Goa entered a new phase in its urbanization process with the reorienting of its trade following imperial shufflings at metropolis and its Asian headquarters. As early as 1570 king Sebastian had realized that the Indo-European trade was yielding diminishing returns and was not worth the investment that the crown had already made in it. This realization made the crown step down from being a merchant monarch and hand over Indo-European trade to enterprising contractors from different parts of Europe, who were ready to invest capital in Indian markets. In 1575 Konrad Rott from Augsburg invested in Indian markets for obtaining cargo to be taken to Europe.\(1\) But after 1580s there was a large inflow of mercantile capital from non-Portuguese European traders to Goa and Malabar ports, particularly from the Milanese Rovallescas\(2\) and the South German business families of the Fuggers and the Welsers\(3\), which in turn ushered in a reorientation in the nature of private trade conducted by the casados of Goa. This went hand in hand with the imperial reorientation, as necessitated by the Spanish occupation of Portugal in 1580(till 1640) following the grabbing of Portuguese throne by Philip II of Spain, when it was left...

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\(3\) K.S.Mathew, *Indo-Portuguese Trade and the Fuggers of Germany*, Delhi, 1997; Pius Malekandathil, *The Germans, the Portuguese and India*, pp.83-92
vacant without a legitimate heir to succeed. This period of reorientation in trade and empire witnessed the escalation of the commercial fortunes of the city with the intensified activities of private traders primarily the Portuguese casados and fidalgos of the city; and, the relatively wealthier but lesser number of Hindu traders residing at Goa in both maritime and land based trade in high value luxury goods and bulk commodities. The wealth accumulation and concentration at Goa is represented in the accounts of later day travelers who seeing the prosperity of Goa by the beginning of the 17th century refer to it as “Treasury of the East” and “Queen of the Orient” 5. The phase of urban development between 1580 and 1610 hints increasingly at the process whereby resources gained from private trade of the casados and from penetration of the neighboring economies by the Portuguese was made to get concentrated within the imperial city, which the Estado adeptly channelized for carrying out its military and administrative ambitions in the Indian Ocean. Visually the numerous religious and charitable edifices funded by private wealth of the residents and various religious Orders reflected the amount of wealth gathered at the urban center. The enormous flow of wealth into the city was followed by a boom in the construction sector, leading to the erection of several new edifices in the place of the old, besides rampant renovations and modifications happening in the city of Goa. The new edifices constructed were recorded both for the opulence of their gilded altars and European architectural magnificence as well as their sheer number within the city space. Corresponding to the process of fabulous wealth accumulation and its transfer to building processes, there eventually evolved the epithet of “Goa Dourada” or Golden Goa to describe the imperial city.

4 Joaquim Verissimo Serrão, Historia de Portugal, vol.III, pp.85-90; vol.IV, pp.14-5. Though there was the union of Spanish and Portuguese crowns in 1580 and it continued till 1640, there were clear-cut boundaries of economy and polity that both the nations had to respect. The Portuguese possessions were officially to be governed by a representative appointed by the Spanish king so that its individuality and identity might be preserved. But for all practical purposes the Spanish interests began to dominate over the Portuguese possessions, as the Spanish viceroy ruling over Portugal obviously safeguarded the interests of his master, the king of Spain.

The early colonial state saw to it that this epithet of the imperial capital gets into the knowledge circulation process in Asia and Europe through the accounts of the chroniclers and travelers.

A careful investigation of the sources suggests the possibilities of flourishing commerce in the port city, acceleration in demographic concentration of Portuguese mercantile settlers, organization of skilled and unskilled labour in the State industries and the role of the Church, the State and religious Orders linking the neighboring agrarian economies to the imperial city during this period. The prosperity of the “Chief Metropolitan Cittie (of the Portuguese) in the East” in its multiple roles - as the political and administrative capital of the Estado; headquarters of the Catholic Church in the East; and, the commercial epicenter of rich and influential Portuguese traders - were particularly noted by visiting European travelers. The opulence and wealth of the port-city reflected in the architectural grandeur of the European styled edifices, their gilded ornamentation, the lifestyle of the city dwellers and the demographic strength of the city led to growing comparison of Goa with the imperial metropolitan capital at Lisbon. The mercantile prosperity and cultural dominance of Portuguese Goa attracted rivaling European mercantile powers to make claims in the commercial world of the Indian Ocean by late 16th and early 17th century. Thus the period saw the working of two

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6 Arthur Coke Burnell(ed.), *The Voyage of John Huyghen Linschoten to the East Indies*, vol.l, p 175.
7 Linschoten notes the widespread intra-Asian mercantile activities of private Portuguese private traders and State officials with commercially significant ports of Hormus, Goa, Chaul, Mascat and Bengal. He graphically describes how wealth accumulated by such officials especially holders of lucrative posts like Captaincies of Mozambique, Hormuz etc., and recipients of important privileges such as tax concessions and tax exemptions were concentrated at Goa owing to the crown’s mandate that once their term of service was over they would spend three years in Goa rather than return to Lisbon. This induced many of them to continue their intra-Asian mercantile activities and reinvest their capital for further profits. See Arthur Coke Burnell(ed.), *The Voyage of John Huyghen Linschoten to the East Indies*, vol.l, pp 30-31, 35, 53-54.
8 *Ibid.* pp179-180
trends: During the period from the 1590s till the beginning of 1600 there were large-scale investments in the city asserting the dominance of the Portuguese capital city over the Indian Ocean world by erecting visually and architecturally impressive structures; but by the end of the first decade of 17th century, with the recurring attacks from the Dutch and the English, new processes had set in motion which brought about the decline in Portuguese trading prospects and flight of merchants to neighboring lands owing to famines and epidemics and the eventual reversal of the fortunes of Golden Goa. Attempts would be made in this chapter to understand the multiple processes which precipitated politico-economic and administrative reorientations within the Estado, and which led to the rise of a new powerful urban elite, causing increasing tensions within the city space. It also analyzes the new socio-political status claims of the wealthy social groups and the reactions of the Portuguese State to them in the process of using them and accommodating them within its early colonial frames.

Economic Vibrancy and the Expansion of Material Foundations of the City

When the crown handed over the Indo-European trade into the hands of the contractors from Europe, it was the Portuguese private traders of Goa, involved in intra-Asian trade, who benefited maximum out of it. As per the terms of the contract, it became obligatory on the part of the contractors to set up their own collection centres with their own trade agents to procure cargo and to dispatch it to Lisbon in their own vessels. They had to purchase cargo at a fixed rate (5 2/3 cruzados per quintal of pepper) and were to give it to casa da India in Lisbon at a fixed rate (12 cruzados per quintal of pepper). Despite the fact that the amount of profit for the contractors was relatively meager, the leading business houses of

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9 Pius Malekandathil, *The Germans, the Portuguese and India*, p.84; K.S. Mathew, *Indo-Portuguese Trade and the Fuggers of Germany*, pp.169-88
Europe came forward to take up the Indian contract of trade, with Giovanni
Rovallesca from 1580 till 1585 followed by the South German merchant-magnates
viz., the Fuggers and the Welsers for the period between 1586 and 1591) and then
by the New Christians from Portugal for the period from 1592 till 1598.\textsuperscript{10} The end
result of this economic development was that the Portuguese officials and private
individuals became least interested in Indo-European trade, which was conveniently
passed on to the shoulders of these German and Italian contractors, while the former
began to indulge in private trade utilizing even the major politico-military
institutions and devices of the state for the purpose of promoting their individual
and private ventures. Recent studies have shown that after the reorienting in trade,
the \textit{casados} began to use such mechanisms as the big fleet of \textit{armada}, which were
once meant to patrol the coastal western India and mouths of Persian Gulf and Red
Sea to prevent diversion of cargo to the eastern Mediterranean, for the purpose of
promoting the private trade of the \textit{casados} by collecting those vessels of private
traders coming from Bay of Bengal and South East Asia under \textit{armada's} escort at
Cape Comorin and taking them further to Cochin and then to Goa.\textsuperscript{11} This shows the
way how private trade, occupying the central position in the evolving state of affairs
in Portuguese Goa, began to steal the services of state mechanisms and institutions
for its promotion.

Obviously it had its reflections and repercussions in the city of Goa. The volume of
private trade in the city increased unprecedentedly. This is also indicated by the
budgetary records of \textit{Estado da India}. The budget of the Estado prepared by
Antonio Abreu in 1574 indicates that the share that went to the Portuguese crown

\textsuperscript{10} Pius Malekandathil, \textit{The Germans, the Portuguese and India}, pp.81-96; K.S.Mathew, \textit{Indo-
Portuguese Trade and the Fuggers of Germany}. pp.166-90

\textsuperscript{11} Pius Malekandathil, “The Mercantile Networks and the International Trade of Cochin, 1500-
1663”, in Ernst van Veen and Leonard Blusse(eds.), \textit{Rivalry and Conflict: European Traders and
Asian Trading Networks in the 16th and 17th Centuries}, Leiden, 2005, p.152
from the city of Goa in 1574 was 292341 *pardaos*,\(^{12}\) out of which 114750 *pardaos* were collected from the customs house of Goa as well as from the city shops selling food stuffs and vegetables, while another 29330 *pardaos* were collected from shops selling spices, liquor, silk etc..\(^{13}\) Despite the fall of the Vijayanagara kingdom, which was earlier the principal market for horses imported from Ormuz, trade in horses in the city continued to be vibrant and the income from this trade was 70,000 *pardaos*,\(^{14}\) meaning that the annual value of trade in horses in the market of Goa was circa 1555400 *pardaos*.\(^{15}\) The income that the Portuguese crown derived from the city in 1581 was 209347 *pardaos*, which is indicative of trading activities in the city of Goa to the value of 4651690 *pardaos*. Francisco Pais refers to the sudden increase in the customs duty from 100000 *pardaos* of earlier days to 20,000 *pardaos* by 1588,\(^{16}\) which evidently suggests the intensification of private trade of the city of Goa through maritime channels. Though Francisco’s figure was only an estimation of the annual customs duty collected from the city by the crown officials, its closeness to the actual figure indicates that the city-dwellers were also aware of the immense wealth flowing to the city, which made them take pride in being connected with Goa.

The following table gives idea about the nature of economic conditions in the city for the period between 1581 and 1588

\(^{12}\) See Jean Aubin, “Le Orçamento do Estado da India de antonio abreu(1574)”, in *Studia*, No.4, Julho 1959, Lisboa, p.208


\(^{14}\) Ibid., p.226

\(^{15}\) As the customs duty was 4.5 %, the total value of horse-trade is calculated by dividing the revenue from horse-trade (i.e., 70,000 *pardaos*) into 22.22

\(^{16}\) Artur Teodoro de Matos, *O Estado da India nos Ano de 1581-1588: Estrutura Administrativa e Economia Alguns elementos para o seu Estudo*, Ponta Delgada, 1982, p.29
### Table 5
Details of wealth generated from the city of Goa, 1581-1588 (Value in réis)\(^7\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No</th>
<th>Details of cargo taxed</th>
<th>1581 Taxes</th>
<th>Value of trade in 1581 in réis</th>
<th>1588 Tax in réis</th>
<th>Value of trade in 1588 in réis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Customs duty on sea-borne and riverine trade</td>
<td>24000000</td>
<td>533280000</td>
<td>30000000</td>
<td>66660000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tax on Food Materials</td>
<td>2700000</td>
<td>59994000</td>
<td>2700000</td>
<td>59994000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tax on Vegetables</td>
<td>1260000</td>
<td>27997200</td>
<td>1950000</td>
<td>43329000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Tax on Spices</td>
<td>1710000</td>
<td>37996200</td>
<td>1800000</td>
<td>39996000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Tax on Arrack and liquor</td>
<td>1057000</td>
<td>23486540</td>
<td>945000</td>
<td>20997900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Tax on shops selling silk</td>
<td>1236000</td>
<td>27463920</td>
<td>1410000</td>
<td>31330200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Tax on horses traded in the city</td>
<td>3600000</td>
<td>79992000</td>
<td>4500000</td>
<td>99990000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table is indicative of high-value trade happening within city, mostly through private trading networks, at a time when the Indo-European trade was carried out by the Italian and German business houses. The value and the volume of trade in the city was continuously always going up during the period between 1571 and 1588, as is attested to by the following graph.

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\(^7\) Artur Teodoro de Matos, *O Estado da India nos Ano de 1581-1588: Estrutura Administrativa e Economia Alguns elementos para o seu Estudo*, Ponta Delgada, 1982, pp.44-6
Chart showing Index of Trade Value in the City of Goa, 1571-88\textsuperscript{18}

(Series 1=1571, Series 2=1581, Series 3=1588)

1= Maritime Trade, 2= Trade in food materials, 3=Trade in vegetables
4= Trade in silk, 5= Trade in spices, 6=Trade in horses, 7= Trade in liquor/arrack.

(Value Axis in Pardaos)

The graph shows that the strand of maritime trade was the most value-condensed segment of commercial activities connected with the city of Goa, while the intra-

\textsuperscript{18} Artur Teodoro de Matos, \textit{O Orçamento do Estado da India, 1571}, pp.57-60; Artur Teodoro de Matos, \textit{O Estado da India nos Ano de 1581-1588: Estrutura Administrativa e Economia Alguns elementos para o seu Estudo}, Ponta Delgada, 1982, pp.44-6
city trade was relatively less important when compared with the former. Both by way of sea-borne commerce and intra-city trade, a sizeable chunk of wealth used to get accumulated in the city. It is obvious that the Portuguese state used to appropriate as much as possible from the merchants involved in intra-city trade, besides the huge amount of wealth collected from the maritime traders in the form of customs duty.

Concomitant to the intensification of private trade in Goa, there were attempts from the crown to bag a considerable share of profit from casado’s trade to sustain the activities of the Estado da India in the form of taxes, converting the very economic mechanisms of the city as tools for generating enough resources for implementing the agenda of the early colonial state. However the politico-military establishments and the ecclesiastical institutions operating in the city of Goa as apparatuses of the early colonial state did eat away a major chunk of wealth collected as taxes from the economic space of Goa. A considerable share of the city’s surplus went into increasing construction processes in the city, particularly for building ornate churches, monasteries and various edifices to house diverse ecclesiastical institutions, besides for paying salary to the ecclesiastical and civil officials of the Estado.¹⁹

The following statistics about the expenses give a tentative picture of consumption in the city, indicating the money in circulation augmenting the purchasing power of the city-dwellers.

Table 6: Income-Expenditure details of Goa, 1581-1588 (Value in reis) 20

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Income</th>
<th>Expenses</th>
<th>Balance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1581</td>
<td>62961353</td>
<td>143376041</td>
<td>-80414688 (negative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1588</td>
<td>86478300</td>
<td>128836747</td>
<td>-42358447 (negative)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the table evidently shows the crown had to pump into the city of Goa money collected from other Portuguese possessions in Asia, so that the city might appear architecturally to be the epitome of power in Asia. Despite the huge amount collected from the economic processes of Goa, the expenditure on the city reached almost double the income. But the huge amount of money spent on construction activities and paid as salary to the officials circulated within the city stimulating its economy. The ecclesiastical personnel and military-cum-civil officials, who used to draw huge salaries, formed the biggest consumer class in the city, whose consumer habits made the wheels of commerce move still uninterruptedly. The following details tentatively indicate enormous amount of surplus that the Estado used to collect from their other possessions in India and pump into their imperial capital city.

Table 7: Financial Position of the Estado in 1580s

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Cities</th>
<th>Income (1581)</th>
<th>Expenses (1581)</th>
<th>Balance (1581)</th>
<th>Income (1588)</th>
<th>Expenses (1588)</th>
<th>Balance (1588)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cochin</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5571960</td>
<td>-5571960</td>
<td>16050000</td>
<td>8740600</td>
<td>+7309400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diu</td>
<td>36000000</td>
<td>13409120</td>
<td>+22590880</td>
<td>41200000</td>
<td>15739530</td>
<td>+25460470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daman</td>
<td>15455880</td>
<td>11216400</td>
<td>+4239480</td>
<td>15462000</td>
<td>13998780</td>
<td>+1463220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bassein</td>
<td>42924680</td>
<td>12414020</td>
<td>+30510660</td>
<td>42923520</td>
<td>17973040</td>
<td>+24950480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaul</td>
<td>9188760</td>
<td>4506660</td>
<td>+4682100</td>
<td>15480000</td>
<td>4422460</td>
<td>+11057540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goa</td>
<td>62961353</td>
<td>143376041</td>
<td>-80414688</td>
<td>86478300</td>
<td>128836747</td>
<td>-42358447</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

20 Artur Teodoro de Matos, O Estado da India nos Ano de 1581-1588: Estrutura Administrativa e Economia Alguns elementos para o seu Estudo, pp.44-47
The above details show that among the various Portuguese possessions in India, Goa had the highest overspending and its deficit was compensated by the returns from other possessions. This compensatory pooling and distribution of resources from other possessions into Goa does not mean that Portugal spent their entire surplus in India itself. On the contrary there was a relatively sizeable volume of wealth going to Portugal every year from India, despite apparent overspending in Goa. Thus in 1588 the amount that the Portuguese crown managed to appropriate from its various possessions in India as aggregate profit was 43101903 reis (i.e., 143673 pardaos).21

Obvious that there were different ways by which wealth was made to flow to the city of Goa. For the period between 1599-1600 the treasury's contribution was only 37.7%, while the rent from the agrarian tracts of Salcete formed 13.9% and from those of Bardez formed 4.1%. Rents from the comunidade land was only 13.9%. Customs duty formed the major source of income, i.e. 26.4%22 In 1581 and 1588 an amount of 1920000 reis (6400 pardaos) each was collected as rent from the temples of Salcete and Bardez, which was over and above the rent collected from their agrarian tracts for the same period: 20225000 reis (67416 pardaos) in 1581 and 23220000 reis (77400 pardaos) in 1588.23

21 Artur Teodoro de Matos, O Estado da India nos Ano de 1581-1588: Estrutura Administrativa e Economia Alguns elementos para o seu Estudo, pp.45-7. However in 1581 there was an overspending of 3825748 reis (i.e., 12752 pardaos de tanga).
23 Artur Teodoro de Matos, O Estado da India nos Ano de 1581-1588: Estrutura Administrativa e Economia Alguns elementos para o seu Estudo, pp.45-7.
The details of customs duty collected at the port-city of Goa throw light into the value of private maritime trade conducted by the city-dwellers of Goa. The following table shows that there is a constant increase in the value of trade for the period between 1581 and 1610

**Table 8: Value of Maritime Private Trade of Goa, 1581-1610 (in xerafinsi)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1581</td>
<td>1777600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1588</td>
<td>2222000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1598</td>
<td>3302380</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1599</td>
<td>2118788</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1600</td>
<td>3360419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1605</td>
<td>4444000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1606</td>
<td>5177260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1607</td>
<td>5036518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1610</td>
<td>4446222</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table also suggests that with increasing reorientation of trade, there was a boom in private trade and this was facilitated by the stepping down of crown from the Indo-European trade, which was handed over into the hands of the Italians and the Germans, followed by opening up more trading opportunities to the *casados* of Goa by the state which retracted from many state controlled commercial sectors and in Asia. The frequent granting of commercial voyages and trade licences after 1570s stimulated the process unprecedentedly. Even after the resumption of Indo-European trade by the crown in 1598 after having experimented with various business houses and entrepreneurs of Europe on the management of Indo-European trade for a span of 28 years, the wheels of already stimulated private trade continued to move with much more velocity and intensity. This is evident from the following graph.

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24 Ibid; João Manuel de Almeida Teles e Cnha, Economia de um imperio, p.256.
Graph 5.3
Value of Maritime Private Trade, 1581-1610 in Xerafins

The ever-increasing index of maritime private trade is indicative of the immense flow of wealth into the city, which augmented the spending power of the city-dwellers. It also hints at the volume of surplus going from the pockets of the casados into the construction processes in the city, which by this time was used as an architectural mechanism to articulate the type of power that the Portuguese wielded in Goa. This part I would like to highlight in the latter part of this chapter.

Expanding Physicality of the City, Labour Processes and Money Market

Corresponding to the intensification of private trade in the city of Goa, there was an equal amount of effort to expand the physical limits of the city to new frontiers,

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25 Ibid.
thanks to the result of transferring wealth into space. A reconstruction of urban landscape during the period suggests territorial expansion of the port city engulfing erstwhile suburbs which were territorially distant from the wharf.\textsuperscript{26} During the fieldtrip an examination of the ruins and edifices of the religious and charitable institutions constructed in Velho Goa during the late 16\textsuperscript{th} and early 17\textsuperscript{th} centuries such as the Augustinian church, convent and Monastery of Santa Monica and the sites of the new college of St Paul or St Rock on the Holy Hill (Mount of the Rosary), St Alexis Church and the parish church of the Most Holy Trinity on the south-eastern direction to the wharf\textsuperscript{27} suggest the spurt of settlements around the region and the extension of the city frontiers.\textsuperscript{28} Furthermore evidences gained from contemporary maps reveal the complex urban grid structure which connected these peripheral regions to the heart of the city and the port despite the geographical distance.\textsuperscript{29} Such a measuring of the evolution of the city boundaries by the end of the first decade of the 17\textsuperscript{th} century reveals how geographical expansion of the urban center radiating in a semi circular form from the port and stretching to its maximum by this period,\textsuperscript{30} corresponded to the augmentation of resource mobilization through intensified private maritime trade. Contemporary observations on the city space estimated the urban commercial center as measuring up to four and a half miles in circuit.\textsuperscript{31} Later day historical reconstructions chiefly based on Rev. Cottineau’s calculations estimated the geographical radius of the city as a mile and a half in length on the riverside between Panelim to Daughim and its breadth at nearly three-quarters of a mile from the margin of the river to the Southern hill of Nossa Senhora

\textsuperscript{26} See illustration: no. 2

\textsuperscript{27} Refer illustration: Map 3.

\textsuperscript{28} This information is based on the field-studies conducted in the erstwhile city of Old Goa, Banastarim, Carambolim; Raibander and Panjim

\textsuperscript{29} See illustration: City Plan 4.2; For the contemporary maps showing urban evolution by late 16\textsuperscript{th} and early 17\textsuperscript{th} centuries and which have been referred for reconstructing the previous grid structure—and which went un-recorded in the later day mapping of the urban layout by 19\textsuperscript{th} and 20\textsuperscript{th} century—refer Appendix 3.

\textsuperscript{30} See illustrations: no. 2 and City Plan 4.1.

\textsuperscript{31} Albert Gray(ed.), \textit{The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval}, vol.II, part I, p.25
da Luz, with six miles in circumference. There are some slight discrepancies that exist between the figure suggested by Laval and the much more recent estimations regarding the extent of the city. However, a comparison of the maps from the *Planta da Cidade de Goa* and the *Itinerario* and corroborating it with the testimonies of literary sources show the engulfing of erstwhile suburban areas within the city space through an extension of the grid layout and the town walls during the period between 1580 to 1610 AD. Pyrard de Laval who visited the city in the first decade of the seventeenth century says that the town had expanded more than two-thirds in size, while the fortification covering the expanding town came up only by mid-1560s with the defeat of Vijayanagara rulers and with the frequent attacks of Muslim forces on Goa after that.

The spatial enlargement of Velho Goa can be deducted from references to the lack of fortifications marking the city boundaries, the redundancy of the pre-existing defensive fortifications of Albuquerque with neglect and demographic increase leading to a settlement pattern where clusters of residences of the Portuguese citizens and religious Orders spilled into the immediate suburbs and incorporated it with the city grid structure. Thus by the late 16th century the Parish church of St Thomas established by late 1550's in the south-east suburbs of the city was gradually incorporated within the city boundary as visualized in the city sketch of

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33 *Planta da Cidade de Goa* in *Monumenta Cartographica Vol IV*. Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1987, fol 29r. For both maps refer Appendices 3.1 and 3.2

34 Albert Gray(ed.), *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval*, vol.II, part I, p.40

35 This was discussed earlier. Linschoten attests to the city wall as a recent phenomenon. See Arthur Coke Burnell(ed.), *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies*, vol.I, p.176

36 See *illustration*: no. 2; Gray(ed.), *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval*, vol.II, part I, pp.39 - 40; Arthur Coke Burnell(ed.), *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies*, vol.I, p.176
the *Planta da Cidade de Goa* \(^{37}\) and Laval's account\(^{38}\). On the western side the city limits remained more or less stable to the previous phase. It extended up to the Hill of the Rosary which by now was cluttered with important religious edifices and institutions such as the Convent of *São Augustinho* (St Augustine), *Nossa Senhora da Graça* (Our Lady of Grace), *São Antonio* (Saint Anthony), St Rock, the Monastery of Santa Monica, the new convent of St Paul and Our Lady of Rosary all well connected to the riverside and wharf through the urban grid layout.\(^{39}\) Similarly, the city frontiers at the southern Hill extended till the Parish of *Nossa Senhora da Luz* and stopped just before the slaughtering house (*Mata vaca* or the place where animals primarily cows were butchered) and the Court of Justice which now constituted the city suburbs.\(^{40}\)

The urban demographic expansion is indicated by the division of the city into six parishes to deal with the moral and faith related problems caused by an increase in Christian population. In the beginning of 17th century the city population was estimated to be at 225,000 excluding the members of religious Orders, three fourths being Christians and the rest pagans.\(^{41}\) It is estimated that the total number of households in the city by the early 17th century was approximately 5,000 and the Portuguese city dwellers accounted for 1,500 of the total city population of 75,000 by the end of the first decade of the 17th century.\(^{42}\) Of the rest 73,500 urban dwellers 20,000 comprised of Hindu dwellers\(^{43}\) which suggests that the majority of 53,500 residents comprised of non-Portuguese Christian converts (indigenous, African slaves etc). Furthermore, Barreto de Resende testifies to the existence of

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\(^{37}\) For Eredia’s *Planta da Cidade de Goa* refer Appendix 3.2.

\(^{38}\) Albert Gray(ed.), *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval*, vol.II, part 1, p.55

\(^{39}\) For city layout and grid structure refer City Plan 4.2.

\(^{40}\) Albert Gray(ed.), *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval*, vol.II, part 1,p.56


\(^{43}\) Ibid.
3,500 households within the city by 1630s with 800 being Portuguese households (excluding Christian convents and other religious buildings) and to him the population had dropped by this time to nearly a third of the population of earlier times. This helps us to estimate that by the early 17th century the urban population had reached its peak and of these the number of Portuguese households calculated approximately at about 1,500-1,600 far exceeded the figures available for previous and successive periods. Based on the estimate that each household would comprise 15 members including slaves we can roughly calculate the Portuguese householders as accounting for 2,500 to 3,000 city dwellers. Resende further elaborates that all the 800 Portuguese households were elaborately constructed which on hindsight suggests that these Portuguese mercantile settlers were significantly wealthy owing to the intensified maritime engagements of the port city and displayed their economic dominance visually through constructing handsome residential quarters and leading an opulent lifestyle by the early decades of the 17th century. Further references to both territorial expansion of the city and a demographic growth with the evolution of a heterogenous urban population can be corroborated from travelogues of the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Thus Linschoten records:

"Touching the Portingales justice and ordinances, as well in worldly as spiritual (causes), they are (al one) as (they are) in Portingale. They dwell in the towne among (all sorts of nations), as Indians, Heathens, Moores, Jewes, Armenians, Gusarates, Benianes, Bramenes and of all Indian nationals and people, who doe all dwell and traficke therein, everie man to doe against his conscience, onely (touching) their ceremonies of burning the dead, and the living, of marrying and other superstitious and devilish inventions, they are forbidden by the Archbsihop to use them openly, or in the Iland..."  

Likewise Pyrard too observes the urban residents being of a composite community of European merchants such as Venetians, Italians, Castilians, English, Jews; the Hindus from Gujarat, Sindh, Bengal; Muslims from Arabia, Persia, Armenia; and, the Chinese traders.46

Concomitant to the increasing flow of wealth to the city through private trade there was an equal amount of intensification in the division and specialization of labour within the urban space. Along with the flow of cargo into the city from the inland terrains there was considerable amount of migration of artisans and skilled and unskilled workers into the city to earn their living by being components in the different economic activities that got stimulated with the intensification of trade. New craft-groups such as hatters, book binders and cutlers47 were added to the earlier labour segments of masons, tanners, weavers, tile-bakers, stone cutters, goldsmiths, silversmiths, jewel-cutters and polishers, wax-workers, tailors, dyers, washermen, iron-smiths, copper-smiths, parasol makers, shoe makers, lime makers, canvas makers, harness fixers, sword sharpeners etc., who used to supply different forms of work force to the city. The evolution of such a varied category of city-workers is indicative of the intensified process of division of labour in Goa which also attests to the heightened process of commodity production for the urban market within the city itself. By 1618 new market regulations were brought in with a view to formulating rules to govern the increased crafts guilds against the background of complexities involved in the organization of urban artisan groups.48

47 HAG : MSS 7750-7757 (Cartas Patentes), 7696-7704 (Registros Gerais), 7738-7740, 7747-7748, 7765-7766, 7786-7787 (Acordas e Assentos do Senado).
48 For a detailed description of the new regulations regulating the working of artisanal guilds and activities of traders and skilled labourers in the urban market of Goa see Teotonio de Souza, *Medieval Goa*, pp 164 -165.
Testimonies to the labour organization and specialization are further derived from contemporary references to the functioning of the State owned Ribeira Grande.\(^{49}\) The uniqueness of the Ribeira lay in its being organized on lines similar to pre-industrial factory units with hired labourers working for fixed work hours and receiving weekly payment on Sundays. Thus a variety of skilled artisans were employed as wage labourers from amongst the native Indians and mestiços to work in the mints, the royal shipyard and the arsenal under the supervision of a Portuguese Mor (master craftsman) who differed for each crafts group.\(^{50}\) Furthermore, apart from the craft supervisors, officers on State payroll such as overseers and accountants were held accountable for recruiting and ensuring employment of the artisans in the Ribeira.\(^{51}\) However, much of the hard physical labour was carried out by the un-free labourers such as the few State-owned slaves,\(^{52}\) and, European and Asian convicts from the Goan prisons.\(^{53}\) Such captives and slaves were increasingly used to address the empire's crisis in manpower and used in lieu of Portuguese sailors to man the large Galleys and armada ships as well as to work in the powder industry, the royal shipyard and other menial works in the town. The period witnessed intensified production of gun powder, armaments, ammunition, ships etc., within the Riberia. Later day documents refer to the casting of new cannons and production of cheap\(^ {54}\) and better quality gun powder at the Goa

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\(^{49}\) Albert Gray(ed.), *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval*, vol.II, part I, pp 40-43.

\(^{50}\) Albert Gray(ed.), *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval*, vol.II, part I, p 41.

\(^{51}\) Albert Gray(ed.), *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval*, vol.II, part I, p 42.

\(^{52}\) Magalhães Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial*, vol.II, p.584; HAG : MS 1129 (Petições Despachadas do Conselho da Fazenda n. 3), ffs 138-139; MS 1370 (Fianças, n. 2), fl. 159v.

\(^{53}\) Laval makes lucid references to such labour mobilization process. His reference to galley convicts reveals how most of prisoners from Goan jails worked there "save a certain number that are in prison of the Salle for the purpose of work there." Albert Gray(ed.), *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval*, vol.II, part I, pp 45-46.

\(^{54}\) The report of 1623 attesting the production of cheap artillery and cannon balls at the royal arsenal and gunfoundry of Goa to the minas de ferro within the Portuguese territory of Goa. See Pearson,
arsenal which was supplied to the Portuguese controlled forts and ports in the face of intensified Dutch and regional politico-military challenges. Scholars have traced that by 1630 the production capacity of gunpowder had increased by 500 lbs of gunpowder each day which further increased by 700 lbs in 1634. Thus, the increase in production—for both internal use and in a limited manner for export—corroborates the intensification of labour and machinery required for the manufacturing process. Moreover, the above reconstruction of labour organization in the Ribeira Grande reveals how the early colonial State was able to concentrate the human resources within the port city by developing a production system partially reliant on wage labour which acted as the tool to attract skilled artisans both Christian converts and non-Christians from the neighboring islands and suburbs that formed the economic hinterland of the port city.

Sources hint at how wage labour was also used in the charitable institutions such as the royal hospital where native Hindus and Christian converts were employed as salaried servants “to feed and attend upon the sick” apart from slave labour to do the menial tasks of cleaning the linen, rooms, dustpans, basins etc. Concomitantly, part of the labour force to work in state industries and galleys was constituted of the unfree labourers such as slaves and native criminals as well as prisoners of war and non Portuguese European men kidnapped by the Portuguese in their Asian settlements. Testimonies to the early colonial state’s mobilization of such prisoners of war, convicts and kidnapped Europeans from the forts and jails of the various Portuguese establishments in the Indian Ocean to the Goan jails and their employment in state owned industries and galleys are gained from the contemporary


55 HAG: *Livros dos Monções* 14, f5s 165v-166; Teotonio R. de Souza, *Medieval Goa*, p.155


57 Albert Gray(ed.), *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval*, vol.II, part I, pp. 4 -5.

58 Ibid., p.6.
travel accounts.\textsuperscript{59} We have seen how by the early 17\textsuperscript{th} century with its total population of approximately 75,000 about 53,500 comprised of non-Portuguese Christian converts (indigenous converts and slaves) and 20,000 being Hindu residents of which only a handful engaged in high value mercantile engagements and revenue farming.\textsuperscript{60} Thus majority of the skilled and unskilled services to the municipality, State and various urban groups were rendered by the indigenous communities and slaves inhabiting the city space. This corroborates our observation on the strategies of the early colonial state by which it was able to mobilize the flow of labour resources from the neighboring economies and organize it through the agency of the municipality, the state industries and the status groups to cater to the construction, production and commercial activities within the port city. Thus reconstructing the processes that were set in motion between 1580-1610 and under the auspices of the early colonial state and mercantile urban elite boosting the commercial significance of the port city and its intensified production potential with the state owned industries rising as major revenue earners. The high state of mercantile and artisanal orientation of the port-city is further attested by contemporary travelers’ describing frequent loading and unloading of mercantile wares by vessels from Portugal on the wharf involving a composite community of slaves, native Christians, Canarins, Cafres and other Gentiles functioning as porters or carriers.\textsuperscript{61}

Such labourers are reported as being intrinsic to all activities within the urban commercial center as “all the streets are full of these fellows at all sorts of jobs, either carrying Sombreros or Parasols and Palanquins, or aught else they may be

\textsuperscript{59} Albert Gray(ed.), \textit{The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval}, vol.II, part I, pp. 46-47
\textsuperscript{60} Teotonio R. de Souza, \textit{Medieval Goa}, p 115; Pearson gives the number of Hindus to be 20,000 and local Christians as 50,000 (apart from 1500 being Portuguese mesticos) by 1600. See M N Pearson, ‘The Portuguese State and Medicine in Goa.’ p 404.
\textsuperscript{61} Albert Gray(ed.), \textit{The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval}, vol.II, part I, p 44
required, and they are always to be found at certain crossroads." Thus apart from engaging in household chores such slaves often acted as the prime labour force in the construction of streets, edifices, drainage facilities as well as engaging in trade for their masters within the urban commercial center. Also sources refer to the use of Ethiopian slaves as sailors by the maritime merchants engaging in intra-Asian trade as the Portuguese mariners and soldiers on their arrival at Goa sought to engage themselves as traders than provide menial labour. Thus under the early colonial conditions of the late 16th century the evolving socio-economic structure of the port city and urban commercial organization were linked to the availability of slave and wage labour. Slaves were often a source of income for their Portuguese masters who constituted the mercantile and urban elite of the city. The chronicler Antonio Bocarro estimates that each Portuguese family had about five to ten slaves some for domestic purpose and others for engaging in earning revenue for their masters.

Most of the street names of the city hint at the concentration of specialized craftsmen and labourers residing along each street, making visible the division of the major chunk of city space on the basis of division of labour and specialization of labour. Thus the Rua de Arvore( Street of Trees or probably the place where timber was sawn into planks), Rua de Surradores (Street of Tanners), Rua de Chapeleiros (Street of Hatters), Rua de Acougue (Street of Galley Slaves), Rua das tres Boticas (Street of the Three Pharmacists), Rua dos Ferreiros (Street of Blacksmiths), Rua dos Ourives (Street of Goldsmiths), Rua dos Judeus (Street of the Jews who were mostly bankers and money lenders), Rua dos Banianes (Street of Banias), Rua de Carregados (Street of Porters/Loaders), Rua dos Guzerates (Street of Gujarates),

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62 Ibid., p 45.
64 Teotonio de Souza, Medieval Goa, p 124.
65 See illustration: City Plan 4.2.
Rua dos Gales (Street leading to the Ribeira/manufactory of Galley ships) etc., hint at the division and specialization of labour and craftsmanship within the port city and the prioritized allocation of mercantile and artisanal guilds and groups within the city on the basis of their economic importance. The division of labour and organization of the city space for the convenience of traders and buyers by dividing each street space to a social and professional community is also corroborated by other contemporary travelers.⁶⁶

The written sources of this period corroborate our reconstruction of the four market in the urban center that offered a wide variety of commodities and services to the city dwellers and both Asian and International traders as indicated in the City Plan 4.2. The Bazar Grande or the Grand Market was held everyday and situated to the east of the Viceroy’s Quay on the riverside providing all sorts of goods.⁶⁷ As opposed to this on the western side near the Royal Hospital was the Quay of St Catherine where the Bazar de Pesche or “fish-market” was held.⁶⁸ Apart from these two markets on the riverside, there was the Bazar Pequeno or the “little market” near St Catherine’s chapel which specialized in non-lasting food commodities such as vegetables, and, the markets around the square of the Pelourinho Velho or the Old Pillory where the daytime market selling fruits and vegetables was held but at night another market called the Baratilha was held where stolen goods were sold at cheap rates.⁶⁹ The testimonies of the travelers on the flourishing nature of these markets and the general cheap rates for food-grains and eatables much of which was imported from the inland regions of the neighboring economies of Cambay, Surat,

⁶⁶ Gray(ed.), The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval, vol.II, part I, pp 54,55, 57; Commisariat (ed.), Mandelslo’s Travels in Western India, pp 81-82;
⁶⁸ Albert Gray(ed.), The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval, vol.II, part I, p 44..
Deccan, Canara, Bardez, Salcete etc. suggest the regular flow of essential commodities from the economic hinterland to the port city. A corroboration of this could be gleaned from the steady rates at which inland trade got recorded at the fortified Passos or check-posts situated at crucial traffic junctions with a captain and clerk regulating traffic and collecting revenue on trade between the port city and the inland economies. M.N. Pearson studying the nature of urban economy estimates that the value of city’s trade with inland terrains was about Rs. 4, 80, 000 by late 17th century, which increased to Rs.6,00,000 by 1616. This clearly indicates the intensified and steady rate of inland trade between the port-city and the inland regional economies and the gradual penetration of the early colonial port city into the interior markets and production zones securing both revenue as well as a supply of raw material and essential goods for the urban power center.

Furthermore, contemporaries note the intensified sale of a wide range of commodities imported from Europe or produced with a European aesthetic in the Rua Direita which was the exclusive domain of rich and influential European artisans, merchants and bankers, comprising primarily Portuguese casados followed by Italians, Germans and other Europeans. Similarly, the buyers in the Rua Direita

71 The names and importance of the Passes have been mentioned in Chapter 4.
72 M.N. Pearson, Coastal Western India, pp. 75-76.
73 For references to the Portuguese mestiços inhabiting the Rua Direita and their trade in a wide variety of commodities gathered from the intra-Asian trade and slaves see Arthur Coke Burnell(ed.), The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies, Vol.1, pp.184-186. A clearer reference to division of street spaces, the occupancy of Rua Direita and O Leilão by European traders and craftsmen and the distinctly cultivated European feel of the street with the gilded church of Nossa Senhora de Serra and the Chapel of the Misericordia being located at its very end can be seen in Albert Gray(ed.), The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval, Vol.II, part I, pp. 51-52.

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were recorded as belonging to "all nations" such as "heathens, moors, banians etc" suggesting exchange relations between the International and Asian traders particularly the Hindus and foreign Muslim traders. The sources also testify to the mercantile acumen and wealth of the traders in the Rua Direita and how on "all days except Sundays and holidays the street was always crowded from morning till noon when the markets were closed". On the one hand, the chief commercial street of the city with its merchant and artisan inhabitants and the architectural layout of overlooking Church facades by the late 17th century portrayed the mercantile town as a distinctly European and Christian bastion. On the other hand, the making and marking of the chief market space as the exclusive domain of the European and Portuguese mestiço traders reveal the centrality of the trading community of Portuguese officials and casados of Goa within the empire. It enables us to glimpse at the various commercial privileges obtained by the Portuguese citizens and the municipality as well as the strategies of the State in cultivating a loyalist and wealthy community of casados which was engaged in mercantile and artisanal activities as well as filled the subordinate posts in the municipality and State enterprises. Furthermore, the intensification of the commercial web of Goa and its significant position as the chief loading and unloading center of wares of the intra-Asian and Indo-European trade is revealed in the vivid descriptions of O Leilão or the Street of Auctioning within this "Rua direcho" by both Linschoten and Laval. Thus Laval records that by the end of the first decade of the seventeenth century and three months before he left Goa, the market space identified as O Leilão was extended to include the large square between the town-hall (municipal hall) and the inquisition. Indirectly such as expansion refers to the intensified commercial


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significance and flourishing of the market mechanisms linked with the auctioning processes in and around O Leilão. A graphic description of the commodities traded, communities involved in buying and selling and the centrality of the market in the urban life is evident in Linschoten’s remark:

“...in Goa there is holden a daylie assemblie(sic) (or meeting together), as wel (sic) of the citizens and Inhabitants, as of all nations throughout India, and of the countries bordering on the same, which is like the meeting upon the burse in Andwarpe(sic), yet differeth(sic) much from that, for that hether(sic) in Goa there come as well Gentlemen, as marchants(sic) (and others), and there are all kindes(sic) of Indian commodities to sell, so that in a manner it is like a Faire(sic). This meeting is only before Noone(sic), everie(sic) day in the yeare(sic), except Sondayes(sic) and holie dayes(sic): it beginneth in ye morning at 7 (of the clock), and continueth till 9, but not in the heate(sic) of the day, nor after Noone(sic), in the principal streete(sic) of Citie(sic), named the straight streete(sic), and is called the Leylon(sic)(O Leilão), which is as much to say as an outroop: there are certain criers appointed by the Citie (sic)for ye purpose, which have of al things to be cryed (sic)and sold: these goe(sic) all the time to the Leylon(sic) or outroop, all behanged(sic) about with all sorts of gold chains, all kinds of costly Iewels(sic) , pearls, rings and precious stones: likewise the have running about them, many sorts of (captives and) slaves, both men and women, young and old, which are daylie(sic) sould(sic) there, as beasts are sold with us, where everie(sic) one may chuse(sic) which liketh him best, everie(sic) one at a certain price. ..Arabian horses, ..spices and dried drugges(sic), sweet gummies(sic), and such like things, fine and costly coverlets, and many curious things, out of Cambaia, Sinde, Bengal, China etc. And it is wonderful to see in what sort man of them get their livings, which everyday come thether(sic) to buy (wares), and at other times sel (sic)them again. And when an man dieth all his goods are brought tether and sold to the last pennyworth...yea although they were
the viceroy's goods: and this is to do justice to the Orphans and Widows, and that it may be sold with the first, where every man see it, so that evrie yeare(sic) there is a great quntitie (sic) of ware sold (within the citie), for that there die many (men) within the Towne(sic)...”

The above testimony clearly reflects the significance of the O Leilão as the market place for auctioning not only the goods procured by the private traders through intra-Asian trade but also by the municipality and the Misericordia. The sanctioning of auctions by the city suggests that the municipality kept a close watch over the transactions, imposing strict rules and control measures for ensuring pro-commercial conditions for the buyers and sellers of the market place. Likewise the reference to the sale of properties of the dead confiscated by the State for funding the care of the widows and the Orphans suggests that the charitable nature of the European Christian State was aptly projected and reinforced through the instrumentality of such socio-economically strategic streets and market spaces.

These details also attest to the intensified mercantile zeal of the residents of the port city of Goa with profit incentives being the prime mover and salability of almost everything including movable and immovable properties, government offices and even drinking water as the motor of the urban economy. Similarly an analysis of the street spaces reveal that of the twenty three streets within the urban grid structure a majority of twelve to thirteen streets were commercial spaces granted by the city municipality to the community of Hindu traders such as the Banias who were important grain traders, the Gujaratis specializing in precious stones and cotton

79 Names of the various streets has been derived from analyzing various contemporary city plans of the Portuguese city of Old Goa such as Planta da Velha Cidade de Goa, AHU, Direccao de Obras Publicas, lithograph, 1910/08/24; Planta Forma da Cidade de Goa 1616 – 1623 A.D in Monumenta Cartographica Vol IV. Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1987, fol 92r. (Appendices 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3) Also see Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch, p157 (footnote).
textiles; native converts and Hindu artisans specializing in handicrafts such as masonry, ironsmiths, goldsmiths, silk weaving etc; to the New Christian bankers and money lenders, Portuguese artisans producing hats etc; and to other European merchants dealing in a wide variety of commodities such as velvets, damask, European artifacts etc and other native and mestizo skilled labourers cohabiting with others practicing their trade and each professional group occupying a single street space.

Apart from the details on the port city as a large emporium where Asian and European commodities and slaves were exchanged in the urban markets, the late 16th and early 17th century records refer to the intensified circulation of mercantile wealth within Goa. Very often the mercantile wealth was brought to the city in different monetary forms, which necessitated the service of money-changers, who used to play a decisive role in the money market and banking activities of the city. Laval refers to the role of the Charafes as money lenders with,

"..their shops at the ends of the street and at cross roads all covered with money, whereof they pay a tribute to the king. Their gains are very great, for its necessary at Goa to have money to go to the market, where everything is of the very cheapest and one onely(sic) buy what is required for the very hour.."\(^81\)

Lisnchoten and Laval both refer to the dual role of these money lenders as bankers in keeping the “Bulky and heavy” money of small value which was quite

\(^80\) Arthur Coke Burnell(ed.), *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies*, vol.I, pp 241-244; Albert Gray(ed.), *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval*, vol.II, part I, p 67

\(^81\) Albert Gray(ed.), *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval*, vol.II, part I, p 67.
burdensome for the urban populace to carry around all the time\(^{82}\) as well as in the sale and circulation of international currency of great value which these money lenders purchased from the foreign and European traders. Linschoten identifies such Xaraffs (Shroffs) as belonging to the New Christian community.\(^{83}\) Concurrently he records details of the circulation and popularity of international currency with a high silver and gold content such as the Persian Larin, Gold Pagodes, Venetian and Turkish gold Venetianders, Portuguese Real, Gold San Thomés etc.\(^{84}\) The money lenders purchased these international coins cheap and sold it at high rates to the intra-Asian traders on arrival of the carreira ships. Thus to Linschoten the profit of such bankers and money lenders usually came from the resale of currency such as the Portuguese Real from the trading ships from Lisbon and re-sell them for 10 or 12% profits to the traders in the months of April when the ships sail to China. Similar was the case of Persian Larins from Ormus for which they paid 8-10% of its value as the exchange rate and re-sold in September at a profit of 20-25% of its original value which they demanded in Reals.\(^{85}\) Partly, this can be re-read as marking the high value and intensified international and intra-Asian trade at the port city which kept such international coins in great demand. Partly, it hints at the intensified accumulation of wealth in the hands of the New Christian bankers and money lenders in Goa by the end of 1610. Concurrently, the low silver and gold content of the Pardão and Xerafsins and base metal currency like the copper or tin Bazaruco, coined at Goa\(^{86}\) again testifies to the Estado's struggles at marginalizing

\(^{82}\) Albert Gray(ed.), *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval*, vol.II, part 1, p 68.

\(^{83}\) Arthur Coke Burnell(ed.), *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies*, vol.1 p 186.

\(^{84}\) Arthur Coke Burnell(ed.), *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies*, vol.1 pp 241-244.

\(^{85}\) Linschoten remarks that 8 Larrins were exchanged for one Real in the months of September when the ships sailed to Cochin. See Arthur Coke Burnell(ed.), *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies*, vol.1, pp 186-187; For the value and exchange rates of various currencies circulating in Portuguese Goa during the 16th and 17th centuries see Appendix 1.

\(^{86}\) For details see Arthur Coke Burnell(ed.), *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies*, vol.1, pp 241-244.
the release of gold and silver into the market stemming from the shortages of precious metals with the State's increasing offensive and defensive military expeditions by the first decade of the 17th century. In a nutshell, the escalation of the exchange relations between different mercantile communities including European Christians, Jewish, Muslim and Hindu traders and the port-city’s role as the meeting ground for the commodities derived from intra-Asian and European private trade by late 16th century triggered an intensified flow of mercantile wealth within the urban center and its accumulation and circulation within the urban markets through the acts of the bankers and money lenders.

The Changing concerns of Municipality, Religious Orders and Contesting Claims over Space.

The above analysis reveals how the entire focus of urban evolution of Goa by this period shifted from the political edifices to the commercially important streets and market spaces of the port city. The municipal administration through such administrative efficiency and labour organization attempted at intensifying both inland and maritime trade converging at the port city. The Camara Municipal de Goa comprising wealthy and commercially oriented Portuguese settlers often credited less importance to investing municipal funds into basic civic amenities such as ensuring regular supply of drinking water to the city from the nearby springs through constructing channels, maintaining drainage networks for easing the flooded pavements after rain and sanitary arrangements for waste disposal. However the absence of investments in such projects were not linked to scarcity of municipal resources as can be gauged by the redirection of funds by the municipality in constructing religious edifices, maintaining charitable institutions (such as the Hospitals of Saint Lazarus and All Saints), and, beautifying the city. Thus records reveal that in 1606 the rough annual income of the municipality was approximately 8,000 xerafins of which 3,000 were spent as remuneration to the city officials, 2,000 on the Hospital de São Lazaro and 3,000 was allocated for works of public utility.
and celebrating the statutory feasts of Corpus Christi and Saint Catherine.\textsuperscript{87} Despite the allocation of 3,000 \textit{xerajins} to public utility and feasts, the municipality favored investments to beautify the Portuguese quarters of the city. Sources attest to the “fair houses and streets” of the port-city\textsuperscript{88} and the Portuguese married settlers investing in handsome houses of lime and stones, well covered in tiles, with alluring frontage and ornamental windows and balconies bordering the streets in perfect symmetry\textsuperscript{89}. Concurrently, limited civic ventures were undertaken by the municipality in the Portuguese quarters during the early 17th century such as redirecting water from a water tank outside the city boundaries to the Old Pillory square and the municipality made attempts at improving cleanliness by employing a superintendent for city cleanliness.\textsuperscript{90} However, the worsening hygiene and increasing epidemic induced mortality in those wards of the city that had a predominant non-European settlement\textsuperscript{91} leads us to believe that much of the limited municipal allocations for


\textsuperscript{89} Description by Barreto de Resende in Pius Malekandathil, \textit{“City in Space and Metaphor”}, p.25

\textsuperscript{90} HAG: MS 7765 (\textit{Assentos da Camara}), fls. 124v-126v; also see Teotonio de Souza, \textit{Medieval Goa}, p 140; Appendix B-4, pp 268-269.

\textsuperscript{91} This can be indirectly deduced from data attesting to epidemic induced mortality in peripheral parts of the city inhabited by non-Portuguese residents and the elevation of churches in these wards to being parish churches to cater to the increase in burial requirements. Thus \textit{Nossa Senhora da Luz} near to the Old and new Pillory (market space for indigenous traders) was raised as a parish church in 1543 when cholera ravaged the ward. See \textit{Documenta Indica},Vol XIII, pp 852, 854, 859-860. Likewise the site of \textit{Santissma Trinidade} (constructed on ruins of Shiva temple) that were ravaged by the fevers and pestilence of 1618-1619 suggest that it must have been a predominantly non-Portuguese ward and lacked proper sanitation. For sketch of Church of Most Holy Trinity (\textit{Santissma Trinidade}) refer Appendix 6. Also the eventual abandonment of \textit{São Paulo} (located in the residential and market space of indigenous traders and Christian converts as seen in previous chapter) has been attributed to the epidemic fever of the 1570s and the unhealthy atmosphere of the ward. See Fonseca, \textit{An Historical and Archaeological Sketch}, p 264, 273, 274; Fawcett(ed.), \textit{The Travels of the Abbe Carre. Vol I}, 215-216
urban sanitation and hygiene selectively focused on maintaining the elite Portuguese quarters.

A considerable portion of municipal income was derived from the leases of the shops and lands, the fines collected for violations of market regulations and from licenses issued to artisans, shopkeepers and other professionals. The travelogues are quite explicit in their references to the dominance of the Hindu traders and merchants in the inland trade of the port city. The Saraswat Brahmins, Vanias of Gujarat, the Banjaras of Bijapur, the indigenous Canarin artisans etc., kept the city supplied with the necessary food-grains, spices, cloth etc., and rendered a variety of skilled services in their capacity as goldsmiths, silversmiths, ironsmiths, wooden artifact makers, jewelers, dealers of precious stones etc. Linschoten testifies to the wealth of such “heathen” merchants and revenue farmers. A number of revenue administration records testify to the Goan Saraswat Brahmins monopolizing State revenue farming rights over the years especially in lucrative commodities such as cloth (cotton cloth and silk), food grain imports, import-export trade of tobacco, opium, gold and silver minting rights, port customs etc. Nevertheless despite their economic strength the Hindu traders and bankers never constituted the city elite which remained the exclusive prerogative of the Portuguese settlers by the

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94 HAG, Records of the Farmed Revenues (Arrematacao das Rendas), MSS 656, 1370-1371, 2316, 2320.

95 HAG, MS 7761 (Livro de Termos, Assentos e Juramentos) fls. 95v-96v; MS 779 (Cartas e Ordens, n.1) fl.41.
royal *alvara* ensuring contestation to municipal offices as a privilege granted to the Old Christian white Portuguese settlers. This led to a situation wherein the wealthy amongst the Portuguese merchants and artisans got themselves elected to the *Camara* and the decisions of the municipal council often represented the interests of this dominant class. Thus crucial civic projects which would have upgraded the standard of living of the both the Christian and non-Christian urban residents were often compromised as it did not directly benefit the urban elite in raising their socio-political status claims. Furthermore, such civic projects like sanitation and drainage required large amount of investments yielding benefits only in the long run, though eradication of epidemics by improving sanitation conditions would also attract further settlers to the city and ultimately secure continuity of urban efflorescence. The municipality, being the representative body of commercially oriented Portuguese urban elites, preferred often short term solutions to the sanitary problems of the city by declaring the river to be the dumping ground of the dustpans. Its major focus was to redirect resources towards constructing elegant edifices and organizing glamorous festivals, which also reveals the inherent interests of the municipality to project the prosperity and power of the Lusitanian commercial capital to the Indian Ocean trading world. Furthermore, for the urban mercantile elites civic concerns such as supplying drinking water to the residents were regarded as further outlets for earning personal revenue through the use of their slaves to fetch and sell drinkable water from the distant springs. Such references help in understanding city evolution as being shaped by the mercantile wealth and reflecting the Portuguese urban elite’s need to reassert Lusitanian commercial superiority in the changing maritime mercantile world during this period.

The remarkable way in which private Portuguese mercantile wealth carved the city space in this period can be gleaned through the study of the various civil, religious and charitable undertakings of the municipality during this period. Amidst the civil

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structures, the arch of the Viceroys constructed in 1599 on Viceroy Dom Francisco de Gama’s orders reflected the intensified power claims of the Portuguese traders of the city as the funds for maintaining it were supplied by the municipality.97 The Arch constructed on the riverside near the Quay of the Viceroys framed the principal gate through which people entered the city and marked the ceremonial site for the reception of the incoming viceroy’s by the municipality by the customary handing over of the keys of the port-city.98 The monument stood as symbolic of the national triumph and power of the Portuguese as discoverers and conquerors.99 Though the arch was constructed using the less expensive black stone on the orders of the Senate of Goa, the frieze and pediment of the arch were richly decorated with a marble statue of Vasco da Gama and a gilt bronze statue of St Catherine (the patron Saint of Goa) respectively. Furthermore, the façade of the door was adorned with elegant paintings representing the Portuguese wars in the Indies.100 Thus the high ornamentation, marble and bronze statues and gilt writing reveal the municipality’s commemorating the Portuguese valor in establishing its commercial empire in the East and their divinely sanctioned conquest and rule over the prosperous port-city of Goa.

98 See Chapter III reconstructing the entrega ceremony of Nuno da Cunha at the wharf near the fortress palace by Captain of Goa, the ouvidor, city councilors (Senate of Goa), fidalgos etc from Barros, Asia de João Barros, vol 4, p 173; also see Lobo, Magnificent Monuments of Old Goa, p 29.
100 Ibid.
Picture 8: Riverside View of the Arch

Picture 9: Proximity of the Arch to the Cais de Vice-Reis/Quay of Viceroy
Private wealth was also used to fund much of the religious edifices constructed and maintained in this period. Moreover, Orçamentos (budget-estimations) of this period refer to the grant of funds by the crown collected from other Portuguese possessions in India to the construction and maintenance of religious institutions such as the Monastery of Santa Monica, the Augustinian Church and Convent, the Professed House of the Jesuits, Bom Jesus Basilica, Franciscan College of St Bonaventura, Convent of the Dominicans etc.\textsuperscript{101} The grant of fiscal privileges in the form of rents and revenues from the islands of Salcete and Bardez as payments to the Archbishop, priests and the various cloisters of Goa are also recorded by the travelers.\textsuperscript{102} In additions to the flow of wealth from such revenue sources, wealth accumulation within the religious Orders was also boosted through the indirect but active involvement of some of the “Spiritualtie” as money exchangers “who do secretly use it, by other mens (sic) means, with out any hindrance.”\textsuperscript{103} However, an examination of the existent churches and ruins of edifices constructed in the late 16\textsuperscript{th} and early 17\textsuperscript{th} century reveals numerous graves within the cloisters and near the altars of the Augustinian church, Our Lady of the Rosary and Bom Jesus Basilica with the names of the Portuguese nobles and mercantile residents of Goa. While a majority of the graves had the insignia of the coat-of-arms suggesting noble descent of the individuals, some lacked such representations or had symbols of a skull and cross bones over the graves obviously representing rich Portuguese householders and sea traders and in some cases wealthy women heiresses.\textsuperscript{104} These details are indicative of the participatory roles that such individual fidalgos and mercantile elites played in the construction processes of such magnificent edifices or in their timely maintenance.


\textsuperscript{104} This information is gathered during the field-study on these churches.
Picture 10: Graves with Insignia of Cross Bones and Skull: Nossa Senhora do Rosario and St Cajetan.
Picture 11: Graves with coat-of-arms inside São Augustino and Nossa Senhora do Rosario
Thus fieldwork in Goa reveals several graves on the floor of the Augustine church bearing coat-of-arms with the apex of the graves closer to and facing the main altar indicating contributions by the rich *fidalgos* of Goa to the establishment of the Church. Similarly, the magnificent Bom Jesus Basilica of the Jesuits has a cenotaph of its benefactor Dom Jeronimo Mascarenhas who had served as Captain of Cochin and Ormuz and bequeathed his entire wealth for the construction of the Church. The structural and ornamental architecture of the Basilica hailed as one of the largest, richest and most scrumptious churches of Goa by the travelers had a gilded altar, a grand European façade, rich carving, gilded ornamentation, exquisite paintings and was made of black granite. Concurrently, the regalia of the cenotaph, with its apex decorated in bronze gilt and bearing the ex-captain’s coat of arms, on the wall near the side door towards the north reveal the immense mercantile wealth accumulated by him from the privileges and concession system of commercial voyages that he received as a state official in lieu of salaries, but finally went into the beautification of the basilica. This enables us to visualize how the wealth of the individual Portuguese traders and dignitaries was mobilized through the agency of religious institutions for constructing elegant structures in the city and for beautifying them. The reason why the rich *casados* and noblemen invested their wealth in the edifices could be understood by analyzing the privileged location of their graves near the altar of the churches and references to their exploits and contributions immortalized in inscriptions on or adjacent to the epitaph. This clearly suggests the high socio-political status that the wealthy urban elite aimed at through such donations. Gifts and grants were also made by the *fidalgos* and status groups to charitable institutions such as the royal hospital and the hospital of *São Lazarão* and All Saints. As much of the wealth generated by both the *fidalgos* in their capacity as officials of the *Estado* and *casados* by way of their private trade, donations to the construction processes in the city was used as a mechanism by these urban elites to


106 The details are gathered from the field study on the site.

ensure acceptability for them before the state and thus to secure continuous concessions and privileges for their ventures, whether political or commercial.

Picture 12: Ornate Altar of Bom Jesus and the Gilded Cenotaph of Dom Mascarenhas
By the end of the sixteenth century municipality and *Misericordia* became the two major moneyed institutions in the city that could easily mobilize material resources for any venture, even when the state was financially bed-ridden. Thus the hospital of All Saints which previously was aided by the Old College of *São Paulo*, was transferred to the municipality and the *Misericordia*, because of the financial crunch. An analysis of the 1594 *alvara* of the Viceroy (granting the Hospital

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108 The shift of the Hospital of All Saints to being financed by the *Misericordia* is revealed in the complaint of the Municipal Council to the King in letter dated 1607. On the inability of the...
the privilege of a quarter of the revenue received from fines on offending merchants) suggests the alternative ways how by the late 16th century such charitable institutions were sustained. Travelogues further refer to how this hospital for the poor Indian Christians was “endowed by the townspeople....still another hospital for the women of the Christian, also endowed by the town, to which women only may go.”110 Apart from charitable ventures like maintaining St Lazarus and the hospitals for the Indian Christians, sources testify to the pressure created by the Goan municipality to establish the monastery of Santa Monica for nuns,111 probably under the influence of Archbishop Alexis de Menezes. At a time when Lisbon refused to sanction fiscal assistance from the public treasury at Goa to establish the monastery, the municipality aided the construction “to enable the daughters of the poor and respectable Portuguese settlers, who were left without means to offer decent dowries to their many daughters, to praise God through lives consecrated to virginity and evangelical perfection.”112 This can be seen as the strategy of the urban elite to promote the image of piety and high Christian values of the Portuguese port city in a period when other European powers were contesting in Asian waters. The fact that the very municipality turned against the monastery a few decades later when the noble Portuguese women primarily the rich widows and unmarried heiresses started taking vows of celibacy and donating their inheritance to Santa Monica rather than marrying the Portuguese men of the city partly113 reveals the


109 Alvara of Viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque on 29 August 1594 on imposition of fines on merchants who employed sailors enrolled in State services on their ships and granting one fourth of the funds thus derived to the “hospital of the poor” of the city. In J H da Cunha Rivara (ed.), Archivo Portuguez-Oriental, Fasc.III, p.468.


112 Historical Archives of Goa, MS 7747, fols 141-144; Teotonio de Souza, Medieval Goa, p. 146

113 Historical Archives of Goa, MS 7786 (Senado : Diversos, 1610-1704), fols. 44v; MS 7745 (Registo das Cartas Regias 1630-1712), fols 11v.

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true mercantile nature of the city elite and partly how the city evolution was straitjacketed to ensure circulation of wealth within the commercial center and benefit its mercantile elite. The carving out of the city space and the role played by the urban elite, the various status groups and religious Orders in establishing ostentatious and grand edifices reveal linkages between the city evolution and the space claims of the dominant socio-political groups. Despite the assistance of the municipality and donations and bequests of wealthy residents to the religious edifices by the 1580s and 1590s tensions were noticeable between different social groups; however the tension between the religious Order of the Jesuits and the urban mercantile elites was decisive because of its bearing on the city life. The Jesuits, in their role as traders and property holders had concentrated enormous wealth within their headquarters at Goa and wielded a socio-politically powerful position within the urban space. The study of the establishment of churches and convents of the Jesuits, the Franciscans and the Augustinians and the concomitant tensions reveal the new social relations evolving and affecting the urban spatial organization.

By the late 16th century and early 17th century the Jesuits had a number of important establishments in the urban center and its immediate suburbs. While the Old College and Church of St Paul were established with state benefices by the late 16th century the new establishments of the Jesuits namely the Professed House, Born Jesus Basilica, the New College of St Paul etc., were on sites purchased by the Jesuits rather than been granted by the state. By 1578 the Jesuits had purchased a site on the Holy Hill to establish a New College of St Paul despite the continuity of the Old College of St Paul till 1620s.114 This stood in sharp contrast with the Dominicans

114 The coexistence of the Old college of St Paul and the new Novitiate and Church of St Rock is attested by Laval. During Laval’s time the Old College continued to be the place for baptism of the natives on the feast day of St Paul attended by the Viceroy and the Portuguese dignitaries; and, it was only after a few years from Laval’s time that the students were transferred from the Old college to the new Novitiate attached to Chapel of St Rock. Albert Gray(ed.), The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval, vol.II, part I, pp 58 (footnote #2), 59-61. Also see Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch, p 315.
and the Franciscans who had depended upon grants from the state to establish edifices such as the new convent of the Dominicans and the Franciscan College of St Bonaventura. Furthermore, the sites allotted by the state were located in the city suburbs on the banks of the Mandovi suggesting the overshadowing of the edifices of these religious Orders by the buildings of the wealthy Jesuits and the politically affluent Augustinians. By 1585 the Jesuits purchased another site in the Terreiro dos Gallos for establishing their Professed House or the Casa Professa. The importance of this act is signified in the site selected as it corresponded with the politico-economic heart of the city which housed several significant structures linked with economic and power processes. The edifice of the Casa Professa completed by 1589 now shared the same platform as the edifice of the Santa Casa da Misericordia to its south, the Town Hall to its east where the meetings of the Municipal Senate used to take place and the complex shared by the Cathedral church and the Franciscan convent and church to its north. Furthermore, the edifice had a splendid and admirable structure as gleaned in the admiration of travelers. The magnificence of the Casa Professa, the vast resources spent by the Jesuits in its construction and the generous gifts of the Fathers of the Professed House to the

115 Appeals of the Dominican friars to the Viceroy for a new site for establishing their new College, the subsequent sanctioning of the site of the Cabo and the reconstruction of another edifice near St Peter's Church in the city suburbs on the grants by the Viceroy in J H da Cunha Rivara (ed.), Archivo Portuguez-Oriental, Fasc III, doc 9.; Historical Archives of Goa, Livros das Monçoes, Goa Gov Rec (MSS), No 3, fols 10.

116 The Franciscan College of Bonaventura established in 1602 was funded by the resources advanced from the noble matrons of Bassein to construct a convent for nuns of the Franciscan order. However, Archbishop Menezes' redirected this fund towards the establishment of the College rather than a Convent and by the Royal Alvara of 16th April 1617 an annual subsidy was allocated for its maintenance. Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch, p 242.

117 Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch, p 279

118 Wealth of the Professed House is testified by Albert Gray(ed.), The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval, vol.II, part I,pp 59-60; For details on its handsome edifice and wealth also see Commisariat (ed.), Mandelslo's Travels in Western India, pp 66-67.

Pope\textsuperscript{120} reveal the wealth concentrated within the structure as headquarters of the Jesuits in the East. This action of the Jesuits met stiff resistance by the \textit{Camara}, the Franciscans and the \textit{Misericordia} but was approved by the king, the viceroy and the Archbishop.\textsuperscript{121} Yet another pleasure house of the Jesuits located on the outskirts of the city is noted by Laval with pretty fountains and a handsome layout where those members of the Order who fell sick were sent to regain health.\textsuperscript{122} Partly such purchases indicate wealth accumulated within the Order, and, partly the resistances of the city elites and the dominant Franciscans reveal the growing socio-political status of the economically powerful Jesuits. Furthermore, the support of the political potentates to the establishment of the \textit{Casa Professa} and Bom Jesus Basilica; and, the Jesuits financing themselves the establishment of the splendid and vast edifices of the \textit{Casa Professa} and the New College of St Paul reveal the wealth and the political influence that the Order wielded by the end of the 16\textsuperscript{th} century.

On the one hand the sanctioning of Jesuit constructions within the city space secured the flow of funds from the various spheres of influence and mercantile engagements of the missionaries to their headquarters and important establishments at Goa. Financially this was beneficial for the state as can be gauged from later day reports to the \textit{Estado} extracting loans from the Jesuits for their military expeditions.\textsuperscript{123} The viceroy’s \textit{alvara} of 1591 granted the Jesuits the three State \textit{rendas} (tax rights/non-agricultural revenues) on sale of food, soap and opium to raise 12,000 \textit{xerajins} and extra funds from other sources for managing the royal

\textsuperscript{120} Description of one such present of a cross of solid gold set with precious stones and priced at more than 100,000 crowns that was sent by the Jesuit Fathers to the Pope is given in Laval’s account. See Albert Gray(ed.), \textit{The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval}, vol. II, part I, p 59.

\textsuperscript{121} Fonseca, \textit{An Historical and Archaeological Sketch}, p 280.


\textsuperscript{123} Charles de Borges, \textit{The Economics of The Goa Jesuits, 1542-1759: An Explanation of Their Rise and Fall}. New Delhi, Concept Publishing Company, 1994, pp 46-47.
hospital. Similarly to meet the cost of expansion of the edifice of the royal hospital and the maintenance of the building the State provided additional finance in 1593 and the king also granted the proceeds of the China voyage for the work to the Jesuits. However much of the grants as well as the proceeds of the taxes and voyages either ran in arrears or was not accruable to the Jesuits due to corruption of the local officials as could be gauged from the letter of the Camara to the king in 1601 detailing the problems they faced in collecting the dues once the royal hospital was placed in their charge. The resuming of the management of the royal hospital by the Jesuits in 1608 when the reconstruction of the edifice was over and the glowing reference of Pyrard de Laval to its management under the fathers suggest tensions stemming from the State’s attempts at securing Jesuit services and the inadequate funds supplied to the Hospital due to official mismanagement forcing the Jesuits to withdraw by 1598. In short the Jesuit supervision of the royal hospital from 1591 to 1598 often ended up drawing finances from their own coffers to meet the maintenance needs. Linschoten also testifies to the donations made to the hospital by the Portuguese residents as

“In this Hospital they are very well looked after by the Jesuits and Gentlemen...giveth the sick(sic) persons whatsoever they desire, and sometimes spend more by foure (sic) and five hundred Duckats(sic) of their own purses, then the kings allowance (reached unto), which they doe

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126 King to Viceroy, 1 March 1594 in J H da Cunha Rivara (ed.), *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, Fasc. III, 433; see also King to Viceroy, Jan 23, 1610, in R A de Bulhão Pato (ed.), *Documentos remetidos da India, ou Livros das Monções*, Tomo I, Doc 105, pp 300-301.
(sic)more of (pride and ) vaine glorie(sic), then for compassion, onely(sic) to have the praise and commendation of liberalitie(sic)...”128

By 1605 the municipal correspondences to the king complain about the bottlenecks in the flow of funds sanctioned by the State and their demands for more funds.129 This reveals how some of the contributions to the completion of the enlarged edifice must have been met by municipal funds drawn from the urban residents and taxes. Furthermore the reassertion of the superior European and Christian character of the Lusitanian port city through these charitable institutions reveal the strategies of the early colonial State to meet fiscal shortages (with declining flows from Lisbon) by prompting the circulation and concentration of wealth in Goa through the agency of socio-economic status groups (the Portuguese residents and dignitaries) and ecclesiastical institutions. Concomitantly, attestations to the grandeur of the hospital by contemporaries130, its significance in treating sick soldiers, its efficient management and the frequent donations and gifts by the urban elites reveal how the royal hospital had become a source of cultural pride and superiority assertion for the city apart from serving the interests of the State in curing sick soldiers.

On the other hand the location and magnificence of the new edifices symbolized significant status claims for the Jesuits in the evolving urban space. The shifting of their headquarters from the peripheral areas of the port city to the heart of the imperial capital and sharing the same space with the Se Cathedral, the Franciscan Church and Convent, the Municipal Hall and the Inquisition suggested elevated

128 Burnell(ed.), The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies, vol.1, pp 237-238
130 Gray(ed.), The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, Vol II, Part 1, pp 3, 5,6,7,8, 12.
socio-politico status claims of the Jesuits within the urban social fabric. The power claims of the Jesuits could be further envisioned in the Bom Jesus Basilica which paralleled the structural grandness and the architectural magnificence of the Santa Cathedral and Franciscan church. Similarly, the vast edifice of the New College of St Paul and the lofty Chapel of St Rock on the Holy Hill constructed by 1610 towered above the Augustinian convent and Church and the other religious edifices visually asserting the socio-economic power claims of the Jesuits within the city space. This could be ratified through the later day accounts of Pietro Della Valle and Tavernier on how by 1620s the city municipality, the Augustinians and the king reacted negatively to the Jesuit moves and annulled the Jesuit continuity at the New College of St Paul followed by the resistance put up by the Jesuits through legally contesting the oppositions and retaining their hold over the College on the Holy Hill. Such conflicts and tensions shed light on the rise of the Jesuits and the Augustinians as socio-economically powerful pressure groups within the imperial capital city apart from the wealthy Portuguese residents of Goa. Contestations to the Jesuit assertion of socio-political prominence in Goa can be traced to their loyalties being directed towards the Pope and the Jesuit General at Rome rather than recognizing the lordship of the Augustinian Archbishop Menezes at Goa and the Portuguese king as head of the Padroado. Their prevailing over such politico-economically powerful opponents as the Augustinian friars and nuns and the Senate; the silent support of the Viceroy and influential dignitaries to the continuance of the Jesuit hold over the New College; and, the Viceroy’s dining in and visiting the Jesuit establishments on important feast days and sacraments by the first decade of

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131 Personal observations based on reconstructed city plan. See illustration: City Plan 4.2.
132 These are personal observations on the basis of field-study. They are further corroborated with the accounts of Laval, Linschoten and Mandelslo. See Gray (ed.), *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval*, vol. II, part I, pp 59, 62; Commisariat (ed.), *Mandelslo’s Travels in Western India*, pp 66-67.
134 Ball and Crooke (eds.), *Tavernier’s Travels in India*, Vol II, p 159.
the 17th century suggests the assertion of important politico-economic status by this economically dominant Order within the urban sphere.

Concurrently, the Augustinian Order too rose to politico-economic importance by the late 16th and early 17th century and both the Convent and Church of St Augustine and the Monastery of Santa Monica became centers of wealth accumulation and political affluence. The Jornada of Archbishop Alexis de Menezes testifies to the experiments of the Archbishop in commanding obedience of the native converts to the Padroado at Goa through Lusitanization. By 1597 he visited the northern provinces of the Portuguese on the western Indian coast especially the important towns of Chaul, Bassein, Daman and other strongholds where there was a Portuguese garrison apart from engaging in administering the ecclesiastical and charitable institutions of Goa. Studies further reveal the multiple roles of Dom Alexis de Menezes as both an ecclesiastic and a State official engaging in significant administrative and military ventures on the Canara and Malabar coast by 1599. Thus the various benefices of the State to the Augustinian Church and Novitiate on the Holy Hill could be linked to the politico-religious command of the

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136 Description of the Viceroy's closeness to the Jesuits, visiting and dining only with them at College and Bom Jesus Basilica on the feast of St Paul and day of Circumcision; and, his trusting only the dishes prepared by Jesuits and the Jesuit apothecaries etc mentioned in Laval's account. Albert Gray(ed.), *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval*, vol.II, part I, pp 82-83.


139 Based on the *Jornada* and Jesuit correspondences Archbishop Alexis de Menezes' acts of sermonising within major Portuguese settlements, supervising military offensives and repairing fortresses has been conceptualized as the strategy whereby bishops of the Padroado often combined in themselves spiritual and temporal offices and powers. See Saumya Varghese, *Lusitanization and the Synod of Diamper*, pp. 30, 31, 44, 45, 115; Malekandathil, *Jornada of Dom Alexis de Menezes*, pp XXII, LV, 108-109,113-114,155
Archbishop who belonged to the Order. Concurrently, the members of the Order often came from wealthy and noble families unlike the humble origins of the Franciscan friars. Concurrently, the members of the Order often came from wealthy and noble families unlike the humble origins of the Franciscan friars. In such a contextual background the description by the travelers of the Convent of St Augustine as “a magnificent building....resembling one of the noblest palaces of the world” and praising its “excellent library”, “splendid apartments” etc., suggest that the convent soon accumulated significant riches which flowed to it by way of State grants; bequests and benefices by the wealthy Portuguese as exemplified in the graves within the church cloisters; and, the inheritance of the noble members of the Order. Adjacent to the Convent was the Gothic styled Church and to its south the Novitiate of the Augustinians and the Collegio de Populo for training the young brethren of the Order. Moreover apart from these edifices within the city the Augustinians friars, by the order of Archbishop Menezes in 1606, gained possession of the Royal Chapel of St Anthony to the south of the Nossa Senhora do Rosario. The politico-economic power concentration within the Augustinian Order peaked from 1606 to 1609 when Dom Alexis de Menezes assumed the role of the governor of the territories in the East with the untimely death of Dom João de Castro. The acquisition of the Chapel of

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140 The membership of the Order (till 1620s) forbade Indian converts and even mestíços and castiços from entering. Even then much of the administrative decisions and dominance within the Augustinian Order lay with the Portugal borne Friars of noble birth such as Dom Alexis de Menezes. See Agnelo P. Fernandes, ‘Augustinians in Goa’ in P.P Shirodkar (ed.), Goa: Cultural Trends, Panaji, 1988, pp 132-133.

141 Commisariat (ed.), Mandelslo’s Travels in Western India, p 71.

142 Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch, p 311.

143 State subsidies and fiscal grants for meeting the basic provisions for the Convent seen in Royal grant of 2nd March 1587 in J H da Cunha Rivara (ed), Archivo Portugalz-Oriental, Fasc III, doc 170, 204.


146 Viceroy Dom Castro’s death in 1606 was followed by the death of subsequent Viceroy Dom Juan Forjaz and Dom Lorenzo de Tavora, who died during the Lisbon-India voyage before being able to
St Anthony proved significant as it added to the funds accumulated within the Order through the annual remuneration of St Anthony as the captain of the army\footnote{On St Anthony being the patron of the officials and soldiers of land and sea having the rank of the captain of artillery and the revenue office granting him the pay of lieutenant from the militia received by the chaplain see Fonseca, \textit{An Historical and Archaeological Sketch}, p 304; Lobo, \textit{Magnificent Monuments of Old Goa}, p 107.} which was received by the chaplain and the provisions supplied by the public treasury.

\textbf{Picture 14: Excavation and Reconstruction of the Augustinian Convent by ASI.}

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Most of the churches and convents of the city of Goa (Old Goa) were magnificent, but that of St. Augustine (Our Lady of Grace) due to its location on top of the Holy hill was the most striking. It had a commanding view of the other churches. Denis L. Cotinneau in his 'A Historical Sketch of Goa' refers to it as the most beautiful and stately building in the city and few cities in Europe could boast of possessing within their precincts such a magnificent building.

Picture 16: Augustinian Church Now
The Convent of Santa Monica founded under the auspices of Archbishop Menezes in 1606 and based on guidelines similar to the Augustinian monastery soon became a center for the accumulation and concentration of significant resources. As this was the only nunnery in Medieval India it attracted noble ladies with sizeable patrimonies in the form of property in the villages of Goa, shops in Bassein near Bombay and holding the rights to conduct lucrative commercial voyages to economically lucrative ports of Hormuz and Malacca. The extent to which the convent was able to accumulate wealth from rents and revenues on movable and immovable properties and trade engagements can be indirectly deducted from the opposition of the municipality by the 1620s as had been discussed above. At the same time the erstwhile decision of Lisbon was revised and Santa Monica was soon placed under royal patronage and privileged as a Royal Convent in the alvara dated 26th March 1636.148 Such a proclamation is to be seen against the background of convent's evolution as an economically powerful establishment concentrating resources within its institution and capable of financially assisting the early colonial State in times of urgency. An examination of the architectural planning and the massive edifice of Santa Monica further reveals granite staircases, chapels, rich mural paintings, numerous verandas and cells for the nuns, wells for watering kitchen garden and courtyard, underground vaults for penance, library etc149 hinting at the enormous resources spent to mobilize material and labour in the construction of the edifice. As the edifice was constructed by about 1620s and much of the finances were provided by the patrimony of the rich widows it corroborates the testimony of literary sources to the immense wealth of the institution. Thus the great amount of wealth that flowed to the religious headquarters in the city was channelized for the construction and maintenance work of diverse religious and charitable institutes as well as their ornamentation and sustenance as can be gained

148 Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch, p 305
149 This information is based on personal visit to the Nunnery and interview with Sister Jyoti Fernandes (Convent of Santa Monica).
from the impressive edifice of Santa Monica as well as the establishments of the Augustinians on the Holy Hill.\textsuperscript{150}

Picture 17: Santa Monica Convent

\textsuperscript{150} Pius Malekandathil, "City and Space in Metaphor", pp.22, 24.
Picture 18: Ornate altar of the Chapel of Santa Monica and Granite staircase of the Convent
Picture 19: Rich European Frescos, Mural Paintings and Sculptural Architecture of Santa Monica
The redistribution of wealth accumulated in the city through the offices of the religious Orders and the urban elite was further noticeable in the maintenance of the earlier charitable establishments such as the Hospital of São Lazaro and Hospital of All Saints as well as the establishment of two new retreats in 1606. The charity of the townspeople was expressed directly through benefices or alms to the Misericordia for financing the hospitals, prisoners' upkeep, retreats for women etc., is expressed by Pyrard de Laval as “The prisoners (of the Salle) are assisted with alms from the well-to-do, and the officers or Confreres of the Misericordia, called Irmanos(sic), come to visit all the prisoners once a month, as well as, all the poor widows and orphan girls are fed at the expense of this fraternity. Much is given to the old Christians and a little to the new Indian Christians.” The Retreat of Santa Maria Magdalena inaugurated by 1609 gave asylum to women who repented and were converted from their evil way of life and the edifice was attached to the Santa Casa de Misericordia. The Retreat of Nossa Senhora da Serra offered shelter to orphan girls of noble families and respectable widows and was established adjacent to the Church of Nossa Senhora da Serra. It was from this Retreat of Nossa Senhora that 21 women shifted residence to Santa Monica to become nuns on its establishment by the Archbishop indicating linkages between the Retreat and Convent. The edifices for the retreats were constructed under the initiative of

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151 The funds for maintenance often were advanced by urban institutions that depended upon alms and collections from the citizens (such as the Misericordia, municipality), donations from rich Portuguese and from the purse of the Jesuits as seen in the earlier segments of the chapter. Also refer letter of Misericordia to King dated 1666 A.D in HAG, MR 33, f. 157; Thekkedath, History of Christianity in India, Vol II, pp 405-406.


155 Details from the letter of the King to Viceroy Dom Jeronymo de Azevedo granting the inheritance money of Sancho de Vasconcelos to his widow Donna Catharina de Lima and through her to Santa Monica of Goa dated March 9, 1613 in R A de Bulhão Pato (ed.), Documentos remetidos da India, ou Livros das Monções, Tomo II, Doc 349, pp 384-386. Also see Carlos Alonso Vanes, ‘The
Dom Alexis de Menezes in his capacity as the Archbishop and official of the Padroado. While the cost of purchasing the site and constructing the retreats were provided by the Archbishop Menezes, financial assistance was provided by the Santa Casa de Misericordia for their maintenance. Likewise the Padroado arranged the dowries for orphan girls in the form of public appointments for the grooms. The establishment and management of these two Retreats by the early colonial State and its placement under the Misericordia when contextualized against contemporary testimonies of well maintained charitable institutes (such as the royal hospital under the Jesuit supervision and the Hospital of São Lazaro and All Saints managed by the Municipal Council and the Misericordia) reveal the developments towards using these religious institutions for addressing urban social issues and then setting them in a maneuverable situation conducive for augmenting the political hold of the state over the city space.

**Port City as an Instrument of the Early Colonial State.**

On the one hand the religious, charitable and civil institutions making and marking the city space by 1610 enabled the mobilization of wealth of the Portuguese urban elite and the mercantile settlers within the city circuits. The early colonial State was able to harness the influence and networking of such Portuguese settlers by granting them a series of privileges such as tax concessions, freedom to trade in erstwhile contraband commodities and opening up of intra-Asian and intra-European trade routes to private trade. This ensured the rise of Portuguese private traders as significant players within the urban center. Furthermore, the State officials were also encouraged to engage in trade by the grant of concessions through various royal

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157 The Misericordia’s funding to these retreats can be indirectly deduced from its letter to the King in 1666 A.D declaring its inability to meet the expenses incurred for maintaining both the charitable hospitals and two retreats for women owing to fiscal shortages. See HAG, MR 33, f. 157.
charters in lieu of salaries for their services to the Estado\textsuperscript{158}. Thus by this period such economically rising community of Portuguese noblemen and merchants together constituted the socio-politically dominant group with their special privileges to contest and hold municipal offices. A third economically powerful community of wealthy New Christians, Hindu rentiers and indigenous traders had started evolving by this period stemming from the State strategy of selling the right to collect rents and revenue on the goods traded to the highest bidders.\textsuperscript{159} While this had ensured the steady trickle of funds to the State treasury and the municipal coffers it didn’t empower such wealthy but demographically weaker class of money lenders and rentiers to command the same political space as the Old Christian Portuguese mercantile elites within the city. Thus much of the spatial development of the port city in this period represented and secured the interests of the ambitious Portuguese mercantile elite. The claims to dominance made by Old Christian Portuguese elites have been analysed above in their financial assistance to constructions and fiscal grants to charitable institutions. Concurrently, the early colonial State through encouraging the various religious Orders to construct their

\textsuperscript{158} This situation whereby the deficit ridden Estado often ended up paying its officials, soldiers and mariners in commercial concessions and privileges rather than cash has been traced in Chapter III. Also see M.N Pearson, ‘Corruption and Corsairs in Sixteenth Century Western India: A Functional Analysis.’ in \textit{Coastal Western India: Studies from The Portuguese Records.} New Delhi, Concept Publishing House, 1981. p 21

\textsuperscript{159} The wealth amassed by Hindu revenue farmers and new Christian moneylenders and bankers as recorded by Linschoten has been traced in the previous section of this chapter. Cf. supra no. 93; For insights into how the highest bidding for revenue rights over lucrative trade commodities such as tobacco, opium, cloth, salt etc was almost always secured by natives especially Hindus from the mainland. See Teotonio de Souza, \textit{Medieval Goa,} pp 116, 117; M N Pearson, ‘Banyas and Brahmins Their Role in the Portuguese Indian Economy’ in M N Pearson (ed.) \textit{Coastal Western India: Studies from the Portuguese Records.} New Delhi, Concept Publishing Company,1981, p 97. On how these Hindu revenue farmers who had to pay the amount bidded to the Government in quarterly instalments after presenting two kinds of sureties (fiances) namely one-third of the total value of the farmed revenue as mortgages, and one-tenth of the value in cash often lured their friends and well wishers (from amongst the casado and mestico citizens) viz promises of a high interest rate of 10\% to stand as guarantors see Cunha Rivara (ed), \textit{Archivo Portuguez-Oriental,} Suppl.2, 64-65, 174 -175.
headquarters, churches, colleges and novitiates within the city space of Goa created a mechanism to funnel the wealth generated by way of the property rights of the religious (such as the Jesuits in Salcete, the Franciscans in Bardez, the Dominicans and Augustinians in Tisvadi) to their provincial houses located in the city. Moreover the mercantile gains of the Jesuit missionaries in their mission fields through commercial engagements in pearls, gold, silver etc., from the Fishery coast and the Far East were expected to percolate to the Casa Professa from where it was redistributed to different parts of Goa and other Asian ports visited by such missionaries for sustaining proselytization and funding churches there. 160

Such a redistribution to Christianize commercially significant regions by training the converts in Latin Christian faith and Lusitanian customary observances and the establishment of parish churches as prescribed by the provincial councils from 1567 to 1606 proved beneficial to the Padroado in multiple ways. Thus through the agency of these missionaries and their missionary activities funded by their religious headquarters at Goa there was an attempt from the early colonial State to consolidate a hierarchical system of control over the Christian settlements in the neighboring economies of Goa and in the distant commercially significant economic units of the Indian Ocean, as evident in the Jornada of Dom Alexis de Menezes.161 Such a strategy ensured the flow of spices and other wares from distant terrains to the Goan market. Furthermore, the strategy also precipitated a systematic and regular flow of necessary food grains, cloth, poultry, meat etc., to Goa from distant regions. This is testified by the traveler’s accounts recording the general cheap rates

160 The redistributive role of the professed house at Goa can be deduced from the role of the Jesuit procurator at Goa in redistributing the various commodities including liturgical articles, foodstuff and cloth obtained from the procurator of Lisbon to mission fields across Asia and sending Asian mercantile commodities including Goa pepper, bazaar stones, diamond, ivory and aloeswood in return. Similarly the procurator at Goa sanctioned funds for setting up colleges after getting sanctions from the King. For details on the role of the procurator, the sales and purchases of properties by the Jesuits and their mercantile activities see Charles de Borges, The Economics of The Goa Jesuits, pp 44-46, 49-51, 52, 53.

161 Pius Malekandathil, Jornada of Dom Alexis de Menezes, pp XXVIII, XXXII, LIV, LVII.
prevalent in the urban center despite the island of Goa being deficit in agrarian production and surviving on imports from the neighboring regions.\footnote{Gray(ed.), \textit{The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval}, vol.II, part I, p 28.} Moreover, colonization through Lusitanization considerably reduced the State expenses on constant military engagement and use of force to dominate the economically strategic regional traders and producers. The institution of the \textit{Padroado} as the protector and promoter of Christians in the east had attempted at securing the subservience of the regional converts to the Portuguese monarch and Viceroy. Thus using the tools of Lusitanization and hierarchical control of the Archbishopric of Goa over the neighboring economies, the early colonial State was able to penetrate its extractive tentacles into various regional economies of the Indian Ocean and secure the flow of resources to the headquarters at Goa.

Concurrently crucial institutions such as the Inquisition became instrumental in mobilizing wealth and crucial human resources to the State enterprises as well as to ensure the politico-economic dominance of the Goan urban elite within the city space. Sources constantly refer to the victims of the Inquisition as prosperous New Christian traders and money lenders who were betrayed by their Old Christian debtors or mercantile rivals.\footnote{Gray(ed.), \textit{The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval}, vol.II, part I, p 93; The use of the Inquisition as a tool to dispose off the rivals or competitors by the Portuguese mercantile elites can be derived from the cases of French soldier M Du Belloy in Ball and Crooke (eds.), \textit{Tavernier's Travels in India (1640-1676)}, \textit{Vol I}, pp 166-68; The case of Capuchian priest, Father Ephraim of Nevers in Fawcett (ed.), \textit{The Travels of the Abbe Carre in India}, \textit{Vol I}, pp 205-206, 209-210.} The contemporary traveler Dellon's later day observation on how the names of those condemned to the \textit{auto da fe} with their family names, native place and crimes were displayed as trophy's on the nave of the principal door of the Dominican church\footnote{Fonseca, \textit{An Historical and Archaeological Sketch}, p 252.} further suggests the attempts at creating a fear psychosis by the urban mercantile elite to restrain the native traders and European businessmen from any sort of commercial engagement with the New Christians in general and the trading families of those condemned for fear of loosing their investments or being victimized themselves. For the State, the trials acted as
instruments to mobilize the properties of such wealthy minority groups to the State coffers. Laval further notes how it was only the rich who got arrested and sentenced to death with their properties being confiscated by the State\textsuperscript{165} while the poor often escaped the \textit{auto da fe} but were subjected to different forms of punishment. Later day sources graphically reveal how a system had become well entrenched by the early decades of the seventeenth century wherein the convicts branded as \textit{Feticheiros} or wizards and marked by a yellow garment with a red cross in the front and backside were made to work in the powder mills of the State.\textsuperscript{166} Thus the testimonies suggest how the Inquisition was also used by the early colonial State to mobilize the scarce human resources to provide labour in the various State enterprises.

Laval's accounts on the trial and death sentence of the Hollander jeweller who was a resident of Goa for 25 years and married to a Portuguese lady as well as the confiscation of his property\textsuperscript{167} can be conceptualized as not only the State's ploy to usurp the properties of wealthy residents but also harsh treatment of non-Portuguese European residents or travelers to Goa to prevent any collaboration between such wealthy residents with the new mercantile naval entrants of the Indian Ocean primarily the Dutch, French and English. The significance of the Inquisition for the State in mobilizing men and money is evident in the increasing investments by the public treasury at Goa in constructing more cells and for the general maintenance of the Inquisitional Palace despite financial shortages.\textsuperscript{168} Thus for the Colonial State

\textsuperscript{165} Albert Gray(ed.), \textit{The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval}, vol.II, part I, p 93.
\textsuperscript{168} Dellon's description of the increase in the number of cells in the Inquisitional Palace with the expenses being borne by the public treasury, the Royal Alvara of 26th March 1620 instructing the Viceroy to redirect fines imposed by the courts of justice; and, the later day plans of the Viceroy Count of Linhares in 1630's to use the income set apart for the benefit of the Cathedral to maintain the cells all point to the importance of the Inquisition as the State's tool. See Fonseca, \textit{An Historical and Archaeological Sketch}, pp 212-213.
during the 17\textsuperscript{th} century the Inquisition increasingly became a tool to rally resources from within the Goan society and the \textit{Estado}'s spheres of influence filling up the Public treasury and meeting the labour requirements of the State industries in the port city.

Testimonies to the insufficient resources of the public treasury of the \textit{Estado} to execute its policy of territorial conquests and the State's reliance on wealth accumulated within the port city of Goa to fund its colonial ambitions in Ceylon and South East Asia are suggested in the defense arrangements within the port-city of Goa by the late 16\textsuperscript{th} and early 17\textsuperscript{th} century. Unlike earlier phases of urban reconstruction, the period did not witness a sizeable diversion of State funds to defense-related constructions. The efforts of the early colonial government were limited to safeguard the maritime traffic of the port by securing the harbor from offensive attacks of the Dutch powers and maritime rivals such as the Mappilas of Malabar. For this purpose strong and heavily armed fortresses were constructed on both sides of the mouth of the Mandovi in the island of Goa and Bardez.\textsuperscript{169} The fortress of Gaspar Dias constructed in 1598 by the Viceroy Dom Francisco da Gama was strategically placed on island of Goa on the left bank of the Mandovi. Though the fortress was constructed only one and a half miles away from the Fortress of the Cabo it held a better view being closer to the mouth of the river and together with the well defended fortress of Reis Magos situated on the opposite banks of the river enabled greater vigil over the maritime traffic. Likewise the Fortress of Aguada was built in 1612 was well equipped with a water reservoir for ships as well as a lighthouse to aid arriving ships to the port city of Goa and had sufficient guns, cannons, barracks and prisons to meet any possible offensives by rivaling maritime powers.\textsuperscript{170} What is significant to note here is that instead of directly providing funds from the State treasury the completion of the Aguada Fort was entrusted to the

\textsuperscript{169} See illustration: Map 3.

\textsuperscript{170} For testimony to "brass pieces" or cannons, guns and the ordinance of Fort Aguada guarding the mouth of the river see John Fryer, \textit{A New Account of East India and Persia Being Nine Years Travels}, p 7.
municipality of Goa. For this the municipality was directed to use the money derived from the 1% additional customs revenue half of which was for building and maintenance of city defenses and the other half for building galleys to be now employed in constructing the fortress for “protection and defense of the ships coming to this Port (of Goa).” This provides significant insights into the strategy of the State to mobilize mercantile wealth accumulated in the port city of Goa to fund its defense requirements and at the same time serve the Estado’s interests without depleting the State treasury. Sources further hint at how the port city soon became a source to derive the funds for financing State territorial aggrandizements in Asia and which was never repaid by the Estado. This explained the municipality’s loan of 10,000 xerajins to the Viceroy Dom Duarte de Menezes in 1587 for funding the expeditionary force which sacked Johore. Similarly in 1603, the municipality collected 7223 xerajins to provide foodstuff to the fleet sent under the command of Andre Furtado to defend Achin against Dutch attack and after eight years again a loan of 10,000 xerajins was advanced to equip a galleon for the Malacca fleet. Thus by 1610 the urban space of Goa under the vestiges of the early colonial State had evolved to aid the rise of a Portuguese mercantile urban elite and to accumulate commercial wealth within the port city which was used by the Estado for advancing its politico-economic and military interests in the Indian Ocean World.

The above discussions show that the urbanity of Goa for the period between 1580 and 1610 was motored by the energy emitted by the private trade of its casados. With the increasing flow of wealth by way of maritime private trade the material foundations of the city expanded, causing subsequently the physicality of the city to

174 Historical Archives of Goa, MS 7766 (Assentos da Camara, 1609-1615), fls. 74-74v.
extent to new frontiers. Concomitantly there was intensification of the process of division of labour, necessitated by the different categories of production activities that came up under the aegis of the state and private entrepreneurs. The city began to absorb migrant artisans and labourers from the inland terrains, who moved to Goa to take advantage of its stimulated economy by selling their labour in return for wages, which in turn kept expanding the physiological limits of the city. Besides the thriving labour market, there was a vibrant money market controlled by the Saraswat Brahmins and the banias, giving new meanings to the exchange activities of the city. The urban space was also a platform for conflicts of different nature, as it was increasingly used for asserting the politico-social standing of various institutions and individuals, including the civil and ecclesiastical. Using political positions and connectivities, the leading religious Orders like the Jesuits and the Augustinians asserted their superiority in the city space by appropriating the strategic and visually dominating locations of the city, which led to the outbreak of their frequent conflicts with other religious houses and urban institutions. However, the early colonial state managed to chalk out a strategy which contained these conflicts on time before getting escalated and cleverly manipulated the various urban institutions, whether civil or ecclesiastical, and their resources for protecting its interests and for implementing its larger agenda.