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By

Gabriel Mathias Soares

Abstract

Early Modern Age maritime explorations produced a myriad of cultural encounters with varying outcomes, almost inevitably marked by tensions, if not outward conflict. The advent of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean world provoked uneasy reactions among Muslims, involving long-standing religious antagonisms and freshly sparked conflicts of interest. Muslim scholars from Kilwa to the Malabar Coast wrote a number of Arabic chronicles that addressed these Christian Franks' establishment in the region. The present research investigates sixteenth-century Arabic historical accounts on Portugal's encroachment in and around the Indian Ocean, examining interconnections of Muslims' experiences of —and reactions to— these encounters. The paper focuses on how discourses about the past were produced as a direct outcome of these interactions and as an instrument for political projects tackling the pressing challenges created by European intervention.

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Introduction

The maritime exploration of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries resulted in a series of new encounters that resulted in a watershed moment in world history. This contact with the unfamiliar challenged the worldview of both explorer and native, forcing them to come to terms with expectations inherited from their past traditions in light of the transformations in their present reality. This paper investigates how historical narratives of Muslim communities in the Indian Ocean were affected by the interference of the Portuguese during the sixteenth century. It focuses on two chronicles written in Arabic from the regions in opposite sides of the highly connected Monsoon system, the Swahili Coast and the Malabar Coast, that were both strongly cosmopolitan and also heavily targeted by Portugal's imperial aggression. The narratives share similar features with the Islamic historiographical tradition in the Indian Ocean, modeled after collective biographies from the Eastern Mediterranean and forms of Persian history writing.[1] They also featured their own specificities related to local lore and record keeping.[2]

Descriptions of European Christians' actions feature often in these other writings, but are rarely the main subject. Many Arabic histories in the period address the incursions of the Franks in the Western Indian Ocean region as important facts within a larger framework (like the Hadhrami chronicles,[3] such as *Tārīkh al-Shanbal* and *Tārīkh al-Shiḥri*, or the historical annals from Mecca,[4] such as *Bulūgh al-qirā* and *Nayl al-munā*). However, only two historical works can be defined as a direct by-product of —and response to— Portuguese encroachment over Muslim societies: they were created by the circumstance of these conflicts and with the purpose to actively transform them. One was composed by an unnamed author in Kilwa (a central port city of the Swahili Coast at the time) sometime between the Portuguese occupation of the city and the mid sixteenth century, entitled "The consolation of the History of Kilwa" (*Kitāb al-sulwa fī akhbār Kulwa* in Arabic). The other was part of larger anti-Portuguese literature from the Malabar Coast that included sermons and epic poems, yet the "The Masterpiece of the Faithful Strugglers in some accounts of the Portuguese" (T*uḥfat al-mujāhidīn fī ba*ʿḍ *akhbār al-Burtuqālīyīn* in Arabic) is the only known historical prose among these jihadi texts. This self-defined "masterpiece" was written sometime around the year 1580 by Zayn Al-Din, a religious leader and respected scholar in Islamic law. Both chronicles were composed not in areas outside of Portugal's reach, like all the other known contemporaneous Arabic chronicles, but where its power was manifested, even in political and intellectual terrains. Their reaction to this foreign hostile power was premised on a reevaluation of their own heterogenous past, seeking to underscore the rightfulness of the arrival of Islam to their regions.

The following analysis of these works seeks to understand their broader historical context and their responses to the challenges brought by newfound foreign contact. The appeal to history was certainly an important part of a local struggle against Portuguese dominion, since it served to bind the Muslim community closer together and to strengthen the legitimacy of Islamic rule. Yet both works are also representative of only a portion of

their respective Muslim communities. Narrating the past was a contentious subject, because it also involved disputes within Muslims themselves, namely of who had the right to govern them and how. These sixteenth-century Arabic histories of Kilwa and Malabar advocate for specific factions among the local and even outside elites who collaborated and/or resisted Portuguese encroachment. These two chronicles were then part of larger process of confronting and negotiating with Christian European expansion, painting a more intricate picture of the Early Modern period where historical transformations were not only at hands of Iberian conquerors, but also by the conquered and those beyond the territories controlled by Western empires. In this sense, the contexts surrounding the creation of these two chronicles can be understood as lying within "contact zones", what Mary Louise Pratt defines as "social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination – such as colonialism and slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today."[5]

The debate on the origins of the modern world and the historical foundations of present globalization is still ongoing. Depending on the criteria, the earliest instance of interconnectivity on a global scale goes back to the first transoceanic navigations in the Early Modern period. These new oceanic routes enveloped most of the world in a system of exchanges, with networks circling the globe. Studies in the last decades have increasingly shown that the dynamics of worldwide transformations were never unidirectional, i.e. "from the West to the Rest", and even instances of indisputable subordination of non-Europeans did not completely strip subaltern individuals of their agency.[6] By decentering history, as Natalie Zemon Davis proposed, it is possible to "let the subalterns and their practices and beliefs carry the narrative" and thus show the means by which they "influence outcomes and their own destiny."[7] Though many histories of African and Asian societies in this period, particularly from the sixteenth century, can hardly be reduced to one of subjugation to Europeans, their complex relationship with the phenomena of increased global integration has been overshadowed by a discourse of Western pioneering. Where these extending processes collided, the Eurocentric narrative confined non-Western actors to a passive role. The first direct links between these societies were more often than not multidirectional and multifaceted. One such turning point in the long history of globalization was the Portuguese encounter with a world of trade networks, port cities, and coastal communities in the Indian Ocean, where the sea routes were dominated by Muslim traders. The historical narratives produced in these circumstances reflect newly established associations with a larger world and a past that could not be understood solely by long held traditions.

World History itself is not a new phenomenon, even if it has acquired different meanings as it reflects new discoveries.[8] Past historians have long written about what they understood as the world, a notion that would change as different regions and continents were gradually —or sometimes abruptly— connected.[9] In the sixteenth century, there were already several world historians starting to think on a veritable global scale about the human past. This worldwide consciousness was one outcome of long distance travels and

the wide-ranging circulation of products and ideas. Direct links between mutually unknown groups were increasingly established, with both auspicious and tragic consequences. These far-reaching interconnections deepened the ties between societies of different islands and continental landmasses —a process not exclusively driven by European expansionism. A broader "global view" was not the monopoly of a single cultural tradition. Western Christians' contact with the Americas and other regions generated among some historians in the Renaissance an awareness of pasts far beyond the classical and biblical traditions, as Giuseppe Marcocci has analyzed.[10] Particularly among Muslims around the Arabian Sea, a type of history writing developed with the increased interconnectivity through maritime routes, what Christopher D. Bahl defined in a recent article as "Transoceanic Arabic historiography".[11]

These new studies challenge long-held views, still present in certain "neo-Eurocentric" trends claiming that all significant changes in the sixteenth century, both in history and historiography, are exclusively a product of (Western) Europe's internal dynamics, which were then "dispersed" throughout the world by its plucky adventures and settlers.[12] Yet this view is unsustainable when one takes a closer look at evidence from different parts of the world and how the actions of non-Europeans reflected upon the peculiar transformations of the sixteenth century.[13] Independent dynamics were at play in a myriad of regions far beyond the reach of Europeans at that point in time or in the places where they represented only a minor presence, as in most of the Asiatic and African continents. Even where Western Christians were able to assert themselves, the balance of power could shift against them in favor of local or other outside actors. More importantly, most of the pre-established aspects of the different societies (religion, language, and social stratification, among others) in Asia and Africa would still carry on with little to no impact from newcomers. However, even in these early stages of European presence, some places were significantly more affected than others. What can be said about their limited influence inland, especially deeply inside the immense interior of Asia and Africa, cannot be extended to the oceanic rim. There was the point of arrival of the overseas expansions, bringing the latest advances in European naval technology, such as large ships capable of long transoceanic voyages with powerful cannons mounted on their broadsides. The sea is the space where one can thus see a major transformation in the East following the first caravels from Portugal crossing the Cape of Good Hope.

The Indian Ocean on the eve of the arrival of the Portuguese is often described as a "Muslim lake" of sorts, since it was dotted with Muslim networks and communities throughout its extension from the East African Coast to the Malacca Strait.[14] The Arabic language was a *lingua franca* for both trade and general communication, alongside Persian, Tamil, Swahili, Malay, and others.[15] After its initial expansion during the time of the Rashidun Caliphate and its Umayyad successors, Islam's dissemination in the oceanic shores of Africa and Asia —outside of Arabia, Persia and Northern India— was mostly slow and peaceful, through centuries of interactions among trade routes.[16] The adoption of the new religion usually began through individuals or parts of communities, with the later conversion

of the political elite finally giving Islam official status in a city-state or kingdom. Some local narratives sought a more ancestral connection with the time of the prophet Muhammad and his immediate successors, or even to himself and the earliest days of the revelation, but more detailed accounts pushed the definite introduction of Islam to a latter period.[17] As early as the sixteenth century, the constant interactions, travels, and migrations between the shores of the Indian Ocean had given a common sense of belonging to this multitude of societies adherent to Islam.[18]

An interconnected Indian Ocean, marked by what Engseng Ho called an "Ecumenical Islam", was the result of not just ongoing transformations in the millennia old sea routes from Africa to Asia, but also of disturbances in old Eurasian land routes commonly known nowadays as the Silk Road(s).[19] As intra and inter-dynastic struggles ravaged the Mongol Empire and its successors, the previously secure long distance trade path through the imperial domains became ever more dangerous. Yet trade across the East-West space did not merely decline with the fracturing of the Steppe Corridor: it was rerouted to the South, invigorating the maritime routes in the Eastern seas. The main trade lanes were then arranged in three sectors: from the Red Sea to Gujarat, from there to the Strait of Malacca, and then on until the South China Sea.[20] This division guaranteed a more manageable commercial economy, less unpredictable outcomes, and more foreseeable returns for each invested stakeholder. The pursuit of spices was a driving force in this system, arguably the most lucrative commodity in the route from the Molucca Islands to Suez. Religious solidarity thus played a key role in nurturing strong ties between confessional communities throughout these vast networks of trade, where a level of trust could be guaranteed by a common faith and shared ethical values regarding mercantile activities.[21] As attested in the accounts and personal experiences of North African jurist and traveler Ibn Battuta in the 1300s, these confessional bounds reached the farthest corners of "Muslim world" and had in the mosque a central place not only for communal prayer, but for lodging and feeding travelers, for education of the faithful, and for mediating disputes.[22]

As the tenth century of the Islamic calendar began, a people hitherto unfamiliar to the Indian Ocean world started to appear and to impose themselves over port cities and trade routes. The Franks (*franj*(*i*), pl. *īfranj* in Arabic), a term for European Christians of the Latin Church, had marked their presence in the South and Eastern Mediterranean since the eleventh century. They became well known as crusaders and merchants to both Muslim and Orthodox Christians.[23] Yet the societies in the Indian Ocean were mostly unaware of these outsiders until Vasco da Gama and his fleet started exploring the coast of East Africa and, with the help of a Muslim pilot whose identity is uncertain, managed to reach India.[24] The Portuguese were promptly identified as a part of the broader category of Franks, about whom there had been increasing references in Arabic scholarly literature after the capture of Jerusalem by crusaders in 1099, desecrating the third holiest site of Islam, and the religious wars for control of the Levant that lasted until their final expulsion in the end of the thirteenth century.[25] While old stereotypes from the time of the Crusades endured, such as the Frankish intolerant fanaticism and worship of the cross, new defining traits

emerged, most notably their attachment to the sea.[26] The Crown of Portugal's own religious and political project in the beginning of the sixteenth century, particularly the dream of a universal Christian empire, clashed with the interests and even the very existence of many Muslim communities in maritime Asia.[27] The Portuguese openly expressed a sentiment of hostility towards Islam, in spite of pragmatic accommodations in order to operate in an environment rife with the "hated sect". Both in mannerly and aggressive interactions, their contempt for the *umma* (the broader Islamic community) marked them, "especially in the Persian and Arabic chronicles, as a violent lot, who are also given to devious acts and chicanery in order to advance their interests," as Sanjay Subrahmanyam noted.[28] Such attitude is recorded not only in Islamic history writing, but also in letters from Muslim officials, merchants, and rulers written directly to the monarch in Lisbon, complaining about the attitudes of his Highness' subjects, local captains in particular.[29]

While European accounts are nearly the only available written sources of the encounters with people of the Americas, the Eastern seas from the Swahili Coast to Japan harbored strong literary traditions and produced records which have withstood the test of time. Written materials registered different African and Asian perspectives on the newcomers in chronicles, discourses, letters, poems, and more. The Arabic literary culture produced wide-ranging forms of documentary evidence referenced in Islamic tradition, itself containing an amalgam of biblical, Hellenistic, and Persian influences. Inheriting a series of *topoi* about cross-cultural differences from this accumulated legacy, a rich literature developed on the curious and strange creatures, places, and human beings of the world.[30] This "ethnological" lore mixed ancient classical views with Islamic "civilizational" values in its classification of alterity, meaning that the ideal Muslim would not only have superior beliefs, but also ethical and practical behavior. It shaped a significant part of Muslim discursive representation of different groups, creating stereotypes about societies outside of Islam's domain, such as the "barbarous" Franks of North and Western Europe.[31] Given the wide circulation of these accounts with travelers and scholars, some information —and prejudices— about Europeans were already hearsay long before visitors arrived. Thus, the contact with the Portuguese "appeared simultaneously strange *and* familiar".[32] Paradoxically, familiarity meant that some expectations could be shattered by the unforeseen arrival of impious interlopers with naval and military advantages over the pious Muslims. Disgraceful unbelievers overpowering the community of faithful Islamic followers in such a manner could fatefully imply a sort of subversion of the cosmological order. Providential reasoning needed a culprit for this calamity, usually found among Muslims themselves, be it powerful individuals' greed for power and wealth, or even the community's collective failure in abiding to God's will.[33] As shall be examined below, the Arabic historical descriptions of the actions of the Portuguese "Franks" are usually charged with religious condemnation, referred to as disgraced, damned, cursed, forsaken and so on.[34] These terms not only suggest God's ultimate power over events, but also a teleological explanation for all the misfortune based on piety itself as both cause and effect: wickedness among the believers brought about divine punishment, and only faithful

obedience to the revealed commandments could provide spiritual, and perhaps material, redemption from the heavenly ordained afflictions.

Much of what Arabic reports, sermons, and poems negatively reinforced or (re)constructed about the Franks was undoubtedly a product of the attitudes and actions of the Portuguese themselves. Their Iberian historical heritage was characterized by a strong Christian militant zeal, particularly against Muslims, what Jean Aubin defined as an atavistic hate for the "Moor".[35] This was part of the legacy of the kingdom's own formation during the Reconquista, similar to Castille and Aragon. In general, Iberian expansionism was centered upon primacy of the militant faith: the conquistador was a warrior on a religious mission to expand Christendom.[36] Analogous to the way the Portuguese were inserted in the more generic category of "Franks", they themselves used the term "Moors" (*mouros*) for all Muslims, despite the more circumscriptive origin of the word in North Africa. Portuguese writings of the time also categorically refused to recognize the central terminology Muslims applied to themselves and their religion (*Islam*), which was referred as the "sect of Mafamede" (*seita de Mafamede*), emphasizing that Muhammad (*Mafamede*) was a "false prophet". On the other hand, divergences within Islam merit description in some cases, as did ethnic and, even more often, racial distinctions. There is an apparent paradox in the Portuguese records of their encounters with Muslims and, however troublesome it could be, the close partnership with some of them: the recurrence and importance of interactions did not bring about any systematic study of Islamic cultures and languages (like the Oriental studies that were beginning to develop in other contemporary European intellectual spaces).[37] While lacking a coherent discourse on the Orient, these explorers collected information and objects that served their enterprise, which could eventually reach intellectuals in Europe and help to foster the development of a new "worldview" or *weltanschauung*.[38] As with many other aspects of the Portuguese empire, a mixture of pragmatism and religious dogmatism was the prevailing attitude, despite the initial curiosity that nurtured the literature of discovery in Portugal.[39]

The narrative of historians of the Portuguese Crown could be surprisingly straightforward, despite the obvious bias towards the imperial interests of Portugal's overseas expansion. They documented primarily what served their aggrandizing view of themselves and their actions, particularly in order to obtain privileges from the monarchy as the narrator of his countrymen's great deeds. However, internal rivalry within the empire likely turned self-aggrandizing narratives into a disputable topic, making detailed and verifiable reports a potential leverage against an enemy or opposing faction.[40] Their reports can surely appear objective in the retelling of events, often describing Portuguese brutality without any need to embellish them – indiscriminate violence against the enemies of Christendom could be a commendable act in this crusading mission.[41] Al-Salman considers the Portuguese historians of the overseas conquests and explorations to be "religious historians" that sought to glorify the killings and systematic plunder carried out by the agents of the Crown as deeds blessed by God.[42] Thus, sincere curiosity about "enemies of Christ" was not something to be encouraged.[43] Information reported on their

literary traditions was remarkably superficial for the most part. Considering the immense variety and complexity of Islamic communities the Iberian explorers encountered, many Portuguese historical descriptions neglect details on Asian and African Muslims deemed irrelevant for imperial objectives.[44] Some authors, however, showed a genuine interest in xenology and in scrutinizing the past outside the biblical and Greco-Roman traditions, such as Pedro Teixeira's history of the sovereigns of Persia based on a much larger work by the historian Mir Khwand.[45] The eminent chronicler João de Barros before him pioneered the use of Eastern sources about these societies' past, though most certainly not in the original languages, but as either written or orally recited translations.[46]

The actions of the Portuguese in the East were predicated upon faith and trade, meaning both material and spiritual rewards were rightful and expected for the fulfillment of their sacred mission in the lands of heathens and infidels. The fight against the enemies of Christendom and the expansion of Christianity required resources as much as religious zeal. The crusader ethos was transposed from the land-based chivalric type to naval warfare and piracy.[47] Upon arriving in the Indian Ocean, a strategy devised by Catholic clergymen in the fourteenth century began to be implemented: the blockade of the Red Sea.[48] This central policy for the Crown aimed at weakening the rival Mamluk Sultanate by cutting its access to the rich spice trade and giving Portugal monopoly over it instead. Since the area from the Red Sea to Jeddah, the port directly leading to Mecca, and Jerusalem was under Mamluk domain, the entire endeavor was clearly meant as a crusade by the more zealous factions of the nobility, while others saw the benefits of this course of action without necessarily sharing its spirits.[49] Besides this naval blockade, the Portuguese sought to control the sources of the spice production, firstly in the Malabar Coast and later in the Molucca Islands. To implement these strategies, they needed a foothold in the main nodes of the Indian Ocean's trade routes (the Gulf of Aden, the Strait of Hormuz, and the Strait of Malacca). All these strategies often involved a militant anti-Muslim attitude, due both to religious and commercial rivalry; those "enemies of Christ" also dominated the spice routes from East to West.

Albeit without the condemnation of the Islamic historical accounts, Portuguese chroniclers recurrently registered all sorts of egregious acts against Muslims without reservations: expulsions, massacres, destruction of property and a ban on travel (including pilgrimage to the Holy sites).[50] These were not mere reckless actions of undisciplined individuals, but more often anti-Islamic policies ordered by the Crown and enacted under the direct supervision of its captains. The governor Afonso de Albuquerque (1509-1515) was particularly eager in implementing His Majesty's crusading dreams and bringing about the "destruction of the House of Mecca (*destruyçam da casa de meqa*)".[51] Besides military power, the structures of the Portuguese empire (or rather a sparse thalassocracy in its outset) rested upon some degree of local cooperation that in many places could only be found among "impious" Muslims. Often downplayed (or omitted) in Muslim historical sources, the consolidation of alliances with —and pledges of vassalage to— the Crown of Portugal by Islamic authorities were important factors in sustaining the *Estado da Índia*[52]

itself, even when it pursued more zealous policies. These arrangements made sense in the higher scheme that was the ultimate aim of the Portuguese monarchy. They could also provide sufficient economic benefits to the Kingdom and its agents, particularly in the lucrative spice trade.

The reign of King Dom Emmanuel (1495-1521) oversaw the boom in the pepper trade amongst the Portuguese, in such a way that it quickly supplanted the import of African gold in revenue as the *Estado da Índia* lay the grounds for Portugal's thalassocracy in the East. Known at the outset of his rule as the "Gold King" (from trade established in West Africa), he later became known as the "Pepper King".[53] The actions of the Portuguese had a disruptive effect on the connections between the different parts of the Indian Ocean, negatively affecting trade from Southeast Asia to the East Mediterranean, including South Asia and East Africa.[54] Though never fully effective,[55] the naval blockade of the Red Sea did serve its purpose insofar as it maintained high prices for spices in the Mediterranean at least until the mid-1500s.[56] By this point, the resources and logistics required for implementing a complete monopoly and an impenetrable blockade of the alternative sea routes was too costly for distant Portugal. Moreover, this strategy became infeasible when direct confrontations with powerful Muslim empires, such as the Ottomans, occurred. Accommodations with rival forces were necessary to sustain the networks of the *Estado da Índia* in Asia, where markets demanded quantities and varieties of goods no single entity could entirely supply.[57] Taking into consideration the balance between their ambitions and their limited resources, the Portuguese authorities engendered a sort of protectionist 'racket' system based on paid safe-conducts for navigation inside the Indian Ocean known as *cartazes*.[58] Initially restricted to the Malabar coast as a way to demarcate ships from allied areas, the *cartaz* system developed into a revenue-system with the establishment of custom-houses on strategic ports from Hormuz to Malacca. They also functioned, by the late sixteenth century, as a diplomatic tool for exchanging favors with Asian rulers.[59] The Arabic historical sources provide an insight into the reality and insights of Muslims under Portuguese pressure, but—as most early modern historiographical works did— they tend to focus on major events more than recurrent incidents and slower changes, such as the effects of Portuguese naval patrolling and its extortions through its official permit system. However, those narratives still allude to a particular understanding of the marauding presence of the Franks in the Indian Ocean.[60]

It is commonly stated that the Portuguese introduced a political form of naval violence to the Indian Ocean in order to exert a type of domination previously unknown: maritime sovereignty.[61] Prior to this, the high seas were mostly an open space for navigation and no singular force claimed it as its domain. Critiques have been raised against such a thesis, pointing out how this was not entirely unprecedented (especially permits and safe-conducts for sailing from certain ports or through regional sea routes) and the novelty introduced was little more than Western Christendom's own notions of such oceanic politics.[62] However, though there were more regionalized forms of violence —such as piracy— and some projection of authority over sea waters, the use of force at sea that the

Portuguese brought was previously unmatched in terms of extension and systematics.[63] This is the context behind many of the descriptions of Arabic Muslim sources (letters, chronicles, sermons) of the incursion of the Franks from East Africa to Malacca: a certain perplexity at the aggressiveness of the Portuguese and their intransigence, encapsulated in the predicament of Malabari authors who "failed to understand why the Portuguese could not trade alongside other communities, rather than wishing to claim a monopoly, and could only attribute it to their inherently greedy and deceitful nature".[64] Though Islam had prevailed in the region as an ecumenical religion, interacting and negotiating with a variety of non-Muslims, the attitudes of the incoming Franks prompted militant reaction against these violent intruders.[65] This attitude defined an emerging transoceanic historiography in its approach to the Portuguese "Franks".

Despite the Portuguese disruption, the intensification of maritime connections during this time led to developments in Muslim cosmopolitan historiography in the Indian Ocean and beyond. Alongside Persian history writing developed over the previous centuries, a transoceanic Arabic historiography emerged in the sixteenth century, as Bahl has thoroughly analyzed.[66] An Arab cosmopolitanism crossed the Indian Ocean from the Hejaz to Gujarat, from Yemen to the Swahili Coast, and from Malabar to the Persian Gulf. As a prestigious language of erudition and religious worship, Arabic served was indispensable, bridging political and linguistic barriers. Its immense literary tradition held invaluable knowledge in all matters of life, from medicine to philosophy to astronomy and beyond. Being ever more connected, communities could better circulate information and update each other on recent events. Reports, older and newer, were selectively recorded in chronicles and annals, a number of which that were then copied and circulated around the Indian Ocean. The writing of history served to convey a shared sense of collective memory, even among faraway Islamic communities surrounded by vastly different environments. Stories linked the past between communities, places, and cultural traditions in an interconnected transoceanic space. With few exceptions, this rich historiography has not been given due attention, especially when compared to contemporary European sources or to Arabic sources of previous periods.[67]

The Swahili Coast: The Kilwa Chronicle

Located in the southernmost section of the Indian Ocean monsoon, the Swahili Coast's geography provided the conditions for a seasonal flow of vessels to navigate directly to and from the shores of the Arabian Sea (including the Gulf of Aden, Oman Sea, Persian Gulf, and Red Sea).[68] In the period between September and April, the monsoon produces winds from north to south in the coastal regions of the Indian Ocean, which allowed for constant voyages from the Arabian Sea to the Swahili Coast. Until the reversal in the direction of winds between April and early May (before the stormy weather between mid-May and September), commercial vessels could remain for months in these port regions, of which Kilwa was a privileged spot. This permanence required provisions for the merchants, their crew, their ships, and their animals. This trade flow made the fortune of Kilwa. Political

elites and merchants all sought to sustain this trading activity while trying to shape it in their favor.

The commercial port cities of the Swahili Coast, such as Kilwa, were not only connected to the wider Indian Ocean world, but also closely linked from the littoral to the African interior.[69] The vessels anchored along the continental coast (and Madagascar) and their crew required maintenance, supplies, and services. Wood, carpentry, and the manufacture of ropes and sails were indispensable to vessels. Merchants and crew (male-only, as a rule), staying seasonally on land for up to six months, demanded linguistic and religious services, as well as entertainment and sexual services, provided by locals at a high cost. Imports to the East African coast included beads from the Near East, Persian perfumes, cooking utensils, precious stones, wine, Indian rice, spices, cotton clothes, copper, metal objects, ceramics, and Chinese porcelain. This stimulated the local manufacture of ceramics, the adoption of cotton cultivation and techniques of cotton weaving, and the minting of coins, first in silver and then in copper. The most valuable exports were ivory, rhino horns, turtle shells, amber gray and, famously, gold from Sofala. The goods demanded in the Indian and Chinese markets were exported via Oman until around the year 900, when they were transported directly to the easternmost ports.[70]

Arabic was an important *lingua franca* for the Swahili elite, and most of them had at least basic proficiency for the purpose of maritime trade elsewhere, as well for performing religious duties such as pilgrimage.[71] Arriving alongside Islam, the Arabic script served not only to record the Holy Quran, but also as a tool of rulers in asserting their power and increasing their wealth. Copper coins bearing rulers' names in Arabic were minted by wealthy cities from the eleventh century on. The minting of coins in archeological dating and other Islamic epigraphical records attest to the historical period (the eleventh and twelfth century) set by later chronicles for the arrival of the Swahili cities founding Islamic dynasties from Persia and Arabia. The earliest of these writings, the Arabic chronicle of Kilwa, was probably composed in the mid-sixteenth century, but commissioned much earlier by the governing ruler of the city or the claimant to the throne during the strife unleashed with the arrival of the first fleets from Portugal.[72]

The Arabic title of the chronicle, *Kitāb al-sulwa fī akhbār Kulwa*, could be translated as “The consolation of the History of Kilwa”. The word “consolation” implicates a sentiment of atonement for the narrative. Indeed, rather opposing terms like "misfortune" and "restoration", found throughout the chronicle, are possibly a legacy of the turbulent events that followed Portuguese interference and were then aggravated with their occupation of the city from 1505 until their departure in 1512.[73] The text also mentions that the author was born in 1499 and, therefore, most probably had his childhood scarred by these events. The first mention of Portuguese appears at the beginning of the last chapter, in an isolated phrase, a little before the text turns to the account of their arrival. However short, the damning rhetoric of this initial excerpt presents one of the tropes about the Franks more ostensibly repeated in nearly all the other Muslim Arabic chronicles of the period:[74] “Under

[the emir] al-Fudail, internecine strife (*fitna*) emerged with the disgraced (*mukhādhīl*) Franks, [may] God forsake them [...]"

The Arabic chronicle of Kilwa presents the disgraced (*mukhādhīl*) newcomers as harbingers of corruption (*fasād*) and decadence (*khurbāt*).[75] This terminology implies both spiritual and material peril for the community. The narrative of the Portuguese's first interactions with the inhabitants of Kilwa is framed almost as a duplicitous game of wits, where the Franks are hiding their true wickedness and it is up to prescient locals to outsmart them. It starts with their arrival during the first year of Emir al-Fudail's rule when "[...] news arrived from the land of Mozambique (*musīmbiḥ*) that a people appeared from the country of the Franks (*min bilād al-īfranj*) on three vessels and their name of captain (*nwākhidh*) was Almirtī".[76] Sir Arthur Strong, who was the first to publish the Kilwa Arabic chronicle in print at end of the nineteenth century, identified the name of this captain as deriving from admiral (*almirante)* Vasco da Gama.[77] The chronicle continues, narrating the consecutive captains and their fleets attempting to trick the people of Kilwa into colluding with them. Finally, the *Almirtī* (Vasco da Gama) returns and forces the city to comply. Muhammad Rukn is made its ruler due to his merits, though implicitly not for his lineage.[78] As a last note, the author mentions how his own uncles were among the humiliated in this conundrum.[79] Then the narrative abruptly stops, indicating that a section of the original chronicle was lost or that it was never finished.

Another version of the chronicle survives in the contemporary *magum opus* of the Portuguese historian João de Barros' *Decades of Asia*.[80] Given their similarity, it has been safe to assume that an older writing existed, but was lost in time. Adrien Delmas argues that both versions were based on the same dynastic records kept through oral traditions that needed no written record until the disputes with a new power forced them onto paper, what he frames as the "scriptural paradigm of encounters".[81] Since both Portuguese and Swahili elites valued lineage as a source of legitimacy, it was in the interest of both parties to have in their hands this type of information. A historical account in written format had a stronger and more verifiable claim anywhere outside the established local tradition. Thus, Arabic history writing in the Swahili Coast was itself a product of the contentious encounter with the Portuguese.

India's western shores: *Tuḥfat al-mujāhidīn*

The Southwest region of the Indian subcontinent has been a bustling commercial hub for millennia, particularly in the trade of valuable spices produced in the region, such as black pepper and cinnamon. Though the external trade was dominated by Muslims (as elsewhere in the Indian Ocean), the Malabar coast was governed predominantly by Hindu sovereigns ruling over small kingdoms such as the Zamorin in Calicut, the Kolattiri kingdom in Kollattunatu, and the Rajas of Perumpatappunatu/Cochin.[82] At the end of the fifteenth century, the Zamorin became the most powerful ruler in the region, thus the epithet *samudra raja* (king of the Oceans), as well as *kunnalakkon* (Lord of the Sea and the

Mountain). Muslims in Malabar were a minority with a strong market, as well as cultural and political connections across the wider Indian Ocean. They enjoyed a privileged status before the Zamorin in commercial, political, and religious terms, controlling basically all maritime trade, as asserted by Portuguese chroniclers.[83]

A significant number of Malabari Muslims in the sixteenth century had ancestors partly outside the region. Among those of outside heritage was Zayn Al-Din (Makhdum, al-Ma'abari or al-Malibari), the main Muslim chronicler of Portuguese (mis)deeds in the region and a prominent Islamic jurist. His family came originally from Hadramawt to the Coromandel Coast and then finally immigrated to Malabar.[84] The Islamic community also had a division between those who were foreigners and controlled the profitable maritime trade, Pardeshi (*Paradeśi*), and the locals who delved in the coastal and interior commerce, the Mappila (*Māppiḷa*).[85] Portuguese antagonism was at first turned mainly towards the former, though it was far from restricted to them even at this initial stage.[86] As foreign merchants left under pressure, local Muslims lost important business partners and allies in faith, yet they could see opportunities emerge amidst very challenging conditions.[87] Naturally, wedges between these different segments could arise, though many still found common cause against their shared religious and commercial enemy. In the work entitled T*uḥfat al-mujāhidīn fī baʿḍ akhbār al-Burtughālīyīn* (The Masterpiece of the Faithful Struggle, in some accounts of the Portuguese), Zayn al-Din tries to depict a more cohesive *umma* in its heroic struggle against foreign oppressors. In doing so, he mostly omits internal tensions between these two Muslim communities, even glossing over the instances of trade collaboration with those "cursed Franks". Seeking to control the export of spices from the Malabar coast, the Portuguese tried from the very start to convince the ruler of Calicut to expel the Muslim traders and block them from traveling to the "land of the Arabs" (*barr al-'arab*), implying a ban on pilgrimage as well. The Zamorin rejected this demand, stating that it would be unthinkable to expel 4,000 families who lived as natives and provided much income to his kingdom. In this context, many Muslims galvanized support for the Hindu leader, mobilizing their community and raising funds for military action. Religious writings evoke a strong sense of jihad and other notions deep-seated in the Islamic tradition about the distinction of Muslims and non-Muslims, such as "abode of Islam" (*dār al-Islām*) and "abode of war" (*dār al-harb*).[88] The animosity between the Portuguese and the sovereign of Calicut erupts from then on, as reported by Zayn al-Din himself:[89]

> After a couple of years, six ships arrived and entered Calicut intending on trading and conducting trade business. They told the agents of the Zamorin to forbid Muslims from trading and traveling to Arabia (barr al-'arab) and that "greater benefits would be obtained from us [the Portuguese]". Then, they showed themselves to be enemies of the Muslims in their dealings, so the Zamorin ordered them killed and between sixty to seventy men were killed, the rest fleeing back to their ships.

For the chronicler, the newcomers' motivation was clear from the outset:[90]

> And the reason for their arrival in Malabar, as it is told about them, was their search for the countries of pepper to make its trade exclusively for them, because they were only buying it from intermediaries that bought it [the pepper] in Malabar.

Zayn al-Din argues that the actions of the Portuguese were not only an attack on Muslims in Malabar, but an invasion of Muslim territory, in terms no different for its implications than the abode of Islam (*Dār al-Islm*). This territorial violation of the faithful's sovereignty made holy struggle (*jihād*) an obligation for every single Muslim, no matter his or her status. Before starting his narrative of Portuguese's onslaught on Malabar, al-Din exhorts Muslims into resisting and struggling against these infidels. He tells readers that the origins of the Muslim community in that region was a product of divine grace over the believers, but that their ungratefulness led up to them the wicked Portuguese: [91]

> [The Muslims] returned God's blessing with unfaithfulness, offending and shrugging [Him]. Then God wrought upon them the people of Portugal from among the Franks —may God supreme forsake them— who oppressed, corrupted and attacked them [Muslims] in unspeakable manners [...]

In this providential framing, the advent of the Portuguese is an outcome of impiety. The "original sin" is Malabari Muslims' own failure in showing appreciation for God's blessing (*na'Ṇma Allah*) upon them due their impiousness (*kufrān*). Divine punishment comes as a penitence for the believers, so they may return to righteousness through faithful struggle (*jihād*). As a manifestation of God's divine judgment, the oppression and afflictions brought by the Franks upon Muslims in Malabar is, in a sense, a historical necessity. The tragedy is not an inevitability, but a consequence of believers' moral failure. Revelation is thus the key to understanding the duties of the faithful and deciphering the holy providence's plans. The revealed commandments are clear about the remedies against the scourge of infidelity, as Zayn al-Din writes:[92]

> So I compiled this collection to incite de People of the Faith (Ahl al-Īmān) against the Worshippers of the Cross ('abdat al-Sulbān), because the faithful struggle (jihād) is an 'individually imperative obligation' (fard 'aīn) for their intrusion in the Land of the Muslims (Bilād al-Muslimīn). They [the Franks] also captured unfathomable numbers of them [Muslims], killed many of them, converted a multitude of them to Christianity (al-nasarānīa), abducted unfortunate Muslim Women forcing them to give birth to Christian boys that would fight against Muslims and humiliated them.

Zayn al-Din thus openly states the purpose of his writing: to exhort Muslims to fulfill their duty of faithful struggle (*jihād*) against the Portuguese oppression over the believers of Malabar. In the title itself, the author makes it clear that the masterpiece (*tuḥfat*) honors Faithful Strugglers (*al-Mujāhidīn*) against the cursed unbelievers, presenting the case for (further) jihād. Written around the year 1580, the work is dedicated to the Sultan of Bijapur, a large Sultanate further north whose rulers had moved back and forth between conflict and negotiation with the *Estado da Índia*. The praises the Malabari scholar assigns to this sovereign does not fit other historical records and, depending on the period Zayn al-Din finally concluded his work, Sultan Adil Shah could have already been dead and replaced by his heir, Ali Adil Shah.[93] Other Muslim rulers he admonishes for their disinterest in religious observance and also for abandoning their brothers in faith to suffer under the Franks, preferring to indulge themselves in mundane pleasures.[94] However, the ruler who more often features in his narrative is actually the Zamorin, the Hindu sovereign of Calicut and, technically, an infidel. As Mahmood Kooria examined, earlier and contemporary Islamic writings regard the Hindu ruler of Calicut as the one possessing the moral and political

qualities to govern over the Muslims in Malabar.[95] Other rulers, such as the Muslim Rajas of Cannanor, are portrayed as corrupt and illegitimate because of their agreements with the Portuguese. Conversely, Zayn al-Din's own political project was to bring his region under the stewardship of powerful Islamic rulers to the north.[96] Bouchon understands his distancing from the local allegiance to Hindu rulers as inspired by the victory —and ultimate destruction— of Vijayanagar by a coalition of the Deccan sultanates.[97] Ultimately, this vision of a Malabar under one of those Sultans failed to materialize, but such a bold proposal itself signals, as Renu Elizabeth Abraham states in her recently concluded dissertation on Kerala (Malabar) in the sixteenth century, "a disintegration of at least a section of the MŌppilas from the local political order in the aftermath of the Portuguese arrival in the Indian Ocean".[98]

Zayn al-Din presents an even more unidimensional story about the main antagonists in his narrative. No other known Arabic historical work from that time was as thoroughly focused on describing the actions of the Portuguese, from their arrival to what this signified and entailed for Muslims.[99] However, the text maintains the same stereotypical portrayal of the 'disgraced' (*makhdhūl*) Franks of other histories without providing any of the details seen in some smaller accounts. As Sanjay Subrahmanyam noted, the whole narrative lacks relevant information on its main topic: the Portuguese.[100] No personal names are given and no information on Portugal is provided, referring to it only as a place of origin.

Conclusion

More than an account of events, the Arabic histories examined here are a direct outcome of the circumstances they narrate, conceived to play an active role in changing their course. They highlight a more multifaceted process of long-distance integration in the Early Modern world, often centered on European sea voyages. The people on the coast of the Indian Ocean were not mere spectators of these events. They informed themselves, interpreted events, and acted following them, influencing the reality in which they lived. Their historical accounts on the Portuguese encroachment are by definition a product of the dynamics of cross-cultural interaction that, as Kapil Raj states, "was a constitutive condition for the very possibility of sustained European presence in new and unfamiliar spaces".[101] In the two chronicles examined in this article, writing about the past was not merely a retelling of events that included the recent incursion by the "disgraced" Franks as part of their narrative. The very purpose of these histories is centered on challenging the constraining circumstances generated by this foreign transgression on the pre-existing order in the Swahili Coast and in Malabar.

Notes

[1] Christopher D. Bahl, "Transoceanic Arabic historiography: sharing the past of the sixteenth-century western Indian Ocean," *Journal of Global History* 15, no. 2 (2020): 204.

[2] In the Swahili Coast, oral narratives were the primary form of transmitting dynastic genealogies from generation to generation. See Adrien Delmas, "Writing in Africa. The Kilwa Chronicle and other Sixteenth-Century Portuguese Testimonies," in *The Arts and Crafts of Literacy, Islamic Manuscript Cultures in Sub-Saharan Africa*, ed. Andrea Brigaglia and Mauro Nobili (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), 199-200. In Kerala (called Malabar in Arabic), the *granthāvaris* (a form of record keeping produced by Hindu ruling houses) could be used as a reference material on historical events by local Muslims. See Renu Elizabeth Abraham, "History Writing and Global Encounters in Sixteenth-Century Kerala," (PhD diss., University of Kent, University of Porto, 2020), 55, https://kar.kent.ac.uk/84828.

[3] See Robert Bertram Serjeant, *The Portuguese off the South Arabian Coast: Hadrami Chronicles* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963).

[4] See Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "A View from Mecca: Notes on Gujarat, the Red Sea, and the Ottomans, 1517–39/923–946 H.," *Modern Asian Studies* 51, no. 2 (2017).

[5] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial eyes: Travel writing and transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 7.

[6] José Manuel Santos Pérez, "História Global, História Mundial. Alguns aspectos da formação histórica de um mundo globalizado," in *Histórias Conectadas. Ensaios sobre história global, comparada e colonial na Idade Moderna (Brasil, Ásia e América Hispânica)* (Rio de Janeiro: Autografia, 2016), 20-21.

[7] Natalie Zemon Davis, "Decentering history: Local stories and cultural crossings in a global world," *History and Theory* 50, no. 2 (2011): 190.

[8] Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "On World Historians in the Sixteenth Century," *Representations* 91 (Summer 2005): 26.

[9] Sebastian Conrad, *What Is Global History?* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), 32-33.

[10] See Giuseppe Marcocci, *Indios, chinos, falsarios: las historias del mundo en el Renacimiento* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2019).

[11] See Bahl, "Transoceanic Arabic historiography".

[12] Hodgson criticizes McNeill's *Rise of the West* as the paradigmatic example of Eurocentric history. Marshall GS. Hodgson, *Rethinking World History: Essays on Europe, Islam and World History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 93-94.

[13] Hodgson, 27.

[14] Luís Filipe R. Thomaz, *De Ceuta a Timor* (Lisboa: Difel, 1994), 176.

[15] Alam and Subrahmanyam, "A View from Mecca," 256-257.

[16] "The principal agents in this extension of the medieval Muslim world were not sultans, soldiers, or scholars but ordinary, humdrum traders whose main objective was not to spread their faith but to turn a profit." Sebastian R. Prange, *Monsoon Islam: Trade and Faith on the Medieval Malabar Coast* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 3.

[17] Prange considers the legend of a Cheraman Perumal, the Kerala (Malabar) king who converted to

Islam at the hands of the prophet, a "creative effort to bridge the divide between the global and the local, to designate a place for Islam within the social and political landscape of medieval South India." Prange, *Monsoon Islam*, 6-7. Chittick mentions the accounts of conversion in East Africa dating back to the first centuries of Islam, but basically discards these as evidence alongside more solid archeological data from much later periods. Neville Chittick, "Kilwa and the Arab Settlement of the East African Coast," *The Journal of African History* 4, no. 2 (1963): 181.

[18] Geoff Wade, "Islam Across the Indian Ocean to 1500 CE," in *Early Global Interconnectivity Across the Indian Ocean World, Volume II: Exchange of Ideas, Religions, and Technologies*, ed. Angela Schottenhammer (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 94.

[19] Engseng Ho, "The Two Arms of Cambay: Diasporic Texts of Ecumenical Islam in the Indian Ocean," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 50, no. 2-3, (2007): 351.

[20] Ho, "The Two Arms of Cambay," 352.

[21] Thomaz, *De Ceuta a Timor*, 174-175.

[22] Prange, *Monsoon Islam*, 121-123.

[23] Daniel G. König, *Arabic-Islamic Views of the Latin West: Tracing the Emergence of Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 330.

[24] The pilot that guided the first Portuguese fleet to India has been identified as the Arab navigator Ahmad ibn Majid, but this identification is probably incorrect and it is more likely that he was from Gujarat. See Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Europe's India: Words, People, Empires, 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017), 81, 291.

[25] Subrahmanyam, *Europe's India*, 269.

[26] Jorge Flores, "Floating Franks: The Portuguese and their empire as seen from early modern Asia," in *The Routledge History of Western Empires*, ed. Robert Aldrich and Kirsten McKenzie (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), 35.

[27] Giuseppe Marcocci, *A consciência de um império: Portugal e o seu mundo (sécs. XV-XVII)* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2012), 79.

[28] Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Taking stock of the Franks: South Asian views of Europeans and Europe, 1500–1800," *The Indian Economic & Social History Review* 42, no.1 (2005): 73.

[29] Sanjay Subrahmanyam & Muzaffar Alam, "A Handful of Swahili Coast Letters, 1500–1520," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 52, no. 2 (2019): 256. The letters analyzed by the authors in this article are part of a series of documents in Arabic characters preserved in the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo in Lisbon. They are found mostly in the section entitled "Collection of Letters" ranging from the year 1440 until 1690 (Colecção de Cartas 1499/1690) grouped together under the number 891.1, subtitled "Documents in Arabic characters from the East" (*Documentos em caracteres árabes provenientes do* Oriente) PT/TT/CART/891.1, available in digitized format at https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=3908183

[30] Aziz Al-Azmeh, "Barbarians in Arab Eyes," *Past & Present* 134, no. 1 (February 1992): 4-5.

[31] Al-Azmeh, "Barbarians in Arab Eyes," 5-6.

[32] Flores, *The Routledge History of Western Empires*, 35.

[33] Prange identifies this as "a prominent theme in Islamic historiography: both the Crusades and the Mongol devastation had been portrayed by Arab historians (not entirely without reason) as the result

of discord within the Muslim community." Prange, *Monsoon Islam*, 147.

[34] This pattern can be traced back to the aftermath of the first Crusade, as König notes that "Arabic-Islamic authors writing on the crusades often combine the ethnonym 'Franks' with an almost ritualized curse." König, *Arabic-Islamic Views of the Latin West*, 291

[35] Jean Aubin, *Le latin et l'astrolabe: recherches sur le Portugal de la Renaissance, son expansion en Asie et les relations internationales* (Lisboa & Paris: Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian/ Commission Nationale pour les Commémorations des Découvertes Portugaises, 2000), 160.

[36] Marcocci, *A consciência de um império*, 47.

[37] João Teles Cunha, ""Dares & Tomares" no Orientalismo Português," in *Estudos orientais, Volume Comemorativo do Primeiro Decénio do Instituto de Estudos Orientais (2002-2012)*, ed. Eva-Maria von Kemnitz (Lisboa: Universidade Católica Editora, 2012), 136-137.

[38] Teles Cunha, 146.

[39] Ibid, 139-140.

[40] Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Impérios em Concorrência: Histórias conectadas nos séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisboa: ICS, 2012), 62.

[41] Luís Adão da Fonseca, "The Idea of Crusade in Medieval Portugal: Political Aims and Ideological Framing," in *Crusading on the edge*, ed. Torben Kjersgaard Nielsen and Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), 187-188.

[42] Mohamed Hameed Al-Salman, "Arabian Gulf in the Era of Portuguese Dominance: A Study in Historical Sources," *Liwa* 4, no. 7 (June 2012): 25.

[43] These attitudes towards infidels (Muslims, but also Jews to a certain degree) contrasts with a certain interest in different groups of pagans in order to convert them. Marcocci, *A consciência de um império*, 98-99.

[44] Al-Salman.

[45] Marcocci, *Indios, chinos, falsarios*, 52-53.

[46] Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Intertwined Histories: Crónica and Tārīkh in the Sixteenth-Century Indian Ocean World," *History and Theory* 49 (December 2010): 135.

[47] Fonseca, *Crusading on the edge*, 177.

[48] Luís Filipe R. Thomaz, "The Portuguese control over Indian Ocean and the *cartaz* system," in *Os mares do oriente: a presença Portuguesa circa 1507*, ed. João Abel da Fonseca and Luís Couto Soares (Lisboa: Academia de Marinha, 2011), 297.

[49] Thomaz, *De Ceuta a Timor,* 173-174.

[50] Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia*: *A Political and Economic History, 1500-1700* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 62.

[51] "Carta de Affonso de Albuquerque ao Rei Dom Manuel I em que dá conta de como mandou liberar Chaul, onde estava cativo o embaixador de Preste João, e da recepção do mesmo em Goa, 1512, Dezembro 16" (Torre do Tombo, Gaveta 15, maço 19, n.º 23) in *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque, seguidas de documentos que as elucidam,* vol. I, ed. Raymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato (Lisboa: Academia Real das Ciências de Lisboa, 1884), 384.

[52] The Estado da Índia comprised all Portuguese possessions east of the Cape of Good Hope.

[53] Dietmar Rothermund, *Violent Traders: Europeans in Asia in the Age of Mercantilism* (Delhi: Manohar, 2014), 68.

[54] Philippe Beaujard, *The Worlds of the Indian Ocean: Vol. 2, From the Seventh Century to the Fifteenth Century CE: A Global History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 607.

[55] The extent and significance of the blockade's impact are still debated among modern historians, particularly in regard to the first decade of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean, as discussed in Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Rethinking the Establishment of the *Estado da Índia*, 1498–1509," in *Empires Between Islam and Christianity, 1500-1800* (New York: SUNY Press, 2019), 26-55.

[56] Subrahmanyam, 41.

[57] "The Portuguese had understood that they did not have the means to prevent spices from reaching the Mediterranean, but they also understood it was in their interests to allow a certain amount to make its way to the Ottomans because they did not have the means to furnish the coral, the gold dust, the copper, the gold and silver specie, the opium, the madder, or the brocades needed by India and that Indian merchants could not obtain elsewhere than at the ports of the Red Sea." Michel Tuchscherer, "Trade and Port Cities in the Red Sea–Gulf of Aden Region in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century," in *Modernity and Culture*, ed. Leila Fawaz and C. A. Bayly (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 35-36.

[58] Rothermund, *Violent Traders*, 69.

[59] Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia*, 82.

[60] These authors' positions appear to arrive from a consensus among religious scholars. Abraham states that "Muslim *ulama* from distinct parts of the Indian Ocean world seem to have adopted a similar stance – of war and non-cooperation – toward various European powers." Abraham, *History Writing and Global Encounters in Sixteenth-Century Kerala*, 212.

[61] Michael Honig, "Portuguese Maritime Meddling in the Indian Ocean," *Endeavours* 3 (2010): 46.

[62] Sebastian R. Prange, "A trade of no dishonor: piracy, commerce, and community in the western Indian Ocean, twelfth to sixteenth century," *The American Historical Review* 116, no. 5 (2011): 1277.

[63] While recognizing technical and institutional advantages, Prange maintains that the Portuguese disproportionate power over oceanic circulation "cannot be simply attributed to their introducing politics in the Indian Ocean world." Prange, *Monsoon Islam*, 1292.

[64] Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Morality and Empire: Cases, Norms, and Exceptions in Sixteenth-Century Portuguese Asia," in *A Historical Approach to Casuistry: Norms and Exceptions in a Comparative Perspective*, ed. Carlo Ginzburg and Lucio Biasiori (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2019), 221.

[65] Ana Roque, "The Sofala Coast (Mozambique) in the 16th Century: between the African trade routes and Indian Ocean trade," in *Fluid Networks and Hegemonic Powers in the Western Indian Ocean*, ed. Iain Walker, Manuel João Ramos, and Preben Kaarsholm (Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Internacionais, 2017), 22.

[66] "Bahl, "Transoceanic Arabic historiography," 204.

[67] Alam and Subrahmanyam, "A View from Mecca," 315.

[68] Gwyn Campbell, "The Role of Kilwa in the Trade of the Western Indian Ocean," in *Connectivity in motion: island hubs in the Indian Ocean world*, ed. Burkhard Schnepel and Edward A. Alpers (Cham:

Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 112.

[69] Stéphane Pradines, Françoise Le Guennec-Coppens, and Sophie Mery, "L'art de la guerre chez les Swahili: les premiers forts d'Afrique orientale," *Journal des africanistes* 72, no. 2 (2002): 82.

[70] Campbell, *Connectivity in motion*, 112.

[71] Ibid, 116-117.

[72] Elias Saad, "Kilwa dynastic historiography: a critical study," *History in Africa* 6 (1979): 194.

[73] Delmas, *The Arts and Crafts of Literacy, Islamic Manuscript Cultures in Sub-Saharan Africa*, 119.

[74] *Al-sulwa fī tārīkh Kilwa* (Sultana Oman: Wazira al-Turath al-Qawmi w al-Taqatha, 1980), 48.

[75] *Al-sulwafī tārīkh Kilwa*, 50-51.

[76] Ibid.

[77] S. Arthur Strong, "The History of Kilwa," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1895): 401.

[78] Muhammad Rukn was a rich merchant respected by the Kilwa community, but he did not possess aristocratic ancestry, although the Kilwa Chronicle did not mention this fact explicitly. *Al-sulwa fī tārīkh Kilwa*, 52. Other sources from the period attest to his lack of nobility, such as the letter written by his son to the king of Portugal. PT/TT/CART/891.1/46, https://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=3908227.

[79] Ibid, 53.

[80] Joam de Barros, *Asia de Joam de Barros* (Lisboa: Bermão Balharde, 1552), 97-99.

[81] Delmas, *The Arts and Crafts of Literacy*, 187.

[82] Mahmood Kooria, "An Abode of Islam under a Hindu King: Circuitous Imagination of Kingdoms among Muslims of Sixteenth-Century Malabar," *Journal of Indian Ocean World Studies* 1, no. 1 (2017): 90.

[83] Barros, *Asia de Joam de Barros*, 111; Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *História do descobrimento & conquista da India pelos portugueses*, *Livro Primeiro* (Coimbra: João de Barreyra & João Alvarez, 1552), 40; Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da India, Tomo I,* ed. Rodrigo José de Lima Felner (Lisboa: Academia Real das Sciencias, 1858), 80.

[84] Kooria, "An Abode of Islam.," 93.

[85] Ayel Amer, "The rise of jihadic sentiments and the writing of history in sixteenth-century Kerala," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 53, no. 3 (2016): 4.

[86] Engseng Ho, "Empire through Diasporic Eyes: A View from the Other Boat," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 46 (2004): 223-224.

[87] Prange, *Monsoon Islam*, 155; Genevieve Bouchon, "Sixteenth Century Malabar and the Indian Ocean," in *India and the Indian Ocean, 1500-1800,* ed. Ashin Das Gupta and Michael N. Pearson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 175.

[88] Mahmood Kooria compares Zayn al-Din's work with other non-historical accounts of the struggle

with the Portuguese, such as his grandfather's (Ibrahim Zayn al-Din) poetic 'sermon' *Tahrīḍ ahl al-imān and the qaṣīda* (ode or poem) *Fatḥ al-mubīn* by Muhammad al-Kalikuti. Mahmood Kooria, "An Abode of Islam.," 92.

[89] Zayn al-Din, *Tuhfat al-mujāhidīn fī baʿḍ aḥwāl al-purtughālīyīn,* in David Lopes, *História dos Portugueses no Malabar por Zinadím* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1898), 4-5; see also the English translation for comparison, Zaynuddin Makhdum, *Tuḥfat al-mujāhidīn fī baʿḍ akhbār al-Burtughālīyīn of Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn*, ed. and trans. S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar (Calicut: Other Books, 2006), 37.

[90] David Lopes, *História dos Portugueses no Malabar por Zinadím*, 4-5.

[91] David Lopes, *História dos Portugueses no Malabar por Zinadím*, 5.

[92] Ibid.

[93] Kooria convincingly argues that Zayn al-Din might have confused the sultan Adil Shah with his son, Ali Adil Shah, whose attitude towards the Portuguese was more hostile at the beginning of his rule. Kooria, "An Abode of Islam.," 101.

[94] Besides the Zamorin, the other exception of rulers resisting the Portuguese is the Sultan Ali Al-Ashi from Aceh, who "conquered Sumatra and made it an abode of Islam (*dār Islām*)." See Zayn al-Din, *História dos Portugueses no Malabar por Zinadím*, 68.

[95] David Lopes, *História dos Portugueses no Malabar por Zinadím*, 92

[96] Amer, "The rise in jihadic sentiments.," 16-17.

[97] Bouchon, *India and the Indian Ocean, 1500-1800*, 179.

[98] Abraham, *History Writing and Global Encounters in Sixteenth-Century Kerala*, 207.

[99] Ibid, 3.

[100] Subrahmanyam, "Taking stock of the Franks," 72.

[101] Kapil Raj, "Spaces of Circulation and Empires of Knowledge: Ethnolinguistics and Cartography in Early Colonial India," in *Empires of Knowledge: Scientific Networks in the Early Modern World*, ed. Paula Findlen (New York: Routledge, 2019), 272.