CHAPTER IV

Economic Processes, Religious Assertions and Changing Meanings of the City, 1540-1580

The period from 1540 and 1580, when the city of Goa swelled in size both demographically and territorially, witnessed the increasing re-structuring of Goa as an early colonial ‘Christian’ space. The Lusitanian power’s claim to Christian exclusivity and European superiority soon supplanted its previous emphasis on peaceful co-existence and mutual co-operation in Goa. Visually this change was manifested in the royal instructions to establish institutions such as Christian convents, colleges and hospitals with ornate structures. The imperial city’s structural and architectural experiments in projecting European and Christian magnificence contrasted sharply with the hastily constructed and humble urban structures of the previous period. The physical and architectural restructuring was made possible primarily because of the wealth from private trade of the casados of Goa, whose entrepreneurial skills and mercantile acumen helped to create surplus in the city over a period of forty years. The economic processes of the city was such that by the beginning of 1540s it was the seat of a deficit ridden empire, whose reasons for fluctuating fortunes included dearth of funds from Portugal for Indo-European trade and increasing diversion of cargo to Venice followed by intensification of Mediterranean -oriented trade from different exchange centres of Asia. The situation was worsened by the abrupt cut in the profit from horse-trade in the city following the defeat of Vjayanagara rulers at Talikotta in 1565. However the private casado traders overcame these adverse conditions and converted Goa into a centre of immense wealth accumulation, whose reasons are to be sought in the various strands of private trade that these casados had developed over a period of time, even though their fruits were reaped mostly during the period after 1580s.
The 1540s saw the outbreak of a financial crisis in Goa as testified by the debased currency and acute fiscal shortages within the *Estado* rendering it difficult even to pay salaries to its officials. Scholars link it to the reduction in Lisbon’s supply of men and money to Goa, the consequent decline in official *Carreira* trade and the diminishing rate of profits from State’s trade. Alternatively, 1570s saw the privatization of Indo-European trade\(^1\) followed by the intensification of private *casado* trade particularly with the eastern space of Indian Ocean \(^2\) and the circulation of Chinese and Japanese bullion within the urban commercial artery as testified by the intensified activity of the Royal mint. However, even in the earlier crisis conditions and despite the *Estado*’s fiscal and military straitjackets, Goa engaged in a series of financially draining military projects in Africa, Muscat, Hormuz, Diu, etc. But the contemporary observations on Goa as a prosperous port-city of the Orient\(^3\) nullify assumptions of a severe crisis by 1570s. Thus the dichotomy between a debt ridden State and urban efflorescence of the capital city can be explained by studying the trajectory of urban evolution during the period between 1540 and 1580, besides critically examining the nature and purpose of the wealth being invested to recreate a Christian space as a part of the early colonial assertion of the Portuguese. Furthermore, the chapter seeks to understand the larger processes and the dynamics which shaped the imperial city’s claims to Christian exclusivity and European superiority through the window of spatial rearrangements.

---


\(^3\) Luis de Camões, *Os Lusiadas*, Lisboa, 1972
The Dynamics of Urban Economy and the *Casado* Bourgeoisie

The new conditions laid in the first phase of Portuguese dominance had attempted to consciously cultivate and nurture a mercantile class out of the *casados* capable of substituting the indigenous mercantile community and providing human resources for meeting the administrative needs of the Lusitanian empire in the East. By the mid 16th century the *casados* had already evolved as the leading private traders in the Indian Ocean wielding significant commercial capital. Furthermore, the period in many ways symbolized a transitional phase for the Portuguese State from its active role in trade—typical characteristic of the early Manueline State of 1510s and 1520s—to the position of being a tax collector and farmer of significant voyages, from which the *casados* who appropriated a major chunk of Indian Ocean private trade benefited immensely. A steady withdrawal of the State from active trade which now got limited to a few monopoly routes opened up lot of avenues for the *casados* to expand the commercial networks of the latter.

The commercial networks of the *casado* traders of Goa in the eastern space of Indian Ocean made available in the city nutmeg and mace from Banda; cloves from Moluccas; pepper from Sumatra and Sunda; sandalwood from Timor; camphor from Borneo; precious stones from Burma; long pepper and saltpeter from Bengal; textiles from Coromandel and Gujarat; besides coir and cowry from Maldives. 4 A considerable number of Goan *casados* entered the markets of China, principally after 1560, through the doors of Macao and Malacca. 5 These *casados* used to bring back to the city of Goa a large volume of silk and porcelain. 6 After 1570s the Goan

---

4 Gonçalvez Nycolão, *Livro que trata das Cousas da India e do Japão*, ed. by Adelino de Almeida Calado, Coimbra, 1957, pp.52-60; Luis Filipe Thomaz, “The Portuguese in the seas of the Archipelago during the 16th Century” in *Archipel*, vol.18, 1984, pp. 82-3


6 *Relação das plantas & descripções de todas as fortalezas*, p.39; Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, vol.V, Glasgow, 1905, p.393
casados used to bring a remarkable volume of copper from China to Goa, as well where this metal had high demand not only in the city alone, but also in the neighbouring principalities because of the acute shortage of copper in India following copper crisis in Europe. Several Portuguese private traders like Gomes Eanes were also involved in trade with Basra and by 1546 the Portuguese documents speak of large volume of textiles reaching Basra from India for further trade moving towards the Mediterranean. However, the merchants from the city of Goa frequenting Persian Gulf were principally traders in horses. They used to pay a sum of 40 ducats as customs duty in Ormuz in 1570s and take to Goa about 80-124 horses in every big ship plying between Goa and Ormuz, as observed by Caesar Frederick and Ralph Fitch respectively. They were usually sold in the city of Goa in 1570s for a value ranging between 300 to 1000 ducats. Because of the huge wealth flowing from this strand of trade, a significant portion of the city of Goa was earmarked under the name rua de carreira dos cavalos for the purpose of trade in horses and for their further transportation in to the inland Deccan markets.

The economic condition of the city of Goa was bolstered with the intensification of the private trade of the casados, which simultaneously stimulated the secondary sector activities in the urban space, as well. The financial details of the city indicated by Simão Botelho(1554) attests to the intense activation of urban economy by mid sixteenth century

8 Pius Malekandathil, The Germans, the Portuguese and India, p.72
9 Cortesão, Albuquerque, vol.II, 121-2; vol.III, 271
10 Karl H.Dannenfeldt, Leonhard Rauwolf: Sixteenth Century Physician, Botanist & Traveller, Massachusetts, 1968, p.121
12 Karl H.Dannenfeldt, Leonhard Rauwolf, p.121
13 See Linschotens map Appendix 3.1.
Table 2: Details of Customs Duty from the City of Goa 1543-54 (in Pardaos)$^{14}$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Income from customs duty (annual average)</th>
<th>Actual value of private trade in the city (annual average)$^{15}$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1543-4</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>1111000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1545-46-47</td>
<td>70500</td>
<td>1566651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1548</td>
<td>68000</td>
<td>1511096</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1549-50-51</td>
<td>68000</td>
<td>1511096</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1552-53-54</td>
<td>60000</td>
<td>1333200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data show that immense wealth was generated out of the trade in the city, besides the relatively considerable amount of wealth (14006 pardaos) flowing into it as rent from Tisvadi, Chorão and Divar.$^{16}$ There was a remarkable increase in the income from urban taxation with the tax money from arrack rising from 3250 pardaos (1544-45) to 3630 pardaos in 1547-8. However the tax-income from vegetables rose only nominally from 4210 pardaos (1543-44) to 4500 pardaos during the period between 1546 and 1548, while the income from taxes on spices rose from 1565 pardaos in 1545 to 3530 pardaos in 1548 and 4000 pardaos in

---

$^{14}$ Simão Botelho, "O Tombo do Estado", pp. 48-9

$^{15}$ The customs duty levied during this period was 4.5%. Simão Botelho, O Tombo do Estado”, p.48. The actual value of trade was calculated by multiplying the amount of customs duty by 22.22(which is tentatively the 4.5%) and the figure is rounded up.

$^{16}$ Simão Botelho, "O Tombo do Estado”, p. 46
1550.\textsuperscript{17} The tax-money collected in the city from food materials was 3250 \emph{pardaos} in 1544, which increased to 4400 \emph{pardaos} in 1548 and 4800 \emph{pardaos} in 1552/3.\textsuperscript{18}

Table 3: Value of Major Commodities Traded in the City 1545-1554 (in \emph{Pardaos})\textsuperscript{19}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodities</th>
<th>1545</th>
<th>1547</th>
<th>1549</th>
<th>1550</th>
<th>1551</th>
<th>1552/53</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food materials</td>
<td>97768</td>
<td>97768</td>
<td>78214</td>
<td>86102</td>
<td>93324</td>
<td>106656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetables</td>
<td>99990</td>
<td>99990</td>
<td>117766</td>
<td>117766</td>
<td>100545</td>
<td>101656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrack</td>
<td>72215</td>
<td>80658</td>
<td>77770</td>
<td>77770</td>
<td>75548</td>
<td>75548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spices</td>
<td>34774</td>
<td>78436</td>
<td>88880</td>
<td>88880</td>
<td>52217</td>
<td>58883</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table shows that the purchasing power of the urban-dwellers in the mid-sixteenth century was relatively high and that the luxury items like spices at times matched the trade in essential goods like food-materials and vegetables. We do not know how much of the spices traded in the city were taken overland to inland kingdoms for further distribution; however the statistics indicate the significant increase in the consumer class within the city, who were capable of purchasing high value-content commodities including spices. Alcoholic drinks prepared from palm trees, often known as arrack, formed another commodity that exchanged as intensely as food materials and vegetables. The following graph indicates the value content and trend of trade in the city.

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., pp.49-50
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., p.50
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid., pp.48-51
However trade in horses formed one of the most lucrative segment of commerce happening in the city of Goa and the kingdom of Vijayanagara absorbed the major share of horses imported through the maritime doors of Goa and that too by the urban dwellers of Goa, who in turn transferred a lion’s share of their profit into their city for constructing magnificent edifices and setting up extravagant mansions. In this development and for all practical purposes Vijayanagara kingdom and Goa formed one economic unit, with the first being the hinterland part and the port-city of Goa being the maritime outlet for it. However, the fall of Vijayanagara in the battlefield of Talikota in 1565, deprived the casados of Goa of immense opportunities that they used to have earlier for conducting trade with the vast economic regions of that kingdom, causing catastrophic impact upon the economic conditions of the city. This ushered in a great economic crisis in the city of Goa.  

\(^{20}\) For details see Luis Filipe Thomaz, “A Crise de 1565-1575 na Historia do Estada da India” in *Mare Liberum*, no.9, July 1995
In order to overcome this financial crisis, the crown declared several packages, the most important of which was the reorganization and liberalization of Asian trade by issuing licences and commercial privileges to *casados* of the city of Goa for undertaking economy-stimulating exchange activities. By 1570s the crown liberalized and handed over to the *casados* several navigational lines that it had earlier monopolistically held. Moreover, as there were no effective means of control in the eastern space of Indian Ocean, little profit went into the coffers of the crown. Hence the crown began to rent out commercial voyages to the *casado* traders of the city at fixed rates. The commercial voyages from the city of Goa to South East Asia, Japan and China formed the most lucrative stream among such voyages, as indicated by *Livro das Cidades e Fortalezas que o Coroa de Portugal tem nas partes da India*. The commercial voyages from the city of Goa had either Coromandel, or Malacca or Bengal as the intermediate destination in the long-distance commodity movements between western coast of India and South East Asia, or China or Japan. The impact of this new development was that the urban economy of Goa got intensely activated, boosting not only trade but also secondary sector production. One of the concomitant results was that the Portuguese state managed to generate 118000 *pardoas* as tax from the customs houses in 1571 (as per the budget calculation of 1571), indicating the sporadic increase in private trade. The intensification of trade augmented the flow of wealth into the city and boosted the economic value of the urban space. This is indicated further by the fact that the amount the Portuguese state taxed from the city under different heads rose to 285455 *pardoas* by this time.

---


22 Artur Teodoro de Matos, *O Orçamento do Estado da India, 1571*, Lisboa, 1999, p.57

Despite the fall of Vijayanagara, revenue from horse trade continued to be a major source of income coming into the city of Goa, where for each horse was to be given 42 *pardaos* of gold.  

For the year 1571 the amount of tax money that the state expected from the horse-trade in the city as per the budget was 6000 *pardaos* of gold, meaning trade in minimum of 142 horses.

**Table 4: Income Generated from the City (1571) vis a vis Value of Trade**

(Value in *Pardaos*)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodities/ Items</th>
<th>Tax Income</th>
<th>Value of Trade/Economic Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Customs duty on the maritime private trade</td>
<td>118000</td>
<td>2621960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tax on food materials</td>
<td>12500</td>
<td>277750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tax on vegetables</td>
<td>5800</td>
<td>128876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tax on silk</td>
<td>4200</td>
<td>93324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tax from rope-making factory</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>11110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tax from spices</td>
<td>4850</td>
<td>107767</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tax from horses</td>
<td>6000</td>
<td>133320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tax on textiles</td>
<td>12110</td>
<td>269084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tax on oil-mills</td>
<td>705</td>
<td>15665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tax on arrack</td>
<td>4200</td>
<td>93324</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table clearly shows that customs duty on the maritime private trade of the urban-dwellers of Goa formed the major source of income to the Portuguese State. The above details also throw light on the wide variety of economic activities happening in the city, besides trade. It is to be noted here that the above amount raised from the city went into the coffers of the Portuguese State, which in turn was redistributed for sustaining its various administrative and ecclesiastical apparatuses.

---

24 Ibid., 59
25 Ibid., 59
26 Ibid., pp.57-60
The viceroy, having his base in the city of Goa, was paid the highest amount, i.e., 73399550 reis (18300 cruzados)\(^2\), while the archbishop was paid 2000000 reis (5000 cruzados)\(^2\). All other officers of the state and church were paid much lower than these scales; however, immense wealth used to get circulate within the city thanks to the pumping of money through the modality of cash payments of enormous volume to various office bearers.\(^2\) Over and above there was a great flow of wealth into the urban space for various construction processes, including churches, religious houses, civil structures, urban welfare institutions and military structures.\(^3\)

The flow of commodities and wealth into the city from the hinterland was realized through various entry points or passages within the fortification surrounding the city. All these passages were guarded by captains and naiques (nayaks), helped by nine to fifteen soldiers, who were remunerated annually by the State. The captain of the passage of Banasterim was paid 60000 reis and the four naiques and his twelve soldiers earned 77440 reis in 1554\(^,3\) while the four naiques and 32 soldiers together got 81120 reis in 1571.\(^4\) The twelve naiques and seventeen soldiers employed at the passage of Panjim used to get 40550 reis in 1554\(^,3\) whereas their salary got reduced to 29040 reis in 1571, as the number of soldiers

\(^2\) Ibid., p.64
\(^3\) Ibid., p60
\(^4\) For details see Ibid., pp.60-88
\(^5\) Ibid., pp.60-4; 66-70
\(^6\) Simão Botelho," O Tombo do Estado",p.72
\(^7\) Artur Teodoro de Matos, O Orçamento do Estado da India, 1571, p.79
\(^8\) Simão Botelho," O Tombo do Estado",p.73
\(^9\) Artur Teodoro de Matos, O Orçamento do Estado da India, 1571, p.79
\(^10\) Simão Botelho," O Tombo do Estado",p.73

151
was reduced to ten by this time. The fourth passage was called dry passage, because it was located at the shallow and narrow part of river Mandovi, where there used to be five naiques and forty soldiers in 1554 earning an annual collective amount of 96778 reis, which increased to 125500 reis in 1571, when six naiques and fifty soldiers were employed for guarding the passage to the city. The passage of Daugim had twelve naiques and fourteen soldiers, earning 30521 reis in 1554, and 32860 reis in 1571 for twelve naiques and twelve soldiers. The passage of Agassim had four naiques and thirty soldiers remunerated with 99628 reis in 1554 and 77280 reis in 1571 for the same number of contingents. The passage of Carambolim was equipped with twelve naiques and fourteen soldiers in 1554 for an annual payment of 35021 reis, while their payment was raised to 36720 reis in 1571. Ribandar had a decisive passage to the city, for guarding which one naique and nine soldiers were employed in 1554 for an annual salary of 21197 reis, however their salary rose to 22200 reis in 1571.

The difference in the defending personnel from one passage to another and the difference in their pay indicate the economic value of each of these passages. Even when Christianization became the focal theme of interest for the state in the city in mid-sixteenth centuries, indigenous co-operation was maximum utilized by employing nayaks and their soldiers to safeguard the entry points into the city. The Hindu nayaks were stationed at the major passages to the city, probably to facilitate

---

36 Artur Teodoro de Matos, O Orçamento do Estado da India, 1571, p.79
37 Simão Botelho, "O Tombo do Estado", p.74
38 Artur Teodoro de Matos, O Orçamento do Estado da India, 1571, p.79
39 Simão Botelho, "O Tombo do Estado", p.74
40 Artur Teodoro de Matos, O Orçamento do Estado da India, 1571, p.79
41 Simão Botelho, "O Tombo do Estado", p.75
42 Artur Teodoro de Matos, O Orçamento do Estado da India, 1571, p.80
43 Simão Botelho, "O Tombo do Estado", p.75
44 Artur Teodoro de Matos, O Orçamento do Estado da India, 1571, p.80
45 Simão Botelho, "O Tombo do Estado", p.76
46 Artur Teodoro de Matos, O Orçamento do Estado da India, 1571, p.79
the arrival of Hindu merchants from the neighbouring regions and thus to cause the trade to continue in the city without being harassed by Portuguese officers.

Along with the intensification of private trade of the casados of Goa, there was an increasing attempt on the part of the casados to assert their position in the social and power space of Goa by challenging the domination of the fidalgo (nobility) category of office-bearers in the administrative posts of the Estado. The casados entered into conflicts with the Portugal-born fidalgos (nobility), as the crown began increasingly to prefer the latter for distributing concessions and public offices in India. 47 As the mother country could support only the first born, the remaining members of the noble families used to look towards India for making fortunes in the form of accruing captaincies of the fortresses or some other administrative posts. 48 The casados, who found an ardent supporter of their cause in the person of bishop Jorge Temudo of Cochin (who while serving as archbishop of Goa in 1569 argued that only two dozens of good fidalgos were needed in India to be appointed as governors and captains and the remaining posts were to be given to the casados) 49 , had begun by this time to oppose severely the bulk reservation of administrative posts to the noble family members. With the support of Church leaders the casados asserted their power claims and even developed a system almost parallel to Estado even bypassing the control systems of the crown. 50 There was even a rumour in circulation that the Estado da India had cut off ties with Lisbon, with the casados making use of the opportunity of the presence of Dom Constantino de Bragança, a noble of the royal family, as the viceroy 51 to assert their position in the power space.

47 Luis Filipe Thomaz, “A Crise de 1565-1575 na Historia do Estadoda India” in Mare Liberum, no.9, July 1995, pp.504-8
48 Ibid., p.506; Pius Malekandathil, Portuguese Cochin, p.123
49 Josef Wicki, ‘Duas Relações sobre a situação da India Portuguesa nos anos de 1568 e 1569’ in Studia. no.8, Lisbon, 1968, pp.200-1
50 Luis Filipe Thomaz, “A Crise de 1565-1575 na Historia do Estadoda India”, pp.507-8; Pius Malekandathil, Portuguese Cochin, p.123
51 Ibid.
Along with the assertion of their status positions in the power ladder, the *casados* also tried to give new meanings to the city by joining hands with the state in getting the urban behaviour homogenized and standardized using religious institutions. Moreover their transfer of wealth to construction processes in the city intensified the spatial process articulating meanings of power into the urban space.

**Reshaping of the City with Religious Institutions and Devices**

The *Ilha de Goa* (Island of Goa) or the Tisvadi province in the mid 16th century saw the rise of numerous religious edifices dotting both the urban space of the port-city and its hinterlands. Within Goa, the *Estado da India* aggressively backed the missionary led conversions of the indigenous residents from 1541 onwards with the official endorsement of the ‘rigor of mercy’ policy and the establishment of a *Confraria* of Holy Faith.\(^{52}\) Such reactionary ideology was portrayed as the determining force behind the *Estado*’s policy orientation and implementation within Goa for the period stretching from 1540s till 1580s. In addition to the Franciscans who had come to Goa along with Afonso de Albuquerque, the mid 16th century witnessed the opening up of the city space to a number of religious Orders such as the Jesuits (1542), the Dominicans (1548) and the Augustinians (1572). Alongside the intensive Christianization through the religious Orders, the *Estado* engaged in intensified temple destructions in and around the city of Goa followed by the establishment of churches and chapels in the suburban rings. Curiously, the conservative State policies and the missionary activities triggered varied reactions within the city and the rest of the island. Jesuit reports state the predominance of the Hindu community within the island of Goa by 1550s and their reaction to State’s conservatism by fleeing to the inland Bijapuri and Vijayanagara territories. In marked contrast to this imagery of exodus by non-Christians to neighbouring kingdoms, the 1580s registers territorial expansion of the port-city and demographic increase. The expansion has been linked to the high influx of *soldados* and *casados* into the city space following which there was an intensification of urban economic

activities resulting from trade and production for the market. However a closer analysis reveals that while majority of the transactions in the main commercial market space of the port-city, known as *rua direita*, were carried on by the *casados*, a significant variety of skilled and unskilled services were also offered by indigenous inhabitants. This is inferred by missionary records attesting to mercantile and labour class of native residents preferring conversions rather than migrating from the city. Thus testimonies to the baptism of the head of the guild of painters (14th May 1559), the head of the guild of goldsmiths (August, 1559), the baptism of the guild of masons (1560), the head of the silk merchants of the city in 1560 and the rich silk merchants of the town by 1573, the tax collectors, the Brahmanical service staff of the *Misericordia* etc. occur frequently, indicating the creation of loyal city-labourers through the tool of religion. Furthermore, the baptism of Loku a prominent merchant and tax collector of the city, exhibited to the principal Hindu traders who had been invited by the State shows how ritual

---

53 Pius Malekandathil, 'City in Space and Metaphor: A Study on the Colonial Port-City of Goa'
57 The guild of masons were persuaded by the brothers in charge of building works at St Pauls enabling us to link these conversions with their need to conserve jobs. The head of the guild and another 151 of the members were baptized. See Josef Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, vol. IV, p 676.
58 The baptism was on 11th November, 1560. See Josef Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, vol. IV, p 686.
59 Of the 250 people baptized on All Souls’ day in St Paul’s College in 1573, there were several rich silk merchants of the town. Josef Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, vol.IX, p 303.
60 For details on the baptism of Loku in St Pauls college by 1548, acceptance of the Portuguese name Lukas de Sa, his appointment as the Chief Thanadar by Garcia de Sa immediately after the baptism and the participation of e major Hindus of the town in the celebrations of his baptism, refer to the Letter of Fr Breze on 13 December 1548. Josef Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, vol. I, pp 399-401; and, Letter of Bishop Albuquerque on 28 November 1548. Josef Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, vol.I, pp.325-327
61 For details on the baptism of a very distinguished Brahmin who was the secretary of the *Misericordia* of Goa and his wife in the chapel of the *Misericordia* with the viceroy as his godfather in1560, see Josef Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, vol. IV, pp. 664-665
62 Cf. supra no. 60.
ceremony of the sacrament was also used as a powerful device to impress upon the non-Christian elements in the city. This further demonstrates the reversal of the previous accommodative phase from the late 1540s. Concurrently, a systematic and aggressive policy aimed at making and marking of a European Christian colonial space and Lusitanized community was undertaken by the *Estado* in Goa. Within the port-city a number of religious edifices were constructed and maintained often from funds collected from the Portuguese residents through institutions such as the *Misericordia* in the form of alms and bequests. 63 By 1546, 1557 and 1558 a series of royal decrees were promulgated instructing the missionaries and clergy to organize compulsory catechism classes for Jewish and Hindu converts as well as baptized slaves; and, restricting celebration of native feasts, non-Christian cultural practices and banning the participation in idol worship under pain of punishment. 64 Eventually religious overtones began to enter aggressively into administrative and executive realms. The 1557 *regimentos* barred gentiles from holding all legal and financial offices in the *Estado da India* 65. Meanwhile the Provincial council of Goa (1567) stipulated that the European Christian norms based on the Tridentine reforms should regulate the day-to-day life and socio-customary practices of the converts with regard to observing public celebrations, customary ceremonies, feasts and ways of worship. The reactionary elements were tightening their hold over major portfolios of the government and concomitant to this making and marking of a European Christian community in Goa, the royal edicts of 1550 extended the destruction of Hindu temples and censoring of Hindu customary and religious practices from the city space of Goa to all regions of the *Estado*. 66 In 1558 the bishopric of Goa was raised as the Archbishopric with Cochin (the economic capital of the *Estado*) and Malacca

becoming the suffragan dioceses. Soon a series of laws followed whereby conversion by slaves of non-Christians, and, other natives of Goa would ensure for them freedom and elevation of social status respectively. In 1557 Viceroy Barreto promulgated grants bestowing a variety of social and financial privileges to the native people getting converted to Christianity. Thus the State's grant of exclusive rights to converts such as holding government posts, protecting the inheritance rights of the converts from being usurped by their Hindu relatives, undertaking the education and care of orphans and denying the Hindu relatives from claiming the orphaned child's property sought to encourage conversions. Moreover, lures to the slaves to get converted by first promising them freedom (from non-Christian masters) but soon revising the law to bind them to Christian masters and instructing better treatment of such slaves by their Christian masters could be

---


71 Alvara of King to Governor Francisco Barreto dated 15th March 1557 revised the earlier policy granting freedom to converted slaves. See Cunha Rivara (ed.), *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, Fasc. 5, Part 1, Doc 185, p 311. This suggests that the earlier law might have triggered large conversions affecting availability of cheap labour within the city which prompted the State's revised laws later. Also see provision of Dom Constantino regarding converted slaves of foreign non-Christians masters dated 25th Dec 1558 in *Ibid. Doc 373*, p 374.

72 The decrees of the provincial council justified the continuity of slavery but also provided for better treatment of slaves by their Christian masters, subjecting cruel masters to judicial probe, granting freedom to victimized slaves; and, treatment of abandoned disease ridden Christian slaves by the *Misericordia* see, Cunha Rivara (ed.), *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, Fasc. 4, pp 16-17, 97, 128-129, 268-270; Also see Fatima da Silva Gracias, 'The Portuguese and Welfare Activities in the Konkan.
understood as measures to secure the labour base in the urban center comprising primarily of slaves and non-Christian skilled and unskilled workers.

The slaves who were mistreated and subjected to harsh conditions by their Portuguese masters often rebelled and ran away to rival kingdoms as can be deducted from the municipal records that refer to the office of the slave retriever by late 16th century entrusted with capturing fugitive slaves. The strategy of ensuring the binding loyalty of the slave labour is evident in alvaras instructing proper doctrinal training and instilling Christian values of servitude and devotion amongst the slaves before baptism. This stands corroborated by missionary reports on highly evangelized slaves who often corrected the un-Christian acts of their Christian masters. Furthermore, the later day testimonies of travelers reveal the advance in division of labour and the high degree of specialization of labour by the end of the 16th century with a larger portion of the menial work required in urban constructions, the powder house, State galleys etc., being rendered by State owned slaves and also slaves of Christian masters who constituted the urban elite. On hindsight the labour power was harnessed by the State and urban elite Region, 1500-1800.' in K.S Mathew, Teotonio de Souza, Pius Malekandathil (eds.), The Portuguese and the Socio-Cultural Changes in India, 1500-1800. Fundacao Oriente, 2001, pp 288, 289.

73 The significance of this office can be corroborated by the direct role of the Crown in reviewing the service of incumbent slave retrievers and instructing the Municipality to extend the term of those officials who rendered exemplary service. See Letter of King Felippe III to to camara de Goa dated December 11 1601 in HAG: MS 7751 (Treslados das Cartas Patentes f1s 251v-252.) reproduced and translated in Teotonio de Souza, Medieval Goa, p 267, Appendix B-3.


75 Training of female catechumens (by the Ethiopian widow Caterina de Ferao) who when they went to work in Portuguese houses urged other women to pray the rosary, recommend themselves to God, confess regularly etc. see Thekkedath, History of Christianity, Vol II, p 354.

(predominantly the mercantile *casados*) during the 1540s and 1550s using the tools of evangelization and conversion of both the slaves and indigenous craftsmen. This converted Christian labour base linked to the Imperial port-city and the Estado through ties of allegiance and protection provided resources to meet the human and fiscal shortages within the empire. This is evident in decrees luring prominent Hindus to convert offering them in lieu protection from loss of wealth and status within the socio-economic fabric of Goan society.\(^{77}\) The frequent correspondences between the Jesuits, the viceroy and the crown and the various *regimentos* of the crown and viceroys\(^{78}\) expose the State's attempts at securing the loyalties of rich and influential indigenous inhabitants to the early colonial state by conveniently using conversion as a political tool, finally causing them to accept the political

\(^{77}\) The favoritism shown by the Portuguese king to Thanadar-Mor Krishna Sinai (offering his many offices such as chief *thanadar*, official interpreter, captain of native troops, broker of horses of Goa etc) and the bestowal of all his powers to his son Dadaji in the hope that it might lure them to convert and the prospects of replacing Dadaji by Loku once the former intentions of not converting were clear see A.K Priolkar, *The Goa Inquisition*, pp 71,72. For the baptism of Loku (1548) that preceded this new arrangement by the Estado see Josef Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, vol. I, pp 399-401; pp 325-327.

authority of the viceroy and the spiritual authority of the Padroado Archbishop of Goa.

The testimony of missionary reports on the attempts by Confraternity of Holy Faith to fund the development and maintenance of parish churches in the suburban rings of Goa and the rest of the island reveal how resources for such conversions were to be generated locally instead of allocations from Lisbon. For this purpose the instructions (regimentos) of the viceroy in 1542 ordered a redistribution of previous temple lands and entrusted the thanadars and gavankars to cede a fixed revenue of two thousand tangas brancas (roughly 768 pardoos) to the Confraternity, the violation of which was made a punishable offence. Correspondingly instructions also clearly spelt re-division of such accumulated funds to train and instruct native priests at the College of St Paul and for the repair and maintenance of other parish churches and priests. Thus by 1548 there were around fourteen churches and a number of chapels, religious institutions and other charitable establishments in and around the suburban of the port-city of Goa such as Santiago in Banasterim, Nossa Senhora in Divar, Nossa Senhora de Conceiçao in Panaji, Nossa Senhora de Guadalupe in Batim, São João in Carambolim and Nossa Senhora da Luz. Furthermore in 1554-1555 the conquered Island of Salcete along with Bardez, Tisvadi, Chorão and Divar were divided amongst the different religious Orders and groups of missionaries. The revenues derived from the agrarian territories of

83 Refer illustration: Map no 3.
Salcete and Bardez\textsuperscript{85} were directed to the missionary headquarters at Goa (through the instrument of the local parishes) and redistributed for the varied interests of the Order or advanced as loans to the State. Moreover, the grant of 15 villages in the western half of Tisvadi to the Dominicans, Bardez to the Franciscans and Chorão, Divar, Salcete and the rest of the \textit{Ilhas} to the Jesuits led to intensive proselytization in not just the immediate suburbs of Goa but also to the neighboring economies of the recently conquered zones. Securing religious and cultural homogenization of the baptized natives and allying their loyalties to the Church and State consolidated these acquired zones as the economic hinterland of the Lusitanian port-city. Sources attest to the existence of 20 churches in the island of Goa itself by 1574\textsuperscript{86} and almost all of the officiating clergy in such parish churches were maintained on State payroll.\textsuperscript{87} Also by this period the expenses of the religious offices of the Archbishop of Goa, his suffragan bishop of Cochin, the various officials of the Inquisition, the chapter of the Cathedral, the convents of St Dominic and St Francis, St Paul college, the \textit{Santa Casa de Misericordia} and the Hospital run by the \textit{Misericordia} were taken care by the State exchequer.\textsuperscript{88} Thus the politico-administrative engagements of the \textit{Estado} in official records of this period reveal the \textit{Estado}'s preoccupation with consolidating a loyalist Christian community of converts within the city space of Goa and its economic hinterland. Alternatively, cultural homogenization, establishment of village parishes and the hierarchical re-ordering within the Church

\textsuperscript{85} The addition of Bardez and Salcete to Portuguese Goa took place in 1543 when the Adil Shah ceded control over these agrarian regions to Governor Martim Afonso. For later day travelers recording of the Portuguese acquisition (through purchase) of Salcete and Bardez rather than conquest see Hamilton, \textit{A New Account of the East-Indies being the Observations and Remarks of Alexander Hamilton}, p 257.

\textsuperscript{86} By the end of 1574, the churches existent in the Ilha de Goa were Our Lady of Light, Our Lady of Rosary, St John the Baptist, St John the Evangelist, St James, St Lazarus, St Mary Magdalene, Our Lady of Guadalupe, St Barbara, Holy Cross, St Michael, Our Lady of Conception in Panjim, Our Lady of Help in Ribandar, St Peter, St Anna, Chagas, St Luzia, St Joseph and St Braz.

\textsuperscript{87} Jean Aubin, 'Le "Or\^amento do Estado da India" de Antonio de Abreu (1574)' in \textit{Studia}, no. 4., Lisboa, 1959, pp 210-215.

\textsuperscript{88} K S Mathews, 'Church economics in 16th century Goa' p. 126.
linking the loyalties of the parish priests and converted members to the Archbishop at Goa and the viceroy reflect attempts of the early colonial State to consolidate the Goan territories as a single economic unit owing allegiance to and under the protection of the *Estado* with its administrative headquarters at the port-city of Goa.

These reactionary policies curtailing the cultural and religious freedom of the non-Christians and demarcating the privileges of converts sought to cohere the skilled and unskilled indigenes as a colonial subject population viz Lusitanization. The municipality and religious Orders funded grand processions on feast days where prominent positions were held by converted guild members and lavish celebrations proclaimed baptism of dignified natives with the Viceroy or Archbishop acting as the Godfather. This clearly demonstrated the way in which private Portuguese mercantile wealth accumulated within the city was transferred to consolidate a Christian Lusitanized colonial community owing loyalty to the Imperial capital city of Goa in its capacity as the Archbishopric of the East. This homogenization and control was crucial to secure the free flow and availability of labour and material resources to the port-city as well as the defense of the State’s control over hinterland villages of the Ilhas from encroachments by Bijapur. That religious and cultural homogenization funded by private mercantile wealth accumulated within the port-city sought to regulate and control labour, fiscal and material resources can be corroborated by re-analysis of the trials of Goa Inquisition in the initial period of its operation. A significant number of trials between 1560s and 1590s penalized native converts who deviated from the *Padroado* approved Christian norms.

---

89 Contemporary travelers testify that the agrarian villages of Bardez and Salcete were under missionary proselytization and supplied the food for the island of Goa. Albert Gray (ed.), *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil*, vol. II, Part I, pp. 135-6

90 The Portuguese Crown Patronage or the *Padroado Real* has been explained as “a mix of religious and political pretensions, and it served as a convenient instrument for the Portuguese expansion in the East.” Teotonio de Souza, ‘The Religious Policy of the Portuguese in Goa, 1510-1800’ in K.S.Mathew, Teotonio R.de Souza and Pius Malekandathil (eds.), *The Portuguese and the Socio-Cultural Changes in India, 1500-1800*, Fundação Oriente/ Thalasserry, 2001, pp. 437-448
Furthermore, the early colonial objective of consolidating their hold over resources viz such conversion settlers is evident in the status disparity that was maintained between the indigenous converts and the Old Christian white settlers despite theoretical arguments of the Church and State on egalitarianism of all Christians. This is evident in the royal edict of 1542 reserving municipal offices as the exclusive preserve of Old Christian residents and the privileges of 1559 (re­confirmed in 1577, 1582 and 1641) granting these elected municipal officers power, immunity and status equivalent to the nobility of birth (fidalgo class)\(^1\).

These measures clearly outline the State’s continued emphasis on the ideology of racial superiority of the Portuguese and thus projected the social group that concentrated power and authority within the urban nexus. Thus the private Portuguese traders and mercantile nobility, who were primarily the elected members of the Municipality and the brothers of the Misericordia, constituted the new urban elite in contrast to the earlier fidalgos This is corroborated by studying the urban evolution and critically analyzing the wealth circulating within the commercial port­city funding the establishment of fabulous religious and charitable edifices during the period between 1540 and 1580. such an investigation would enable us to explain how mercantile Portuguese residents of Goa asserted their social status relative to the earlier fidalgo elites through donations to urban institutions and establishment of new structures. We have seen how the analysis of Estado’s budgets of 1554, 1571 and 1574 show inflationary figures in not only the private mercantile engagements of the city but also its escalating revenue derived as commercial taxes and rents. Elevation of Goa as the Archbishopric seat of the East and granting more privileges and power to the municipality could be conceptualized as the early colonial mercantile State’s strategy to harness the rich casados within the urban port­city of Goa and mobilizing resources within the urban circulatory mechanism by ensuring the citizens’ participation in city administration, construction processes and management of city defenses. Nevertheless a clear understanding of the dynamics within the Portuguese enterprise and a critical analysis of the multiple processes

\(^1\) Teotonio de Souza, Medieval Goa, pp 134-135.
triggering ideological and commercial re-orientations is possible only by reconstructing the evolving city structure for the period between 1540 and 1580.

The Expanding City, Spatialization and Societal Processes

A comparative analysis of the maps reconstructed for Goa in the 1540’s and 1580’s through the accounts of St Francis Xavier and Linschoten’s map of 1588 reveal the evolution of a complex urban grid structure which encompassed the erstwhile suburban area into the city layout and pushed the frontiers of the port-city of Goa further in the eastern and southern quarters. Thus the city maps towards the end of 1570s and beginning of 1580s testify to an increase in the territorial extent of the imperial city of Goa. This hints at the enlarged and crowded settlement pattern and increase in the economic activities within the urban commercial center. The sheer number of constructions during the period, the massiveness of the structures, use of stone instead of wood, ornamentation and distinctly European architecture reveals both the intensified wealth concentration within the port-city of Goa; and, the linkages between the urban center and the other ports on the western coast from where the funds and materials for such constructions flowed. Moreover the constructions in themselves signal an intensified labour force and circulation of resources needed to create and sustain the buildings. A study of the establishment of new civil and religious edifices as well as structural changes in earlier buildings to reconstruct the spatial and symbolic assertions suggest possibilities to critically examine the new conditions of the early colonial powers that shaped the Estado’s governance from the mid 16th century onwards.

92 Schurhammer George, Francis Xavier, His Life, His Times. Vol II, p 147; Mathias Mundadan, History of Christianity in India, Volume I, p 450; also see Appendix 3.4.
93 For Linschoten’s map refer Appendix 3.1
94 Mapping of the expanding urban territorial frontiers has been done in Illustration: no. 2.
Within the city space a number of new buildings civil, charitable and religious as well as the increased population of Portuguese *casados*, missionaries, *soldados* and indigenous converts and non-Christian mercantile and labour communities led to an overcrowding of the urban space and made an expansion of the city frontiers inevitable. Visual, such an expansion is testified by the written sources which refer to a break down of the earlier city walls in some portions hinting at the possibly redundant role of the erstwhile city fortifications and defenses constructed by Afonso de Albuquerque by mid 16th century. The breakdown of pre-existant walls also suggests an expansion of urban processes and bringing the immediate suburbs within the fold of the commercial town viz a complex network of streets. Thus on the western side readjustments to the earlier city wall is clearly seen in the enlargement of St Catherine’s Chapel and the construction of St Martin’s church. Contemporary accounts attribute the breaking of the city wall in the western section near St Catherine’s Chapel to the city municipality for the purpose of welcoming the viceroy Dom João de Castro on his victorious return from Diu in 1547. The viceroy used this occasion to stage a pageant impressing the city and resembling the Roman parades on the triumphal entries into their capital city after defeating their enemies. However a closer analysis of the event and the later day construction of St Martin’s church in the ruptured area hint at experiments with the erstwhile defense arrangements. Furthermore, the shifting of the Augustinian Friars by 1578 from the heart of the city to the Mount of the Rosary (situated north-west to the town) and establishing there a small convent reveal incorporation of the area outside the erstwhile city wall within the urban space.

On the eastern side of the city of Goa contemporary records hint at twin processes. On the one hand documentation indirectly hints at an intensified settlement pattern

---

95 Ibid.
of indigenous converts primarily merchants, skilled and unskilled labourers cropping up as a result of intensified construction processes including the erection of charitable, educational-cum-medical institutions and religious edifices such as the college and church of St Paul (São Paulo), the Hospital of All Saints and the Dominican convent and church; and, evolution of complex economic relations centering around these edifices. Concomitantly a new development in the construction of an outer ring of protective fortification guarding the eastern side of the Island of Goa from military encroachments of Bijapur territory by 1563 took place under State initiative.99 This draws our attention to the evolution and construction of religious edifices outside the city walls, the concomitant processes of urbanization centering around such institutions, an expansion of the city frontiers to encompass such urbanized suburbs and the State’s role in triggering such developments. This exercise would help in understanding the processes whereby the frontiers of the imperial city expanded to include the immediate suburbs within the city space by the 1570s. Furthermore, it shows how the construction and maintenance of the charitable and religious establishments was funded by private wealth in the form of contributions from the municipality, Misericordia and Portuguese citizens.

One of the earliest examples of important religious edifices constructed outside the city walls that rose as a significant socio-cultural and economic hub was the College and church of St Paul. Established in accordance with the suggestions of the Confraternity of the Holy Faith, the college was situated on the ruins of a big mosque and strategically placed in the Carreira dos Cavalos or the place where the horses were traded and transported.100 The grandeur of the massive edifice is evident in the listing of several institutes that were attached to São Paulo such as the novitiate, the Professed House, a hospital for the poor natives, a catechumen house, a seminary for instructing native priests, a gymnasium, a library and a printing

99 Burnell(ed.), The Voyage of John Huyghen Linschoten to the East Indies, Vol I, p 176
100 Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch, p 260.
house. Despite its initial construction from the alms of the Portuguese urban settlers it also received benefices from the State by way of tax rights and revenues from confiscated temple properties. By 1555-1560 the college and church of São Paulo was conferred the status of a University. This draws attention to the importance of the institution, its location and the multiple roles performed by this institution in the city space. Placed in the erstwhile market place (of Persian horse trade with connectivity to inland markets) the institution targeted primarily the non-Christian class of influential indigenous traders and dignitaries (such as Loku who was the chief Thanadar of Tisvadi Loku), craftsmen and other skilled and unskilled labourers (ironsmiths, horseshoe makers, stable boys etc) who must have inhabited the markets in the erstwhile suburban region. This is indirectly corroborated through the conversions and baptisms of influential and rich natives at São Paulo such as baptism of Loku in 1548; of a Muslim noblewoman in 1557 and of the daughter of the claimant to Bijapur’s throne Miali; of a prominent Muslim; as well as the other professional groups of prostitutes, Hindu artisans, craftsmen, labourers etc.,


102 The royal alvara of 1550 instructing Governor Jorge Cabral to redirect the profits (rents and revenue) from the movable (precious metals, wealth, cattle etc) and immovable (lands, kitchen gardens etc) property of the destroyed temples of the Ilhas de Goa and which had been misappropriated by “private people” to Sao Paulo see Cunha Rivara (ed.), *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental, Fasc. V, Part I*, Doc 115, pp 231-234. For the enforcement of these orders by the Viceroy’s Dom Jorge Cabral Dom Affonso de Noronha in 1552 and 1554 through village notaries (escrivaes) and gauncars under pain of punishment of loosing their posts, properties and five years exile respectively see *Ibidem*. Docs 115, 131, 132, 133, (pp 231-234, 246-249).


105 In the annual letter of 1557 from Goa in Josef Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, III, pp 734-746


107 Laval refers to the prostitutes/whore house as outside the city walls and where the soldados were regular visitors. Albert Gray(ed.), *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil*, .vol.II, Part I, pp.115, 128-9; also see advices by the Church
who lived in peripheral areas of the city. Similarly, Jesuit records testify to the baptism of the head of the guild of masons, the painters, goldsmiths, artisans and slaves in São Paulo under the influence of the superintendent of public works and the brother in charge of building works in St Pauls gaining significant work contracts on the basis of being converted.\textsuperscript{108} These conversions reveal how complex economic relations were constructed linking the mercantile and labour groups to the institution and causing to evolve increasing settlement patterns around the institution. This is further ratified by Linschoten’s map depicting the urban layout of 1580s depicting São Paulo being connected to urban administrative and commercial core through a complex network of streets.

Moreover, the institution also played a major role in colonial knowledge formation by instructing and training indigenous youth in European Christian norms and ordaining them as priests for spreading the teachings and triggering conversions in the hinterland using regional languages. Its effects on the urban gentry were felt through catechism classes for earlier converts such as the Indian wives of Portuguese men and their baptized children to train them in Christian etiquette and obedience to the Christian State of the Portuguese. Even the slaves in the port city were baptized and instructed by the Jesuits of São Paulo. This was significant as they constituted a significant service class rendering manual labour in both the private households and State establishments and were crucial to the economic activities of the port city.\textsuperscript{109} Concurrently, the Jesuit hospital for the poor of the city council to the Municipal Council of Goa in 1567 regarding fixing areas for prostitutes beyond the hospital of St Lazarus in the city of Goa as well as their attempts to control the activities of the prostituted and bailadeiras (dancers) see Fatima da Silva Gracias, ‘The Portuguese and Welfare Activities in the Konkan Region, 1500-1800’, p 287.

\textsuperscript{108} Joseph Thakkedath, History of Christianity in India, Vol II, p 325; Wicki, Documenta Indica, Vol IV, p 676.

\textsuperscript{109} References abound in how such slaves manned the naval fleets, produced and bartered handicrafts such as preserves etc., in the city markets. They were also used for heavy manual labour for the construction of edifices and in Ribeira Grande by late 16th century. See Arthur Coke Burnell(ed.), The Voyage of John Huyghen Linschoten to the East Indies, vol.1, p.186; Albert Gray(ed.), The
funded by the College and organized under the enterprising efforts of Father Paulo Camerte in 1547 not only attended to the medical needs of the native converts and the burials of the poor but by 1552 also took care of the Indian orphans. Sources attest to the hospital being kept scrupulously clean and well maintained with seven or eight people ministering to the patients. Such references along with the fact that at any given time 30 to 40 patients were kept in the hospital suggests the employment of slaves and servants apart from the Jesuit fathers. Studies further attest to the use of skilled labour such as native doctors and barbers who could bleed and shave the patients. The above reveals how the College of São Paulo and the social relations emanating from its engagements with the native converts from various professional groups as well as the slaves enabled an enlargement of the economic space of the urban center, created a submissive and loyalist skilled and unskilled labour force catering to the needs of the Christian empire, and, contributed to the building up of the imagery of the ideologically and culturally superior European Christian city of Goa. This perhaps also explains the continued support of the State to the growth and development of the institution and the extension of the city space as to incorporate the highly commercialized and densely settled space of

---

Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, vol. II, Part I, pp.65-67. This enables us to conceptualize how the missionary efforts to Christianize such slaves since the mid 16th century led to their eventual Lusitanization and consequent organization of slave labour for the purpose of sustaining the port city’s economic activities in later days. The economic significance of the slaves is further attested to by the municipality’s appointment of slave retrievers to bring back the slaves fleeing and deserting the city and also by the efforts of the missionaries to secure slave loyalties to Christian masters.


the College of Saint Paul, despite its relative geographical distance from the wharf region.

Similarly the Convent and church of St Dominic, which was started in 1548 and whose construction processes got completed in 1564, also suggest the intensified labour processes in the city.\(^1\) Sources attest that the grand Convent was constructed of “brick”\(^2\) and the majestic church surpassed the Cathedral. The pillars of the church from top to bottom were being overlaid with a golden wash, keeping in tune with the amount of wealth flowing into the city. The Convent, as the training venue for missionaries for spreading gospel different countries of the East, stimulated intense process of purchase of provisions and other goods needed for the inmates and the house, which in turn accelerated economic activity in its surrounding markets. On lines similar to the Jesuit mobilization of wealth from its mission fields in the agrarian space of Salcete and villages of the island of Tisvadi towards the headquarters of the Order at Goa (from which they used to get 6686 xerafins and 438 reis)\(^3\), the Dominican convent in its role as the headquarters of the Order in the East became center of wealth accumulation from the revenues and rents gained from its mission fields in Tisvadi and other regions. The Dominicans had 52 single-floor and multi-floor houses in the heart of the city that were given on rent, besides 12 salt-panes and farmlands in Batim, from which they used to get 1238 xerafins and 400 reis annually.\(^4\) Moreover references to the varied inmates of the Convent such as students, slaves, servants and religious suggest a relative acceleration of the urban economic activities through the Convent’s dual role in

\(^{1}\) Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch, pp. 250-251.

\(^{2}\) Philip Baldeus, A True and Exact Description of The Most Celebrated East-India Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, p 606.


organizing labour and dependence upon the city markets for meeting the basic necessities of its inmates such as food, clothing, consumer goods, other services etc. Further the construction of the highly ornate and grand edifice itself is indicative of the attraction and absorption of both skilled labour (such as masons and other craftsmen) and unskilled manual labourers (indigenous labourers and slaves) into the city space from the neighbouring villages for the purpose of engaging in building activities. The site of the Convent granted by the mandate of King Dom João III was situated at the foot of the hillock of Our Lady of the Mount (Nossa Senhora do Monte). The evolution of the Dominican convent and São Paulo by the 1580s and the intensification of the complex economic relations centered around them can also be gauged by the intricate network of streets linking them with each other and with the urban grid structure of the port-city as gleaned through Lisnchoten’s map. Thus the growth of urban exchange relations in regions outside the city walls aided by the accumulation and redistribution of wealth through such institutions suggest an expansion of the port-city and accommodation of the new social relations (connected with the institutions) into the urban politico-economic fabric. Henceforth zones such as the hills of the Nossa Senhora do Monte, the Mount of the Rosary that constituted the city’s guardian posts; and, the Rua da Carreira de Cavalos which was an important market space for trade in horses, but previously had been located outside the city walls now became incorporated within the city framework and got integrally linked to the politico-commercial heart of the urban center.

The pushing back of the city suburbs can also be indirectly inferred from the establishment of new parish churches or elevation of earlier chapels as parishes to extend the claims of the Christian empire of the Portuguese and bind the regions which were loosely linked to the city through the mechanism of ideological homogenization. In the north-eastern side of the city the well populated suburbs of Daughim was elevated as a parish and the church of Santa Luzia, lying at a little distance from the Dominican church and Monastery, was established as the Parish
church in 1544. To the south-eastern side of the city and lying beyond the São Paulo
church and Monastery was the parish church of St Thomas established by late 1550s
under Viceroy Contantine Bragança and rose in importance for housing the relics of
St Thomas from Mylapore. On the southern Hill the church of Nossa Senhora da Luz (Our Lady of Light) and to the west Our Lady of the Rosary were upgraded as parish churches in 1543.\textsuperscript{117} The parish priests incidentally, who were also the paid
employee of the Padroado Real, were expected to aid in expanding the parish
community by baptizing non-converts and ensuring acculturation through imposing
Lusitanian socio-cultural aesthetics and religious practices on the indigenous
community. Moreover, the various parishes were hierarchically linked to the
Archbishopric at Goa and operated as parallel devices of the early colonial State for
control over the hinterland villages, ensuring mobilization of men and resources
through the medium of Parish churches to meet the State’s varied needs.

The shifting of the residence of the viceroys to the Fortress Palace near the river by
1550s led to the conversion of the erstwhile edifice of the palace of the Adil Shah’s
as the seat of the Holy Inquisition of Goa in 1560.\textsuperscript{118} The strategic location to the
Inquisition in the heart of the city, which was the erstwhile seat of the political
authority and located adjacent to the busy market place of Rua Direita, indicates the
State’s use of the institution as a disciplining mechanism at the centre of the
mercantile empire, where instead of market laws and mercantile principles,
adherence to Christian laws and doctrines was made to become the core of urban
social life. However at times, this religious institution of Inquisition was also used
by the Portuguese mercantile citizens of Goa as an economic tool to erase their
commercial competitors and economic rivals from the field by raising false
allegations of heresy and charges of unchristian practices against them.\textsuperscript{119} Many

\textsuperscript{117} This analysis is done on the basis of the city-plan provided by John Linschoten. Refer Appendix
3.1. For sketches of the ruins of Santa Luzia and Church of St Thomas see Appendix 6.

\textsuperscript{118} Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch, p 194

\textsuperscript{119} Pius Malekandathil, " City in Space and Metaphor", pp.27-8
were incapacitated from pursuing their commercial ventures because of such allegations, as any accusation of heresy invited freezing of resources and the consequent isolation and ostracization of the person from the urban community.

Demographic indices for this period also indicate growth in the number of city-dwellers, which necessitated the expansion of the urban space. By 1540s the Portuguese settler community consisting of the casados, soldados and officials in Goa consisted of 4600 of whom 1600 were casados and 3000 were Portuguese soldiers.\textsuperscript{120} That the casado settlers within the Lusitanian city flourished economically and further increased is testified to by Barreto de Resende's references to the number of casado tenements in Goa and the aesthetic and expensive construction of many of the houses in the city. Thus he refers to existence of 3500 Portuguese houses within the city of Goa by 1570s of which 800 were made of expensive materials\textsuperscript{121} which had to be transferred from manufacturing areas into Goa such as stone, lime and tiles and were beautiful with windows, balconies, alluring frontage and symmetrical bordering of the streets. Furthermore the rua direita, as observed by Linschoten, was occupied on both sides by lapidaries, goldsmiths, the rich and better merchants of which the majority would have been the rich and influential casados.\textsuperscript{122} The municipality was often used by the new urban elite (Portuguese casados) trading in rua direita as a tool to secure their mercantile and commercial interests protected and this can be deducted from the municipality’s granting tax concession to the casados trading in rua direita.\textsuperscript{123} In a period when demographically the city expanded and consisted of a varied urban community of

\textsuperscript{121} Pius Malekandathil, “City in Space and Metaphor”; Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch, p158.
\textsuperscript{122} For detailed description of the city see Arthur Coke Burnell(ed.), The Voyage of John Huyghen Linschoten to the East Indies, vol.1, pp.178-82.
\textsuperscript{123} Lisbon’s tax concession to the merchants of the Rua Direita comprised of exemption from paying ¼ duty. See Pius Malekandathil, “City in Space and Metaphor", footnote# 37.
Portuguese casados, soldados, indigenous merchants, labourers and slaves, the location and symbolic meaning of the edifice occupied by the Inquisition reflected the State’s attempts at exerting control over the converts using the Inquisition as a tool for punishing violators of the Padroado sanctioned religious laws.

Thus the tools of the visual grandeur of European Christianity and coercive might of the Padroado were used to mobilize men and resources for the purpose of conducting trade according to the needs of the early colonial state and its expansionist agenda. On the one hand, the construction and workings of such institutions reveal how the reactionary State policies were closely tied with policy reorientations and knowledge formation. The State gained through the Inquisition free access to forcefully control the everyday life of converts. Furthermore, the fact that the period witnessed a number of trials of native converts with the guilty being deployed to work in State enterprises such as the dockyard, mint etc rather than being given death-penalties reveal its strategies of ensuring the regular supply of cheap labour. In marked contrast to it, many of the Neo-Christians from Europe, who were tried by the Goa Inquisition between 1561 and 1590 accused of practicing heretical faith, were rich merchants and wholesale traders and a majority of them were given death penalties. Against the background of growing privatization of spice trade and the rise of wealthy and influential Portuguese traders as urban elite, such punishments hint at how apart from the State these casado elites of Goa also

126 J C Boyajian, “Goa Inquisition - a New Light on First 100 years (1561-1600) in Purabhilekh-Paratava, IV, 1986, pp 7-8.
used the Inquisition as a tool to quell their commercial competitors and appropriate their properties within the urban circulation system.\textsuperscript{127}

In the evolving urban unit, the Cathedral church (elevated as the Metropolitan Archeepiscopal See by the papal bull \textit{Esti Sancta} in 1558), the enlarged Chapel of St Catherine (1550), the Inquisition (1560), and the church of St Martin (1548) formed the heart of the city space by 1570s.\textsuperscript{128} The site of the present Cathedral church stood a little away from one of the earlier churches established by Albuquerque in 1515 and the funds for its reconstruction was specified by the State through the edict of the Viceroy Dom Francisco Coutinho dated 4\textsuperscript{th} November 1562.\textsuperscript{129} The structural reconstruction and beautification of the Cathedral was funded by the wealth from the properties left behind by the deceased who died without making a will or keeping any heirs, and, money derived as from penalties, fines in cash, embezzlements (descaminhos) and taxes from the China voyage. This reflects the State’s priority to reclaim the identity of Goa as the seat of Archbishopric and the use of wealth from within the city for funding construction and maintenance of urban institutions and edifices. Likewise the significance of the chapel of St Catherine in the procession marking the feast day of St. Catherine the patron saint of the city of Goa and the fact that the expenses of this ceremony were borne by the city municipality\textsuperscript{130} reinforce our observation on how the mercantile wealth of the private trading citizens of Goa was used to re-assert its new identity and projected its dominance as divinely sanctioned. Once again the centrality of the mass and procession to the chapel in which the viceroy, senators and other church dignitaries participated and the grandeur of the entire celebration accompanied by the 21 gun

\textsuperscript{127} Records reveal that the property of those proven guilty of heresy were confiscated and appropriated by the Municipality. See Priolkar, \textit{The Goa Inquisition}, p 90.

\textsuperscript{128} The establishment and placement of such structures by 1580s can be verified from Linschoten's depiction of the urban layout of Goa. See Appendix 3.1.

\textsuperscript{129} Fonseca, \textit{An Historical and Archaeological Sketch}, pp 200-201.

\textsuperscript{130} Boxer refers to the municipality funding the feast which often exceeded the stipulated sanctions Boxer, \textit{Portuguese Sea-Borne Empire}, p 279; Teotonio de Souza, \textit{Medieval Goa}, p 141;
salute by the royal artillery\textsuperscript{131} offers deep insights into the power assertion of the city, manifesting visually the weight and impressiveness of the European Christian authority.

Picture 7: Ornate altar of the Cathedral church

Alternatively, Hospital of All Saints established to the south-east region of the city in 1547 and funded by the Misericordia\textsuperscript{132} indicates the increase in the number of

\textsuperscript{131} Observation by Cottineu de Kloguen in Lobo, \textit{Magnificent Monuments of Old Goa}. p 55.

\textsuperscript{132} See reference Chapter III, footnotes nos. 131, 132.
Indian Christians in the city, doing sundry jobs, who were deprived of proper medical care in the elitist royal hospital, which was meant primarily to cater to the medical needs of crown officials and personnel. Later day sources testify to chaste endeavors by the brothers of the Misericordia in healing the poor of both sexes in the hospital as well as taking care of the burial of the converts when they died.\(^{133}\) M. N. Pearson traces this hospital to be the same as the Hospital of the Poor of Fr. Paulo Camerte, whose edifice was attached to the College of São Paulo and administration was carried out with the Jesuit revenues amounting to 300 pardaos accruing from their lands in Salcete.\(^{134}\) Only by 1594 did the State begin to take keen interest in this hospital and granted it one quarter of the proceeds from fines on merchants employing soldiers on ships.\(^{135}\) However, the complains of the municipality of Goa to the king regarding the Misericordia’s difficulties in maintaining the Hospital by 1607 suggests that even the funds allocated by the State were rarely forthcoming\(^{136}\) and by 1681 the hospital was finally handed over to the Municipal Camara de Goa.\(^{137}\) Nevertheless, the very fact that the establishment and maintenance of this Hospital of the poor as proposed in the official regulation of the Jesuit college for Indian Christians was entrusted to the Misericordia and municipality reveal mobilization of wealth to consolidate the imagery of the charity and benevolence of the European Christian State and society. The maintenance of the Hospital of São Lazaro for the lepers and beggars of the city, was also entrusted to the camara municipal and Misericordia of Goa, as has been analyzed in the previous chapter. These hospitals used to deliver medical care to an annual average of 500 patients, as per the information of Linschoten.\(^{138}\) Through these religious edifices and medical care–cum-charitable institutions, the might of the Christian

--

133 See Arthur Coke Burnell(ed.), *The Voyage of John Huyghen Linschoten to the East Indies*, vol.I,p.237; Albert Gray(ed.), *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil*, vol.II, Part I, p 15

134 M N Pearson, "The Portuguese State and Medicine in Goa", pp 405-406


136 Camara to King dated 1607 in *Ibid*, Fasc I, part ii, p 201.


empire along with its grandeur, divine legitimacy and generosity towards Christians, was projected.

Meanwhile a lot of alterations and additions were made in the city space in the process of setting up new edifices and institutions in Goa. By 1540s adjacent to the fortress palace the institutions of the High Court (in front of the Palace of the Fortress) and the chief jail or the tronco (on its right) was established. Sources refer to the shift of the Viceroy's residence as the result of the advanced age of Dom Mascarenhas who found it difficult to climb the erstwhile three storied house of the Adil Shahi Sultans. However the facts that under subsequent viceroys the residence was not shifted back to the earlier edifice as well as the visual dominance of the Fortress Palace on the riverside view of Goa render a re-reading of the change in residence necessary. In the context of the Estado’s increasing reliance on the rents and revenues and proximity of the fortress to the customs house, the shift enabled a better control and view of the river traffic. Visually the façade of the city from the riverside consisted primarily of religious structures, the royal hospital and the various State establishments in the Ribeira Grande. Furthermore, the fortress palace (that dominated the riverside view jostling with the other religious and civil structures) doubled up as the residence of the captain of the fleets and symbolized the military might of the European early colonial power. With the transfer of the viceroy’s residence, the core presence of the Portuguese State became distinctly marked on the riverside façade of the city asserting controlling authority over the incoming and outgoing ships. Moreover in the early colonial conditions of the 1560s and 1570s, the riverside residence of the viceroys served a different purpose than the earlier period. While occupation of the Palace of the Sultans had served the purpose

---

139 This can be inferred from the city plan documented by St Francis Xavier. Cf. Supra no. 92; for written corroboration by contemporary travelers see Gray(ed.), The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval, vol.II, part I, pp 49-50.

140 Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch, p 194.


142 See Appendices: 3.1, 3.6, 5.1 and 5.2.
of asserting the legitimacy of the new sovereigns of the land to a Hindu inland traders, craftsmen and wealthy residents of the city and suburbs, by the mid 16th century with the growth of a politically influential and wealthy mercantile casado community with their intensified participation in maritime private trade and the shifting role of the Estado as a tax collector than an active intra-Asian trader, the State’s claims now centered around asserting its might over the private Portuguese traders and other maritime merchants and consolidating their loyalty. In such conditions the riverside facing fortress economically and symbolically exerted multiple power claims.

In the city grid structure the establishment of the High court and prison close to the Fortress Palace symbolized the changed strategies of the early colonial state to assert its power through imposing punishments and penalties on disobeyers. Literary sources corroborate the evidence traced through maps on the refreshed relations between the political power, the religious and the judiciary by drawing out linkages between the workings of the Inquisition and the ultimate conviction dealt by the State and judiciary of those condemned for heresy by the Inquisition courts. While the Pilhourinho square situated at the southern side of the city was evident during St Francis Xavier’s description of the city in 1540s, the establishment of the Lower Court and the Police headquarters to the south west of the Old Pillory, but outside the erstwhile city frontiers by the 1580s suggest not only the city expansion but also new spatial claims. It was at the Pilhourinho square, which also doubled up as a market place for indigenous settlers and craftsmen engaging in manual labour, that the sentences were executed on petty criminals convicted by the State judiciary respectively. Thus much of the rearrangements within the city were aimed at

---

143 See see City Plan 4.2
144 Gray(ed.), The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval, vol.II, Part I, p55; That these institutions and edifices existed by the 1580s is further evident in the documentation by Linschoten in his depiction of the city plan. Refer Appendix 3.1.
145 Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch, p 247; Teotonio de Souza, Medieval Goa, p 112.
perpetuating the control and legitimacy of the Christian State over the mercantile and labour groups connected with the city, which is further corroborated by the numerous legislations of the State stressing upon cultural and religious homogenization by coercive and appeasing laws. The exercise of control and grandeur of the State and its religious legitimacy was necessitated with the population expansion in the port-city especially non-Christian residents constituting the predominant artisanal and labour class required for urban constructions. By the end of the 16th century the flourishing State enterprises such as the arsenal, the mints and the dockyard reveal accelerating urban labour concentration suggesting accelerating migrations from the hinterland villages to the port city. In the context of such a diversified urban community the State’s reliance on asserting a European Christian space within the city through institutions and structures coupled with its reactionary policies was part of its larger politico-economic agenda to control and consolidate availability of resources.


147 Gray(ed.), The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval, vol.II, part I, pp 41, 42
Furthermore, the construction of an outer ring of fortification on the eastern side of
the island by Viceroy Dom Antão de Noronha extending till Benasterim and then
curving inland south of the city reveals the Estado's attempts to guard its frontiers
against the Muslim coalition led by Bijapur precipitating the fall of Vijayanagara.\textsuperscript{148}
The massive fortification project started in the year 1565, when the Vijayangara
ruler was defeated at Talikota by the Bijapuri coalition, and was accompanied by the
establishment of fortresses for the defense of the harbor.\textsuperscript{149} By 1580s the
fortification was completed and the passes or gates located at strategic points where
the river was shallow and traffic with inland regions could be conducted were well
garrisoned with a captain and scrivener. Such passes functioned as customs houses
regulating both the traffic to and from the port city and collecting important revenue
on the State through taxes on the mercantile goods and granting ticket to people to
travel at the rate of 2 \textit{bazarucos} per person.\textsuperscript{150} The privilege of collecting one per
cent additional customs revenue was granted to the city since 1568 for this purpose
and the municipality was directed to utilize half of the funds collected for the
building and maintenance of the city defenses.\textsuperscript{151} Thus while the initiative to
establish the initial fortification came from the king\textsuperscript{152} much of the taxes and tolls
collected at the passes funded the maintenance of the militarymen arming the
respective fortresses\textsuperscript{153} This reveals how resources for maintaining city defenses
were generated from within the urban center. A clear indication of the defense

\textsuperscript{148} See \textit{illustration: Map 3.}
\textsuperscript{149} J H da Cunha Rivara (ed.), \textit{Archivo Portugal-Oriental, Fasc.I}, doc. 18, 72; Fasc III, doc 35, 76,
141, 209, 243, 311.
\textsuperscript{150} Gray(ed.), \textit{The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval}, vol.II, part I, pp 33-34
\textsuperscript{151} The city was entrusted with the administration of the additional revenue since 1569. Instructions
from the crown reveal how half of the funds were to be directed towards and repairing of defensive
fortification etc; the other half of the funds was for building galleys constituting the Portuguese
armada. Details from Cunha Rivara (ed.), \textit{Archivo Portugal-Oriental, Fasc. I}, Part 1, p.81; Fasc.II,
pp.188-191, 210, 213, 242.
\textsuperscript{152} Cf. supra no. 149; Fonseca, \textit{An Historical and Archaeological Sketch}, p 148.
\textsuperscript{153} Gray(ed.), \textit{The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval}, vol.II, part I, p 34; Teotonio de Souza,
Medieval Goa, footnote no 19, p 127.

181
strategy is gained through the study of the later day map of the island of Goa for the period between 1616 and 1622, illustrated in Manuel Godinho de Eredia’s atlas miscellany. The map reveals the geographical layout of the islands with a range of hills framing the territorial boundary of the city and its immediate suburbs to the west. Thus the Hills gave the advantage of both watching over the traffic at the ports of Goa and Ribandar and geographically separated the city from the port of Panjim where the incoming and outgoing ships were checked for licenses before it entered or left the city. Meanwhile a complex of garrisoned fortresses were established at the harbor and the mouth of the Mandovi by 1540s and 1550s guarding and regulating the river traffic on the western side of the city, as per the later day sources. Thus on the islands of Goa the fortress of Cabo on the western extremity was erected in 1540s under the governor Dom Estevão da Gama and had a chapel, citadel and defense armaments. Similarly the fortress of Reis Magos in the province of Bardez was constructed in 1551 and had an overview of the river traffic.

As mentioned above, apart from the fortresses the defense arrangements of the Estado comprised of Dom Antão de Noronha’s fortification of the eastern coastline of Tisvadi for checking illegal traffic and encroachments from the mainland to the city and its suburbs. The inward curve of the fortification on the southern side of the city and its protecting only the western side of the island (leaving the eastern and southern parts unprotected) indicate that the foremost purpose of the fortification was guarding the city (rather than the entire island) from rivaling inland kingdoms during this period. As mentioned before the four major entry points to the city

---

154 See Appendices 2.1 and 2.2.
155 Arthur Coke Burnell(ed.), *The Voyage of John Huyghen Linschoten to the East Indies*, vol.I, pp.179-81; Albert Gray(ed.), *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil*, vol.II, Part I, pp.47-8
156 Fonseca, *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch*, pp 43-44.
158 See Supra no. 149.
159 Based on personal observation analyzing contemporary maps.
were the passage of Banastarim, the dry passage (where the river happened to be shallow and narrow), the passage of Daughim located on the southern side of the island and the passage of Norwa or the passage of Panjim.\textsuperscript{160} The establishment of parish churches right adjacent to these passages near the fortifications such as São Tiago, São Bras in Banastarim; and, Madre de Deus and São Joseph in suburbs of Daughim\textsuperscript{161} reveal the attempts of the State to raise a loyalist community of indigenous Christians and also to encourage Portuguese soldiers, officials and perhaps even some rich \textit{casados} who had been farmed out revenues from adjoining lands to settle down in such strategic command posts.\textsuperscript{162} Such a development was necessitated by the politico-military urgency of 1570, when an alliance of Ahmednagar, Calicut, Acheh (in North Sumatra) and Bijapur attacked Portuguese possessions in Asia, particularly Goa.\textsuperscript{163} Diogo de Couto’s narratives highlight the politico-military threat to the \textit{Estado} being posed by the Muslim enterprise following the collapse of the Viajayanagara kingdom (1565) and by 1570's there was a strong supportive move from the Hindu population of Goa favouring the Portuguese in their fights to contain Bijapuri's threat on Goa\textsuperscript{164}. The militarily volatile period of 1570 – 1572 saw the increasing concerns of the State’s military and administrative wing to repel Bijapuri invasions than to encourage missionary proselytization. This is evident from the Jesuit records that refer to the decline of

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{160} Arthur Coke Bumell(ed.), \textit{The Voyage of John Huyghen Linschoten to the East Indies}, vol.I, pp.180-l

\textsuperscript{161} See \textit{illustration}: Map 3.

\textsuperscript{162} \textit{Ibid.}, pp.180-l Linschoten at a later day talks about the case of Mozambique. The strong castle completed by 1560s had limited stock of arms and ammunition as well as soldiers. Thus the \textit{casado} community that settled around the fortress was expected to defend it (by providing men or money) in times of need. The same could be applicable to the outposts of the Island of Goa. Arthur Coke Bumell(ed.), \textit{The Voyage of John Huyghen Linschoten to the East Indies}, vol.I, p27.

\textsuperscript{163} 1570 saw the rulers of Ahmednagar, Calicut and Acheh in North Sumatra joining hands with the brother monarch of Bijapur to form an offensive alliance against the Portuguese in Asia. While these regional powers fought against the Portuguese dominance in their area of influence and at Calicut the Portuguese were defeated, Goa successfully defended herself against the Bijapuri forces. Boies Penrose, \textit{Goa - Reinha de Oriente}, pp. 49, 55.

\end{footnotesize}
adult baptisms in the island of Goa after 1570 relative to the ascending numbers in the prior period especially 1561-1563. Between 1564 and 1570 the acceleration of conversions to Christianity from amongst the Brahmins of Goa coincided with the defeat of Vijayanagara by the pan-Islamic forces of Bijapur, Ahmednagar and Calicut. This reveals that the stimulus prompting such conversions were the larger political threat to Deccan and Konkan and how shrewd elements of statecraft backed conversions whereby an empire weak in manpower and fiscally handicapped turning towards alternate strategies of expanding its supportive mass-base at the power centre by redefining its conversion policies, seeing the exigencies of time. The Portuguese State tried to wield control over the process of mobilizing of human and material resources through increasing reliance on religion and religious institutions, that ensured for it loyal and supportive base for its sustenance.

Thus changing strategies following Lisbon’s ideological turn towards religious conservatism and the crusading spirit to safeguard and spread Catholicism by late 1530s, bring out the way by which religion and coercive laws were used at different time points by the early colonial State to mobilize men and resources for the interests of its territorially expanding and commercially flourishing imperial edifice. The port city of Goa with its highly active maritime mercantile community of private Portuguese merchants, religious Orders, converted indigenous craftsmen, artisans, rich businessmen and slaves, prompting contemporaries like Louis Camões to deem Goa as the Queen of the Oriental marts, emitted economic forces needed for the Estado to expand its commercial and political frontiers in the Indian Ocean and to tide over the troubling politics of Deccan.

The foregoing discussions looked into the meanings of economic processes happening in the city of Goa during the period between 1540 and 1580, which pumped resources and vital energy required for undertaking the various construction processes in the urban space, keeping in tune with the desire of the

---

Portuguese state to project it as a power centre of a Christian empire. The early colonial state bagged immense wealth from the city space as taxes and customs duty, which it re-distributed within the city for setting up various political, military and civil institutions and devices connoting power exercise. With the increasing use of religion to homogenize and standardize the urban behaviour Christian religious institutions became vital social devices for asserting the meanings of power that the Portuguese wanted to demonstrate in the region. With the trade surplus that the State appropriated from the casado traders of Goa through the system of taxation and re-distributed into the city space in the form of donations, gifts and salaries, besides the individual donations that the casado private traders used to make, there began an intense construction process in the city, transferring the meanings of Portuguese hegemony into city space. From the elegant civil and military structures, there eventually appeared a shift towards erecting magnificent and elegant churches and church institutions protruding into the sky and making elegance and impressiveness to evolve as symbolic of the emerging Christian empire of the Portuguese in the East.
City Plan 4.2: Wharf, Civil and Religious Institutions, Streets and Markets of Velho Goa

Legend:
- △ Civil Edifices
- ○ Market Spaces
- + Religious Edifices
- ○ Commercial Squares & Streets
- ✤ Charitable Institutions
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Civil Edifices</th>
<th>Market Spaces</th>
<th>Religious Edifices: Churches, Colleges and Convents</th>
<th>Commercial Squares and Streets</th>
<th>Charitable Institutions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18. Lower Court of Justice</td>
<td>18. As Chagas</td>
<td>18. Rua de Nossa Senhora de Rosário</td>
<td>18. Rua de Nossa Senhora de Rosário</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFERRED TO AS</td>
<td></td>
<td>22. Rua da Ribeira El Rei</td>
<td>22. Rua da Ribeira El Rei</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFERRED TO AS</td>
<td></td>
<td>23. Rua de Salla</td>
<td>23. Rua de Salla</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFERRED TO AS</td>
<td></td>
<td>24. Rua de Judeus</td>
<td>24. Rua de Judeus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>