

patronage and protection to the *Paradesi* Jews but also by assigning certain special politico-economic roles to the latter that eventually kept their position over and above that of the Black Jews in the social ladder. The commercial expertise of some of these *Paradesi* Jews was also made use of for carrying out the trading activities of the king of Cochin. Thus, for example, in the beginning of the seventeenth century with the increasing accumulation of wealth, the king of Cochin began to invest sizeable wealth and utilize the commercial expertise of the Jewish traders along with some Muslim merchants, to transship commodities to Mecca and other Ottoman ports in the Red Sea.¹¹¹ The king of Cochin had by this time emerged as a key personality in Malabar politics with huge wealth amassed by way of customs duty (about 60,000 to 80,000 *pardaos* per year).¹¹² In the process of his political assertions, the king of Cochin depended upon the advice of *Paradesi* Jews such as David Levi and Samuel Castiel, whom he appointed as his councilors at different time phases. Meanwhile, the *Paradesi* Jews, because of their closeness to the power center and with their representatives acting as *mudaliars*, carved out sizeable power and prestige positions in the Jewish community of Cochin, a development that intensified the process of social stratification within the Jewish community by keeping the White Jews at the top and the Black Jews on the bottom.

Meanwhile the presence of the Dutch in the Indian waters in the initial decades of the seventeenth century emboldened the Jews of Cochin to connect with the anti-Portuguese forces operating in the Indian Ocean region. From the end of the fifteenth century onward, when most of the expelled Iberian Jews moved to Antwerp and Low countries, where they played a vital role in the development of commercial capitalism, the Dutch were viewed as a philosemitic nation. It seems that the Dutch visited Cochin at the invitation of Perumpadappu king in 1618 and the consequent talks for an alliance between the Dutch and the king of Cochin was facilitated by the *Paradesi* Jews of Mattancherry, particularly under the leadership of the Levi family, which acted as an intermediary interacting with both the parties.¹¹³ In 1619, the king of Cochin made David Levi, a member of the *Paradesi* Jewish family of Levi from Mattancherry *mudaliar* and his ambassador. It seems that this development took place as a sequel to a Dutch visit in 1618 probably to cement the newly forged ties with the Dutch.¹¹⁴ Immediately after the occupation of Cochin in 1663, the Dutch preferred to have a member from the Levi family as *mudaliar* and the elevation of David Levi to the charge of *mudaliar*¹¹⁵ is suggestive of their earlier links, which must have started in the second decade of the seventeenth century.

In the second half of the 1620s Samuel Castiel was made the principal councilor and interpreter to the king of Cochin, a political development that also accelerated the process of upward mobility of *Paradesi* Jews in the social ladder. Taking his advice, the king of Cochin started looking into the prospects of forging economic ties with new allies and partners. The king of Cochin entered into diplomatic contacts with the Sultan of Aceh, Iskandar Muda, whose ambassador was warmly received by the former in 1627.¹¹⁶ Samuel Castiel's authority was also traceable in the capture of the island of Bendure (Venduruthi) in 1629 from the Portuguese. Though it had been previously granted to D. Gaspar de Azevedo by an earlier king of Cochin, the incumbent ruler of Cochin under the influence of Samuel Castiel captured the island from the Portuguese and added it to his kingdom.¹¹⁷ Thus we find that while extending patronage, the very ruler of Cochin himself was, to a certain extent, being influenced with regard to the course of his commercial and political policies by the advice of the *Paradesi* Jewish traders.

During the period between 1642 and 1643 there was acute tension between the Portuguese and the *Paradesi* Jewish leader, Samuel Castiel, who was then acting

as councilor and interpreter for the king of Cochin. The destruction of many statues including those of St. Mary as well as St. Antony and the conversion of a cross into a ladder in Cochin by *Patare Regedor mor* (the chief officer of the king of Cochin) was linked by the Portuguese to the instigation of Samuel Castiel. In fact, these developments took place as retaliation for the murder of a royal officer (*regedor*) of the king of Cochin by the Portuguese in 1630.¹¹⁸ However, in the midst of fierce tension, the Portuguese killed Samuel Castiel in 1643,¹¹⁹ a fact that makes us think that the Portuguese suspected him of being the principal instigator of tensions and problems. He must have been selected as the main target of attack because of his role as interpreter and translator, which gave him many opportunities to manipulate things against the Portuguese and to instill anti-Portuguese feelings into the king of Cochin.

However, in the same decade we find many foreign Jews still migrating to the native city of Cochin, where the *Paradesi* Jews were increasingly favored by the local ruler, to take part in its trading activities. One of the most prominent among them was the Syrian Jewish family of Rahabi, which settled down in Mattancherry in 1646 and from which Ezechiel Rahabi, the great Jewish merchant of the mid-eighteenth century, emerged.¹²⁰

The Company Trade of the Dutch and the Jewish Mercantile Collaboration

Kerala was, in fact, on the periphery of Dutch commercial and political activities, distanced very much away from the core center of Batavia. This fact necessitated the Dutch to seek the collaboration of several local traders with substantial capital for the purpose of conducting their trade in Kerala.¹²¹ Jews formed one of the most important merchant communities that took part in the trade of the Dutch East India Company, and whose multiple commercial outlets enabled the former to promote their private initiatives and entrepreneurial ingenuity. The Dutch, in fact, were looked upon as a philosemitic group. Various Cochin Jewish merchants showed great interest in collaborating with them. Ezechiel Rahabi, a descendant of the Syrian Jew who settled down in Cochin in 1646, was made the first merchant of the Vereenigde Oost Indische Compagnie (VOC) in the mid-eighteenth century. Isaac Surgun was the principal Jewish trader of Calicut in the eighteenth century.¹²²

Adrian Moens writes in his memoir that Ezechiel Rahabi was the only merchant in Cochin with the title of Company's merchant. He is referred to as having an honest and upright character with great influence over the native princes and the notables of their kingdoms.¹²³ These Jewish traders had an enormous amount of wealth upon which the Company and the local rulers heavily banked in times of emergency. Ezechiel Rahabi had once lent the VOC Rs. 90,000 when the Dutch were in a dire situation, while Isaac Surgun was made to pay Rs. 40,000 to the Tipu sultan in 1788.¹²⁴ Samuel Abraham and the three sons of Ezechiel Rahabi—Elias, Moses, and David—were the other prominent Jewish merchants of Cochin.¹²⁵ In fact, these Jewish merchants rose to prominence because of their ability to participate in the greater commercial transactions facilitated by the increasing movement of commodities by the Dutch East India Company.

However, the developments after 1750 ushered in a phase of doldrums as far as the Jews and other various commercial collaborators of the Dutch trade were concerned. On the one hand most of the spice-producing territories like Quilon, Kayamkulam, Thekkumkur, Vadakkumkur, and Porcad were conquered one after other and annexed to Travancore by Marthanda Varma during the period between 1742 and 1752, following which the flow of spices and other commodities from these

places to the port of Cochin were blocked—inflicting a severe blow on the commerce of the Dutch.¹²⁶ On the other hand, the trade in pepper was declared a state monopoly in Travancore in 1743, which not only severely reduced the amount of pepper available to the Dutch in Cochin, but also created serious difficulties for the local merchants for its purchase and sale.¹²⁷ The entire move was intended to get the spice trade of Cochin re-routed to international markets through a Travancorean door, for which a new port was established at Alleppey in 1763 by Raja Kesava Das and a network of land and water routes was set up to link the distant production centers with the newly established port. Spices that were flowing to Cochin until then were diverted to Alleppey from the newly conquered territories of Travancore. Consequently, the port of Cochin and the Jewish merchants that depended very much on this port for commercial activities began to feel the dearth of cargo, which eventually led to a commercial crisis in Cochin. Even Raja Rama Varma (1790-1805), alias Saktan Thampuran, who was the king of Cochin, took no interest in the trade conducted by the Dutch in Cochin. Due to his antipathy toward the Dutch, the king of Cochin preferred to rule from Trichur, located about 80 kilometers away from Cochin and the Dutch trading world; he developed several inland markets in and around Trichur particularly in Trichur, Koratty, Kunnamkulam, Chalakudy, and Irinjalakuda, where he made the enterprising merchant community of the St. Thomas Christians settle down with a view toward stimulating trade in the hinterland. The Commodity flow from these markets was made to merge into the streams of English commerce.¹²⁸ All these developments severely affected the trading activities of the Dutch in Cochin, on which the Jews immensely depended for sustaining their Indian Ocean trade. New international trade routes emanating from Alleppey and new merchant groups represented by Thachil Mathu Tharakan and related to the English began to emerge as part of the new economic forces that started appearing in Kerala by the third quarter of the eighteenth century,¹²⁹ which in turn gradually shattered the commercial edifice that the Jews had erected over centuries.

The end result of all these developments was the decline in Cochin trade, which adversely affected the commercial prospects of the Jews of Cochin. By the time of Ezechiel Rahabi's death (1771), commercial matters had become worse in Cochin. His son, David Rahabi, though involved in trade, could not attain the status of a first merchant of the VOC, which Ezechiel had done. Elias and Moses, Ezechiel's other sons, also could do no better and finally by the end of the eighteenth century the Rahabi family became bankrupt.¹³⁰ In the changed situation many Jews seem to have moved more and more to interior places such as Mala, located near Irinjalakuda, to take part in the newly emerging trading activities of the English carried out with the help of the rulers of Cochin and Travancore, which in turn augmented the size of the already existing Jewish settlements located on the banks of the rivers in the hinterland.

Thus, the Jews operating in the Indian Ocean played diverse economic roles that varied from peddling traders to merchant capitalists engaged in the long-distance movement of commodities. In the process of collecting cargo from the hinterland, a good many of them settled along the coast of Kerala and the banks of the principal rivers, which eventually turned out to be the nodal centers of Jewish trade. While the newly arrived foreign (*Paradesi*) Jews preferred to settle down in Cochin and other the principal ports of Kerala procuring cargo for their overseas trade, the black Jews and the early Jewish settlers moved more and more toward the inland trade centers located on the riverbanks (like Mala or Chennamangalam) and minor ports like Palayur in the process of collecting cargo for the *Paradesi* Jews

conducting business in large port towns. The trading networks of the *Paradesi* Jews ran through the Diasporas cutting across the various exchange systems of Europe and Asia; however the starting point of this network was to be seen in the Jewish peddlers who used to go into the spice-producing hinterland of Kerala procuring spices in return for Mediterranean wares. In fact, the type of economic activities carried out in the maritime space of the Indian Ocean decided the habitat pattern of different Jewish merchants in Kerala and their locus in the social ladder. Moreover, the amount of wealth accruing from their participation in the trade of the Indian Ocean regions defined their social standing, which went on changing with the increasing advent of new foreign Jewish groups, which had better material resources and larger mercantile networks.

The remarkable ability of the Jews to adapt to the changing politico-economic conditions is evident in their success in continuing their business in spite of the sweeping changes that shook the political and socioeconomic foundations of Kerala. By linking themselves with the trading networks of the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean and by keeping themselves closer to the rulers and power structures that changed, the Jewish merchants made themselves contemporaneously relevant in Kerala's market system. However, under insecure and dangerous politico-economic condition—particularly when the Portuguese turned antipathetic—many of the Jewish merchants involved in the long-distance movement of commodities managed to continue their business by strengthening Jewish trading networks into which the socioeconomic webs of New Christians from Portugal were also incorporated. Supported by common religious feelings, the Jews of Mattancherry and the New Christians of the Portuguese city of Cochin operated on a partnership basis, making the wheels of Jewish trade move smoothly at a time when the Portuguese control systems tried to thwart the commercial ventures of the indigenous traders and the Jews in the Indian Ocean region. In fact, the Jews, particularly the *Paradesi* Jews, made significant economic progress by their participation in the trade of the Dutch East India Company in Cochin. However, the diversion of cargo to the new port of Allepey by the Travancoreans and the formation of a new trade network by Saktan Thampuran to divert the trade from the kingdom of Cochin to the British trading world made the trade of the Dutch in Cochin dwindle and consequently broke the commercial backbone of the Jews. Though many of the leading Jewish families, including the Rahabi family, became either bankrupt or incapable of mobilizing resources for further productive ventures in the changed situation and no giant Jewish figures ever reappeared in the economic scenario, the Jews did not disappear from the scene altogether. On the contrary, the vast water space of the Indian Ocean still continued to provide them channels for their business and avenues for ventilating their private initiatives, which they diversified eventually by participating in different levels and phases of English trade.

Notes

¹ According to S. S. Koder, the first Jews came immediately after the destruction of the second temple of Jerusalem (in A.D. 70). S. S. Koder, "Saga of the Jews of Cochin," in *Jews in India*, edited by Thomas A. Timberg (1986), 140; see also S. S. Koder, "Kerala and Her Jews." A paper presented before Kerala History Association, 1965, 1-2. Logan says that Jews fled to the Malabar Coast in their attempt to escape from the servitude under Cyrus in the sixth century B.C. William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, vol. 1 (Trivandrum, 1981), 247. Scholars differ on the date of the first

Jewish settlement in India. Some trace it to the events following the Babylonian exile, while some others view that the Jews seem to have stepped into the Indian Ocean region from tenth century B.C.E. onward, when King David occupied Ezion-Geber in the Gulf of Aqaba on the shore of Red Sea. Henceforth, David, who had already carved out an empire from the border of Egypt to the Euphrates River, began to give maritime dimensions to his enterprises by joining hands with Hiram, the Phoenician king of Tyre. During the time of his son Solomon (973- 933 B.C.E.), the extent of Jewish empire got widened by his policy of marrying the sisters and daughters of the kings from far and wide. Solomon and Hiram of Tyre jointly dispatched vessels to all parts of the known world including India from Ezion-Geber. "King Solomon made a navy of ships in Ezion-Geber, which is beside Eloth, on the shore of Red sea, Hiram sent in the navy his servants and shipmen, who had the knowledge of the sea, with the servants of Solomon. And they came to Ophir and fetched from there 420 *talents* of gold and brought it to king Solomon" (I Kings IX:26-28). I Kings X:11 adds: "The navy also of Hiram, that brought gold from Ophir, brought in from Ophir great plenty of almug trees and precious stones." The triennial fleet sent jointly by the Jews and the Phoenicians brought to Israel such items as ivory, apes, peacocks, almug trees, and precious stones from the port of Ophir, the result of which was that many Tamil words entered into the Hebrew text of the Bible. The word for peacock in the Hebrew text is *tuki* (in Kings and Chronicles), which was derived from the Tamil word *tokei*. Similarly, the Hebrew word *ahalim* or *ahaloth* for the wood called "aloes" was derived from the Tamil word *aghil*. These similarities make us infer that Ophir must have been somewhere on the coastal belt of south India, where Tamil was the medium of communication. Just like the Phoenicians, Solomon also planted Jewish colonies in far-flung areas to protect his commercial interests. These various trading posts eventually became the nuclei of the first great Jewish Diaspora. Later, with Assyrian conquest and Nebuchadnezzar's raid, the migration of Jews to these places seems to have increased considerably. For more details about the question of the first Jewish settlement, see Thomas A. Timberg (ed.), *Jews in India* (New Delhi: Vikas Pub. House, 1986); J. B. Segal, *A History of the Jews of Cochin* (London: Valentine Mitchell, 1993); Shirley Berry Isenberg, *India's Bene Israel: A Comprehensive Inquiry and Source Book* (Berkeley, CA: J. L. Magnes Museum, 1988).

² Andre Wink, *Al-Hind: The Making of the Indo-Islamic World*, vol. I, *Early Medieval India and the Expansion of Islam 7th-11th Centuries* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999), 86-91.

³ It was called Kurakkeni Kollam to distinguish it from Panatalayani Kollam located near Koyilandy in north Kerala.

⁴ See S. D. Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), 64.

⁵ These are the wide variety of papers obtained from the Geniza of Cairo. A Geniza is a place where discarded writings on which the name of God was written and deposited in order to preserve them from desecration. Most of the papers of the Cairo Geniza were preserved in a room adjacent to the synagogue of Cairo. For detailed discussion on Geniza papers, see Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*; idem, *A Mediterranean Society*, 4 vols. (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967-84); idem, *Jews and Arabs: Their Contacts through the Ages* (New York: Schocken Books, 1964).

⁶ The earliest Arab source is Suleiman's account of A.D. 841 entitled *Salsalat-al-Taverika*. For other Arab sources on Quilon, see George Fadlo Hourani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Time* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951), 70-74.

⁷ See Haraprasad Ray, "Historical Contacts between Quilon and China," in Pius Malekandathil and Jamal Mohammed (eds.), *The Portuguese, Indian Ocean and the European Bridgeheads: Festschrift in Honour of Prof. K. S. Mathew* (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente/ Tellicherry: IRISH, 2001), 386-88.

⁸ Hourani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times*, 70-74.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 60-80.

¹⁰ Pius Malekandathil, "The Jews of Cochin and the Portuguese (1498-1663)," in *The Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* (Aligarh: Indian History Congress Publications, 2002), 240-41. See also Andre Wink, *Al-Hind: The Making of the Indo-Islamic World*, Vol. 1, 86-91; Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*, 175-229.

¹¹ Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*, 70, 118, 190, 214-16, 262. For more details see 70, 118ff., 175-229.

¹² *Ibid.*, 68, 70, 118, 190, 214, 262.

¹³ For details on *Anjuvannam* see Meera Abraham, *Two Medieval Merchant Guilds of South India* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 1988). Also see K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999), 181-82.

¹⁴ For details on the *Tharisapally* copper plate see T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Travancore Archaeological Series*, vol. II, *Madras* (1916), 66-75.

¹⁵ M.G.S. Narayanan, *Perumals of Kerala* (Calicut: published by the author, 1996), 155.

¹⁶ Gopinatha Rao, *Travancore Archaeological Series*, 68, 71.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 60-80.

¹⁸ Pius Malekandathil, "Christians and the Cultural Shaping of India in the First Millennium AD," *Journal of St. Thomas Christians*, no. 1 (January-March 2006): 10; see the *Tharisapally* Copper plate in Gopinatha Rao, *Travancore Archaeological Series*, 68-71.

¹⁹ Narayanan, *The Perumals of Kerala*, 32.

²⁰ Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*, 62.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 63-64. For the identification of these place names see also Pius Malekandathil, *The Germans, the Portuguese and India* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 1999), 3-4.

²² S. D. Goitein, "Portrait of a Medieval India Trader: Three Letters from the Cairo Geniza," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* XLVIII (1987): 457-60.

²³ M. N. Adler, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela* (London, 1907), 63-64.

²⁴ Henry Yule and Henry Cordier (eds.), *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. 2 (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, reprint, 1998), 375-76.

²⁵ Henry Yule and Henry Cordier (eds.), *Cathay and Way Thither*, vol. 3 (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, reprint, 1998), 63.

²⁶ Pius Malekandathil, "Winds of Change and Links of Continuity: A Study on the Merchant Groups of Kerala and the Channels of their Trade, 1000-1800," *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* 50, no. 2 (2007): 266.

²⁷ Shingly is said to have been the abridged version of *Changala Azhi*, which happened to be the original name for the estuary of Cranganore. See for details P. M. Jussay, "The Jews in Kerala," in *St. Thomas Christians and Nambudiris, Jews and*

Sangam Literature: A Historical Appraisal, ed. by Bosco Puthur (Kochi: LRC Publications, 2003), 129.

²⁸ See Meera Abraham, *Two Medieval Merchant Guilds of South India* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 1988). Also see K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999), 181-82.

²⁹ Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai, *Studies in Kerala History* (Kottayam: National Book Stall, 1970); M.G.S. Narayanan, *Cultural Symbiosis in Kerala* (Trivandrum: Kerala Historical Society, 1972), 82.

³⁰ For details on the privileges and the copper plate on which the privileges were inscribed see K. P. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, vol. 2 (New Delhi: AES, 1982), 507-14; see also Narayanan, *Cultural Symbioses in Kerala*, 29-30, 35-37; Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai, *Studies in Kerala History* (Kottayam, 1970); Narayanan, *Cultural Symbiosis in Kerala*, 82.

³¹ The most prominent Jewish trading settlements were in Palayur, Pulloot, Maliankara, and Madai. For details see Jussay, "The Jews in Kerala," 128.

³² For details on the Jewish contacts with Cambay, Broach, Thanai, and Mangalore see also Goitein, "Portrait of a Medieval India Trader: Three Letters from the Cairo Geniza," 457-76.

³³ S. D. Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*, 188-89.

³⁴ For details on the bronze factory of Abraham Yiju see Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*, 192-94. The *juthakulam* is still preserved intact in Madai.

³⁵ For a detailed discussion on the Black and White Jews of Cochin, see "Visscher's Letters from Malabar," in K. P. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, vol. 2, 52, 523-27. In Portuguese documents they were known as *Judeus broncos* (White Jews) and *Judeus pretos* (Black Jews). Some authors argue that this division among the Jews of Kerala must have been initially caused by the economic disparity that existed among them, which later got perpetuated on the basis of birth. Accordingly the community was divided into *Meyuhasim* (Jews of pure lineage) and *Meshuhararim* (those of mixed origin). Most of those belonging to the second group were viewed as slaves and children of the concubines of the pure Jews. See for details Jussay, "The Jews in Kerala," 133; Segal, *A History of the Jews of Cochin*, 24-30; see also J. B. Segal, "White and Black Jews at Cochin, The Story of a Controversy," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland*, no. 2 (1983): 228-52. I wonder whether all those who were categorized as Black Jews were actually slaves or were born of concubines. It was a common practice in the medieval period among the newly migrant merchants to construct stories that would fetch for them higher social status over and above their co-religionists who had been the residents of the land over centuries. In the process of legitimizing their superior position in the social ladder, the newly migrant groups used to circulate information about the birth of the earliest co-religionists of the land, which very often was linked with concubinage. By circulating stories about the inferior birth of their earlier co-religionists, the migrants appropriated superior status and greater influence over the former. Thus, we come across several stories being circulated by the Southist Christians (the Knaanite Christians, tracing back their origin to Thomas of Cana who reached Cranganore in c.345 C.E., and numbering presently about 2 lakh members) claiming that they are the original descendants of Thomas while the rest of the St. Thomas Christians (numbering presently about 52 lakhs) as being the descendants of the concubine of Thomas, in their attempts to carve out a pre-eminent position in the Christian social ladder. For details, see Pius Malekandathil (ed.), *Jornada of Dom Alexis de Menezes*;

A Portuguese Account of the Sixteenth Century Malabar (Kochi: LRC Publications, 2003), 19-20. Stories related to purity of blood are often fabricated when foreigners appear on the stage contesting superior social position. In fact the very differentiating process emerged among the Jewish community of Kerala with the increasing entry of the *Paradesi* Jews in Kerala and with their attempts to situate their position in the existing social space. Denial of purity of blood to the already existing Jews of Kerala was one of the easiest ways that the newly immigrant Jews resorted to immediately after their arrival for the purpose of ensuring their superior social status within the community. Here I would also like to say that I stand by the medieval sense, with which the Jewish community was divided (as Black Jews and White Jews) in Kerala. The term Malabari Jews (instead of Black Jews) would not seem to stand historically, as the Jews were not originally of Kerala. I feel that the relative black or brown color that the so-called Black Jews got must have been because of the passage of time and the long exposure that the group had to the tropical climate.

³⁶ Malekandathil, "The Jews of Cochin and the Portuguese (1498-1663)," 240-41.

³⁷ Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*, 307-8.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 64-65.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 67.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 118.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 122.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 262.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 180.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 214.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁴⁶ Cf. M.G.S.Narayanan, *Foundations of South Indian Society and Culture* (Delhi: Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, 1994), 22.

⁴⁷ For details regarding the shifting of the royal residence of the Nediyrappu *svarupam* see K. V. Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut* (Calicut, 1938), 1-2. By the middle of the fourteenth century or by the time Ibn Batuta visited Calicut (1343), it had become the most important port of Kerala. Ibn Batuta, *Die Reise des Arabers Ibn Batuta durch Indien und China*, ed. by Hans von Mzik (Hamburg, 1911), 302. Hermann Gundert (ed.), *Keralolpathiyum Mattum* (Kottayam: DC Books, 1992), 190-200.

⁴⁸ Ashin Das Gupta, *Malabar in Asian Trade: 1740-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 5, 19; B. J. Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies*, vol. 1 (The Hague, 1955), 7ff.; Malekandathil, *The Germans, the Portuguese and India*, 9. For details about the Al-Karimi merchants in India see Eliyahu Ashtor, "The Venetian Supremacy in Levantine Trade: Monopoly of Pre-colonialism," in *Journal of European Economic History*, vol. 3 (Rome, 1974), 27; Walter J. Fischel, "The Spice Trade in Mamluk Egypt," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, vol. 1 (Leiden, 1958), 165; Pius Malekandathil, "From Merchant Capitalists to Corsairs: The Role of Muslim Merchants in Portuguese Maritime Trade of the Portuguese," *Portuguese Studies Review* 12, no. 1 (2004): 77-80.

⁴⁹ Pullot is located to the north of Cranganore and was earlier a ferry point. P. M. Jussay says that the Jews of Pullot were called Kadavumbhagam (ferry-side) Jews because of their habitation near the ferry. See Jussay, "The Jews in Kerala," 129. The synagogue of Mala was handed over by the Jews before their moving to Israel to the local Panchayat. The synagogue of Chennamangalam was in a dilapidated

condition for a long time. Ibid., p. 135. Now all these synagogues are under a renovation process.

⁵⁰ W. W. Hunter, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. 4 (London, 1885), 11; K. Rama Varma Raja, "The Cochin Harbour and the Puthu Vaippu Era," *The Bulletin of the Rama Varma Research Institute*, no. 2 (Cochin, 1933): 49-51

⁵¹ K. P. Padmanabha Menon, "The Fort of Cochin," in *Fort Cochin Municipal Centenary Souvenir* (Cochin, 1966), 60; K. Rama Varma Raja, "The Cochin Harbour and the Puthu Vaipu Era," 49-51; Hunter, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 11.

⁵² For details about this tradition, see Koder, "Saga of the Jews of Cochin," 138-40. The date of construction of this synagogue (1345) is said to have been engraved on a stone.

⁵³ This synagogue is said to have been in use until 1789. See for details Jussay, "The Jews in Kerala," 131. Later the Kochangadi synagogue was demolished because of its dilapidated condition.

⁵⁴ Pius Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India: 1500-1663* (A Volume in the South Asian Study Series of Heidelberg University, Germany) (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2001), 44.

⁵⁵ Ma Huan, Ying Yai Sheng lan 12, "Kochih" as translated by W. W. Rockhill, "Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with Eastern Archipelago and the Coast of Indian Ocean during the Fourteenth Century," *T'oung Pao* 16 (1915): 450-51.

⁵⁶ See "Visscher's Letters from Malabar," 51, 517. Writing in 1723, Visscher says that the Jews had lived in *Senhora Soude* for fifty years and then moved over to Cochin where they remained for 202 years, a fact that enables historians to trace the date of Jewish migration from Cranganore to 1471.

⁵⁷ This is deduced from the fact that in the first decade of the sixteenth century, we find the Jews of Cochin getting themselves involved in the commerce of pepper. See Antonio Bulhão de Pato, *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque seguidas de documentos que as elucidam*, tom. I (Lisboa, 1884), 330.

⁵⁸ David Mandelbaum, "The Jewish Way of Life in Cochin," *Jewish Social Studies* 1, no. 4 (1939): 428, 441; Jose Alberto Rodrigues da Silva Tavim, "Os Judeus e a Expansão Portuguesa na Índia durante o Século XVI. O Exemplo de Isaac do Cairo: Espião, Língua, e Judeu de Cochim de Cima," in *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Calouste Gulbenkian* 33 (Lisboa, 1994), 191. Later when the entire congregation left for Israel, the Thekkumbhagam synagogue of Cochin was demolished and the ground was sold. See Jussay, "The Jews in Kerala," 135.

⁵⁹ Franz Hümmerich, "Estudo crítico sobre a Roteiro Primeira Viagem de Vasco da Gama 1497-1499," Tradução do Comandanta Moura Bras, in *Diário da Viagem de Vasco da Gama*, vol. 2 (Porto, 1945), 242, 268; S. S. Pissurlencar, *Agentes da Diplomática Portuguesa na Índia* (Bastora, 1952), 552.

⁶⁰ See for details Damiano Peres (ed.), *História de Portugal, Edição Monumental*, vol. 3 (Barcelos, 1941), 221; Joaquim Verissimo Serrão, *História de Portugal: O Século de Ouro (1495-1580)*, vol. 3 (Lisboa, 1978), 16-17.

⁶¹ Antonio Bulhão de Pato, *Cartas*, tom. I, 330.

⁶² It is interesting to note that most of the Jewish synagogues of Kerala were either built or rebuilt during the period of Portuguese rule, which evidently suggests that the Jews amassed sizeable wealth by participating in the trade boosted by Portuguese commercial ventures.

⁶³ Mosseh Pereyra de Paiva, *Noticias dos Judeos de Cochim* (originally published from Amsterdam in 1687) (Lisboa, 1923), 8.

⁶⁴ Malekandathil, "From Merchant Capitalists to Corsairs," 82-83.

⁶⁵ Jose Alberto Rodrigues da Silva Tavim, "Uma Comunidade na Sombra: Judeus Sefarditas de Cochim, na Primeira metade do Seculo XVI," in Maria Helena C. dos Santos et al. (eds.), *Comunicações apresentadas no. I Coloquio Internacional O Patrimônio Judaico Português* (Lisboa: Associação Portuguesa de Estudos Judaicos, 1999), 138-54.

⁶⁶ The word *casados* refers to married Portuguese citizens residing in India. For details on the *casados* see Pius Malekandathil, "The Portuguese *Casados* and the Intra-Asian Trade: 1500-1663," in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Millenium (61st) Session* (Kolkata: Indian History Congress Publications, 2001), 380-90; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "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. by Roderich Ptak (Stuttgart, 1987), 59-85.

⁶⁷ *Cartaz* is a borrowed word from the Arabic *qirtas*, which means paper or document and it refers to the license being issued by the Portuguese to the native ships for the purpose of navigation in the Indian Ocean. Though *cartaz* system was introduced from 1502 onward, the traders who collaborated with the Portuguese initially were conceded greater amount of freedom in the movement of commodities within Asia, as a mechanism to ensure their cooperation. However, it was only after 1509, particularly against the background of the prevailing imperial designs of Afonso Albuquerque to control the lines of navigation in the Indian Ocean that the coastal patrolling and rigorous checking of *cartaz* seem to have become frequent. Consequently all the native ships had to take *cartazes*, which contained such details as the name of the vessel and of the captain, the nature of the cargo, its origin and destination as well as the name of the authority issuing the *cartaz*. For details see Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India*, 125-26, 220-21; 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*, held in Delhi, December 1994.

⁶⁸ Malekandathil, "Portuguese *Casados* and the Intra-Asian Trade: 1500-1663," 384-85.

⁶⁹ Diogo do Couto, *Da Asia, Dos feitos que os Portugueses fizeram no descobrimento e conquista dos mares e terras do Oriente, Decada VII* (Lisboa, 1778-1788), parte II, Livro viii, capitulo 14; livro ix, capitulo 10. In fact the St. Thomas Christians were by this time the main suppliers of spices, which they used to take to the Portuguese factory of Cochin under the leadership of their bishop Mar Jacob Abuna. For details note that the prelate himself delivered pepper many a time to a Portuguese factory in Cochin to persuade his subjects to sell the spices only to the Portuguese. For details see Antonio da Silva Rego, *Documentação para a Historia das Missões do Padroado Portugues do Orienre-India*, vol. 2 (Lisboa, 1991), 175; Pius Malekandathil, "The Portuguese and the St. Thomas Christians: 1500-1570," in *The Portuguese and the Socio-cultural Changes in India: 1500-1800*, ed. by K. S. Mathew, Teotonio R. de Souza, and Pius Malekandathil, Fundação Oriente (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente/Tellicherry: IRISH, 2001), 132; Malekandathil, *Jornada of Dom Alexis de Menezes*, v-xx. One of the reasons for the Muslim attack on the Jewish settlement of Cranganore, as given by Shekh Zainuddin, was that the Jews of Cranganore killed a Muslim and the Jews started fleeing away from Cranganore following the vengeance

from the Muslims. See Mathias Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. 1 (Bangalore, 1984), 300.

⁷⁰ Koder, "Saga of the Jews of Cochin," 138; Segal, *A History of the Jews of Cochin*, 19.

⁷¹ K. S. Mathew and Afzal Ahmad, *Emergence of Cochin in the Pre-Industrial Era: A Study of Portuguese Cochin* (Pondicherry, 1990), 1-3.

⁷² Malekandathil, "The Jews of Cochin and the Portuguese," 240-50.

⁷³ Alexandre Herculano, *Historia da Origem e Estabelecimento da Inquisição em Portugal*, ed. by Jorge Borges de Macedo, vol. 1 (Lisboa, 1987), 171; Joaquim Verissimo Serrão, *Historia de Portugal*, vol. 3, 51, 292; Antonio Sergio, *Obras Completas de Antonio Sergi: Introdução Geografico-Sociologico a Historia de Portugal*, critical edition guided by Castelo Branco Chaves, Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, Rui Gracio, and Joel Serrão (Lisboa, 1976), 191-92.

⁷⁴ For details see Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India*, 166; Jose Alberto Rodrigues da Silva Tavim, "Outras Gentes em Outras Rotas: Judeus e Cristãos Novos de Cochim- entre Santa Cruz de Cochin e Mattancherry, entre o Imperio Portugues e o Medio Oriente." A paper presented in VIII Seminario Internacional de Historia Indo-Portuguesa- Angra de Heroismo, June 7-11, 1996, 4-9.

⁷⁵ ANTT, Corpo Cronologico, I, Maço 66, doc.96.

⁷⁶ ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Proc.12292, fols.17-22, 36-38, 42-43, 72, 77-79; ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Proc.12292, fols.17-22, 36-38, 42-43, 72, 77-79; see also Jose Alberto Rodrigues da Silva Tavim, "Os Judeus e a Expansão Portuguesa na India durante o Seculo XVI," 167-87.

⁷⁷ ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Proc.5265, fols.45 &55.

⁷⁸ ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Proc.3836, fols.3-4, 16-17 & 29, Proc.7543, fols.28-29 and 39-40.

⁷⁹ ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Proc.7296, fols.4, 29-33, 37-41.

⁸⁰ ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Proc.4516, fols.3, 15; Proc.15411, fols.11, 34, and 36.

⁸¹ ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Proc.4516, fols.15 and 20.

⁸² ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Proc.7296, fol.77; see also Jose Alberto Rodrigues da Silva Tavim, "Os Judeus e a Expansão Portuguesa na India durante o Seculo XVI," 167-87.

⁸³ ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Proc.12292, fols.17-22, 36-38, 42-43, 72, 77-79.

⁸⁴ ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Proc.5265, fol.8.

⁸⁵ ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Proc.5265, fols.31, 37, 45-47, and 73.

⁸⁶ ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Proc.7296, fols.4, 29-33, 37-41.

⁸⁷ ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Proc.7296, fol.77; see also Jose Alberto Rodrigues da Silva Tavim, "Os Judeus e a Expansão Portuguesa na India," 167-87.

⁸⁸ For details about the different Judaizing activities in Cochin see ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Proc.5808, fol.53; ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Proc.5265, fol.83; Josef Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, vol. 4 (Rome, 1956), 10-11; see the letter of Belchior Carneiro sent to Cardinal D. Henrique, Goa dated 20-12-1559, in Josef Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, vol. 4, 5-13. The letter of D. Gonçalo da Silveira sent to Pe. Miguel de Torres, Goa dated 19-12-1599, in Josef Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, vol. 3 (Rome, 1954), 758-78.

⁸⁹ ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Proc.5265, fol.83; ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Proc.7296, fol.77; ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Proc.12292, fols.50-85. Later when

the Jews left for Israel, the Kadavumbhagam synagogue was sold off and the buyer converted it into a warehouse for storing prawns. Now it is used for storing coir-products. See Jussay, "The Jews in Kerala," 135.

⁹⁰ ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Proc.185, fols.116-42.

⁹¹ ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Proc.5808, fol.53; ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Proc.5265, fol.83; Josef Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, vol. 4, 10-11.

⁹² See the letter of Belchior Carneiro sent to Cardinal D. Henrique, Goa dated 20-12-1559, in Josef Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, vol. 4 (1956), 5-13.

⁹³ See the letter of D. Gonçalo da Silveira sent to Pe. Miguel de Torres, Goa dated 19-12-1599, in Josef Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, vol. 3 (1954), 758-78.

⁹⁴ ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Proc.5265, fol.123; see also Jose Alberto Rodrigues da Silva Tavim, "From Setubal to the Sublime Porte: The Wanderings of Jacome de Olivares, New Christian and Merchant of Cochin, 1540-1571," in *Santa Barbara Portuguese Studies*, ed. by Sanjay Subrahmanyam and Kenneth McPherson, vol. 2 (Santa Barbara, CA: Center for Portuguese Studies, 1995), 97-98.

⁹⁵ For details see Anna Cannas da Cunha, *A Inquisição no Estado da Índia: Origens (1539-1560)* (Lisboa, 1995); Josef Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, vol. 3 (1954), 758-75; ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Proc.7296, fol.11.

⁹⁶ ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Proc.7296, fols.4, 29-33, 37-41; ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Proc.3836, fols.3-4; ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Proc.12292, fols.3-5, 17-22, 33-38, 77-79; ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Proc.5265, fol.123.

⁹⁷ ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Proc. 7246, fols.12, 138-39.

⁹⁸ Josef Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, vol. 3 (1954), 638-42; see also Jose Alberto Rodrigues da Silva Tavim, "From Setubal to the Sublime Porte," 98.

⁹⁹ Mosseh Pereyra de Paiva, *Notisias dos Judeos de Cochim* (Lisboa, 1923), 8.

¹⁰⁰ Koder, "Saga of the Jews of Cochin," 138; Segal, *A History of the Jews of Cochin*, 19.

¹⁰¹ Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, vol. 2, 519.

¹⁰² Mandelbaum, "The Jewish Way of Life," 430, 433, 435; Jose Alberto Rodrigues da Silva Tavim, "Uma Comunidade na sombra," 17.

¹⁰³ Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India*, 411-21.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 421; James C. Boyajian, *Portuguese Bankers at the Court of Spain 1626-1650* (New Brunswick, NJ: 1983), 6-8.

¹⁰⁵ Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India*, 421.

¹⁰⁶ See Jose Calvert de Magalhães, "Duarte Gomes Solis," in *Studia* 19 (1966): 119-71.

¹⁰⁷ See "Relação de Chryztoph Pawlowski," in Stephan Stasiak, "Les Indes Portugaises s la fin du XVI siecle d'apres la Relation du voyage fait a Goa en 1596 par Christophe Pawlowski, gentil homme polonaise," in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, vol. 3 (1926), 45.

¹⁰⁸ Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, *Histoire de la Navigation de Jan Hvgves de Linscot Hollandais et de son voyage es Indes Orientales* (Amsterdam, 1610), chapter XLIII, 119; Jose Alberto Rodrigues da Silva Tavim, "Os Judeus e a Expansão Portuguesa na Índia," 204-5.

¹⁰⁹ Francois Pyrard Laval, *The Voyages of Francois Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil*, trans. by Albert Gray (London, 1887), 429-35.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Jose Alberto Rodrigues da Silva Tavim, "Uma Comunidade na Sombra," 12; Joseph Levi was the first *mudaliar* in 1530. Segal, *A History of the Jews of Cochin*, 49.

- ¹¹¹ HAG, *Livro das Monções*, No. 6 A (1604-1605), fols.71, 77, 79; ANTT, MSS S.Vicente, 14, fol.161. Letter of Philip II of Portugal sent to D.Alexis de Meneses dated 15-5-1605.
- ¹¹² Antonio da Silva Rego, *Documentação Ultramarina Portuguesa*, vol. 3 (Lisboa, 1963), 315; BNL, Cod.No.11410, *Orçamento de 1612*, fol.116v,
- ¹¹³ For details about the invitation sent by the king of Cochin to the Dutch, see T. I. Poonen, *A Survey of the Rise of the Dutch Power in Malabar (1603-1670)* (Trichinapoly, 1949), 52.
- ¹¹⁴ HAG, *Livro das Pazes*, No.1, fol.34; J. H. da Cunha Rivara (ed.), *O Chronista de Tissuary* 4, no. 39 (1869), 47.
- ¹¹⁵ Cf. Segal, *A History of the Jews of Cochin*, 49-50; Jose Alberto Rodrigues da Silva, "Uma Comunidade na Sombra," 12.
- ¹¹⁶ Boletim da Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa, no. 8, 99. When Antonio Bocarro visited Cochin, Samuel Castiel was an interpreter and translator of the king of Cochin. See ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, 'Cadernos do Promotor', Livro 20, Caderno 9, fols.437-438; Jose Alberto Rodrigues da Silva Tavim, "From Setubal to Sublime Porte," 120: ANTT, *Livros das Monções*, No.24, fols.69-70; No.27, fol.156.
- ¹¹⁷ HAG, *Livros das Monções*, no.14 (1630-1631), fols.184-185; *Boletim da Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa*, no.8, 99-100.
- ¹¹⁸ S. S. Pissurlencar, *Assentos do Conselho do Estado*, vol. 2 (1634-1643) (Bastora, 1953), 379, 435-436.
- ¹¹⁹ ANTT, *Documentação Remetidos*, Livro 50, fol.110, Livro 56, fols.27, 212; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Cochin in Decline, 1600-1650," 82; AHU, *Caixas da India*, Caixa 15, doc.27; Caixa 15, doc.52; Caixa 23, doc.10.
- ¹²⁰ Maria Antoinette Petronella Meilink-Roelofs, *Der Vestiging der Nederlanders ter Kuste Malabar* ('s Gravenhage, 1943), 104-5, 111-13, 115, 122; Hugo s' Jacob, *De Nederlanders in Kerala, 1663-1701* ('s Gravenhage, 1976), xxx.
- ¹²¹ For a detailed study on the Dutch in Kerala, see Meilink-Roelofs, *Der Vestiging der Nederlanders ter Kuste Malabar*.
- ¹²² *Ibid.*, 104-5, 111-13, 115, 122; Hugo s' Jacob, *De Nederlanders in Kerala, 1663-1701* ('s Gravenhage, 1976), xxx.
- ¹²³ A. Galletti, *The Dutch in Malabar* (Madras), 222-23.
- ¹²⁴ Ashin Das Gupta, *Malabar in Asian Trade*, 106-7.
- ¹²⁵ Walter Fischel, "From Cochin to New York: Samuel Abraham, the Jewish Merchant of the Eighteenth Century," in the *Jubilee Volume of Prof. Harry Wolfson* (New York, 1963); Ashin Das Gupta, *Malabar in Asian Trade*, 118.
- ¹²⁶ V. Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State Manual*, vol. 1 (Trivandrum, 1906), 343-51; Shangoonny Menon, *History of Travancore from the Earliest Times* (New Delhi, 1878), 135-55. A. Sreedhara Menon (ed.), *District Gazetteer of Trivandrum* (Trivandrum, 1962), 11.
- ¹²⁷ Aswathi Thirunal, *Thulasigarland* (Trivandrum, 1998), 93.
- ¹²⁸ C. Achyuta Menon, *The Cochin State Manual* (Trivandrum, 1996), 174-78; Malekandathil, "Winds of Change and Links of Continuity," 290ff.
- ¹²⁹ For details on the Travancorean trade of this period see B. Sobhanan, "Trade Monopoly of Travancore," in *Journal of Kerala Studies*, vol. 8, part IV (1981): 30-31; P. Shangoonny Menon, *History of Travancore from the Earliest Times*, 166.
- ¹³⁰ Ashin Das Gupta, *Malabar in Asian Trade*, 107, 127.