia de que foram precursoris os povas Indiano e Portuguese ; em memoria do que se colocou esta la pide por ocaasio da visita a Cochim do presidente da Republica Portuguesa Dr.Mario Soares a 29 de Janeiro de 1992*

This city of Cochin witnessed in the year 1500 the encounter between the Asian and European cultures, the pioneers of which were the people of India and Portugal ; in memory of the event, this commemorative plaque was installed on the occasion of the visit to Cochin of the President of the Republic of Portugal, Dr.Mario Soares, on the 29<sup>th</sup> January 1992

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## Appendix XI

### **A sample of the creole Portuguese used at the house of Mr.Stanley De Cruz, at Cannanore ( collected in 2005)**

- Bosse´ nome ki ?* : What is your name ?
- Minha nome Stanley* : My name is Stanley
- Bose onte thei fika ?* : Where are you living ?
- Yo Canannore te fika.* : I am staying at Cannanore.
- Bose cante creiansas ?* : How many children have you ?
- Perme therse creiansas* : I have three children.
- Perme das mache cum unhe femme* : How many boys and girls ?
- Olothe thude ja kasse ?* : Are they married ?

*Cannanore dentre cantha schola the ?* : How many schools are there in  
Cannanore ?

*Dos schola the.* : There are two schools.

*Bosse casa per the praya the ?* : Is the sea close to your house ?

*Bosse igrej nome ki ?* : What is the name of your church ?

*Nossa igreje's nome Holy Trinity* : Our church's name is Holy Trinity

*Oje bose ki ja comer ?* : What did you eat today ?

*Yo arose cum carne ja comme* : I ate rice and meat today

*Bose Portuguese lo converse ?* : Do you speak Portuguese ?

## Appendix XII

### Few Creole Words used at Telicherry/Cannanore

Caval	: horse	casa	: house
Vaka	: cow	cavasse	: head
Cabare	: goat		
Porc	: pig	Lingue	: tongue
Assethe	: oiol		
Galeenja	: fowl		
Peshee	: fish		
Grande	: big		
Picane	: small		
Homme	: man		
Mullere	: woman		

Figgrande	:	banana
Aage	:	water
Café	:	coffee
Cha	:	tea
Laite	:	milk
Cadera	:	chair
Maisa	:	table
Spectacles	:	occils
Livre	:	book
Mau	:	hand
Pe	:	leg
Boca	:	mouth

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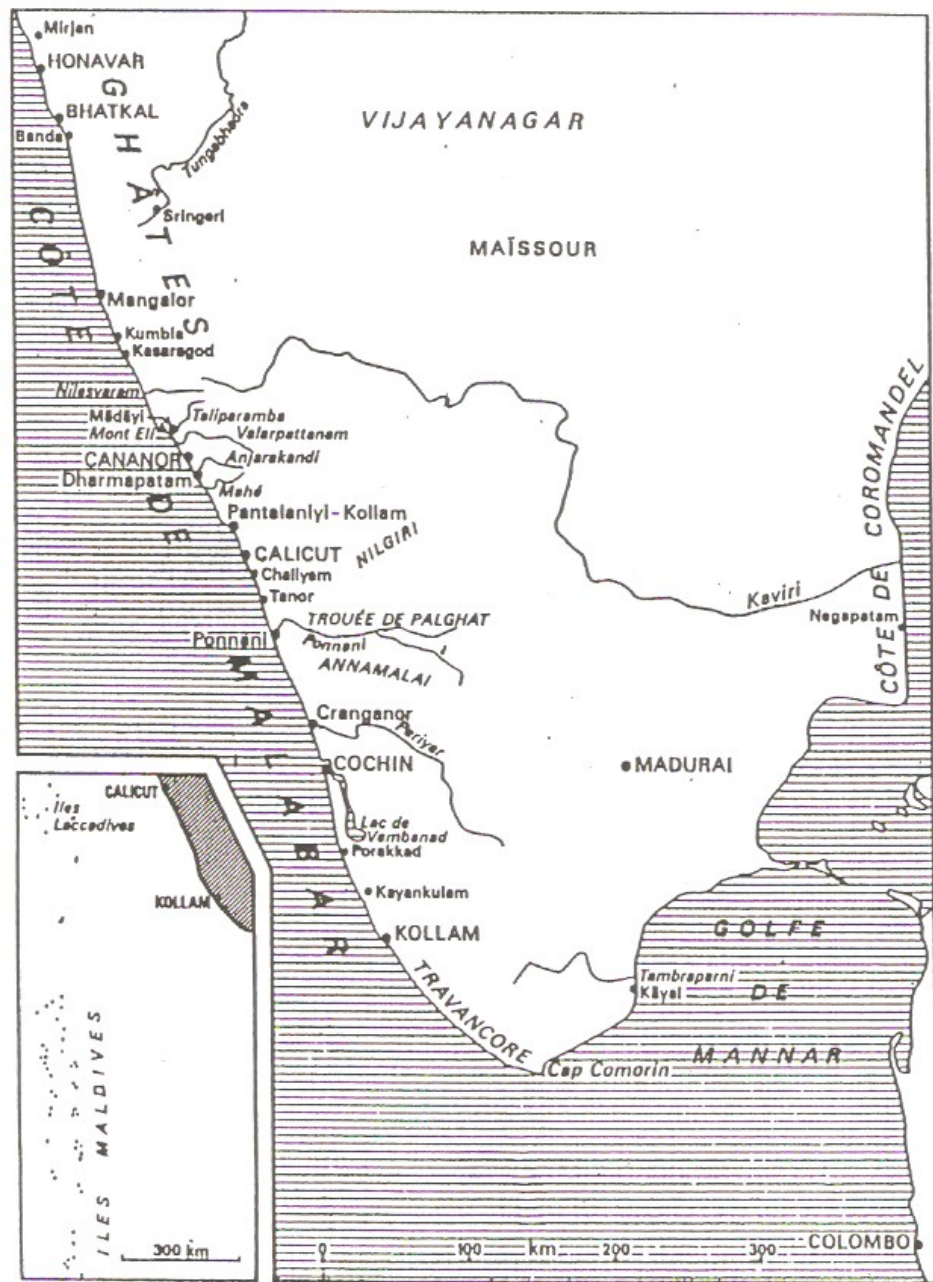
## GLOSSARY

Armada	: Portuguese naval fleet
Banquitti	: Banquet
Bazarucos	: Indo-Portuguese copper coin worth 1/75 of a <i>tanga</i>
Câmara	: Municipality
Capitão-mor	: Portuguese caption major
Caravela	: Portuguese sailing ship
Carreira	: Portuguese navigational route
Cartaz	: A card, used to denote a pass enabling the the ship to sail on a special route, during the Portuguese supremacy .
Casa da India	: India House in Lisbon
Casado	: Portuguese man married to native woman and settled in the colony.
Casticos	: Those born in Asia of Portuguese parents
Chatta	: An upper garment introduced by the Portuguese ,commonly used by Luso-Indians in their homes.
Chavers	: Mercenary soldiers
Christão	: Christian
Cofereria	: Confraternity
Cruzado	: Portuguese gold coin worth 400 <i>reis</i>
Devaswam	: Property belonging to the temple
Escrivão	: Writer
Esmol	: Alms
Estado da India	: The Portuguese State of India

Feitoria	: Portuguese factory
Fidalgo	: Portuguese word literally means son of a Somebody.
Gramam	: Settlement of Brhamins
Grandhavari	: Manuscript of royal families , usually written On cadjan leaves.
Irmão	: Brother
Kebaya	: Dress worn by Malacan women, later Introduced in Kerala and still worn by Luso-Indian women in interior villages.
Kalari	: Gymnasium and place to learn martial arts In Kerala.
Kappiri	: Negro
Koottam	: Assembly of elders of the village
Kovilakam	: Royal house
Koyma	: Lordship
Ladinha	: Litany
Lanthakkar	: People from Holland, the Duth
Lascar	: Soldier
Laudate	: Thanksgiving song in Latin, usually sung by Luso-Indians before conclusion of the banquet.
Leilão	: Auction
Luso-Indians	: Persons or progenies of mixed parentage of the Portuguese men and Indian women.
Mesticos	: Those born in Asia of Portuguese and Indian parentage.

Misericordia	: Holy House of Mercy
Mestre	: Master craftsman
Moors	: Muslims from Middle East
Mullatos	: Progenies of European and Negro parentage
Natu or naadu	: Province
Naduvazhi	: Provincial ruler
Ola	: Palm leaf for writing
Orfãs del rei	: Orphans sent by the king of Portugal
Padroado	: Portuguese patronage
Pagament	: Payment
Papa	: Pope
Parangi	: Portuguese or Portuguese descendants In Kerala
Paradesi	: Foreigner, used for Middle Eastern Muslim In the South West India.
Raja	: King
Reinos	: Those born in aristocratic family
Sanketam	: The buildings and land controlled and protected by temple authorities
Soldado	: Portuguese man, contradiction to Casado
Sollteiro	: Portuguese bachelor
Swarupam	: Independent principality
Tanga	: Indo-Portuguese silver coin worth 60 reis.
Tavazhi	: Maternal lineage

Topasses	: Literally means interpreter or translator, a word used for Portuguese descendants during Dutch period.
Udayavar	: Lord of the territory.
Varna	: The four fold division of Malabar society
Vedor da fazenda	: Treasurer of the estate
Vinho	: Wine
Xerafin	: Indo-Portuguese silver coin worth 300 reis.
Zamorin	: Ruler of Calicut



The coast of Malabar in the early sixteenth century







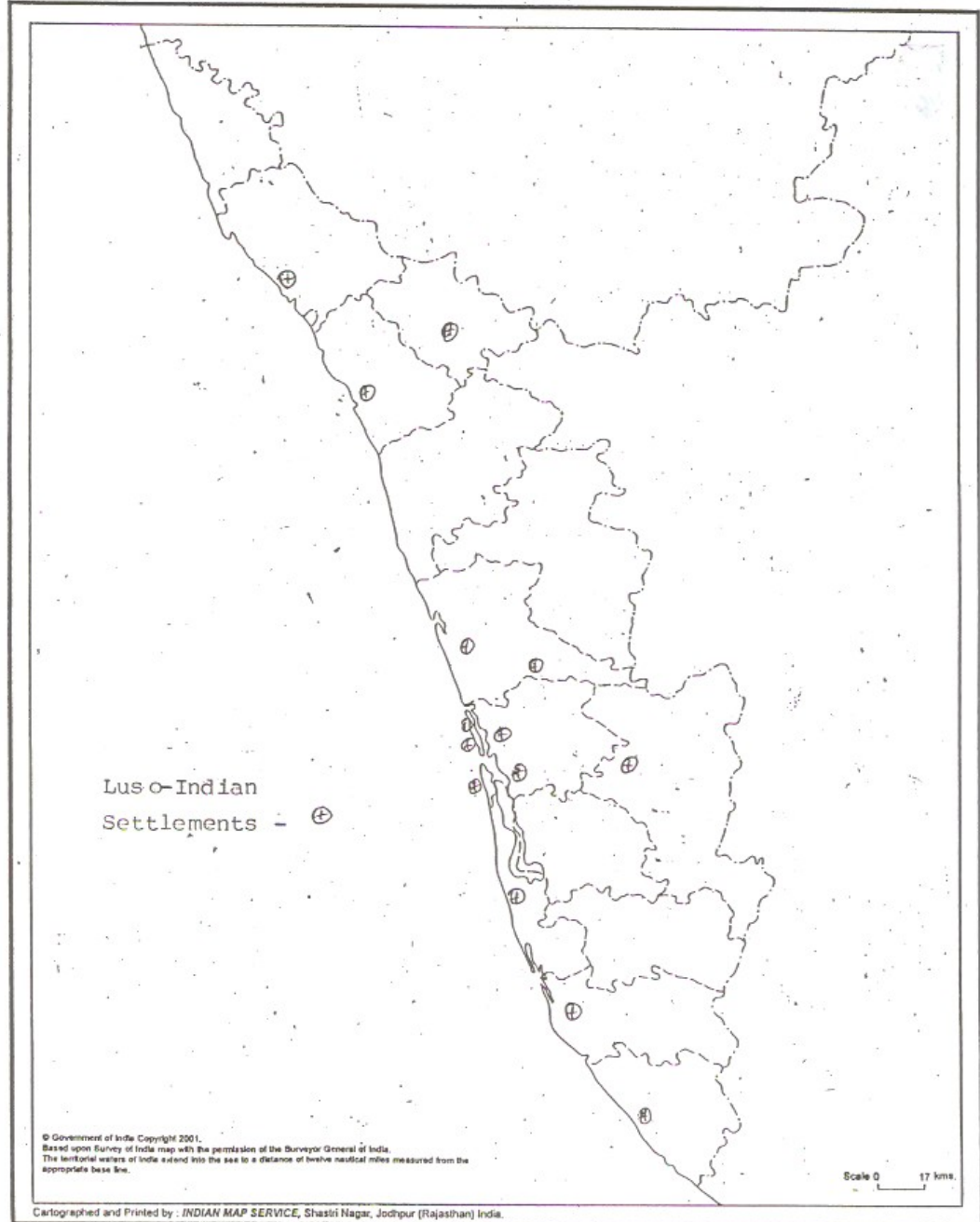


VASCO DA GAMA.

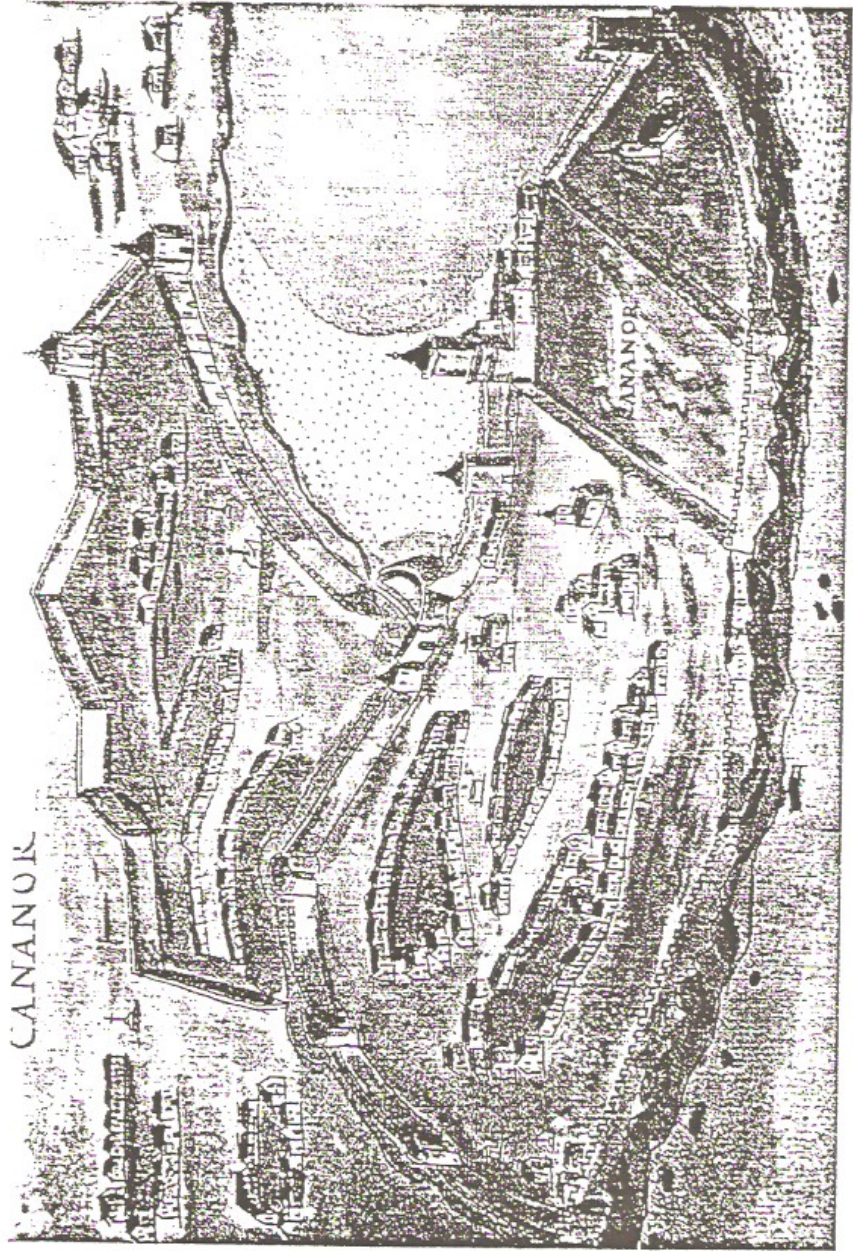
*From an Old Engraving in the British Museum.*

KERALA - Political

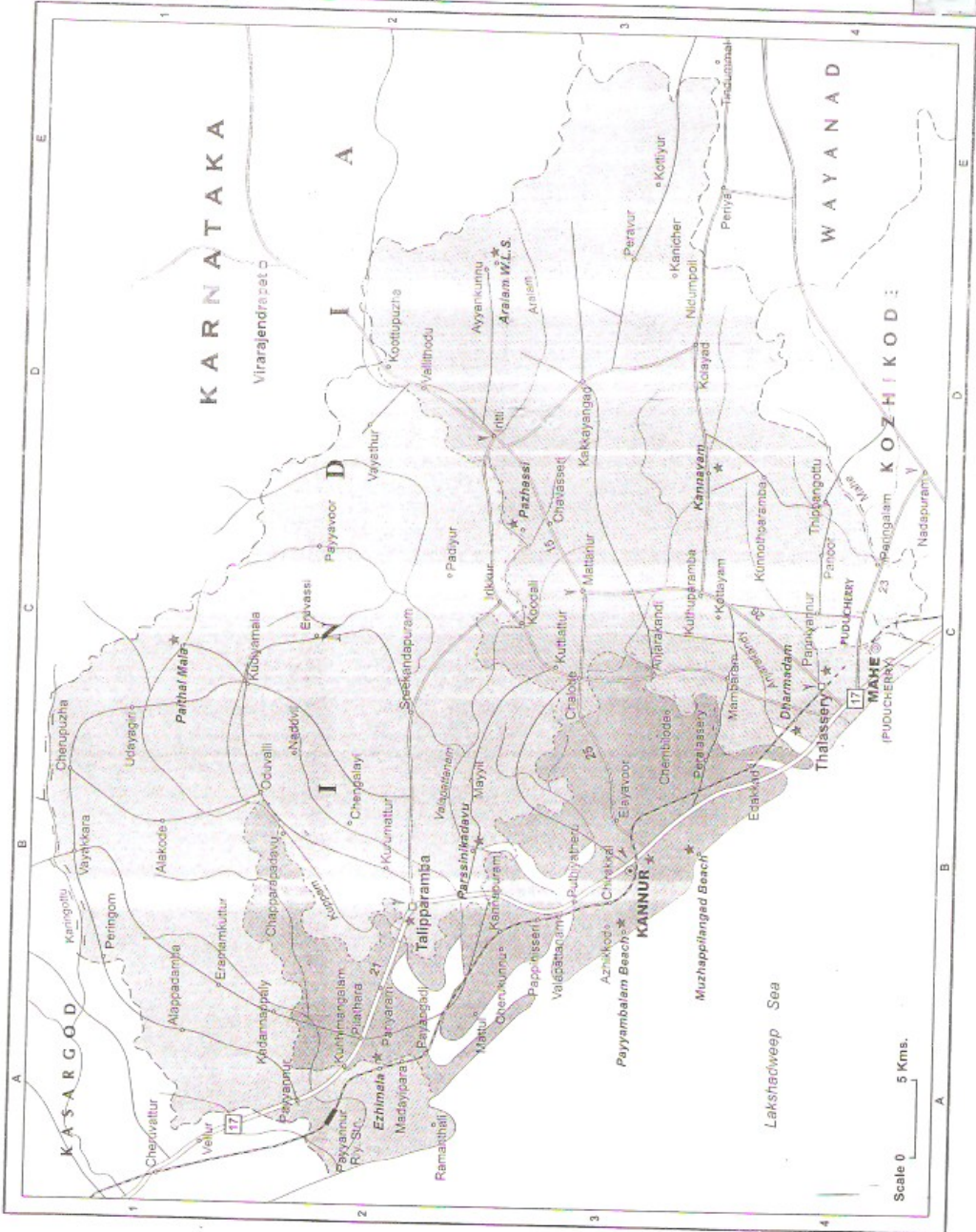
Luso-Indian Settlements







# KANNUR DISTRICT



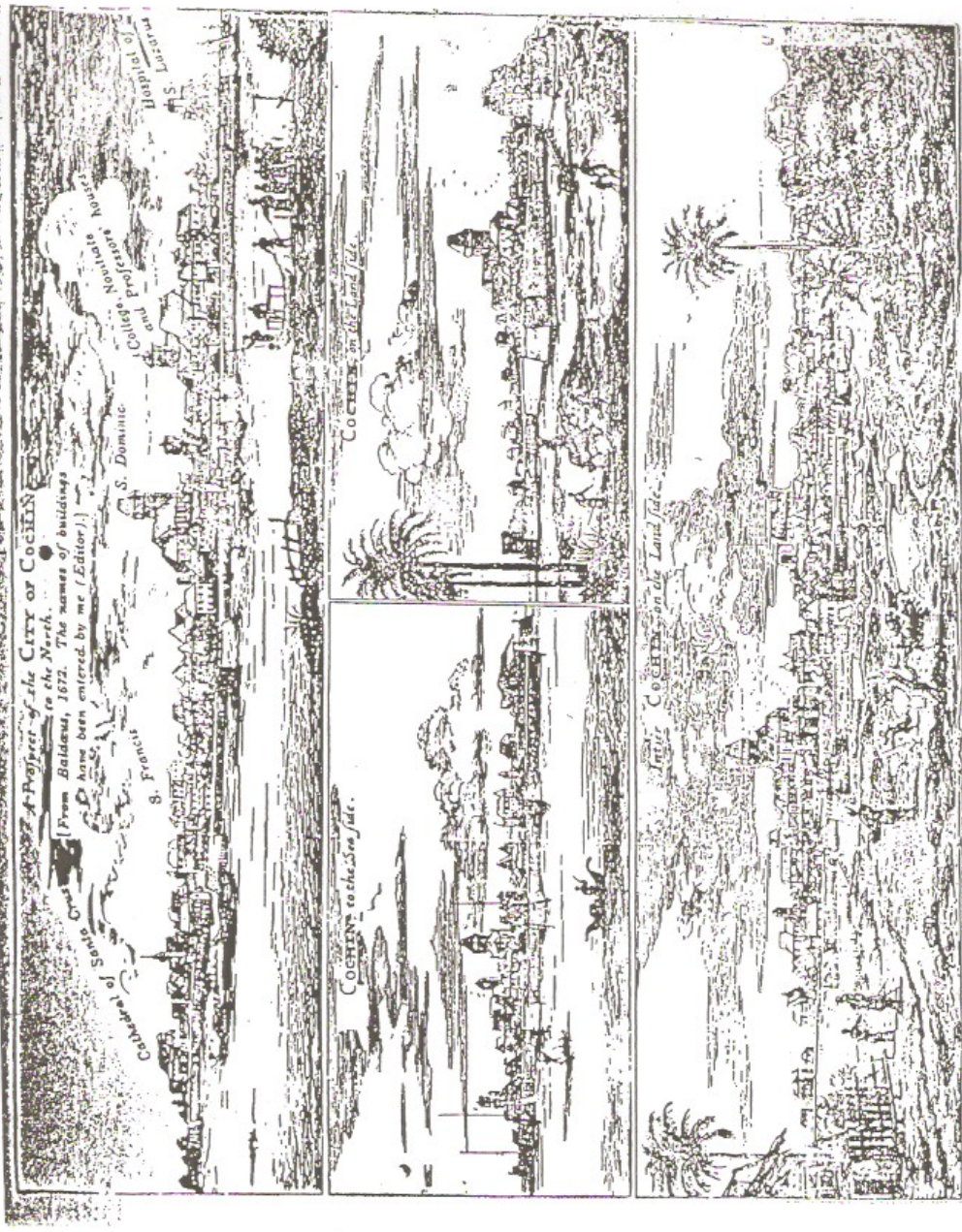
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Alonso de Albuquerque. 2° -





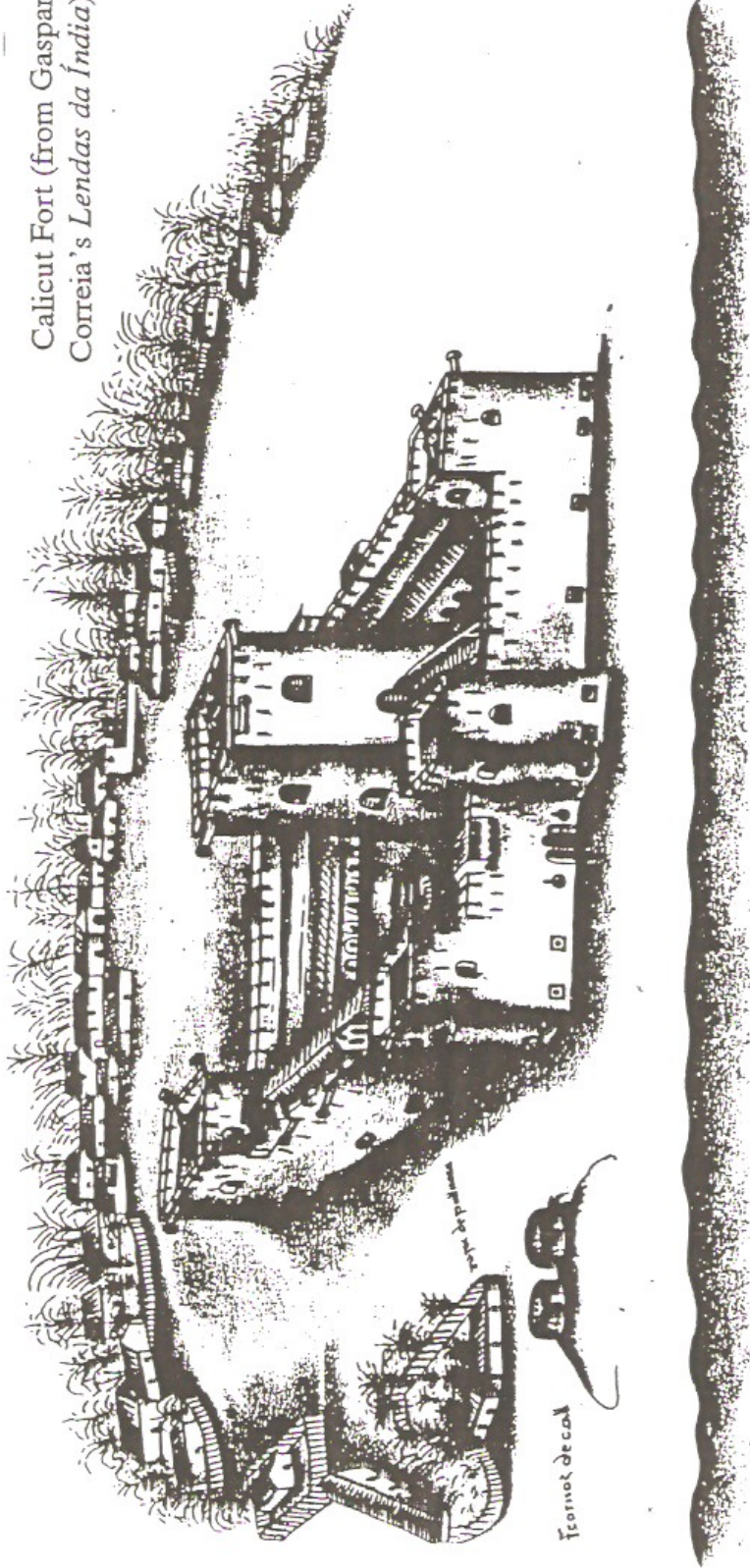
Cochin during the Portuguese period-from various angles



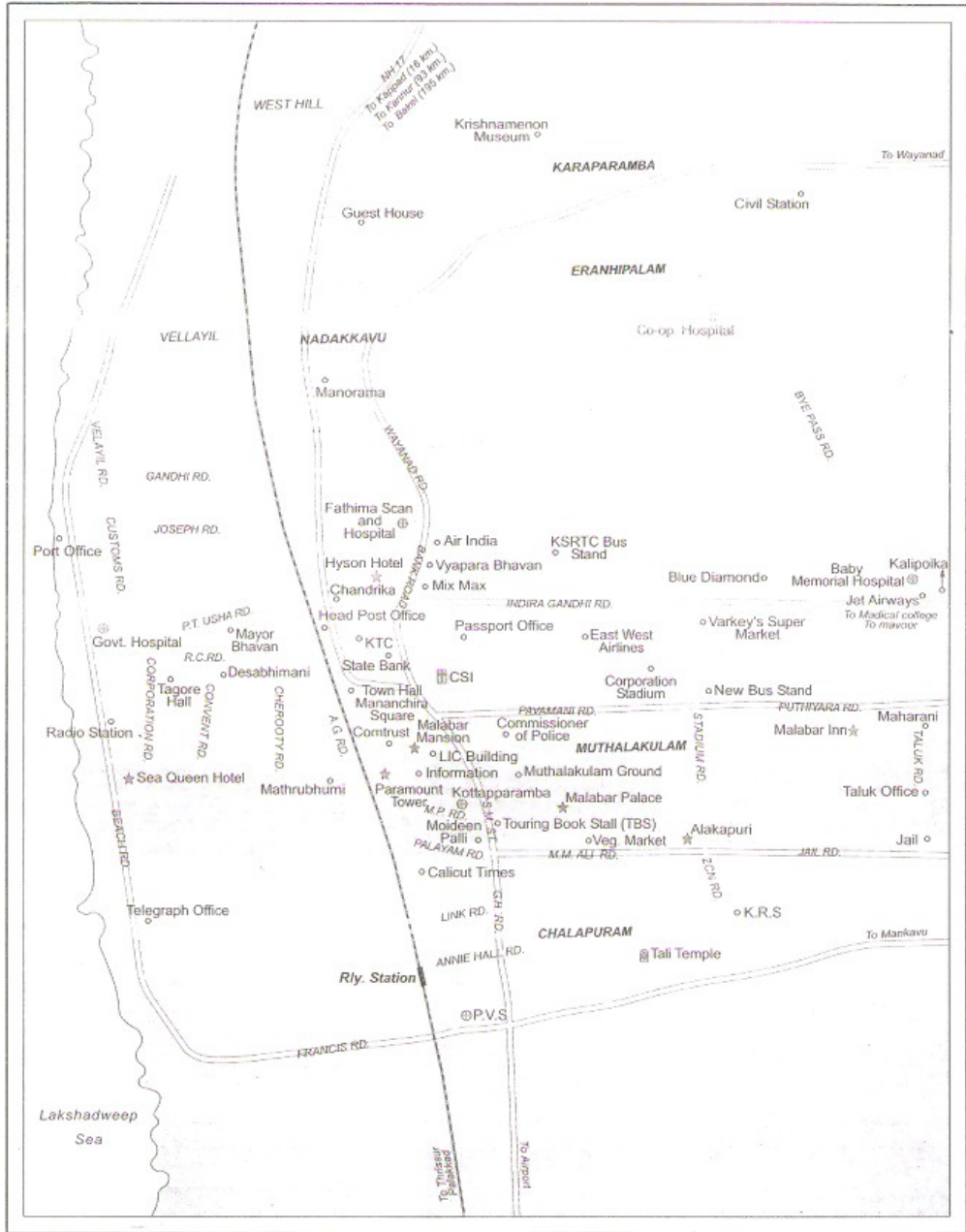
*Este desenho do século XVI é uma das provas mais evidentes da política de casamentos luso-indianos fomentada por D. Afonso de Albuquerque — um fidalgo português conversando com uma mulher indiana já convertida ao Cristianismo.*



Calicut Fort (from Gaspar  
Correia's *Lendas da Índia*)



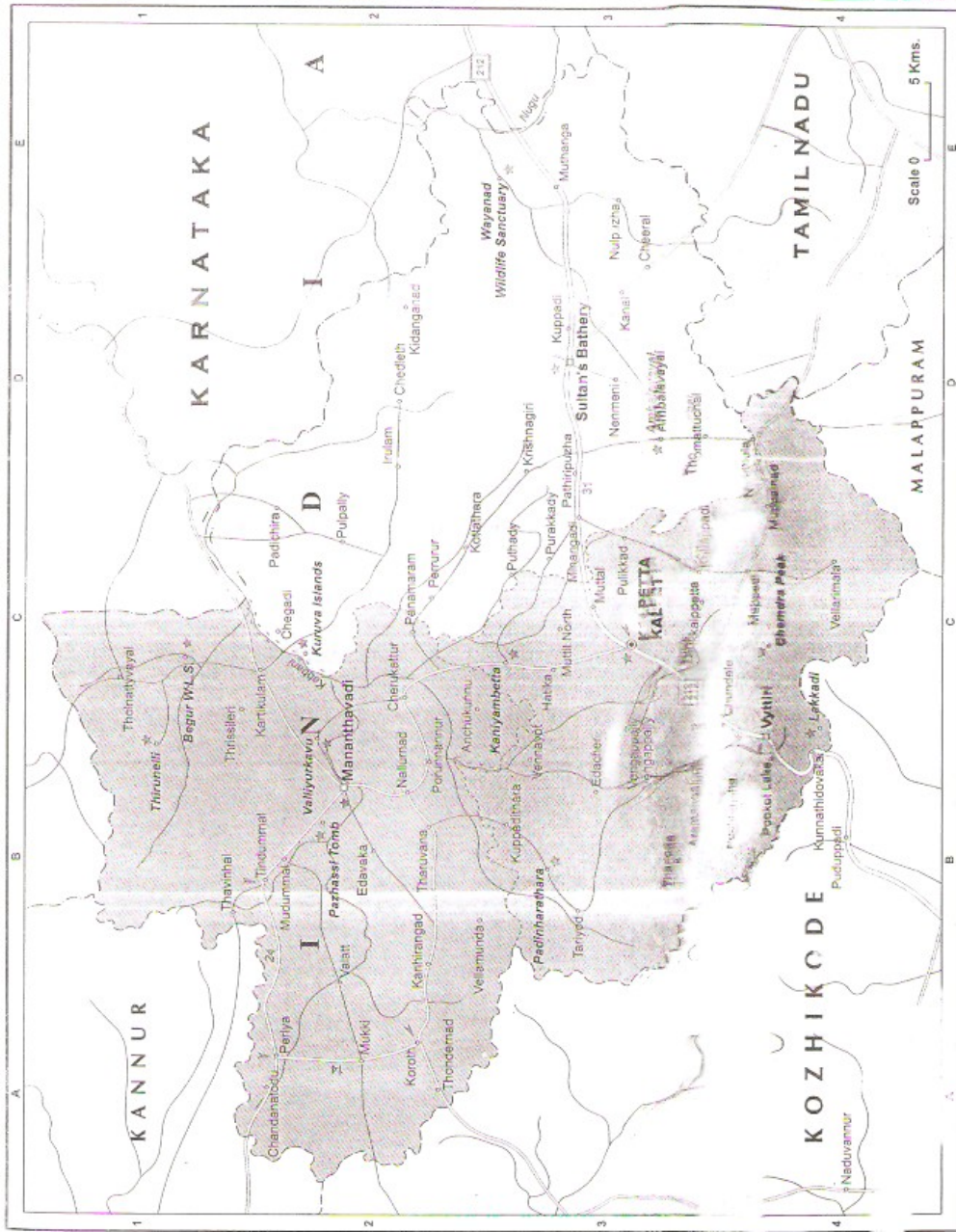
# KOZHIKODE CITY







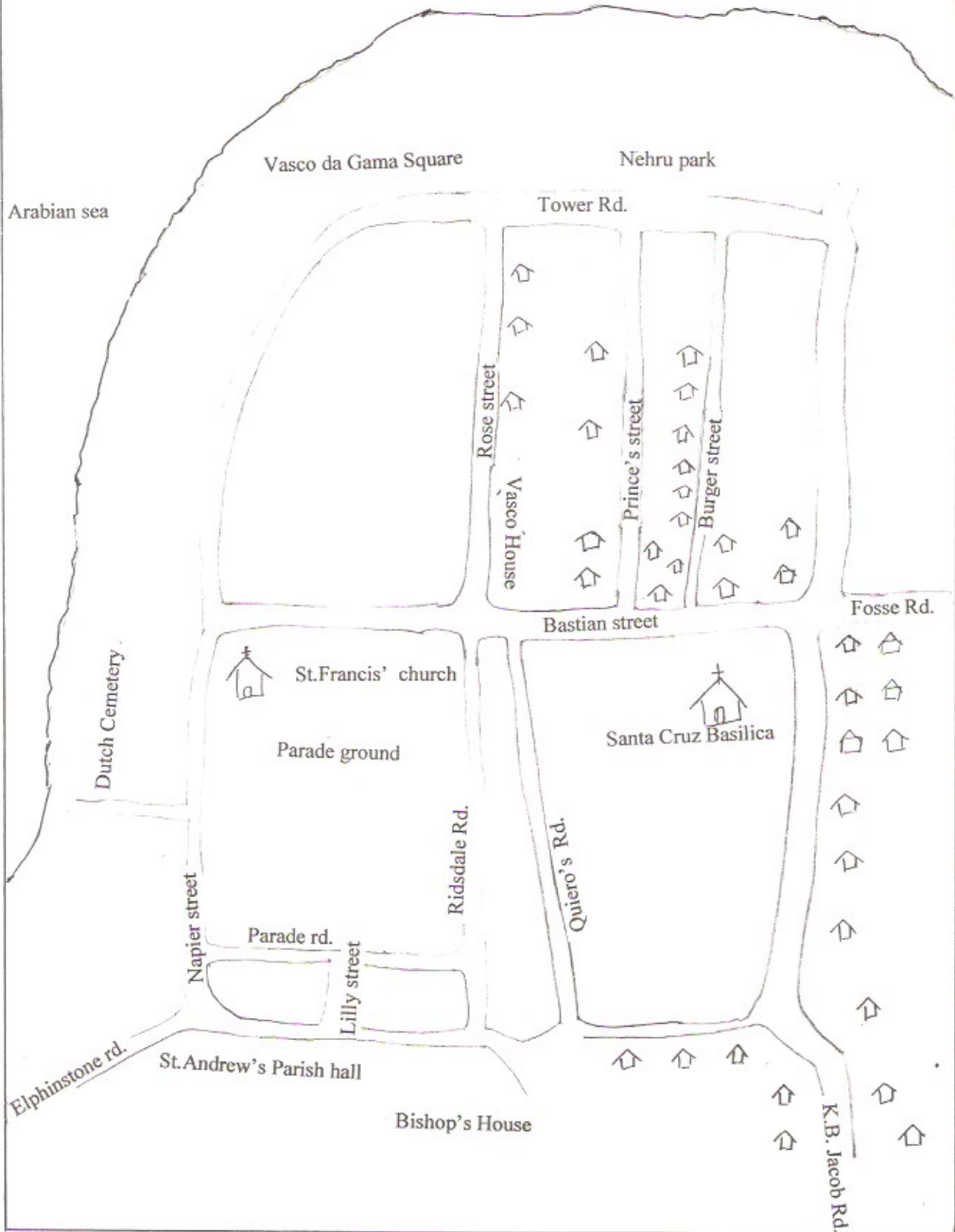
# WAYANAD DISTRICT



# Luso-Indian Settlements at Fort Cochin

N

Backwaters (sea-mouth)





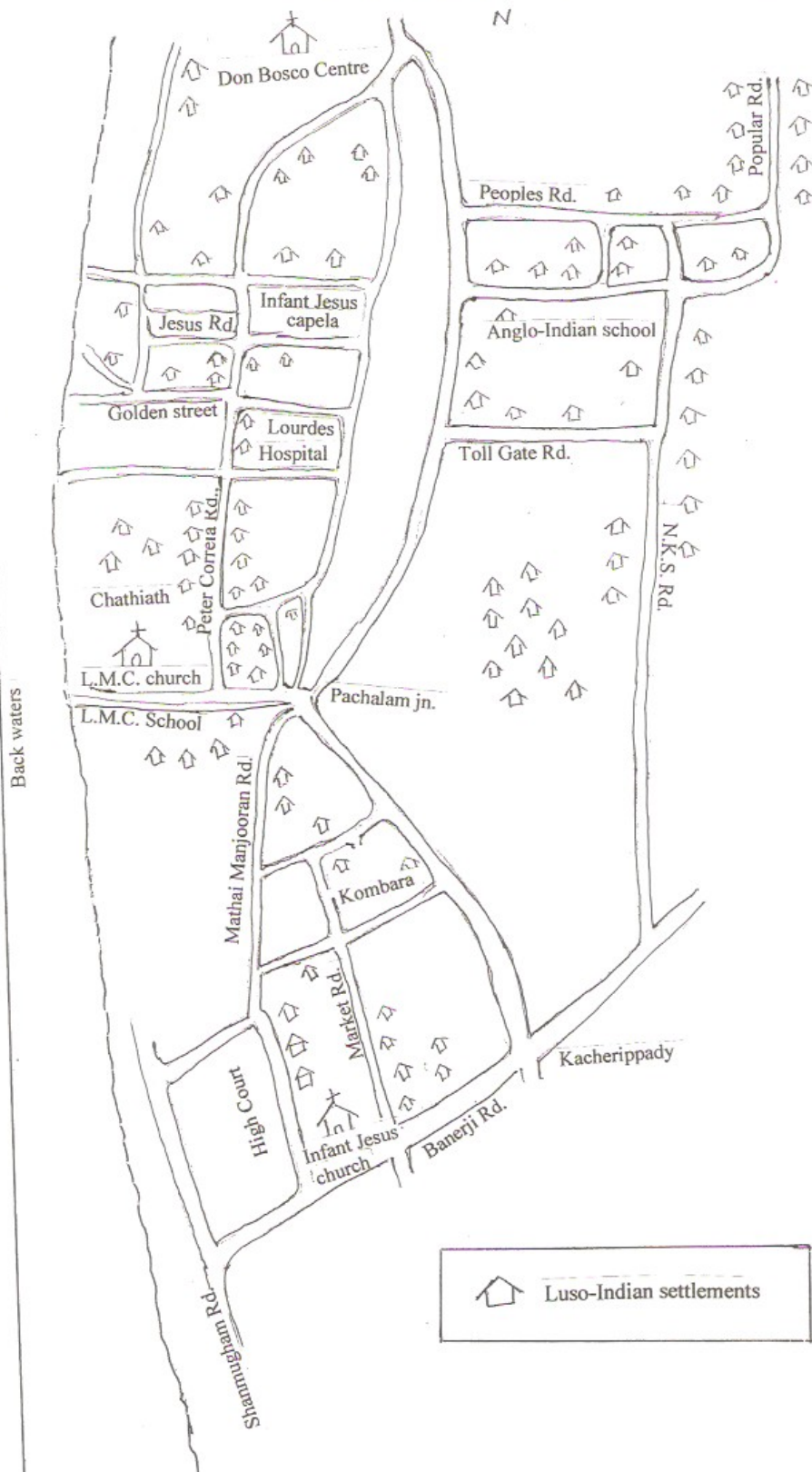








# Luso-Indian Settlements at Ernakulam



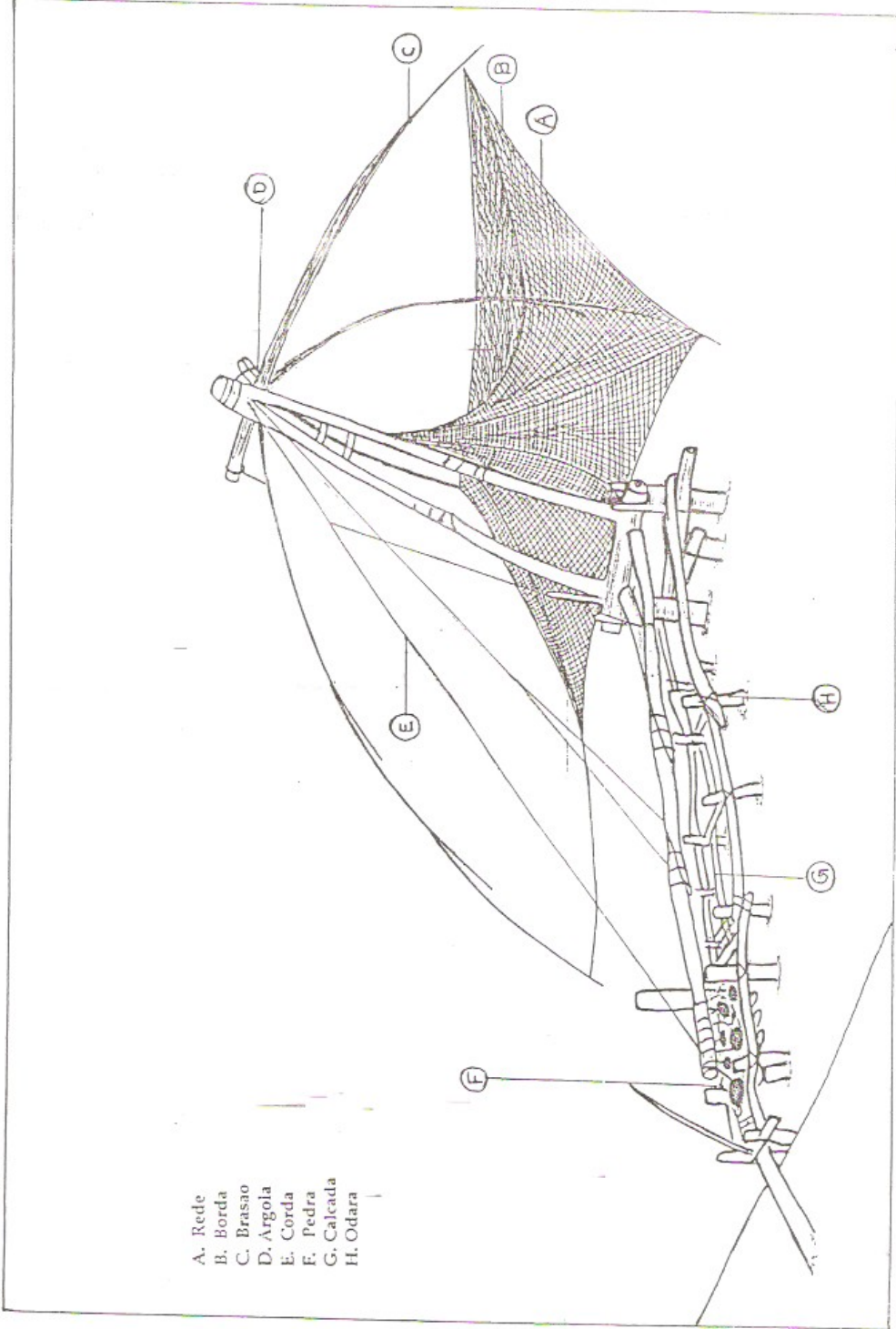








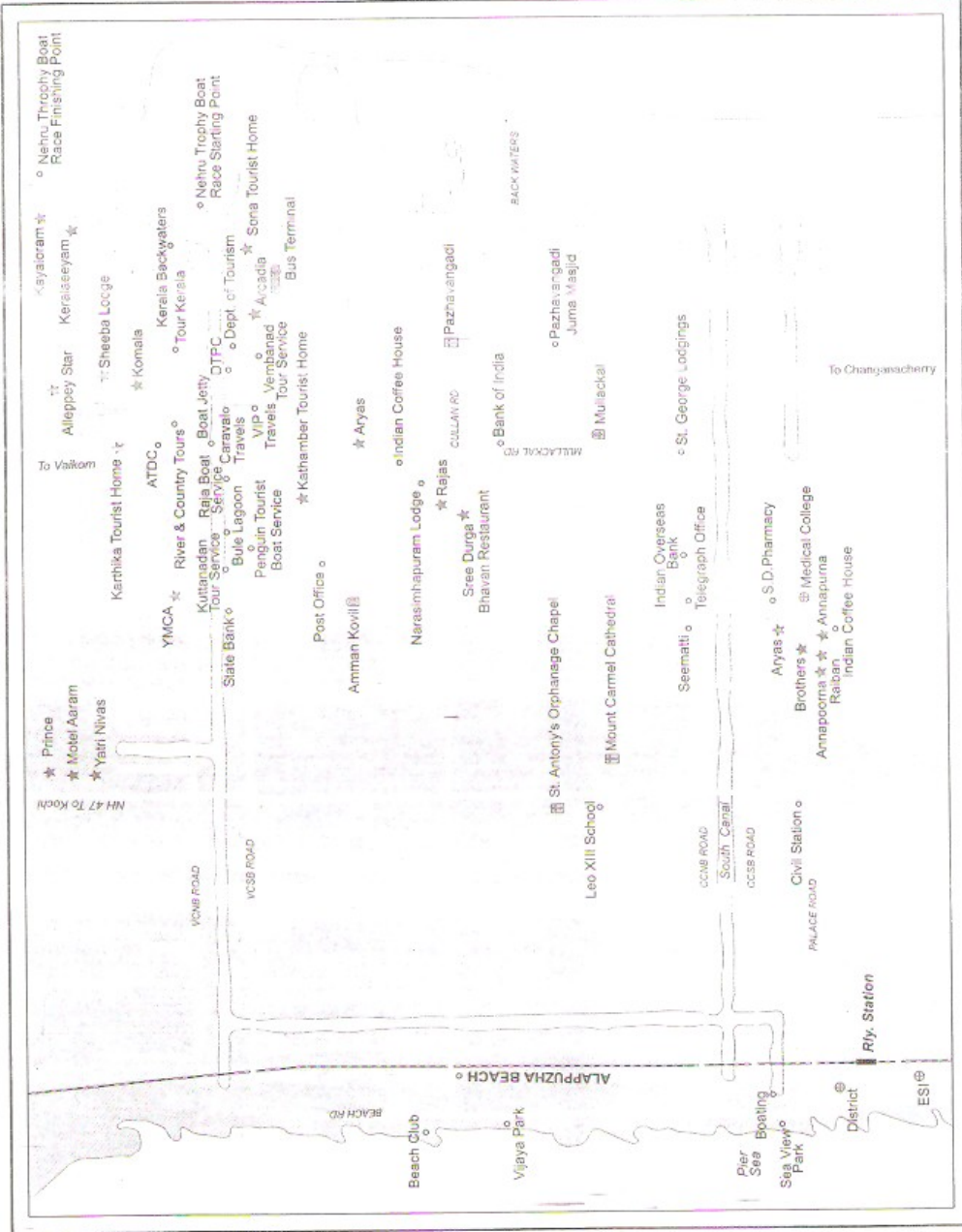




- A. Rede
- B. Borda
- C. Brasao
- D. Argola
- E. Corda
- F. Pedra
- G. Calcada
- H. Odara

Chinese-net of Cochin

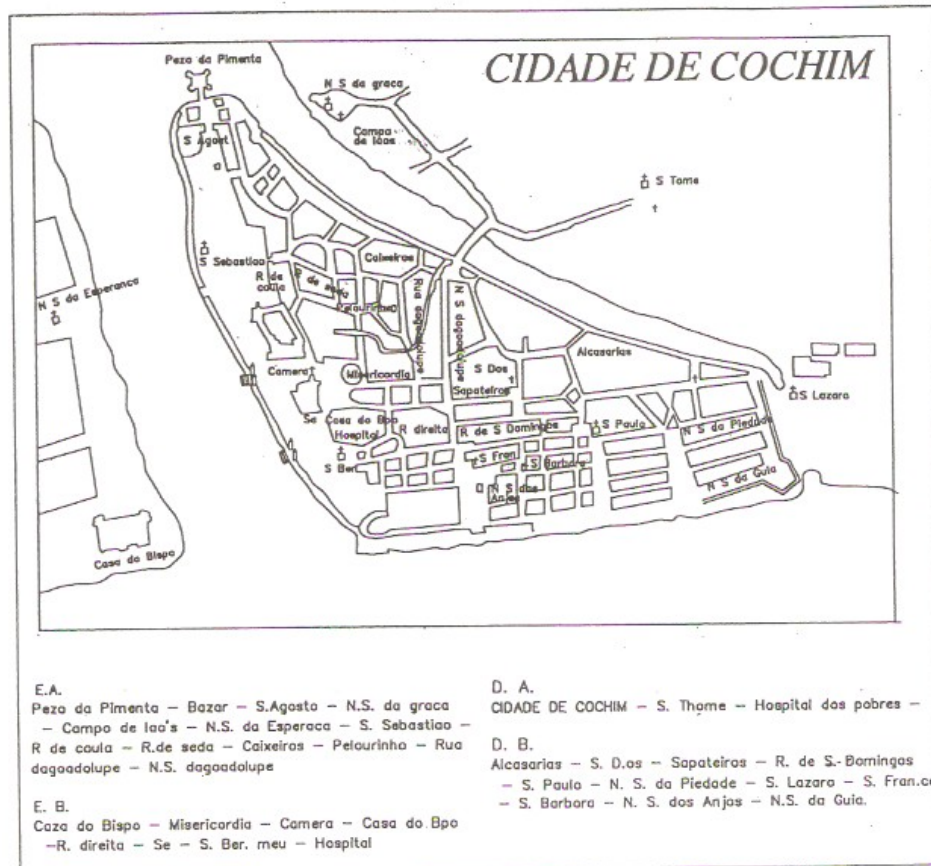
# ALAPPUZHA CITY





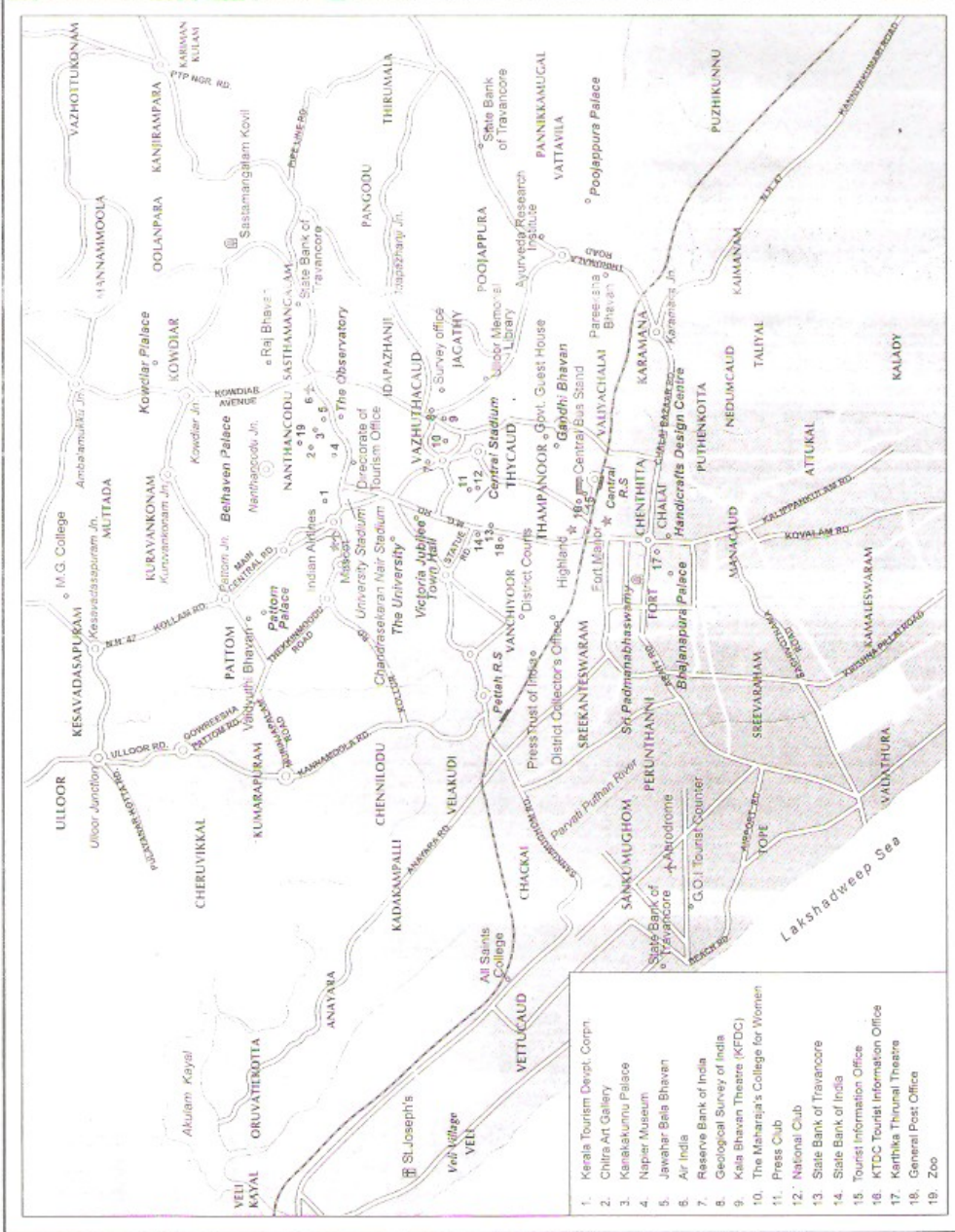






Plan 1: The Plan of Cochin showing the Development of the City. The plan is based on the plan given in Luiz da Silveira, *Livro das plantas, Fortalezas, cidades e povoações do Estado da India Oriental, com as descrições do maritimo dos reinos e provinciais onde estão situados e outros portos principais daqueles partes, contribuição para a historia das fortalezas dos Portugueses no Ultramar*. Reproduction of the Codice no. 1471 existing in the Biblioteca do Paço Ducal de vila Viçosa, Lisboa, 1991, no. 72, p. 88.





1. Kerala Tourism Develpt. Corpn
2. Chitra Art Gallery
3. Kailakummu Palace
4. Napier Museum
5. Jawahar Bala Bhavan
6. Air India
7. Reserve Bank of India
8. Geological Survey of India
9. Kala Bhavan Theatre (KFDC)
10. The Maharaja's College for Women
11. Press Club
12. National Club
13. State Bank of Travancore
14. State Bank of India
15. Tourist Information Office
16. KTDC Tourist Information Office
17. Karthika Thirunal Theatre
18. General Post Office
19. Zoo





*Soulinge*



*Pente-frito*



*Cheda*



*Bolo*







Kabaya : A dress worn by Luso-Indian women







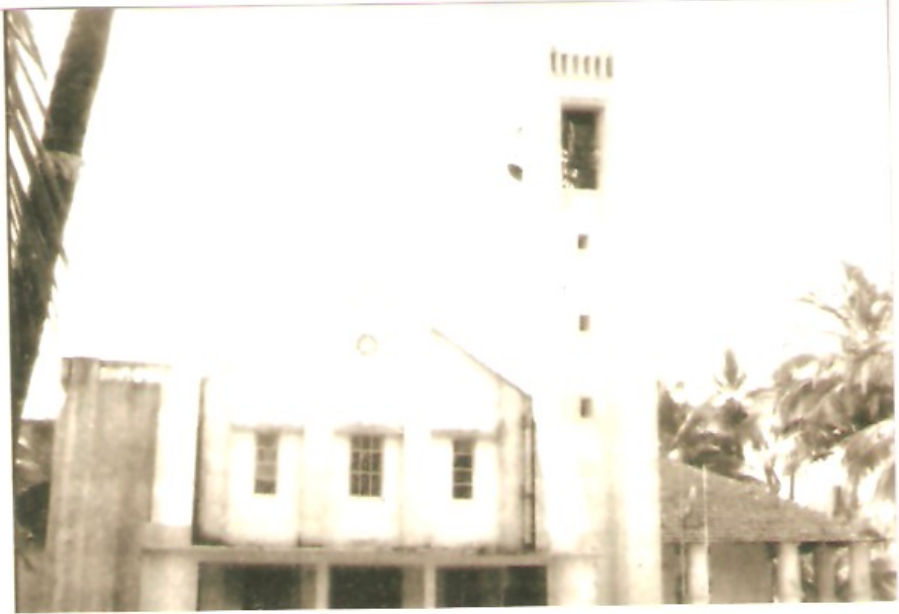




















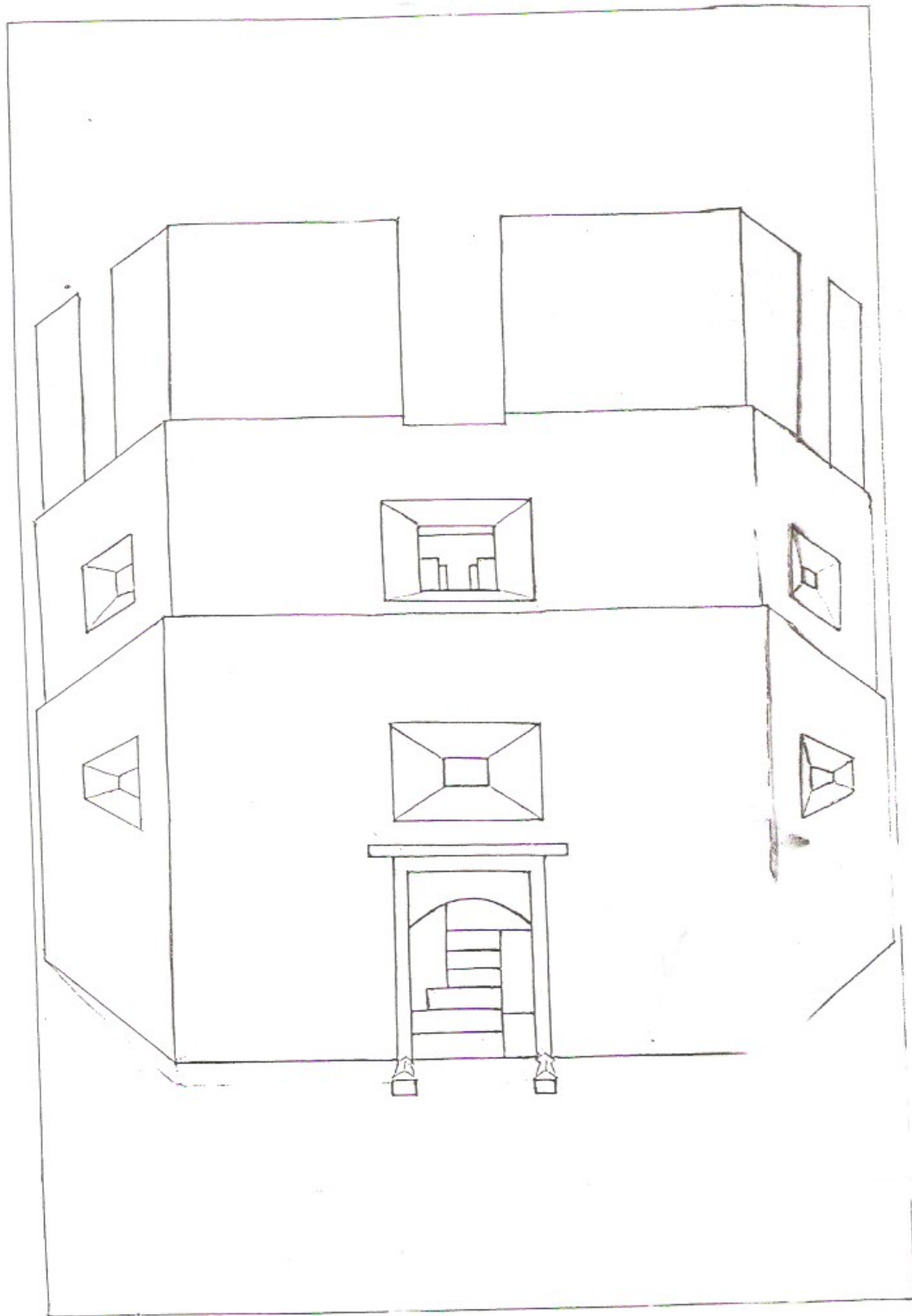












The Pallipuram Fort





