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The Ali Rajas of Cannanore: status and identity at the interface of commercial and political expansion, 1663-1723

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APPENDIX I

Factors of the VOC settlement in Cannanore

Gelmer Vosburg	1665-1666
Pieter Vertangen	1666-1672
Daniel Jonques	1672-1678
Jacob Schoors*	1678-1682
Pieter van de Kouter	1682-1686
Bernhard Brochorst	1686-1688
Abraham Lefeber	1688-1691
Adam van der Duyn	1691-1698
Barent Ketel	1698-1702
Gerrit Mulder	1702-1710
Hendrik Wynhout*	1710-1711
Constantyn Coup	1711-1713
Hendrik van Wiert	1713-1718
Daniel Simonsz.	1718-1725

* Provisional Factors

Source: From various volumes of *Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren* (OBP).

APPENDIX II

*The Kolathiris (1663-1723)**

Kolathiri I	? -1680
Kolathiri II	1680-1692
Kolathiri III	1692-1698
Kolathiri IV	1698-1709
Kolathiri V	1709-1712
Kolathiri VI	1712-1716
Kolathiri VII	1716- ?

 * The succession years are given not according to the official accession to the position, which delayed, in some occasions, years, but according to the *muppumura* or eldership.

The Ali Rajas (1663-1723)

The Ali Raja I	? 1691
The Ali Raja II	1691- ?

 Source: From various volumes of *Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren* (OBP).

APPENDIX III

The ships of the Ali Rajas to Bengal (1700-1724)

1701	1
1704-1705	2
1706	2
1708	1
1710	1
1713	2
1716	1
1721	1
1722	1
1724	2

*The number of the Ali Rajas' ships that visited Bengal may not be complete. There are years when Bengal shipping lists are not available pertaining to Asian shipping.
Source: From various volumes of *Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren* (OBP), Bengal Shipping lists.

APPENDIX IV

1st treaty between the Ali Raja and the VOC, 11 February 1664

Agreement of trade and friendship concluded between Jacob Hustaart, *raat extra-ordinaris* of India, governor and director of the island Ceylon, and the conquests on the Malabar Coast, in the name of the United Netherlands Chartered East India Company on the one side, and the Ali Raja, the lord and the supreme ruler of the moors in the country of the King Kolathiri on the other side.

1. Henceforth a solid peace and friendship will be maintained between the Honourable Company and the Ali Raja so long the sun and moon last. The Company will not tolerate the Ali Raja being oppressed by anyone against justice.
2. The Ali Raja will be allowed to keep and frequent such places by his people as before.
3. Also, that the vessels will pay so much to the Company for the passes as it was during the time of the Portuguese.
4. But, his subjects will not be allowed to buy and transport pepper or wild cinnamon from the districts and ports of the Zamorin, the king of Cochin, Porca, Calicoilan and Coilan or of the king of Travancore.
5. So also they will not be allowed to export pepper or wild cinnamon from the above-mentioned lands across the uplands thither.
6. It will not be allowed to transport or sell opium by water or land into the lands of the above-mentioned kings with whom the Company entered into contract.
7. The Ali Raja is permitted to convey 150 *kbandil* of pepper annually from the land of the king Kolathiri, without being allowed to purchase more.
8. He will also take care that the pepper produced in this land being delivered to the Company at the market price.
9. And when the Honourable Company considers it proper to send some of her ministers landwards to buy pepper from the first hand, the Ali Raja should not obstruct it in any way.
10. The same rule shall be applicable for the cardamom which the Company will trade in that country.
11. The Ali raja will be allowed to buy and transport sixteen *kbandil* cardamom from here, but no more.
12. So also, annually, he will be allowed to bring in six *kbandil* opium by his vessels from Surat, and sell it, but no more.
13. The Ali Raja will take care the sale of the opium brought here by the Company, will not be obstructed.

14. The Ali Raja will not be allowed to trade with the Portuguese, the English or any other Europeans.
15. The Ali Raja should punish those of his servants who violate this treaty. Likewise the Company will do on her side.
16. The cardamom, pepper and opium and other things in excess of the quantities referred to above that are exported or brought in by them will be confiscated and half of it will go to the Company and the other half to the Ali Raja.
17. And if the Ali Raja himself is being found violating this accord, the Company will not be bound to observe it any longer.
18. The Company will be free to inspect the incoming and the outgoing vessels.
19. No ships are allowed to sail from the havens, where the Ali Raja has some authority, without having obtained a passport from the Company factor in Cannanore.
20. And such passports will not be issued without knowledge of the Ali Raja, because otherwise some unknown pirates may be able to misuse these.
21. On account of both sides there will be erected a bazaar or marketplace where the servants of the Ali Raja and the inlanders will sell victuals and other small goods to the servants of the Company.
22. And as that everything may go on properly, there shall be appointed a supervisor by the Company and another one by the Ali Raja
23. The Ali Raja promised to provide the garrison with food and other foodstuffs. Also the Company will protect the vendors from the harassment of the willful soldiers and the wrongdoers will be punished appropriately.

Accordingly contracted and decided and signed in the dwelling of the Ali Raja, situated outside the Cannanore fortress, and in the fortress on 11 February 1664. Signed by Jacob Hustaart and the Ali Raja in the Malabar characters. At side was the Company's seal, impressed in red sealing-wax.

Under that: at the order of His Honourable and the Council.

Signed by Cornelis Strick, Secretary.

Source: *Corpus Diplomaticum*, II, 263-6.

APPENDIX V

The third treaty signed between the Ali Raja and the VOC, 9 April 1680

Renewal of the old contract and the mutual friendship, concluded between the illustrious Netherlands East India Company on the one side, and the Ali Raja, head and supreme chief of the Moors of this bazaar in Cannanore on the other side, in the name of the Honourable Rijklof van Goens, the governor-general and the honourable members of the Council of the Indies, at the order of the Commissioner Marten Huysman, commander of Malabar, Canara and Wingurla, with his approval and of the Council and Their Honourables Highmighties afore-mentioned, by us, undersigned, authorized for that purpose, namely:

1. That the treaty further confirmed by Admiral and Governor General Rijkloff van Goens on 13 December 1664 with the Ali Raja will be maintained and observed in its full vigour and intensity; likewise the articles mentioned below under penalty of which in the above-mentioned contract is mentioned.
2. That the Ali Raja and all merchants from the bazaar should return to their old residence again and continue their trade there as before.
3. That no vessels or ships belonging to this bazaar, or were sent by the inhabitants of this bazaar, on return, will be allowed to unload their merchandise on any other ports or bazaars, but the Cannanore bazaar, unless with license, being inspected by the Company.
4. That no vessels arriving in this bay after sunset or before sunrise will be permitted to unload their merchandise, but to stay there to be inspected in the morning.
5. That the chiefs and the inhabitants of the Cannanore bazaar, much less from some other bazaars, may sell nor supply pepper or cardamom to any foreign nationals, but directly to the Company, as has been agreed yearly, besides seventy to eighty *kbandil* cardamom, or so much as they are able to obtain. If the Company does not need it, and what may be collected from the lands of the Kolathiri, Ali Raja and the merchants of this land will be allowed to convey with the license of the Company and according equity to Surat, Muscat and Mocha. But they will not be allowed to bring back more opium from Surat as stated in the old contract.
6. That henceforth all vessels will be required to request the proper sea-passes from the Company and pay for them. Those vessels sailing without passes will be confiscated with all their cargoes.
7. The Ali Raja, for the renewal of the friendship with the Company, should hand over the six cannons to the Company after signing of this treaty; and as soon as this is done, the sea-

passes shall be granted without any obstruction as early, but everything depend on the consent of the Batavia Government.

8. That the Ali Raja may cultivate the piece of land lying within the limit of the Company, because the Ali Raja has proved that it belongs to him. And in any case there shall be no trees be planted, nor built houses, but nothing else will be done than sowing.

That the minting of *fanums* shall be done according to convenience and the coins of the Company will have a reasonable value.

That henceforth both sides will consider each other as ally and that all the enemies of the Company will be their enemies too. And every time when help is required, that should be served at the earliest.

9. That if the contract and these articles will be properly observed, all the earlier differences and displeasures with the Ali Raja and his merchants shall be void and forgotten, which will be confirmed at the visit of the Honourable Commissioner to Cannanore.

10. That of these articles, two in Dutch and other two in Malabar script shall be written and signed by the Ali Raja and four of his chief merchants, and our commissioners and one will be kept under the custody of the Company and another under the Ali Raja.

Below: concluded at Cannanore, in the Company's garden outside the fortress, on 9 April 1680. And it was signed with Malabar characters: the Ali Raja, the Karanavar, Bappinga and Coycoetialie.

Below: we, the signatories, Hendrik Reyns, *capitan-ragiadoor* and Jacob Derval, provisional lieutenant, specially commissioned by the Honourable Marten Huysman, commissioner and commander of the Malabar Coast, Canara and Wingurla, declare that [we have] concluded this renewal [of the treaty] with the Ali Raja and his merchants in public in the Company's aforementioned garden, and signed:

Hendrik Reyns and Jacob Terval

Further below: Translated by me, Bartholomeus Vaas.

Source: *Corpus Diplomaticum*, III, 214-217.

APPENDIX VI

The treaty between the Ali Raja and the English, 1668

Articles of agreement to be confirmed between the Rajah of Cannanore and Alexander Grigby in the behalf of the Honourable English East India Company for their settlement of a factory at Biliapatam—1668

1. That the English shall during their pleasure reside at the port of Biliapatam with all freedom and liberty, and be always treated with honor and respect the Rajah at his own charge allowing them a house to live in and not suffer any to molest them; their brokers, servants or any belonging to them, that they may journey at their pleasure up and down in the country, or voyage from place to place in pursuance of their trade without any let or hindrance from the Rajah, or any governors or any person whatsoever.
2. That whatsoever goods or merchandize the English shall bring in or carry out, they are to allow the Rajah custom from the same after the rate of 1 (1 ½ at Carwar) 2 percent as at Surat, or as Mr. Grigby can best agree with the Rajah, pressure expected.
3. That for what goods shall be brought down and carried up into the country the English are to pay no custom but at port only; and if any goods are landed at port and not sold but reshipped for other places no custom to be paid for the same; also for what timber or provisions of all sorts they are to pay no custom.
4. That it shall not be lawful for the governor Droga of the custom house (Allee Rajah) or any other person in power, to obstruct by public prohibition, or private menaces, the sale of any of the English commodities or hinder them in buying the commodities of the country upon any pretext whatsoever, but that the English shall have free liberty to buy their goods of and to dispose of their merchandize to whom they please.
5. That if any merchant, native buy any goods of the English, or contract for any of the native commodities to be delivered them, and shall neglect either to pay their debts or perform their contracts; the Rajah or governor shall use means to force him or them to make satisfaction, and in default thereof the English shall have liberty to detain such person in their house till the debt is cleared.
6. That whereas the present fort appointed by the Rajah for their residence is in an ill condition to receive them the English shall have liberty to rebuild the same and to build warehouses for goods, and other outhouses such as shall be necessary and what charge they are at shall allowed them out of the customs due on goods imported and exported.
7. That the Rajah shall secure what estate, goods or monies the English shall bring on shore or buy in the country against all attempts whatsoever and if any part thereof n goods or

monies be plundered or stolen within the Rajah's dominions he is to be obliged to find out the thieves and make full satisfaction.

8. That in case any war shall happen between the Rajah and the Dutch or French or Portuguese it shall not be lawful for the Rajah on any pretence whatsoever to seize or deliver up or suffer to be seized or delivered up any part of the estate belonging to the English or any of their persons or servants; but he shall be bound to protect them and if any of the company's estate be seized the Rajah shall be bound to make it good.
9. That no person of what quality soever shall enter forcibly into the English house; but if any difference shall arise between the English and the natives, it shall be amicably composed between both parties; and in case (which god forbid) any quarrel shall arise, so that by drink or heat of, either party be killed, the rajah is to do justice on the native if the fault shall appear to be his; and the Englishman is to be kept in irons till order shall come from the government and council concerning his punishment.
And if any differences shall arise in accounts between any of the English brokers and the country merchants the chief for the English is to be acquainted with it, and determine the controversy according to the justice of the cause.
10. That if any of the companies servants shall absent himself from his duty to any part of the Rajah's country; upon notice given, he shall use his endeavors to return and surrender him.
11. That if any wreck of ship or vessel appertaining to the English shall happen (which god forbid) in Biliapatam or any of the Rajah's ports the Rajah's people shall be obliged not only to use all means possible to save men and goods, or what else belonging there unto but also to restore whatever can be recovered, and prevent all manner of embezzlement.

Source: OIC, Home Miscellaneous Series, vol. 629, Treaty between the Ali Rajas and the English, 1668, fos. 29-37.

APPENDIX VII

The VOC Commanders of Malabar

Pieter de Bitter	1663
Cornelis Valkenburg	1663
Ludolph van Coulster	1663-1666
Isbrand Godske	1666-1668
Lucas van der Dussen	1668-1670
Hendrik Adriaan van Reede	1670-1677
Jacob Lobs	1677-1678
Marten Huijsman	1678-1684
Gelmer Vosburgh	1684-1687
Isaack van Dielen	1687-1693
Hendrik Adriaan van Reede (Commissioner)	1691
Alexander Wighmans (acting Commander)	1693-1694
Adriaan van Ommen	1694-1696
Paulus de Roo (Commissioner)	1695
Pieter Coesaart (acting Commander)	1696-1698
Hendrick Zwaardcroon (Commissioner)	1697-1698
Magnus Wichelman	1698-1701
Abraham Vink	1701-1704
Willem Moerman	1704-1708
Adam van der Duijn	1708-1709
Barent Ketel	1709-1716
Willem Backer Jacobz (Commissioner)	1716-1718
Johannes Hertenberg	1718-1723

Source: Hugo K. s'Jacob, *The Rajas of Cochin*, 173.