Goan ports were significant nodal points in the maritime mercantile world which linked the Mediterranean and the various marts of Asia. Goa’s incorporation into the larger channels of commodity movement between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean since the end of first millennium AD gave rise to the emergence of several ports along its coast providing outlets to the extensive regional economy stretching even into the interior of the Deccan. The port of Chandrapura located on the upper banks of river Zuari and the port of Gopakapattanam located on the lower banks of Zuari were two of the earliest ports through which the commodities of Deccan and south Konkan found maritime exposure. A sizeable segment of tajik (Arab) merchants, who were specially favoured by the Kadamba rulers because of their immense resource-mobilizing ability, were responsible for linking Goa with the circulatory processes revolving around the Arabian ports of Red Sea and the Abbasid ports of Persian Gulf. While the Kadamba rulers appointed governors and port administrators out of these foreign Muslim merchants for the purpose of attracting more foreign trade and wealth to their domain, the economic processes of Goa were made to get oriented towards West Asia. Coincident with the commercial concentration in the major port of Gopakapattanam, there was also an attempt to consolidate the power process in this evolving port-city, which made the Kadambas localize their power base there. The evolution of Gopakapattanam as the principal port of Goa in the first millennium AD was eventually followed by the relative relegation of the old port of Chandrapura into the position of its feeder port, and later by the creation of another feeder port on the banks of river Mandovi in and around Ela, which was in course of time linked by land route to Vijayanagara territories across the ghat. Urbanization in Gopakapattanam had a dynamo effect,

1 For locating the pre-Portuguese ports of Chandrapur, Gopakapattanam, Raibandar, Ela/Elegrama see Map of Goa, Illustration 1.
accelerating production in both the agrarian and crafts sector of the hinterland regions; and, boosting the commercial fortunes of the satellite ports of Konkan and Kanara. Further concentration of wealth by means of commercial activities and the consequent evolution of an economically powerful Arab community in this city made the coastal rulers bank upon the latter to both strengthen the defenses of the nascent states and embark upon expansionist campaigns in the Konkan. By the late fifteenth century tensions were visible in the pre-existing social order. Within the urban center tensions cropped between the economically powerful and politically ambitious ‘Islamic’ maritime traders and the non-Muslim mercantile factions engaged in coastal trade. At the level of the town-rural hinterland relations, such tensions were manifest in the important role of mercantile capital within such port-towns and the increasing attention of the pre-Portuguese rulers to intensify the port’s maritime commerce, triggering a corresponding change within the dominant agrarian economy through shifts in the cash crop-paddy production ratio; and, the dominance of the Brahmanical socio-economic organization. This chapter attempts at analyzing the evolving commercial conditions and the multiple roles of the pre-Portuguese Goan ports and port-towns for understanding historical processes marking the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century.

Emerging Ports of Goa and the Political Economy

Goa which had earlier been engaged in the Mediterranean-oriented commerce for long through the ports of Chandrapura\(^2\) and Rewatidvipa,\(^3\) underwent a significant

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\(^2\) V.T Gune, ‘Goas Coastal and Overseas Trade From the Earliest times till the 1510 A.D.’ in Teotonio de Souza (ed.), *Goa Through the Ages*. New Delhi, 1990. pp 119-121.

\(^3\) Since the time of the Chalukyans, the port of Revatidwipa became the political headquarters of their viceroy for governing their Konkan province during the 7th and 8th centuries. To ensure the linking of Revatidwipa with Badami, the traffic in the exportable commodities of Deccan which earlier found their way into Chandrapur were now diverted to Revatidwipa through new routes connecting the up-land trading centers to Banda and from there to the new port. See V.T Gune (ed.), *Gazetteer of the Union Territory Goa, Daman and Diu. Part I*: Goa, Panaji, pp. 74 -76; Gune, ‘Goa’s Coastal and Overseas Trade’. p 123
shift in its maritime trade with the entry of the Arab merchants. The resurgence of mercantile economy of Goa was facilitated, on the one hand, by its incorporation into the trade circuits of the Arab and Persian traders linked with the Red Sea and Persian Gulf respectively. On the other hand there was the political patronization by the Rashtrakutas and their feudatories ruling Goa, who began to increasingly bestow privileges on these merchants in return for their help in resource mobilization. One of the principal changes noticeable out of this process was the formation of a new port at Gopakapattanam, which was eventually chosen as the power centre by many political actors in the centuries to come.

It was the South Konkan Shilaharas also known as Goan Shilaharas, who were initially feudatory chiefs of the Rashtrakutas and later rulers of Sinhala, (identified as the Island of Goa – ruled from 755 till 1000 A.D) who first kept their political headquarters at Gopakapattanam. Localization of power at Gopakapattanam was first done by Shannaphulla, the founder of the Goa Shilaharas (758-795 A.D.)⁴; However eventually they made a second capital at Balipatana or Valipattana (modern Kharepatan, near Vijayadurga, Ratnagiri) under Sanaphulla’s grandson Dhammayira (795-820 A.D.).⁵ The commercial policy of the Rashtrakutas (753 A.D) in favoring the trade with the Persian ports tilted the balance of trade in the Indian Ocean which till now had been secured for the Sassanids under the Chalukyan protection.⁶ The Rashtrakuta patronage enabled the Arabs to establish their

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⁶ V.T. Gune, ‘Goa’s Coastal and Overseas Trade’. p 124
commercial superstructure based on the trade networks and the mercantile settlements of the Sassanid traders. As early as 1008 A.D, inscriptions testify to the mercantile activity at Balipatana with vessels from Chaul and Chandrapur arriving at the port. Similarly the Kharepatan record of Konkan Shilaharas ruler Anantadeva in 1094 A.D reveals the coastal trade of ships sailing from Balipattana with northern harbors of Thana, Sopara, Nagav and Chaul suggesting the prominence of the port by the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D.

Goan scholars link the commercial activity surrounding the ports of Balipattana and Gopakapattanam to the settling down of the Arabs in regions which came to be called *Hanjaman Nagaras*. The inscriptional records of Thana Shilaharas (or the North Konkan Shilaharas) which refer to feud with the Goa Kadambas for the capture of *Hanjaman* established under the rule of southern Shilaharas during the first half of the 11th century A.D testify to a shift of commercial importance from Revatidwipa to the banks of the Zuari by the tenth and eleventh centuries. The Chikodi copper plates of the Goa Shilahara king Avisara III (988 A.D) describes Balipattana as a fortified, well organized and wealthy city with a flourishing horse bazaar outside the city fortification. In this context Goan scholars such as Nandakumar Kamat postulate that the *Hanjaman Nagar*, which existed on the banks of the river Zuari by the tenth century A.D was coterminous with the port of Gopakapattanam much before its takeover by the Kadambas. In fact they advance the argument that the overlords of the Kadambas i.e the Kalyani Chalukyas must have “encouraged their feudatories of Gopakapattana to develop the port as they

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8 Kharepatan plates of Shilahara king Rattaraja (A.D 1008) in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol.III, pp.292-9
needed strong horses for their cavalry just like their successive rulers like in the Deccan.\textsuperscript{11}

The maritime prosperity of the port of Balipattana and Gopakapattanam owing to its international sea-trade and the taxes collected from the visiting mercantile ships were linked to the development of urban industries such as spinning, weaving, jewellery making, carpentry and ship building in the city of Gopakapattanam. The acceleration of maritime mercantile fortunes of Balipattana and Gopakapattanam and the intensified concentration of mercantile wealth within such ports on the banks of the Zuari is evident in literary references to "the activities of a distinct type of merchant known as the nauvittaka in Indian sources and nakhuda / nakhoda in foreign literary accounts such as Arabic and Persian records and Jewish business letters from the Cairo Geniza from 1000 A.D to 1500 A.D." \textsuperscript{12} As Ranabir Chakravarti argues, there were many Hindu, Muslim, Persian and Jewish elements among the merchant capitalists, who constituted the prominent ship owners and sea-traders engaging in extensive coastal trade in the Western Indian littoral by the early medieval period. However a critical understanding of the processes which generated the demand for war horses in the Deccan and inland southern kingdoms of India suggests inherent problems in the deduction of the Goan historians on a flourishing horse trade in the tenth and eleventh centuries and its overwhelming role in accounting for the mercantile prosperity of the Goan ports.

A re-reading of contemporary literary sources suggest an intensification in the trade of Persian horses only by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and concentrated around the port of Ela rather than Gopakapattanam or Balipattanam. In fact the inscriptive records referring to the feudal kingdoms of the Shilaharas and Kadambas remain more or less silent on the maintenance of a standing army.

\textsuperscript{11} Nandakumar Kamat, 'Gopakapattanam through the Ages.' p 260.

\textsuperscript{12} Ranabir Chakravarti, 'Nakhudas and Nauvittakas: Ship-Owning Merchants in the West Coast of India (c. A.D 1000-1500) in Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient (JESHO), Vol. 43, No.1 ,2000, pp 36-37.
Moreover the politico-military strategies of the regional monarchs in early medieval India consisted of assembling militarily skilled men supplied by its feudatories during defensive and offensive campaigns. Concurrently, in the feudal politico-administrative set up the power of the sovereign was synonymous with the strong fortresses often situated atop a hill or well defended by a moat and defensive walls which symbolized both the residential palace of the monarch as well as the administrative and military headquarters of the kingdom. Any attempts at conquering such fortresses or defending it required the use of war animals such as elephants to attack the impregnable bastions and trample the rivaling army respectively. Often the collapse of political power was followed by the establishment of tributary relations between the conqueror and the subjugated feudal lord or the replacement of the defeated political potentate with a governor directly administering the conquered territories and submitting fiscal remittances to the conqueror. This enables us to conceptualize that in a period when military offensives were not marked by plundering raids of a fast moving cavalry the demand for war horses by inland feudal kingdoms would have been marginal. In fact only by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—with the intervention of the Islamic Sultanate’s into the Deccan (especially the rise of succession states such as Bahmani Empire)—did Vijayanagara and Bijapur sought to control the South Konkan ports for securing the supply of war horses. By the fifteenth century evidences of mercantile vessels carrying horses from Arabia and Persia to India are explicitly mentioned in the Jewish business letters of Cairo Geniza.\(^\text{13}\)

Thus the above hints at how acceleration in the demand for Persian horses was a much later phenomenon. During the tenth and eleventh centuries horse trade constituted a minor segment of the linkages between the Persian ports and the South Konkan ports particularly Balipattanam and Gopakapattanam. The prosperity of the port of Gove stemmed primarily from its role as an entrepôt where maritime trade routes from the northern and southern ports on the western coast of India converged. Furthermore it was the meeting point of coastal and inland trade routes and the

\(^{13}\) Ibid. p 49.
seaward opening for commodities produced in its agrarian hinterlands and inland Deccan kingdoms such as precious stones, cloth, betel nut, coconuts etc to the Persian ports. In fact inscriptions attest to economically powerful Hindu sea-traders and ship owners under the South Konkan Shilaharas who also doubled as officials of the Shilahara king and enjoyed commercial privileges signifying the power and elite position of such ship owners in coastal societies. Thus Kharepatan record of 1084 records Shilahara king Anantadeva’s mahamatiya (high ranking official) as Vasaida who was also a nauvittaka (ship-owner) of Balipattana.14 The same record also testifies to the politico-economically important mercantile families such as the descendants of Bhabana-sresthi and his brother Dhanama – sresthi who were both merchants and officials of the Shilahara kingdom. The descendants were also described as a family of ship-owners and administrators enjoying the fiscal remissions and commercial privileges granted by the king to their predecessors.15 Concurrently, the intensified mercantile engagements of the Persian and Arab traders in the coastal inter-regional and overseas trade with Balipattana (and Gopakapattanam) as an important entrepôt is further testified by the Kharepatan Plates of Rattaraja dated 1008 A.D16 recording the frequent visits of commercial vessels from Chandrapura (South Goa), Cemulya (Chaul) and dviperanta (overseas). Under the overlordship of the Shilaharas the trade at the port of Chanadrapur was also rejuvenated as is evident from the military help provided by the Shilaharas to the kings of Chandrapur (after its annexation by the Shilahara king Aiyaparaja) in times of external attack and thus secure the commercial prosperity of Chandrapur.

This brings us back to how the pre-existing port-hierarchy in Goa got altered and how this process was linked with the politics of trade in the Indian Ocean and shifting players. With the dominance of the Shilaharas in the Konkan and the Arab and Jewish takeover of overseas trade, Balipattana and Gopakapattanam evolved as

14 Ibid. p 41.
15 Ibid. p 42.
16 Epigraphia Indica, vol.III, p.299
wealthy port towns with a composite society of politically and economically powerful Arab, Jewish and Hindu merchants and ship owners. While records indicate only a handful of Hindu merchant capitalists, the overwhelming evidences of ship owners and sea-traders plying between the Persian ports and the western Indian littoral touching the South Konkan ports comprised primarily of the Arabic speaking Muslims and Jewish merchants. The emerging maritime networks by these merchants seem to have triggered a commercial expansion within the Konkan and particularly in the south Konkan ports of Gopakapattanam, Chandrapura and Balipattana which seem to have functioned as a single regional economic unit between the eighth and thirteenth centuries. Further testimonies to wealth accumulation at the South Konkan ports viz trading foreign merchants is found in the *Gajalakshmi* panels depicting ships and foreign people (with dress and facial features which were different from the other figures in the panel) surrounding the central figure of *Gajalakshmi* or the goddess of wealth. As some of the panels belong to the ninth century the information provided can be conceptualized as indicative of mercantile wealth accumulation within the regional economic unit constituted by Gopakapattanam, Balipattana and the satellite ports of Chandrapur and Ela. The concentration of wealth, technical prowess and navigational skills of the ship-owning Arab merchants (*nauvittakadhimana*) of Gopakapattanam can be


18 Geographically, the western seaboard has been divided into four broad coastal segments: Indus Delta, Gujarat-Kathiawad, Konkan and Malabar coast. Of these the regions bracketed as the Konkan coast coincide with the districts of Thana, Kolaba and Ratnagiri (in Maharashtra) and the former native states of Jawhar, Janjira and Savantvadi (of British India) and Goa. The Goan ports constituted the South Konkan littoral regions and Bassein was regarded as the demarcation point between northern and southern Konkan. For details see Ranabir Chakravarti, ‘Candrapura/Sindabur and Gopakapattana: Two Ports on the West Coast of India (AD 1000-1300).’ *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress (PIHC), 60th Session, Calicut,*, 1999. pp 153, 154.

19 The *Gajalakshmi* panel from Carambolim, dated 9th century A.D, is particularly significant for its depiction of human figures with West Asian drapery. The un-divided layout of the panel seems to hint at co-relating the ‘West Asian’ people with fabulous riches (metamorphosed as *Gajalakshmi*). A second panel reveals people on ships and horsebacks flanking the central figure of the goddess.
gauged from inscriptions recording adventures of Guhalladeva I (the Kadamba ruler) on his way to Somanth being saved from ship wreck by the Arab Muhammad as given in the Goa plates of Kadamba Jayakesi I dated 1059 A.D. The inscriptive records also offer glimpses into the expansionist forays of the Kadamba ruler Shasthadeva II based from Chandrapur into the Konkan; the maintenance of a large naval fleet (with military prowess) by Shastadeva II and Jayakeshi I and II; the shift of the capital of Goa Kadambas from Chandrapur to Gopakapattanam; the appointment of Arab leaders such as Sadhan under Jayakeshi I as governor of the city of Gopakapattanam; and, the assumption of decorative titles by Jayakeshi I and II proclaiming themselves as paschimasamudradhipati (lord of the western Ocean) and Konkan Chakkravarti (emperor of Konkan) respectively. 

The increase in mercantile wealth circulating within these commercial port centers perhaps became the prime mover behind the expansionist policy of the Kadambas of Banavasi, the feudatories (Mahamandeleshwaras) of the Chalukyas of Kalyani, establishing their political dominion over South Goa by eleventh century A.D through a series of military conquests

The data from such contemporary records can be conceptualized as attempts by the Kadambas, who ruled Goa during the period from tenth till twelfth centuries, at asserting an independent state based from the port-cities of Balipattana and Gopakapattanam by allying with the important foreign mercantile community of Gopakapattanam. Furthermore it suggests the state’s acknowledgement of the elite socio-political status of such wealthy foreign (especially Arab) sea-traders and ship-owners by granting them commercial protection, administrative offices and social privileges in return for economic and military assistance to the Kadamba rulers in their defensive and offensive campaigns. This is illustrated in the appointment of the Muslim merchant Chaddam (Sadhana) grandson of the Arab ship owner Ali as the chief official (pradhan) of Jayakeshi I and granted significant privileges such as establishment of a mijigiti (mosque) and revenue collected from tolls and other dues.

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20 Details of the Panjim copper plate inscription of Jayakeshi I, dated 1059 (though without a critical and comparative analysis) in V.T Gune, ‘Goa’s Coastal and Overseas Trade.’ pp 394-400.
from Gopakapattanam that was regularly visited by maritime traders from Gujarat, Saurashtra, northern ports of Konkan etc.\textsuperscript{21}

The integration of Goa as a satellite economic unit in the long distance trade emanating from Muscat and terminating in Canton from the eighth century onwards and the flocking of different mercantile communities (Arabs, West Asian Christians, Jews, Asian merchants etc) to the Goan ports—which enjoyed a junctional position in the flow of different commodity streams—ensured the undoubted dominance of the port-city of Gopakapattanam in coastal Konkan by the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Scholars have traced how in addition to the coastal and Asian trade of these early South Konkan ports (especially Gopakapattanam) their networks extended till the Mediterranean world via Aden, al-Qus, Cairo and Alexandria through the foreign intermediaries primarily the Jewish merchants and trading Arabs from Abbasid Persia or Fatimid Egypt who bolstered their economic positions by well established family bonds and matrimonial links.\textsuperscript{22} Thus, Jewish \textit{nakhudas} such as Mahruz bin Jacob carried out trading activities in Konkan, Malabar and Egypt and also refers to Cambay, Broach, Tana, Mangalore, Kulam Mali, Lower Kannur as important centers of Jewish trade on the western littoral. Similarly, such Jewish merchants used the South Konkan ports as not only entrepôts in Asian trade, but also as ready markets for the sale of Mediterranean goods such as coral and storax.

As mentioned before the case study of Jayakeshi I’s \textit{pradhan} Sadhana reveals the politico-military dominance of the wealthy Arabs in Gopakapattanam. Administrative acts under the Kadambas were geared towards increasing the mercantile engagements of the port-town viz improving transportation facilities between the port and the hinterland; encouraging foreign mercantile settlements

\textsuperscript{21} An incorrect account of the copper plate inscription of Jayakeshi I dated 1053 A.D sent to Lisbon in 1727 with a corrupt Portuguese translation in P. Pissurlencar, ‘Inscrições Pre-Portuguesas de Goa’ in \textit{O Oriente Portugues}, No. 22, Panjim, 1938, pp 386-398. This version gives details on the \textit{mijigiti}, the commercial privileges extended to Sadhana and variety of taxes and tolls granted for the maintenance of the mosque.

\textsuperscript{22} Ranabir Chakravarti, ‘Candrapura/Sindabur and Gopakapattana.’ p 156, 157; Pius Malekandathil, ‘Maritime Traditions of Goa and the Indian Ocean.’ p 159.
through granting socio-religious privileges (such as establishing mosques and allocating revenues from select tolls and taxes collected at the port’s customs house towards the maintenance these religious edifices) etc. These suggest linkages between the politico-social processes marking the South Konkan ports by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (especially the development of the port-towns and the concentric circles of authority) with the dynamics of trade and urbanization.

Rural-Urban Linkages, Aristocratic Elites and the Mercantile Power Groups

Under the Kadambas one could notice the pre-dominance of the wetland rice cultivation in the *Khazan* lands followed by the emergence of land-based feudatories out of the Saraswat Brahmins whose status claims stood often parallel to and at times superior to those of the wealthy sea-borne traders and ship-owners based at the port-city. The inscriptive evidences such as the Kharepatana grant of Rattaraja dated 1008 AD, the Sawai-verem land grant records of Guhalladeva, Kadamba king Tribhuvananalla dated 1106 A.D, Jayakeshi III’s (1186-87) land grant etc. reveal continuity, under the Kadambas, of the dominant agrarian economy and Brahmanical ideology. This can be seen in the increasing royal revenue grants (of agrarian villages); and, gifts to the temples, Brahmanical educational complexes (*Brahmapuris*) and *agraharas* comprising uncultivable and cultivable land including tax free *Khazan* lands and other socio-economic benefices such as control over cash crop cultivating gardens, cultivable lands, water reservoirs etc. A re-reading of these records enables us to trace dual processes at work. On the one hand, despite the efforts of the rulers to maximize the mercantilist engagements

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26 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol.XXX, pp.71-8

27 V.T Gune, *Gazetteerof the Union Territory Goa*, p 104.
of the South Konkan ports, the royal treasury still derived a substantial share of its resources from land revenue (relative from customs collections) for which the Kadambas relied on their officials or tribute paying feudatories. The analysis of both the office of the village Kulkarnis (accountants and secretaries entrusted with monitoring village land records); and, regal enactments fixing agrarian surplus extraction at a uniform rate of 1/6th of the produce under the Kadambas\textsuperscript{28} enables the verification of the above conceptualization.

On the other hand, the increasing trends towards land grants also reveals socio-economic complexities in the South Konkan region with rising tensions between the politico-culturally dominant class of land-based Brahmins and Hindu feudatories; and, the wealthy urban mercantile power groups. As has been mentioned earlier in this chapter, overwhelming literary and inscriptive evidences point to the flourishing Muslim and Jewish ship owners and rich sea-traders (with only a handful of Indian Hindu merchants) trading with and residing at Goa from the eleventh to the late fifteenth century. The demographic increase in the Arab sea-traders at Gopakapattanam is corroborated through studying the rising urban wealth evident in the organization and functioning of the port-town. The flocking of the foreign mercantile factions can further be linked to the favorable politico-administrative and religious policies of Jayakeshi I. Studies further reveal the role of these foreign mercantile settlers in aiding—through fiscal, naval and military contributions—Jayakeshi I’s expansionist campaigns against the North Konkan Shilaharas.\textsuperscript{29}

Scholars have deconstructed case studies indicating “the undoubted spirit of cooperation, trust and mutual friendship” amongst the heterogenous mercantile communities trading within the Western Indian littoral including the South Konkan ports during the period between twelfth and fourteenth centuries. They draw

\textsuperscript{28} Details on the land grant system, taxation policies and village economy as it evolved under the Kadambas can be seen in Remy Dias, \textit{The Socio-Economic History of Goa}. pp 69, 70.

\textsuperscript{29} Pius Malekandathil. “Maritime Traditions of Goa and the Indian Ocean.” p 158.
evidences from the place names of regions within the economic unit constituted by
the erstwhile Gopakapattanam, its satellite ports and agrarian hinterland. Thus while
Nandakumar Kamat refers to “Senavai Wada” at Neura as the quarters of “Senavai”
or learned Brahmins who served as royal accountants and writers,30 Alvira Mary
D’Souza traces the settlement of Kshatriyas at Raut Waddo, Mercurem;31 and,
Muslims or Arab settlers in the area called Pir Waddo, near Dando and Mayata.
Such evidences hint at the peaceful co-existence amongst the heterogenous urban
population during the Kadamba period. However by the late thirteenth and early
fourteenth centuries the politico-administrative power claims of the wealthy Muslim
traders within the urban center of Gopakapattanam accelerated both on account of
the waning power of the Kadamba suzerains and the growing Islamization of
Gopakapattanam. Travelogues attest to the concomitant establishment of a Muslim
city apart from those of the Hindu Kadambas at Gopakapattanam after the port’s
conquest by Malik Kafur (1310 A.D) and Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq (1327 A.D).
However it was the conquest of the port and the city by Jamal-ud-din of Honavar
(1342-1344 A.D) which reflected the political power claims of the economically
wealthy Muslim merchants of Gopakapattanam and the increase of the Arab and
Islamic demographic concentration within the port-town.32 Such changing
conditions where mercantile wealth accumulation in these port-towns rose sharply
relative to the agrarian revenue derived from the rural hinterland indicates the
beginnings of social tension and politico-economic power claims between the urban
mercantile elites and the erstwhile land based aristocratic elites (Brahmins and the
Hindu feudatories). We can indirectly trace these developments in the political
activities and ambitions of the son of a Goan shipbuilder Jamal-ud-din of Honavar

30 Nandakumar Kamat, ‘Gopakapattanam through the Ages’. P.262
31 Alvira Mary D’ Souza, Reconstructing The Urban Maritime History of Goa: A Study of the Port-
University, Department of History, 2008, p383.
32 Ibn Battuta refers to the evolving Muslim city after its conquest by the Muslim rulers. This testifies
to the growth of a Muslim city within Gopakapattanam distinct from the Kadamba capital city after
the marauding raid and conquest of Malik Kafur and Mohammad bin Tughlaq. See H.A.R Gibb
who used his mercantile wealth for conquering Gopakapattanam (after acquiring Honawar) by waging a long drawn naval battle against the port-city using 32 ships commanded by Ibn Battuta.\textsuperscript{33} Nevertheless it was only by the end of the fifteenth century—with the decline of the Vijayanagara hold over the South Konkan ports and political ascendance of the Bahmani and Bijapuri Sultans—that such socio-economic tensions peaked.

Historical reconstructions investigate the repercussions of the altering commercial relations within the Indian Ocean world (due to developments at a regional and international level) on the fortunes of the commercially active regional unit formed by Gopakapattanam and Chandrapur. Externally, the breakdown of the maritime network of the Arabs (between the Persian Gulf ports and the Chinese ports) owing to the Mongol invasion of Central Asia and the subsequent fall of the Abassid Caliphat in 1258 A.D, severely affected the fortunes of the Goan ports.\textsuperscript{34} The crumbling Arab trade must have offset diminishing returns in Gopakapattanam’s international and coastal trade relations such as Malaya Desa (Malayala Pensinsula), Duluka desha (Tulu country), Gokarna (regions near Kumta), Saurashtar (Surat), Gurjara (Gujarat), Lata (Costal Gujarat), Sthanak (Thana), Konkana, Veimulya (Chaul), Chippalona (Chiplun), Sangameshwar (near Ratnagiri), Balipattana, Shivapur (near Chandor) etc. by the mid thirteenth century.\textsuperscript{35} Concurrently, regional developments such as the marauding attacks of Malik Kafur (1310 A.D), Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq (1327 A.D), and finally of Jamal-ud-din of Honavar (1342-44 A.D) dimmed for some time the economic vitality of Gopakapattanam.\textsuperscript{36} A re-conceptualization of the internal developments in Gopakapattanam indicates tensions within the socio-political fabric following the slackening of the political

\textsuperscript{33} \textit{Ibid.} pp 239-240.

\textsuperscript{34} Pius Malekandathil, \textit{The Germans, the Portuguese and India}, Münster, 1999, p 9.

\textsuperscript{35} A detailed mention of the Asian ports with which Gopakapattanam held commercial contacts is found in the copper plate inscriptions of Jayakeshi I (1053) A.D. The text of this inscription is reproduced in P.Pissurlencar, ‘Inscricões Pre-Portuguesas de Goa’. pp 386-398.

\textsuperscript{36} Pius Malekandathil, ‘Impact of Indian Ocean Trade’ p 11.
power of the Kadambas. In this regard Malekandathil, hints at the rise of a power
wielding community of Muslim sea-traders and ship operators who acted as
kingmakers by actively resisting the claims of the feudatories of the Kadambas, as
represented through the various *viragals* (Hero Stones), and ultimately political
hegemony was asserted by Jamal-ud-din of Honavar,\(^{37}\) the son of a Goan ship-
operator cum builder. The onset of an Islamic dominance acted as an invitation to
the fabulously wealthy sea-traders from the Muslim world who ‘started to
increasingly frequent the port of Gopakapattanam and precipitated a change in the
ethnic balance of the port-city.’\(^{38}\) This probably explains why with the silting of the
River Zuari by the mid fifteenth century the erstwhile non-Muslim influential
traders of Goapakpattatnam started to resettle in Raibandar and Ela.\(^{39}\) The latter had
been a feeder-port of Gopakapattanam as it was well connected (and closer) to the
Deccan through the same highway that had linked Gopakapattanam with Ela.\(^{40}\) The
rich hinterland resources of Ela particularly its adjoining timber-yielding Ponda
forests, the navigability of the Mandovi for transporting raw materials from inland

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37 The *viragal* belonging to the time of King Biravanna and representing the scene of naval conflict
between the forces of Gopakapattanam and Jamal-ud-din is kept in the Goa State Museum. The
interpretation of the hero being a *samanta* of Biravanna ruling Gopakapattanam by 14th century is
Outline..* p 65.

38 Pius Malekandathil, ‘City in Space and Metaphor: A Study on the Port-City of Goa.’, pp.15-6

39 One such non-Muslim mercantile community was that of the pre-Portuguese Christian community
of Gopakapattanam claimed by scholars in attempts at decoding the significance of recently
discovered Pahlavi cross in Goa. The exodus to Ela of these mercantile communities is hinted at by
the Portuguese literary sources such as the records of Francisco de Souza in *Oriente Conquistado a
Jesu Christo pelos Padres de Jesus da Provincia de Goa*, Vol I, Lisboa (pp 14 -15); see Pius
Malekandathil, ‘Discovery of a Pahlavi Cross from Goa: A New Evidence for Pre-Portuguese
Theological Thinking*. Vol XXIII, No.3, September 2002. p 145; Also see Pius Malekandathil,
‘Impact of Indian Ocean Trade.’ P.13

40 However scholars such as Sherwani cites Khwaja Muhammed Gawan’s conquest of
Gopakapattanam and its continuity as a site of residence for Muslim sea-traders by 1471 to
demonstrate its continuity as an entrepôt in the maritime mercantile world see H.K. Sherwani,
*Khwaja-i-Jahan Gawan’s Campaigns in Maharashtra*, p. 274.
regions and the convenience of a good harbor rendered it convenient to build seafaring vessels in Ela. Such factors prompted the Vijayanagara rulers conquering this region, consequent to which the port of Ela and the neighboring Island of Diwar began to get increasing prominence. By the early 16th century - under the Adil Shahi Sultan - Ela soon evolved as a major entrepôt dealing in the import of high-value commodities such as war-horses from Hormuz and Aden as well as engaging in mercantile transactions with the ports of Cairo, Italy, Genova, Venice, Mecca, Turkey, Egypt, Persia, Africa, and Ethiopia through its coastal trade with the Malabar ports.

However under Vijayanagara suzerainty and the competition of the new commercial ports of Raibandar and Ela the commercial traffic at Gopakapattanam ebbed but did not end. As late as 1471 A.D and right before the conquest of the regional economic unit constituted by Gove, Ela and Raibandar by the Bahmanis the port of Gopakapattanam was described as "the major port of the land and the cause of envy of all islands and ports of India." In fact the development of Gopakapattanam's coastal and international trade linkages through the intermediation of the foreign mercantile settlers under the Kadambas and the later day Muslim conquerors witnessed not only the high concentration of mercantile wealth within the port but also the development of two concurrent cities, which expanded around the same port. The first being the traditional port-city existent since the Kadamba period and taken over by the Vijayanagara conquerors; and, a second city constituted primarily

41 Mandovi was navigable for 100 km; Zuari for 60 kms; Terekhol, Chapora, Baga, Sinquerim, Sal, Talpona and Galgiborg for a lesser distance of 24 kms; Paroda was 16.5 kms. While some of these rivers were navigable throughout the year and the tidal effects of the sea in terms of its currents and tides could be felt extending in the interior which was conducive for navigation in the river routes, but during other times when the water column reduced land routes were preferred. See C.G Desai, 'Surface Water Resources for Goa's Development', in Earth Resources for Goa's Development. Hyderabad, G.S.I, 1885. pp 426-427.
42 Pius Malekandathil, 'City in Space and Metaphor: A Study on the Port-City of Goa.', p.15
by the Muslim mercantile immigrant settlers quite near the previous port city. The rise of the two adjacent mercantile towns by the fifteenth century suggests trading profits and subsequent mercantile wealth circulating within the urban economy attracting other professional and service groups from surrounding hinterland regions and inland production zones. These migrating inland and coastal communities to the port-towns by the fifteenth century must have predominantly consisted of skilled (especially regional artisans) and unskilled laborers catering to the consumer and service needs of the urban markets. Thus a critical analysis of the effects of trade and mercantile wealth on both the early port-towns and on the multiple economies co-existing in the South Konkan region necessitates a decoding of the evolving city layout including urban constructions, spatial rearrangements, power assertions, socio-economic relations within the port-city by the fourteenth century as has been attempted in the second section of this chapter.

Concurrently, demographic concentration of foreign mercantile traders within the regional economic unit (constituted by the port of Gove, its satellite ports and hinterland regions); the resultant tensions between Muslim and non-Muslim mercantile factions; and, the migration of Jewish and West Asian Christians to Ela strongly hint at the expansion of intensive mercantile activities within Asia and with the Mediterranean ports between these ports on the banks of the Zuari and the Mandovi. The Vijayanagara conquest and dominion over (1369-1472 A.D) Gopakapattanam and Ela thus reveals the continued significance of the ports as the outlet for inland produce as well as the gateway for securing militarily strategic war horses to resist offensives by northern Islamic Sultanates with their fast moving and destructive cavalry based armies as well as to secure resources both fiscal and material for realizing the expansionist ambitions of the Vijayanagara state. The increased dependence on and demand for war horses to realize the state formation ambitions of Vijayanagara can be corroborated by critically decoding the later day Portuguese records testifying the Raya’s persecution of Muslim sea-traders and ship owners of Honavar and Batkal who were suppliers of war-horses to the Bahmani
Sultan in 1479.\textsuperscript{44} The concomitant migration of a large number of such horse-traders amounting up to 400 Muslim navayats from these northern ports of Karnataka to Ela suggest the increase in their trading activities within the port city by the late 15\textsuperscript{th} century. Moreover, contemporary sources hint at the high demand for horses and accumulation of mercantile wealth within the ports from the lucrative trade in these essential and expensive war-animals. Marco Polo records that about 10,000 horses were imported annually into India by 1292 A.D at the rate of 200 livres tournois\textsuperscript{45} which has been estimated by Yule at about 190 pounds or 2000 rupees per horse. By early sixteenth century the rate of one horse amounted up to 800 pardaos. This evidently suggests that the supply of the expensive Persian horses from Hormuz was bolstered by the existence of high demand in the Deccan and South Indian kingdoms for such war animals by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Furthermore, the very fact that these horses had a short life expectancy\textsuperscript{46} suggests that the demand was more or less steady and sustained relative to the supply ensuring high returns for their import and resale by the ship-owning mercantile traders settled in the port-city with agents in the Red Sea ports. Partly, possession of such horses became essential for the Deccan kingdoms of Vijayanagara, Bijapur and Bahmani both for countering the offenses of the north Indian Sultanates based on cavalry power and as a substitute to infantry and war elephants for the expansionist state formation ambitions of these kingdoms. Concurrently the high tax rate of 20 pardaos on each horse in the pre-Portuguese period paid at the customs houses reveals their contribution to the royal income that came from taxing the port-town's merchandise. Testimony to the maximization of Ela's commercial popularity by the


\textsuperscript{45} See W. Marsden and T. Wright (eds.) \textit{The Travels of Marco Polo The Venetian, With an Introduction by John Masefield}. New Delhi, Asian Educational Services (Reprint), 2003, p. 53.

\textsuperscript{46} \textit{Ibid.} Marco Polo reveals that the horses carried to India from Persia overland and sea-trade do not survive for many years owing to the great heat which is not conducive to their breeding and maintenance.
late 15th and early 16th century (prior to the Portuguese takeover) is indirectly gained through later day Portuguese records. Thus, while Barros records revenues amounting up to 1,00,000 pardaos that the Adil Shah derived as duties on the merchandise bought to the port of Goa, Tome Pires roughly estimates tolls from coastal merchandise to be approximately 4,00,000 pardaos.47 Alternately it also enables us to reconstruct new commercial conditions wherein intensified concentration and circulation of mercantile wealth within the port-towns of Ela and Gopakapattanam during the fifteenth centuries must have lured a number of regional traders and professional groups to partake in the commercial profits of these urban markets. Scholars have reconstructed the significant role of Indian traders both supplying these towns with necessities from neighboring inland and coastal economies and transporting trade imports (especially high value international commodities such as damask, drugs, horses, pearls, slaves etc.) from the ports to inland markets of Konkan, Deccan and South India.

On the flourishing regional inland and maritime trade of Goa in the pre-Portuguese period Tome Pires testifies,

"the kingdom of Goa is the most important in India......it is civilized, having famous orchards and water. It is the coolest place in India, and is the most plentiful in foodstuffs; so that it used to be customary among the Rumes and the white people to make the practice of going into Goa to enjoy the shade and the groves of trees and to savour the sweet betel......from Goa betel is exported to Cambay, Aden and Ormuz. It has more and better areca....Cargos of rice are taken from here and great trains of oxen loaded with merchandise used to come in to Goa from very distant kingdoms."48

Thus the Gujarati vaniyas trading in cloth and precious stones; banjaras and caravan traders transporting inland commodities such as woolen cloth or Kambli from Jamboti in the up-ghat region, pottery from Kumbarkhand to the port cities; Bijapur

47 Suma Oriental of Tome Pires. p 58.
48 Ibid, p 57.
and Vijayanagara merchants purchasing and reselling war-horses from these ports to inland kingdoms; and, the West Asian ‘Christian’ merchants trading with the St Thomas Christians of Malabar reveal Ela’s composite international and regional mercantile community. The extensive maritime mercantile networks of Ela in the pre-Portuguese—especially the active coastal trade of its resident Syrian Christians, Hindu vanias, Jews etc with the Nazranis (Thomas Christians), Muslim mappilas and Jews of the Malabar coast—can be gauged from the Mediterranean commodities such as velvet, knives, glass beads, silver, brass, raisins, satin, scarlet, storax, coral etc; and, Chinese exports to Malabar ports such as linen, brass ware, coral, copper, silver, gold, vermillion, saffron, porcelain and tin which found their way from the Malabar ports to the port-city of Ela. Furthermore sources testify to the harbour of Ela as “the principal passage to the kingdoms of Narsinga and Daquem; and for this reason it contained much merchandise, and large caravans of merchants came from the interior country in quest of it, and brought other commodities in exchange.” A glimpse of the wide variety of inland goods that came to Ela and were exported through the agency of the Muslim sea-traders to Hormuz, Aden and vessels sailing to the port of Cambay is gleaned from Portuguese sources which refer to the inland caravan trade in calico, fine muslin, rice, arecanut, betel, spices and gold since the pre-Portuguese period which found an outlet to the Persian ports through Ela.

Such an intensification of the maritime profits from the port enables us to postulate subtle changes in the pre-existing patterns of production and increasing shifts in the occupational preferences of regional communities caused by the changing urban economy. Sources testify that under Albuquerque there was continuity in the Adil Shahi practice of revenue farming. Portuguese documents identify Saraswat


Brahmins such as Gopu, Loku, Krishna Sinai and Anu Sinai\(^1\) as rich traders holding the office of the *Thanadaria* or *Tanadar Mor*\(^2\) and combining in them administrative, police and judicial powers. These *Thanadars* were entrusted with collecting revenue from the village in co-operation with the village elders (*gavankars*). Furthermore documents attest to these Saraswat Brahmins as wealthy regional and coastal traders.\(^3\) Further corroborations are gained from contemporary references to the rise of the Portuguese *casados* of Goa by late 1520’s and 1530’s to appropriate a major chunk of commerce carried out by native merchants like Krishna, *Raluchatim* and *Loquchatim*\(^4\) which indirectly suggests that the latter were wealthy indigenous merchants and financiers by the early sixteenth century. Similarly European travelers record Saraswat Brahmins as predominant traders maintaining shops and as *rendeiros* (revenue farmers) of lucrative mercantile commodities such as tobacco, cloth etc by the late sixteenth century.\(^5\) These evidences hint at how the fledging attempts of the traditionally land holding and agrarian based Saraswat Brahmins to involve themselves with the urban commercial


\(^2\) Under the colonial period in India the post of *Thanadar* evolved primarily an officer in charge of a *Thana* or place where he was posted with a small irregular post to protect the country, preserve the peace and aid the collection of taxes. See Wilson’s Glossary, in voce ‘Thana’.

\(^3\) Silva Rego, *Documentação para a Historia*, Vol II India (1525-1543). Doc 51, p 11 refers to the continuity of Loku as the supplier of inland commodities such as raw cotton, woven cloth and mattresses to the urban markets and institutions such as the Royal Hospital even in 1527.

\(^4\) Citations from ANTT, Fragm. 26, fol. 25-48; Fragm. 27, fols. 47-46; and, As Gavetas, 20-2-24 in Pius Malekandathil, ‘City in Space and Metaphor..’ footnote # 15.

world as financiers, bankers, Thanadars and agrarian traders in the politico-economic set up of South Konkan must have taken place before the colonial takeover of Goa by the Portuguese. Furthermore, linkages between the intensified commercial conditions and mercantile wealth of the Goan port towns by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the beginning of the process whereby the Saraswat Brahmins—who were the chief beneficiaries of land grants and agrarian privileges under the Bhojas, the Kadambas and the Vijayanagara Rayas—began experimenting with the fluid boundaries of agrarian trader-revenue collector in the Goan port-cities become evident. Alternately, this suggests the working of dual processes: On the one hand, the phenomena of intensified maritime and inland trade of Ela must have pulled regional migrations to the port-town in the pre-Portuguese period. On the other hand it indicates the tensions marking the socio-political and economic fabric of the regional economic unit constituted by Ela, its hinterland and satellite ports with the shift in the center of commercial activity from the banks of the River Zuari to River Mandovi by the fifteenth century. Under the Bahmani (1472-1479 A.D) and Bijapur rule (1479-1510 A.D) the erstwhile population of non-Muslim foreign traders of Ela primarily the Jews and the Persian Christians were soon reduced to a minority with the large number of Muslim settlers in and around the port. This is further corroborated by references to Ela as the haven of the foreign Muslim merchants (Mouros de Mecca) comprising of

“Rumes, Turks, Arabs and Persians” who “flocked to Goa.......and by the assistance of these people he (Bijapuri Sultan) wrested many places from the king of Narasinga (Vijayanagara) and made himself the great lord of the kingdom of the Daquem.”

References to the military alliance and politico-economic co-operation extended by these foreign Islamic merchants to the Adil Shah reveal their rise as significant power groups within the administrative fabric of Ela. Furthermore, Adil Shah’s commercial and diplomatic alliances with Shah Ismael of Persia, the Mamluk

Sultans of Egypt and the King of Adem\textsuperscript{57} can be re-read as maneuvers of the fledging state to secure the commercial networks of Ela and maximize the revenue from its port. Sources hint at the power claims of these Muslim sea-traders of Ela\textsuperscript{58} and their being wealthy horse traders\textsuperscript{59} importing Persian war horses. This suggests their significance in supplying both financial and military aid (ships, horses, skilled militarymen and navigators) to Bijapur. Adil Shahi attempts at maximizing funds by the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century is further corroborated by references to royal experiments with land revenue elevating the exactions to \( \frac{1}{3} \)rd of the agrarian surplus (relative to the earlier \( \frac{1}{6} \)th) and fixing the mode of payment as cash rather than kind. \textsuperscript{60} This corroborates our deduction of how the changing urban politico-economic fabric—with intensified circulation of commercial money and demand for agrarian commodities stemming from rising urban demography—and the shift to revenue collection in cash pulled corresponding changes in the rural economy and introduced alterations in the rural-urban linkages. The immediate need to sell the harvest to raise cash for revenue payment and the demands of the urban markets must have triggered intensification in agrarian and crafts production in the rural hinterland. Furthermore, as stated above, the economic gains of the urban commercial economy lured the traditional land-based elites such as the Saraswat Brahmins to claim the dual profile of traders and revenue collectors.

\textsuperscript{57}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{58} With the shift of the Muslim sea-traders of the ports of Honavar, Bhatkal etc., to Ela and with the tripartite agreement between the Sultans of Bijapur, Egypt and Persia it follows naturally that Ela's import trade in horses must have enlarged considerably relative to these northern ports on the Western littoral of India.

\textsuperscript{59} On the Muslim traders buying Persian Horses in the fourteenth century from the ports of these Red Sea and the Persian Gulf ports (Kisi or Chisi, Ormuz, Aden, Dulfar or Dafar, etc) and sending vessels loaded with such horses to the northern ports of India (Thana etc) from where it was re-exported to the Southern Provinces See W. Marsden and T. Wright (eds.) \textit{The Travels of Marco Polo}, pp 53, 385, 402, 404-405.

\textsuperscript{60} Remy Antonio Diano Dias, \textit{The Socio-Economic History of Goa}. pp 71-72, 73.
Sources refer to strong resistance by the traditional Kshatriya feudatories, Brahmanical landholders and village elders (gavankars) to the strategy of the ruler in appointing urban Muslim elites as royal officials to administer the collection of land revenue and overseers when the village failed to pay their dues. Sources reveal that the Portuguese conquest of Goa was aided by the alliances and collaboration of local Hindu leaders and urban residents with the European maritime power. The religious overtone of Portuguese sources in its narrative of the friction marking the pre-Portuguese society of South Konkan branded it as the anti-Islamic fervor of the Goan Hindus against the oppressive Muslim ruler. Together with the military and naval prowess of the Portuguese this Hindu discontentment against the Islamic rule was explained as the catalyst in precipitating the Adil Shahi defeat at Ela. A closer analysis suggests deeper politico-economic motives in the Hindu elites resisting the urban power groups comprising predominantly of Muslim traders and officials and collaborating with the early colonial forces of the Lusitanians against the Islamic Sultanate. Thus pre-Portuguese urbanization trends in Gopakapattanam and Ela establishes significant linkages between this internal fissure within the regional society (the quasi-mercantilist Adil Shahi state and Islamic power groups challenging the traditional power structures of the regional economic unit); and, the invitation by the Hindu chieftains and leaders of the port-city to the Portuguese conquerors.

In a nutshell, the above reconstruction reveals the flourishing commercial economy of the pre-Portuguese ports that yielded tremendous revenues to the royal treasury by 1510. This triggered embryonic state formation processes within the regional kingdoms and succession states that derived revenue from such ports.

61 P.S.S Pissurlencar, "Os Collaboradores Hindus de Afonso de Albuquerque" Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama. Nova Goa, 1941. No. 49, pp 5-6

62 For more details from later day Portuguese written material (Chronicles, letters etc) recording the invitation extended by local Hindu feudatories such as Timoja - a feudatory of the Vijayanagara empire - to the Portuguese to conquer Goa and depriving the Egyptians and Turks of their base in the Indian Ocean trade by annihilating their captains at Goa see V.T. Gune, Gazetteer of the Union Territory Goa, p 141; A.K Priolkar, The Goa Inquisition. Bombay, 1961, pp 60-63.
Concomitantly, attempts at a new social formation became noticeable whereby alongside the dominance of the agrarian economy and Brahmanical social order (that had evolved since the Bhoja and the Shilahara period) was the mercantile economy (of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) and the socio-economic and militarily powerful class of Islamic maritime traders. However as much of the inscriptions and literary records for the eleventh to fifteenth centuries provide a qualitative rather than quantitative data on the trends of trade it becomes difficult to estimate the volume and value of trade in the early Goan ports under pre-Portuguese conditions. In this regard, an index to assess the commercial expansion of such ports in the pre-colonial era, relative accumulation of mercantile wealth and the effect of the commercial economy on relations of production and politico-economic arrangements in the pre-colonial era can be gauged by analyzing the trends of urban development within such port-centers and tracing linkages between the intensified port activities and production within the regional economic units.

**Patterns of Urbanization in the Early Port-Towns of Goa**

As commercial nodal points where the coastal, overseas and land trade routes converged, the Goan ports of Chandrapur, Gopakapattanam and Ela experienced wealth concentration and perhaps even experiments at urban organization by the trade guilds and foreign mercantile settlers (as argued earlier in the analysis of Hanjaman Nagaras existing on the banks of the River Zuari and Mandovi) before they became capital cities. These ports had excellent harbors, offering convenient landing and sheltering space to the mercantile vessels. Corresponding to this convenience of a good foreground (for accommodating cargo and passengers) was the easy access to a fertile and rich hinterland (through land and riverine routes) and proximity to trade routes (overseas and coastal). The rulers introduced significant innovations within the urban space of these commercial port centers by planning and constructing civil edifices; maintaining land routes connecting the ports to the inland markets and production centers; and, demarcating market spaces. These experiments with the structural layout of the city indicate the efforts of the ruler to
control the wealth derived from the evolving urban mercantile economy to aid the nascent State in building its military and naval resources for its power assertions over neighboring economies. A study of the urbanization of the Goan ports in the pre-Portuguese period against the background of their pro-commercial administrative policies, effective taxation and redistribution system, military and naval investments etc helps in understanding the complex politico-economic processes that colored Goa’s commercial relations. Thus this section attempts to reconstruct the historical background for comparing and contrasting trends in urbanization under the Portuguese dominance of Goa during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Amongst the Goan ports which rose into prominence in the pre-Portuguese period, Chandrapur was the first port which witnessed considerable urban development. As late as twelfth century Chandrapur continued to be an impressive port-city as can be deduced from Al Idrisi’s (A.D 1162) vivid account of the city and port of Sindabur (Chandrapur) which could be reached by a journey of two days from Surat. To Al Masudi, who visited the port in the first half of tenth century, Sindabur along with Tana (Thana), Subara (Sopara), Saimur (Chaul) and Manibar or Mulaybar were the important maritime centers on the west coast of India for the trade of Arabs, thus hinting at commercial relations between these ports as well. Al Idrisi’s accounts while highlighting the continuity of Chandrapur’s commercial relations with the Arabs and coastal networking with Tana (Thana) and Baruj (Broach) claims it to be a “commercial town and contains fine buildings and rich bazaars.” An inscriptional record of the Kadamba ruler Shasthadeva II voyage to Somanath indirectly illustrates the urban lay-out of Chandrapur; and, its maritime significance as “When the white plastered house alleys, horse stables, flower gardens, agreeably

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63 H.M. Elliot and John Dowson (eds.), History of India as told by its own Historians: Muhammadan Period, Vol I, Delhi. 1867. p 89.
64 Ibid., pp.21-2; Also see Chakravarti, ‘Candrapura/Sindabur and Gopakapattana.’ p 155.
65 Ibid., p.89
connected bazaars, parlour quarters, were charming the eye, the lord of the ocean (Shashta) duly proceeded on his ship over the sea in port....”.

Archaeological excavations have revealed mud wall fortifications and remnants of dwelling places facing the street which linked the port to the city fortification. A recent study by Alvira Mary D’Souza has re-traced (on the basis of extensive fieldwork conducted in and around Chandrapur) a brick and laterite fortification enclosing the citadel along with another wall providing access to the fortified city from the river side. She observes the existence of two forts, one within the other, but built during different periods and development of a brick industry. On the basis of such archaeological observations we can indirectly deduct the intensification of skilled and unskilled laborers catering to the urban requirement as constructions required locally quarrying laterite stone from upland regions in the port’s hinterland, transportation of raw materials to the port-town etc. The port-town became the nucleus for the convergence of not only the coastal and international maritime routes but also of inland trade routes transporting commodities produced in the inland kingdoms of Deccan and South India.

The distinctive feature of a port-city is the intricate web of land (roads and highways) and riverine routes (creeks, rivulets, estuaries and channels) linking the port to the city and the city to the production zones in the immediate hinterland. The riverine routes particularly the Rio de Bati linked the small ports of Bati, Bondir and Tiswadi to Chandrapur and land routes connected the port-town to the inland villages that specialized in brick making, metal works, garden crops such as coconuts, sesame etc. Similarly, highways opened up the port-town to act as the mouth of the up-ghat production zones of Deccan. Studies reveal the simplistic urban layout of Chandrapur with a single street and the location of the royal palace

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66 Epigraphia Indica, vol.XII, p.309
67 Alvira Mary D’Souza, Reconstructing The Urban Maritime History of Goa, pp 155, 217.
and officers residence within fortified area. This suggests how statecraft—including supervision of urban markets, city administrative, legislature and judicial powers—was controlled directly by rulers and State officials. Thus the urban space of Chandrapur did not witness the participation of urban residents, both merchants and non-mercantile classes, in resource appropriation and redistribution (for urban maintenance, evolution and defense arrangements) through the instrument of a city municipality.

Gopakapattanam’s rise as an important port and transformation as the second capital of the Kadambas—as testified by Arabic and Persian sources, inscriptions of the Shilaharas of north and south Konkan and Jewish letters—was aided by its role in the Arab maritime mercantile networking of the mid tenth century. Records reveal that the migrations of the Arab traders from Chaul to Gopakapattanam in the early tenth century boosted the commercial fortunes of the port and facilitated commodity flows from and to the hinterland marts and production zones. These Muslim mercantile settlers formed the ruling class before the port-towns conquest by the Kadamba king Shasthadeva I (1020-1024 A.D) and continued as the politico-economic elite even after Gopakapattanam became the Kadamba capital under king Bhiravarmadev (1049 A.D). Its commercial networking with countries such as Kedah, Srityam (Sumatra), Bangala, Pulikat, Chanda (Chola), Pandya, Kerala, Lat,

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69 Alvira Mary d’Souza, Reconstructing The Urban Maritime History of Goa, p 377.
70 Jose Nicolau da Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa. New Delhi, Asian Educational Services, p 119.
72 Scholars trace the existence of a Hanjaman Nagar near Gopakapattanam dating back to the mid tenth century. As the Hanjaman Nagar existed much before the port-town became the Kadamba capital, Gopakapattanams commercial rise can be attributed to the Arab traders.
73 V.T.Gune, Gazetteer of the Union Territory Goa, pp. 57-119
74 Arab Chaddam(Sadhana) who was inducted within the Kadamba administrative machinery as the chief official (pradhan) of Jayakeshin I.
Gurjar (Saurashtra), Zangavara etc.\textsuperscript{75} import and export of horses (imported from Persia and Arabia and exported to inland regional markets) \textsuperscript{76}; and, local industries (spinning, weaving, brass works, carpentry, jewelry, iron works, basket making and extraction of oil\textsuperscript{77}) rendered it a favored commercial center for traders from distant countries such as Malaya, Pandya, Bengal, Pulikat, Sangameshwar, Shivapur, Chipun, Valipattana, Zanzibar etc.\textsuperscript{78} Thus Gopakapattanam’s geo-spatial advantages (harbor and the connecting ports of Ribandar and Tiswadi) and the way that the pre-existing commercial center was shaped under the Kadamba rulers made the city-space attractive to settler mercantile communities of Jews, Arabs and Hindu coastal traders such as Vanias, Jain merchants etc.

According to Nandakumar Kamat, “the port of Gopakapattanam extended from the mouth of the Siridao river to Dandiwada at Agashi.”\textsuperscript{79} Archaeological excavations have revealed a 5 kilometer long port wall stretching from Kharrosai to Mascarenhas waddo to Agassaim in the south which is submerged in water at many places and also buried in sand. Studies have revealed that inside the wall (towards the city) there were at least three navigational channels for small boats to sail and a protective docking system. Inscriptional records and the various \textit{viragals} have been studied by scholars to retrace the manufacture of sea-faring vessels at the dockyard of Gopakapattanam in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D.\textsuperscript{80} Thus statecraft under the Kadambas (Jayakeshi I) was geared towards encouraging maritime and regional commerce of the port as evident in the archaeological evidences confirming the existence of godowns, houses, drainage canals and market spaces in Gopakapattanam.\textsuperscript{81} The remnants of the site reveal multiple developments within

\textsuperscript{75} P.Pissurlencar, ‘Inscrições Pre-Portuguesas de Goa’, pp 386ff
\textsuperscript{77} Nandakumar Kamat, ‘Gopakapattanam through the Ages’. p 260.
\textsuperscript{78} V.T. Gune, ‘Goa’s Coastal and Overseas Trade’ pp132-133.
\textsuperscript{79} Nandakumar Kamat, ‘Gopakapattanam through the Ages.’ p 258
\textsuperscript{80} Ranabir Chakravarti, ‘Candrapura/Sindabur and Gopakapattana’ p 159.
\textsuperscript{81} \textit{Ibid}. p 261.
the urban spatial arrangement of the port-town under Jayakeshi I which can be linked to the efforts of the state to ensure safety of the merchants and urban commercial activities by directing resources for funding the city’s defense constructions, developing a powerful protective navy and a system of inland communication. Geographically the city gates controlled the movement of men and resources. The royal dockyard and its role in producing and maintaining commercial and military ships under Jayakeshi I can be re-read through inscriptive references to the king as Padavalendra or lord of the Western Ocean. While no direct references in the form of quantitative data is available for the number of ships produced and maintained at the dockyard the epithets associated with Jayakeshi I suggests the redistribution of royal resources gained from taxes and tolls into maintaining a large fleet of ships at royal expense. The construction of sea-going vessels also hints at the intensive employment of skilled and unskilled labor force in the dockyard such as artisans, craftsmen and manual labor. Thus it suggests the existence of a class of professionals rendering specialized services being maintained at royal expense such as captains, sailors, mariners, slaves, servants etc. This illustrates the growing complexity in urban economic activities with the division of labor and development of a service industry. Furthermore, it establishes crucial linkages between expansion of urban trade and redistribution of funds (gained by taxes and tolls) intensifying the process of urbanization in this pre-Kadamba commercial center under the new sovereigns. These production processes within the urban center—ship building; construction of structures (defensive, administrative, residential, and religious); and, organization of market spaces—reveals mobilization of men and material resources from the rural hinterland and neighboring economies to the port-city.

82 Studies have emphasized their function as significant toll collecting places and retrace the city’s northern gate at Satximcot leading to Ela, southern gate at Tair, Dakshi Bhat, Agassaim leading to the earlier capital of Chandrapur, western gate at Santan, Talaulim leading to Bondir, Calapur and eastern gate at Neura leading to Ela. See Alvira Mary D’Souza, *Reconstructing The Urban Maritime History of Goa*. p 384.

83 V.T.Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory Goa*, p.100; *Epigraphia Indica*, vol.XIX, p.33
Partly, the concentration of a service class within Gopakapattanam indicates the demographic expansion of the city under the Kadambas and a concomitant expansion of the urban economy by boosting commerce and circulation of money. Sources (both literary and archaeological) indicate the well maintained and developed dockyard’s role in boosting both the political ambitions of the ruler and the maritime mercantile fortunes of the city. Kadamba inscriptions refer to Jayakeshi I’s naval forces being anchored at the Velakula harbor, now a Khazana land, enclosed on both the sides by two creeks at Neura to the east of the town on the banks of the Zuari.\textsuperscript{84} Place names of surrounding areas offer corroboratory evidence to the settlement of skilled and unskilled laborers. This indicates the expanding service industry associated with urban industrial activities such as ship building; loading, unloading and transportation of goods to market places etc. Goan scholars postulate that regions such as Neura were named from \textit{Nau-Verak} or town where boats and ships dock and provisions were made for housing the naval commanders and sailors,\textsuperscript{85} or from \textit{Nauvittaka} or \textit{Navyata} meaning settlement of ship owning merchants\textsuperscript{86}; Mandur or village market places; Pether village at Carambolim meaning market area etc. Similarly recent studies trace the settlement patterns around the port region of the community of skilled navigators such as the Bhandaris.\textsuperscript{87} Partly, the demarcation of market spaces and labor force in Gopakapattanam; transporting imported commodities from the port to the inland marts; and, finished products or raw materials from the neighboring economies to the urban center suggests the expansion of exchange relations emanating from the Goan ports and strengthening of its urban economy. Thus by the thirteenth century Gopakapattanam saw intensification in resource mobilization from neighboring

\textsuperscript{84} Nandakumar Kamat, ‘Gopakapattanam through the Ages,’ p 262.
\textsuperscript{85} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{86} Details on the meaning and etymology of \textit{Nauvittaka} and \textit{Nakhuda} in Ranabir Chakravarti, ‘\textit{Nakhudas and Nauvittakas: Ship-Owning Merchants’}
\textsuperscript{87} Alvira Mary D’ Souza, \textit{Reconstructing The Urban Maritime History of Goa}, pp 386-388
economies to the port corroborating our previous deduction of commercial expansion of the port-city in the pre-Portuguese period.

The Sanskrit and Kanarese inscriptions during the Kadamba period refer to Gove or Govepuri as a Hindu city and testify to the Brahmanical orientation of its ruler’s in references to “its streets being full of pandits” patronized by the king.\(^8\) Scholars cite numerous inscriptional evidences to trace tax free land grants to the agraharas (Brahmanical villages) and Brahmins of Gove apart from religious institutions during the eleventh and twelfth centuries by the rulers of Gopakapattanam and Karnataka indicating the ideological dominance and socio-political importance of the Gaud Saraswat Brahmanical class.\(^9\) Similarly the Bundarsingi epigraph dated 1257 A.D reveals the Vaishanava impact on the Gove Kadamba king, Shasta Deva III.\(^9\) However despite these evidences and eulogistic accounts (comparing the royal capital of Gove with the paradise of Indira) the study of the demographic patterns suggest evolution of a heterogenous urban population of foreign traders such as the Arab, Jewish, Syrian Christian etc; and, regional mercantile engagements of the Vanias, sea-traders from Malabar and coastal and inland traders from Karnataka with the port of Gopakapattanam. Inscriptional reference to taxes such as Talasari and Totada Batti Sunka levied by the Kadambas on the urban population and collected at the customs houses reveal Gove’s import trade in agrarian and food products from neighboring inland and coastal economies through regional Hindu traders.\(^9\) The very collection of such taxes by the Kadamba reveals the intensified agrarian production and its mobilization to cater to urban consumption demands and export market. Sources further reveal that by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries preference was given to exportable cash crops such as betelnut, coconut, arecanut etc., rather than food-grains. This suggests the penetration of rural hinterlands by

\(^{8}\) Fonseca, *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch*, pp 119-120.


urban mercantile economy evident in the subtle changes in production patterns to cater to the demands of the urban markets for both consumption and export. Furthermore the flow of resources from inland economies to the port viz Ghat route and coastal navigation by regional traders lured other maritime mercantile settlers to base themselves at Gopakapattanam. The pro-commercial legislations of the Kadamba rulers of Gopakapattanam such as permitting separate residential areas for different communities within the urban lay-out and the royal grant of privileges to foreign traders to retain and nurture their ethnic, cultural and religious uniqueness also explain the intensified settlement by economically powerful foreign merchants in the port-city by the mid eleventh century. In a period when quantitative data on the commercial transactions at the port of Gopakapattanam remain scarce and unrecorded; a critical analysis can be undertaken by combining the qualitative evidences of the literary sources with the archaeological and architectural study of the remnants of the urban center. Such a study of the port city in its geo-spatial context and developing cityscape also suggests understanding how the urban space became a reflection of the wealth accumulated and the interests of the politico-economic elite namely the Hindu rulers and the newly appearing Arab merchant capitalists.

Archaeological and literary evidences reveal the existence and significance of the rajvithi or royal road, also called the vodli bidi or highway in the commercial rise of Gopakapattanam. This inland route connecting the harbor with the commercial port of Elegrama passed Tarir through Durgem-Sulla Bhat – Pilar – Gauncim – Satximcot, Maina to Ela, Brahmapuri and the up-ghat region. This facilitated the movement of commodities from the hinterland production zones to the port and of the war-horses and other imports to the up-ghat markets. Another intra-city road was the dakhti bidi or small road which divided the entire city into different parts such as north, south, east and west. The existence and maintenance of such roads and highways encouraging commercial activities within the city suggests the redirection of funds by the rulers towards infrastructure essential for transportation.

[^92]: Nandakumar Kamat, ‘Gopakapattanam through the Ages.’ p258
A third road was the *paivatt* in Goa or those created by the local folks by walking across the fields, hills, mountains and valleys suggesting hinterland-city mobilization of resources and people. Studies postulate that the port of Gopakapattanam was connected to Ela through the *paivatt* which went from the hill of Gauvxi via Talaulim to Old Goa or from Agassim- Neura- Bati- Talaulim- Calapur- Raibandar and Ela. Nandakumar Kamat argues that the markets must have been near the port and locates the trading port as occupying the coastal area of the Zuari where the foundations of godowns, houses and massive drainage canals all were built in laterite stone, remnants of which have been traced through archaeological investigations. Such evidences of highways connecting the port and city with inland production zones of Deccan and Konkan; well provided market spaces; godowns and residences constructed near the mercantile harbor and on the sides of the *rajvithi* for convenient storage of cargos and merchandise; defense constructions assuring safety to residents, traders and urban commerce; and, the establishment of gates regulating the traffic of men and commodities and doubling as customs houses for tax collection illustrate the pro-commercial policies of the Kadambas and the significance attached to mercantile space within the city structure of Gopakapattanam.

Archaeological investigations and literary corroborations have aided scholars to reconstruct the possibility of huge water reservoirs (tanks, wells and sprigs) being located near the palace of the Kadamba kings and in Gauvxi, Zoricho waddo, Goali Moula and Maina catering to urban needs primarily sanitation and drinking. Sources reveal the agrarian pursuits of the rulers being limited to cultivating orchards and gardens of betel nut trees rather than engaging in food crop cultivation. This indicates the rising significance of the port-city's commercial

94 Nandakumar Kamat, ‘Gopakapattanam through the Ages.’ p 258.
95 Ibid. p 261.
economy affecting production processes in the agrarian hinterland. These royal policies and activities shaping urban organization of the port and the city illustrate the attempts of the rulers at facilitating maritime trade and settlement of foreign merchant capitalists which would raise the revenue earned through tariffs and taxes. This is further revealed in royal grants allotting separate residential areas to such merchants and permitting them to construct religious edifices for maintaining their ethnic and cultural exclusivity.

The predominance of the city of Ela over the other ports of Goa by the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was aided by the exodus of influential non-Muslim (Persian Christian and Jews) merchants to Ela from Gopakapattanam; the evolution of its intricate coastal trade; its geographical closeness to the Deccan (relative to Gopakapattanam) which rendered it cheaper and less time-consuming to transport mercantile goods via inland routes; the flourishing ship building industry of Ela owing to its forest resources; and, the Arab settlers trading in war horses. The port’s significance in securing horses and other commodities for the Vijayanagara raya is corroborated by Portuguese reference to Ela as

“The Kingdom of Goa belonged in ancient days to the Hindooos, and was tributary to the Kingdom of Narsinga......The principal centre of this kingdom was the city of Goa, which is situated on an island which all the Hindoos call Ti9uarij, surrounded on every side with lagoons of salt water and islands.”

It’s being coveted by the Bahmani and Adil Shah Sultans and their military contestations with the Vijayanagara suzerains are mentioned in the Portuguese records observing,

“...for many years gained the kingdom of Daquem from the King of Narsinga and were masters of it, although they always waged wars with the Hindoos of Goa until the Çabaio (Adil Shah Sultan)

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became lord of Daquem, they could never overcome them; but this prince carrying on the war with them was oftentimes overcome and as many times conqueror—finally, having seized the passes of the hill country by treachery, he came down with a great body of men over the island of Goa, and remained encamped before the city for so long a time until he got inside." 99

Contrary to Portuguese testimonies to Ela as a "large town" 100, scholars estimate the boundaries of the Adil Shah city stretching across a mile with ramparts that were not very high. 101 The ramparts 102 encircling the city stretched from the customs house in the extreme north till the arsenal in the extreme south. 103 To the east the wall extended upto the foothills of the church of Nossa Senhora do Monte and stretched as far west as the site of royal arsenal. 104 In this context the Portuguese reference to the port-city as a "large town" perhaps indicates the professional groups (mariners, traders, craftsmen etc) inhabiting the immediate vicinity of the port-city under the Adil Shahs. The city defense arrangements were partly aided by the mountain ranges (western ghats) and salt lakes and lagoons marking the geographical frontiers of Ela and separating it from the inland neighboring kingdoms. 105 Partly, the fortification built by the Vijayanagara governor of Ela was retained by the Sultans

99 Ibid, pp 95, 96.
101 Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa, p 133.
102 Confirmation of the fortified citadel in pre-portuguese Adil Shahi city of Goa in Ludovico di Varthema, The Itinerary of Ludovico di Varthema of Bologna from 1502-1508. London, 1928, p 48. Also Linschoten refers to the existence of remnants of the old ramparts surrounded by a dry ditch (moat-like) and sans any gates. However it is not properly mentioned if any alterations were made by Albuquerque in the old wall of Ela. See Burnell (ed.), The voyage of John Hayghen Van Linschoten, pp 179-180.
103 The geographical extent of the pre-Portuguese Adil Shahi has been re-traced in Illustration no. 2.
104 Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa, pp 133-134.
105 The geographical frontiers of the port city have been marked in Illustration: City Plan 4.1; also see Manuel Godinho de Eredia's mapping of the topographical layout of Tisvadi from Monumenta Cartographica Vol IV, Estampa 416 AB attached as Appendix 2.1 of this thesis.
though additional garrisoned “towers” were constructed at the principal passes of the Goa island to prevent military raids from the hinterland and the mainland. Correia notes that the Adil Shahi citadel had a gate or a double gate called the Baçaes which led to the suburbs. The strategic gates of the city reflect the attempts at regulating movement of men and commodities (to prevent any laxity in revenue collection) from the city to the hinterland and vice-versa. This is corroborated by Portuguese references to the close watch of the Adil Shah over traffic from the harbor and the city gates and maintenance of captain, scrivener, magistrates and guards at the customs houses and toll centers allowing those men to enter the port and city who had been properly identified and issued a pass. The city gate—Baçaes Gate—near the site of Nossa Senhora da Serra both controlled illicit traffic (by ensuring toll collection) and a strategic defense outpost (vaulted structure and towers making it convenient to watch over the city and port).

Another significant gate to enter the city was at the present day site of St Catherine Chapel. The Porta da São Braz, another Adil Shah gate later on appropriated and renamed by the Portuguese was on the road to Gandaulim and indicated the 18 kilometers long outer fortification of the city. Further the city had two lookout posts, one among them being the hill of the chapel of Nossa Senhora do Monte where the Adil Shahs housed their artillery as the hill provided a good view of the city and its suburbs. Another look out hill called the Monte de Boa Vista (hill of good view), also offered a good view of the city and these mechanisms were to keep vigilance over the activities in the harbor and city.

106 The Commentaries of The Great Afonso DAlboquerque, part II, p 93.
109 Mathias Mundadan, History of Christianity in India., Vol I, p 449; For the sketch of the Porta de Nossa Senhora da Serra see Appendix 6.
110 The St Catherine’s Chapel constructed in 1550 was built on the site of the Adil Shahi gate from where Albuquerque forced his entrance into the fortified citadel. See Schurhammer, St Francis Xavier, His Life, His Times. Vol II. pp 182, 182.
111 Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa., p 256.
112 Ibid., p 274.
It was the need to maximize and concentrate the revenues earned by the foreign Arab traders of Ela that dictated the spatial arrangements and the structural evolution of the Adil Shahi city. Duarte Barbosa describes the city elite and the port-town as,

"The inhabitant’s thereof are Moors of distinction, many of whom are foreigners from diverse lands. They were white men; among whom, as well as merchants of great wealth, there were also many husbandmen. The land by reason that the harbor was exceedingly good, had trade, and many ships of the Moors came thither from Mecca, the city of Adem, Ormus, Cambaya and Malabar. The Hydalcam had there a captain with many men at arms, who guarded it......The city is very great, with good houses, well girt about with strong walls, with towers and bastions."  

This reveals the composite mercantile and non-mercantile urban settlers with both politico-economically dominant Muslim merchants and mercantile Hindus. Many of traders from Mecca, Ormuz, Adem, Cambay and Malabar who traded in horses frequently visited the excellent port of Ela on the banks of the Mandovi. The trade in horses was guarded by a captain along with his military. Pass and proper details including distinguishing marks of the merchant or peddler of imported commodities were required to allow them access to enter the city. Portuguese sources note,

115 The Commentaries of The Great Afonso Dalboquerque., Part II, pp 96-97. As mentioned before the flocking of “Rumes, Turks, Arabs and Persians to Goa” has been noted in The Commentaries. However it also refers to the collaboration of the people of Malabar allying themselves with their erstwhile enemy the Adil Shahi Sultan of Ela once the latter entered into an alliance with the maritime mercantile kingdoms of Shah Ismael and the Sultans of Egypt and Aden.  
116 V.T.Gune, Gazetteer of the Union Territory Goa, p 136.  
"The Old Çabaio perceived that the site of Goa was very good, and well supplied with water, and the Island...fertile and pleasant, he determined to take up his residence therein, and leave all the rest of his kingdom, out of liking for Goa; and lost no time in building palaces, very large and of excellent workmanship. And after finding himself settled there in security he became so well pleased with the harbor and the river, and the favorable position which it occupied for building large fleets that he was constantly asserting to those who were his favorites that he hoped there to gain possession of the kingdom of Cambaya, and destroy the whole of Malabar...."

This reveals how evolution of the port-city of Ela was tailored to facilitate the rulers control over the accumulation and flow of resources (viz the commercial port). Concurrently it hints at contemporary statecraft where the state formation ambitions of Bijapur involved establishing power wielding structures and defense fortifications securing the port and harbour. The expansionist ambitions of the Adil Shah (conquering neighboring ports and economies such as Malabar, Konkan, Deccan etc) is further attested by the contemporary testimony of Ludovico di Varthema regarding the Sultan's large retinue of four hundred militarily skilled Mameluks (Turkish slave officials) and engagement in military contestations primarily against the Vijayanagara rayas.  

A spatial analysis of the urban structures—such as the grand fortress near the quay, the palatial residential building of the Adil Shahi in the heart of the city; the customs houses established near the wharf and at strategic gates linking the inland routes and countryside to the city; the royal arsenal etc—exposes the Sultan’s power assertions. Their location suggests their crucial role in controlling urban trade and traffic. Similarly, the grandeur of the royal palace, large stocks of armaments in the

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arsenal\textsuperscript{120} and maintenance of military fleets by the Sultan aiding regular maritime expeditions\textsuperscript{121} can be re-read as the sovereign’s efforts to reassert his power claims and dominance over the elite Arab merchants who nurtured high political ambitions. Such a carving of the political might of the Sultan is evident in the contrast between the royal establishments and the simplistic single-storied urban dwellings.\textsuperscript{122} In this context the magnificence of the royal palaces and establishments, its centrality in the urban layout and, functioning as the headquarters of the officials—often the wealthy Arab merchants and ship owners executing administrative policies of the Sultan—suggests the spatial appropriation of power by the ruler and his retinue of trusted officials who owed direct loyalty to the Sultan. Thus a web of commercial and administrative relations evolved around these royal establishments with the political significance of the urban dwellers being decided according to their relations with the Sultan. This held the twin advantage of not only consolidating the absolute authority of the sovereign, but also proclaiming the dominance of new political elites—the wealthy Arab merchants or ship owners-cum-officials—patronized by the Sultan. Glimpses of urban wealth became evident in city maintenance and civic conditions under the Adil Shahs such as planned streets, water supply, defensive fortification securing life and commerce etc. Thus, sources indicate the existence of a royal tank for the recreation of the Bijapuri Sultan\textsuperscript{123} located close to the royal palace and the terreiro do Sabaio.\textsuperscript{124} Similarly another

\textsuperscript{120} References to the large arsenal of the Adil Shah with great quantities of gunpowder, weapons, large quantity of merchandise, stables with 160 war horses, 40 large field guns dispersed in the city etc in The Commentaries of The Great Afonso Dalboquerque’s, Part II. p 99.

\textsuperscript{121} 40 ships and 16 fustas apart from the large supply of ropes, cordage, boltwork etc., in the dockyard suggests maintenance and construction tasks as well. See Ibid.

\textsuperscript{122} The houses of the commoners when the Portuguese entered the city are described as simple buildings with just “a ground floor and upper floor and in the rear a garden with coconut palms and other fruit trees.” See Mathias Mundadan, History of Christianity in India., Vol I, p 445.

\textsuperscript{123} The tank has been archaeologically traced at the site of St Cajetan church bordering the quay. However local legend attributes it to be a sacred tank of the Hindus though its authenticity stands questionable. See Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch, pp 134, 249-250.

\textsuperscript{124} Map of Adil Shahi city in 1509 A.D by unknown Portuguese cartographer in the ASI museum, Velho Goa. The map is labelled “vis-à-vis” perception and the period that it was drafted remains
reservoir was located in the south-eastern border of the city and has been described by Della Valle as a massive well with parapets, walls, stairs and gates hewn out of a rock by native artisans and unskilled laborers. 125 Barbosa's account refers to Ela under the Adil Shahi rule as,

"The city is very great, with good houses, well girt about with strong walls, with towers and bastions. Around it are many vegetables and fruit gardens, with fine trees and tanks of sweet water. There are many mosques and houses of the fashion of gentiles. The surrounding countryside is exceedingly fertile. Here the Hydalcam had a great revenue as well from the land as from the sea." 126

The fortress castle of Adilshah was located close to the quay. 127 The location and structural planning of the edifice 128 (especially its elevated platform having a full view over the river, the mooring and traffic of mercantile vessels and of the markets which was situated close to the quay) enabled the ruler to keep a close watch over the activity at the port and the customs collection at the wharf. The original Adil Shahi edifice was far smaller in dimension relative to the structure of the Viceroy's Palace that evolved as a result of significant additions to the original building under the Portuguese by the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Nevertheless, visually the strategic location and raised setting of the Adil Shahi fortress reveals the psychological assertion of the looming authority and power of the sovereign over foreign mercantile and diplomatic ships approaching the city from the river side. It also reveals the state's strategy to maintain its vigil over the river for defense unknown. However it has depicted the approaching Portuguese ships firing at the Adil Shahi city. This image is significant for the understanding of the centrality of the fortress and residential palace in the fortified city. See picture in Appendix 4; also see literary references in The Commentaries of The Great Afonso D'Alboquerque, p 96.

125 Travels of Pietro della Valle in India, pp 181-182.
127 The mapping of the fortress palace's location was corroborated during my fieldtrip to Velho Goa.
of the city and the docks from naval offensives by rivaling maritime powers. The grandeur and elegance of the state structures and the layout of the residential palace and royal edifices as the heart of the urban center symbolized the display of wealth and royal power over the commercial space of the port-city. Such structures apart from hinting at the power play between the ruler, the powerful Islamic merchants settlers, and, the land based feudal political contesters (Vijayanagara rulers, centrifugal Hindu feudatories of Konkan etc), also suggest the mobilization of resources (material and labour) towards the city. The ruins of the fortress palace in basalt and laterite stone show resources quarried from the inland submountainous regions of central uplands in Goa and transferred to the port city for urban constructions. It also suggests how the rest of the Fortress Palace was constructed using the same materials. This use of locally available materials in constructing the edifices of the Adil Shahi city is corroborated by the Portuguese sources in their records of the thick steep walls and façade of the Palace of the Sultans as built of “black stone” lending it a grim and dark appearance. The material used is in stark contrast to the Portuguese preference for limestone.

129 The stone portal identified by the ASI as the portico of the palace of Viceroy and the original gate of the Adil Shahi fortress palace is located adjacent to St Cajetan Church. The ASI further reveals that while the pillars of the portico are of the original gate, the middle portion of the lintel were not of the portico but comprised the structural remains (made of laterite stone) that formed part of the palace of the fortress complex.

130 An analysis of the portico of the Adil Shahi Fortress Palace reveals the use of locally available laterite and basalt in the lintel and pillars. This suggests use of raw materials—for State structures such as Fortress Palace, Sultan’s residential palace and other religious and residential establishments—mobilized from nearby regions. The ASI claim about the lintel being parts of the laterite remains from the whole edifice re-impose our hypothesis of the use of such locally available material.

131 Field-study reveals the rich deposits of laterite stone in the central uplands of Goa. There was a strong tradition of using the laterite stone to construct houses in Goa till recently. See Remy Dias, The Socio-Economic History of Goa. p 39.

(mobilized from Bassein) for their edifices. Likewise the portico remains an eclectic mix of Islamic and Hindu architectural styles and sculptural motives as can be deducted from the arabesque ornamentation and fragments of perforated screens flanking the pillars of the portico; and, the inverted lotus-bud like emblem suspended from the inner part of the lintel. Such maintenance and planning suggest the use of funds by the rulers to recreate an urban imagery asserting the politico-economic prosperity and might of the port city over the feuding neighboring economies; and, to comfortably accommodate the ethnically divergent trading settlers within the city space.

**Picture 1: Portico in Ruins / Site of the Adil Shahi Fortress Palace.**
Thus in addition to the royal palaces, private buildings, reservoirs and streets the expanding urban conditions of Ela were evident in the temples and mosques dotting the cityscape as well as the location of its market areas. Scholars have traced how the principal mosque of the city was located near the Adil Shahi palace and was endowed with movable and immovable property such as land grants and other revenue rights. Another mosque too was traced to the site where College of St. Paul was later built. Sources hint that a goddess temple stood at the site of Nossa Senhora do Monte located on the Eastern Hill, a Shiva temple at the site of church of Santissma Trindade (The church of The Most Holy Trinity) and several mosques in the city, celebrating “great festivals...in honour of the profane Mohammed”. Furthermore, their destruction by the Portuguese (on the eve of the conquest of the port-city) was followed by the use of the materials from these desecrated structures for constructing Christian religious structures. The markets of the city were located adjacent to the terreiro do Cabaio which was a vast open space located close to the fortress palace and residences of the officials and Mandvi (or Mandovin derived from the word Mand meaning small shops that were put up when ships arrived on the dock) located near the customs house.

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133 Mathias Mundadan observes based on source material that the first provisional structure of the church of St Catherine constructed in 1511 by Albuquerque was built on the site of the demolished mosque of Adil Shah. However, the site of the present Cathedral church of St Catherine constructed between 1562 and 1631 was different from the initial location of the church of St Catherine. A.M Mundadan, History of Christianity in India, Vol I, p 447; Also see Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch, p 201.


135 Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch, p 260.


137 Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch, p 274.


140 Refer illustration: City Plan 4.2.
Such urban constructions and commercial role of Ela hint at the intensification of
the skilled and unskilled urban labor force and an expansion of the royal treasury.
Sources refer to the royal dockyard and well maintained arsenal of the Adil Shahs at
Ela especially the royal mint, gun-foundry and shipyard where everything requisite
for the army and the renowned navy of Adil Shah was manufactured.\textsuperscript{141} The urban
wealth and military re-investments of the Sultan can be gauged in references to the
twenty large guns or \textit{bombardas} apart from a large quantity of smaller artillery in
the royal arsenal, two hundred horses and many supplies and munitions of war on
the eve of the Portuguese pillage in 1510.\textsuperscript{142} Documentation further reveals that on
the eve of the Portuguese conquest, the Adil Shahi military assets consisted of 40
heavy guns, 55 pieces of ordnance called falcons, 200 muskets, a large quantity of
powder, pitch naphtha, oil, steel, iron, copper, cannon balls with a variety of other
articles which were captured by the Portuguese in 1510 A.D when they invaded
Goa.\textsuperscript{143} While "the favorable position of the river and the harbor"\textsuperscript{144} triggered the
construction of the dockyard at Ela for lodging the military ships and visiting
mercantile vessels, it also served as the shipyard where new vessels were built as
testified by references to the abundant supply of cordage, ropes and bolts from the
site.\textsuperscript{145} Indirectly this attests to the flow of raw materials (especially timber,
gunpowder, metals etc) and availability of various professional groups at Ela. Thus
at a macro level the port-city of Ela under the Adil Shah rulers marked a continuity
in attempts at state formation by the ruling elites in the different port-cities of Goa
(in different temporal phases) by accumulating resources to assert their politico-

\textsuperscript{141} Fonseca, \textit{An Historical and Archaeological Sketch}, p 238
\textsuperscript{142} The Commentaries of The Great Afonso DAlboquerque, Part II, p 99; Part III, p 16.
\textsuperscript{143} Ibid., Part II, p 99, João de Barros, \textit{Asia, Dos feitos que os Portuguezes fizeram no Descobrimento
e conquista daa Mares do Oriente}, Lisboa, 1771, Decada II, Livro I, cap. IX.
\textsuperscript{144} The Commentaries of The Great Afonso DAlboquerque, Part II, p 99
\textsuperscript{145} Bragança Pereira (ed.), \textit{Archivo Portuguese Oriental}. Vol.I, p. 1; João de Barros, \textit{Asia, Dos feitos
que os Portuguezes fizeram no Descobrimento e conquista daa Mares do Oriente}, Lisboa, 1771,
Decada II, Livro V, Capitulo II, p.466; Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, \textit{Historia do descobrimento e
conquista da India pelos Portugueses}, Coimbra, 1924, livro III, cap.VIII, p.25

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military sovereignty in Medieval Deccan. This politico-military objective of the Adil Shah is evident in his treaties with the mercantile Sultan of Egypt aided by the migrant Arab merchants of Honawar and Bhatkal who acted as intermediaries.146 At a micro level the wheels of commerce and the state’s attempts at maximizing Ela’s revenues triggered multiple processes that were associated with urbanization such as expansion of the maritime and inland trade, intensified urban production, monetization (growing circulation of money), development of a nascent service sector (flocking of navigators, craftsmen, soldiers, skilled and unskilled laborers at the port-town) etc. The evolution of skilled sea-faring communities and ship-building artisan class is indirectly corroborated through Tome Pires’ description of the good port in the “kingdom of Goa” possessing “great many ships” belonging to merchants of many nationalities and the “armadas (here reference to military ships of the Adil Shahi) which was carried on there, on account of the wood and of the craftsmen, and also because it had plentiful supplies and was very strong, and because there were always a large number of white people (Rumes, Turks etc.) living there, full of pride and not without cause, for the kingdom of Goa lies in the heart of all India.”147 Such evidences reflect the intricate and nuanced processes whereby the pre-Portuguese port city of Goa was structured and organized till the eve of its conquest by the Portuguese in 1510.

Thus the study on the trends of urbanization in the various early port-towns of Goa show that urban evolution was marked by the existence of a heterogenous mercantile community; and, the politico-commercially influential class of foreign sea-traders differed ethnically and culturally from the political potentates. The close collaboration between the rulers and the foreign merchant elites of the port towns of Gopakapattanam and Ela was marked by allocation of specific market spaces for high value commodities, separate residential provisions, socio-religious privileges (freedom to practice cultural uniqueness, establishing religious structures etc),

lodging mercantile ships and constructing sea-faring mercantile vessels in dockyard, and, involving such wealthy trading communities in the politico-military ventures of the rulers. Thus our study of the early Goan port-towns against the politico-administrative and economic decisions of these quasi mercantilist states (Kadambas, Vijayanagara governors and Adil Shahis) reveal twin developments. For the political suzerains, dominion over the mercantile port-cities of Chandrapur, Gopakapattanam and Ela ensured the steady flow of fiscal resources to the royal treasury by taxing urban trade. Concurrently, control over the harbor ensured the regular supply of war horses and maintenance of military sea-faring vessels for the embryonic Konkan and Deccani states which was essential for funding their political power assertions over rivaling inland kingdoms and feudatories. Our re-reading helps at understanding crucial linkages between the urban evolution of these South Konkan ports and the germination of complex politico-economic processes much before the Portuguese conquered Goa. On the one hand resources accumulated within these port-towns (viz their expanding commercial maritime hinterlands and forelands) pulled the power assertions of the settler mercantile elites and triggered state formation ambitions of the respective sovereigns. Portuguese sources testify to the prosperity and dominance of mercantile non-Christian politico-economic class (primarily the Muslim merchants and administrative class, trading Saraswats etc) on the eve of the Portuguese takeover. Similarly contemporary references to the coexistence of various religious structures such as the temples and mosques within the city space; discovery of an ancient granite Persian cross with Pahlavi inscriptions dating back to the eighth century; the architectural use of locally available laterite and granite stones in urban constructions, and, native craftsmanship suggests both the spatial assertions of the heterogenous urban community (with the dominance of wealthy foreign sea-traders) within the urban space of Ela and the emergent trends of resource mobilization (from the immediate hinterland to the port-town) by mercantile wealth.

In a nutshell, urbanization as it developed in the Goan entrepôts by the early 16th century was shaped by the strategies of the rulers (to encourage the settlement of
wealthy merchants) differing radically from the later day aspirations of the Estado da India in their port-city of Goa. The development of the cityscape and the growing assertion of political power by wealthy Arab traders illustrate accelerating tensions between the claims of these Muslim merchants-cum-officials and the previously dominant class of Hindu landholders-cum-merchants primarily the Saraswat Brahmins and Hindu feudatories of Vijayanagara. Despite the religious overtone of the Portuguese sources, an analysis of the Hindu residents' cataclysmic role in tilting the power contestations between the Lusitanians and the Adil Shahi Sultan to favor the former and the subsequent pro-Hindu policies of the Portuguese in Ela confirm our hypothesis of the tension marking the urban space stemming from the struggles for politico-economic predominance between these two mercantile communities by the early sixteenth century. This leads us to the next chapter where exploring the re-arrangements of the urban space enables us to critically analyze how and why the port of Ela was conquered by the Portuguese; and, the altered strategies of the mercantile early colonial state to control and monopolize wealth accumulation through the tool of the port-town.
Illustration II: Phasewise Expansion of the City of Goa

Legend

- * Sites
- Phase I Adil Shahi City
- Phase II City between 1510-1540 A.D.
- Phase III City between 1540-1580 A.D.
- Phase IV City between 1580-1690 A.D.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phase I: Adil Shahi City</th>
<th>Phase II: City between 1510-1540 A.D.</th>
<th>Phase III: City between 1540-1580 A.D.</th>
<th>Phase IV: City between 1580-1690 A.D.</th>
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<td></td>
<td>25. Cruz dos Milagres</td>
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<td>26. Parish Church of Santissma</td>
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<td>Trinidad</td>
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<td>27. São Thome</td>
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<td>28. São Alexio</td>
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<td>29. Convent and Church of the Carmelites</td>
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<td>30. Nossa Senhora do Monte</td>
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