CHAPTER VI

Changing Imageries: Shifts from Mercantile Space to the Imperial City as Rome of the East, 1610-1690

The period stretching from 1610 to 1690 has broadly been categorized as one marking the disintegration and decline of the port city of Goa.\(^1\) Though official chronicles continue to harp upon the imagery of Goa Dourada, contemporary travelogues and documentary evidences suggest concurrent processes of declining trade of the port, fluctuating demography of the colonial city (with the waning and migration of mercantile Portuguese settlers) and the spiraling deterioration of urban civic conditions by the mid and late 17\(^{th}\) century. Concomitantly by the second half of the 17\(^{th}\) century, the visual and metaphorical claims of the colonial port city increasingly projected it as the ‘Rome of the East’.\(^2\) This change corresponded with the focus of urban evolution shifting from the commercially important streets and market spaces to the various churches and convents located in the city space. The changing pendulum of the State and municipal investments are evident also in scarce resources being diverted to facilitate the celebration of feasts and festivals associated with these ecclesiastical institutions. The imperial city now evolved as a major pilgrimage center for the Portuguese in Asia\(^3\), because of the housing of the un-decayed body of St Francis Xavier in the chapel of Bom Jesus Basilica in the

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3 Pius Malekandathil, “City in Space and Metaphor”, pp.32-3
city, who was also hailed as the "Defender of the East". Besides the Padroado's continued patronage to the various religious Orders with their headquarters based at Goa, the state had also assumed the role of being the facilitator of an ideology wherein miracles and relics were evoked as the divine mandate justifying and protecting the Portuguese possessions in the East and Goa as the power center respectively.

The time span from 1610 up to 1690 thematically forms one sub-unit of analysis because the twin trends that often used to get manifested in the city during this period operated as central aspects of the various historical processes that took place in the city space during this time. On the one hand there was periodical recurrence of economic crisis, following intensified Dutch attacks on the city blocking its trading activities and the consequent decrease in the returns from the customs collections at Goa; on the other hand there was diminished glory and eventual abandonment of the imperial capital city in the 1690s by the Estado, following deteriorating urban sanitation, widespread famines and pestilences, ill-maintained streets and drainage systems, flight of the wealthy Portuguese traders from the city and the impoverishment of the remaining urban masses. The supply routes of Malabar and Ceylon with the city of Goa used to get increasingly interrupted almost in the same way as the routes from Bengal and Coromandel, because of the threats from the Dutch, English and other Asian powers. Concomitant to the shrinking of maritime space and markets for Goa stemming from fluctuations in its relationship with the previous forelands and hinterlands, there was also the inability

4 Casimiro Christvao de Nazareth, Mítrias Lusitanas no Oriente, Lisboa, 1894, pp.206; 622.
5 Pius Malekandathil, Portuguese Cochin, pp.251-2; 256-262
6 Subrahmanyam, Portuguese Empire in Asia, pp 166-169,
7 For a theoretical read on the concepts of port; its dependence on the economic activities of the adjacent land areas; the mercantile linkages and cargo movement defining the port-foreland relationship; and, the complex political, extractive and market system constituted by the port, its hinterlands and forelands see Atiya Habeeb Kidwai, 'Conceptual and Methodological Issues: Ports, Port-Cities and Port-Hinterlands' in Indu Banga (ed.), Ports and Their Hinterlands (1750-1950), New Delhi, 1992. pp 21-23.

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of the authoritarian State to control the urban economy owing to power assertions of the regional non-Portuguese traders and widespread corruption amongst the official ranks; and, the steadily mounting military and administrative expenses of the State and municipality to meet the maritime challenges of the Dutch and the attacks of regional powers (primarily the Bijapuri sultans and Maratha chieftains). At a micro level the study of the port-city from 1610-1690 enables a critical investigation and breakdown of the redefined metaphorical claims of the extractive early colonial power regarding its capital city in the light of complex internal socio-economic developments such as the status claims and economic dominance of Hindu traders contesting the erstwhile casado elites; and, the changing nature of the urbanization process in Goa, with the centrifugal tendencies of opulent Portuguese residents to leave the port city and the non-mercantile pursuits of the remaining Portuguese fidalgos and the religious. At a macro level, decoding the urban spatial assertions reveals the use of new religious props by the imperial port-city to mobilize resources and consolidate its control over the dispersed community of the Portuguese merchants and adventurers to meet the ever-increasing political challenges in the mid and late seventeenth century.

**Urban Demography, Financial Swinging and the Social Processes**

As stated previously the urban boundaries expanded to encompass the erstwhile suburban areas within the urban grid layout by 1616. Contemporary records indicate that the physical expansion of the city was accompanied by a demographic expansion in the early years of the 17th century. Diogo do Couto, writing in 1580 estimated the population of the city of Goa to be about 60,000, while Teotonio de Souza estimates urban population to be about 75,000, out of whom 20,000 were

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8 See Illustration: no. 2.
9 Diogo do Couto, *Da Asia dos feitos que os Portuguezes fizeram na Conquista e Descobrimento das Terras e Mares do Oriente*, Lisboa, 1788, Decada X, liv.I, p.48
Hindus in the beginning of seventeenth century. Fonseca says that the total population (excluding the clergy) of Goa must have been about 225,000 people. Of this the majority of 168,000 were Christians divided into six parishes and the rest 56,250 were Hindus. However, by 1620, the total population dropped to a third from the earlier period and the total number of households within the city was given as 3,000. Antonio Boccarro notes that by 1630s each Portuguese household had a minimum of ten slaves each. Based on the above the total population during the 1620s can be estimated at a maximum of 75,000 people with the households having a total of 45,000 residents (assuming that each household would have a maximum of 15 members including the slaves) and the rest 20,000 ‘pagans’. Again for the year 1635 Barreto de Resende refers to 3,500 households—a marginal increase from the 1620s figure—of which 800 were Portuguese. Travelogues and other records testify that the Hindu traders were not granted the privilege of maintaining any immovable property within the city and often had their households and valuable in the mainland. Thus we can deduct that 3,500 households refer to the total Christian households in the city including the Portuguese Old Christian families, European Christian settlers, the New Christians (Jewish converts) and the native Christians. This enables us to calculate the total population belonging to the

10 Teotonio R.de Souza, Medieval Goa, p.111
11 Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch, p 155
14 See Resende quoted in Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch, p 155.
15 Linschoten clarifies that only married Christians held the privilege of maintaining their household in the city and were considered free citizens. See Arthur Coke Burnell(ed.), The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies, vol.I, pp 187-188. The Portuguese legislation prohibiting possession of immovable property by Hindus is cited by Teotonio De Souza, ‘Hindu Entrepreneurship in Goan History’ in Goa Today, January, 1978
Christian households as approximately 52,500. Moreover, it indicates how within a span of 10-15 years there was only a marginal increase of 7,000 Christian residents within the city which stood much below the figures from the first decade of the 17th century. Similarly, a majority of 40,500 people belonged to the 2,700 black casado households\textsuperscript{16} or the Christians of native origin. The rest 12,000 belonged to the 800 Portuguese households. This enables us to calculate the approximate index for the number of white casado settlers by 1635 as 2,400 - 4,00—assuming that each household possessed 10 to 12 slaves—relative to the majority number of black casado residents.

Thus an analysis of the rough indexes for the total number of urban residents on one hand and the Christians on the other hand – primarily the mercantile and artisan class of Old Christian casados, the Portuguese New Christians and native Christians - suggest a sharp decrease by 1635 from the figures available for early 17th century. Other records such as attestations of the crown in 1616 to restart the practice of sending orphan girls from Portugal to India with dowries\textsuperscript{17} (in the form of bureaucratic offices for the husbands rather than wealth) suggest indirectly the efforts of the Estado to control the dwindling Portuguese community within the port-city owing to migrations of the Portuguese casado families to the peripheries of the empire. This is further evident in the above figures which display the lower ratio of Portuguese families to the native Christian urban residents during the 1630s. For the Ilhas de Goa population charts of 1625 reveal natives Christians at about 60,000 and the rest 100,000 being Hindus.\textsuperscript{18} This suggests that the non Portuguese inhabitants of Goa (excluding the Portuguese households and clergy) itself accounted for 160,000 by 1625. Relatively by 1695 the total population of the city

\textsuperscript{16} The figures stand corroborated by the tabulation of Antonio Bocarro's report of 'white' and 'black' casados in Portuguese Asia by 1630s in Francisco Bethencourt, 'Low Cost Empire', p 117.


\textsuperscript{18} M N Pearson, 'Banyas and Brahmins', in \textit{Coastal Western India}, p. 102.
as well as the rich mercantile Portuguese residents fell even more sharply as can be deducted from official documents which reveal that for the whole of the island of Goa including Salcete and Bardez the total population (including Portuguese and non-Portuguese Christians, Hindus, Muslims etc) accounted for 150,000 of which 20,000 were Hindus.\textsuperscript{19} Even, contemporary travelers attest to the greater part of the urban population as being constituted of black slaves and ‘Canarins’ with the Portuguese householders accounted for a very minor part of the urban population.\textsuperscript{20} The sharp reduction of the Portuguese married men which continued to accelerate during the 1650s was attributed by contemporaries to the rising deaths and migrations of the householders due to virulent epidemic fevers and pestilences ravaging the city in 1618-1619\textsuperscript{21}, 1635\textsuperscript{22} and 1639\textsuperscript{23} and the severe famines of 1630 and 1648.\textsuperscript{24} A closer investigation of the evolving urban processes offer glimpses into the complexities triggering low wealth concentration and less flow of resources to the urban center. Further it unveils the impoverishment of the Portuguese and European residents stemming from the declining economy of the port city and the concurrent migration of the class of Portuguese businessmen, Jewish converts and native Christians from Goa to seek better prospects in other port-cities of the Indian Ocean littoral and neighboring economies. The impact of emigration of city-dwellers exerted relatively negative impact on the economy of the city in the first part of the century, while its impact on the second part of the century was drastic.

\textsuperscript{21} Teotonio R.de Souza, \textit{Medieval Goa}, p 116.
\textsuperscript{22} Fonseca, \textit{An Historical and Archaeological Sketch}, p 169.
\textsuperscript{23} Mandelslo refers to the royal hospital being full of victims of the “pox” or “bloody flux”. Comissariat further mentions that even in the 1540s cholera, scurvy, enteric and other venerable diseases plagued the city and the Portuguese physicians at the Hospital were unable to deal with it. For details see Commisariat (ed.), \textit{Mandelslo’s Travels in Western India (1638-1639)}, pp 70-71.
\textsuperscript{24} HAG, \textit{Livros das Monções do Reino}, 14, fl. 47v; Teotonio R.de Souza, \textit{Medieval Goa}, p 116.
The following table shows the trend of decreasing returns from the maritime private trade during this period

**Table 9: Value of Maritime Private Trade of Goa, 1612-1635**

* (in xerafins)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Annual income from the customs house of the city of Goa</th>
<th>Value of Maritime Private Trade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1612</td>
<td>210000</td>
<td>4666200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1617</td>
<td>155700</td>
<td>3459654</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1620</td>
<td>135907</td>
<td>3019853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1625</td>
<td>122518</td>
<td>2722349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1627</td>
<td>150000</td>
<td>3333000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1628</td>
<td>130000</td>
<td>2888600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1630</td>
<td>125000</td>
<td>2777500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1632</td>
<td>132500</td>
<td>2944150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1633</td>
<td>130310</td>
<td>2895488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1635</td>
<td>62813</td>
<td>1395704</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table shows the downward trend in the maritime private trade index of Goa, indicating diminishing value of city’s trade. The stark fall in the returns from trade in 1635 coincides with the mounting pressure and attacks of the Dutch on the city of Goa, and the exodus of city-dwellers from Goa following recurring pestilence and famine. Though we do not have continuous records to quantify the nature of trade happening at the port Goa for a major part of succeeding years- a situation which probably arose out of actual lack of trade- the drastic fall in the maritime trade in the second half is indicated by the figures obtained for the last decade of the seventeenth century.

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Table 10: Value of Maritime Private Trade of Goa, 1691-1695 (in xerafins)\textsuperscript{26}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Annual income from the customs house of the city of Goa</th>
<th>Value of Maritime Private Trade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1691</td>
<td>19810</td>
<td>440178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1693</td>
<td>19810</td>
<td>440178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1694</td>
<td>17147</td>
<td>381006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1695</td>
<td>17147</td>
<td>381006</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table shows the depth to which the trading activities of the city of Goa sunk by 1690s. The financial swinging of this period is indicated in the following graph\textsuperscript{27}

Graph 5.4

Diminishing Value of Goa’s Trade, 1610-95 (in xerafins)


\textsuperscript{27} Cf. supra no. 25 and 26
The graph shows how drastic the trade index fell in the middle and later part of the seventeenth century. The impact of the dwindling trade of the city, caused by emigration, further accelerated the process of flow of city-dwellers to better prospective commercial centres of the eastern coast of India, but located on the peripheries of the empire. The slackening of trade also began to negatively influence the construction processes, as well. In sharp contrast with the previous period, when the buildings were highly decorated and ornamented with golden colour and tint, much of the urban edifices of this period barring the churches were rather plain and lacked ornamentation and beautification, as is testified by Pietro della Valle.\textsuperscript{28}

Similarly, by 1640s testimonies abound on the declining population of the port city and explanations to migration of the previous citizens were sought in the deteriorating hygienic and health prospects in the imperial capital.\textsuperscript{29} Curiously, reference is also made to the changing composition of the Portuguese urban population. Rather than the erstwhile \textit{casado} businessmen, the resident Portuguese of Goa now began to comprise of the politico-economically dominant class of clergymen followed by the \textit{Estado}'s officials comprising \textit{fidalgos} (the nobility of blood) having households in Goa;\textsuperscript{30} and, soldiers who were primarily bachelors but some of whom married and settled in the port city. In fact documents testify that many of the \textit{Orfas del Rei} comprising of \textit{reinol} women (those born to Portuguese parents in Portugal) sent by the crown around1623 remained unmarried and under the protection of the \textit{Misericordia} as the dowries of state offices offered by the crown held no lure for the impoverished Portuguese men who lacked the wealth and mercantile prosperity of previous \textit{casado} dwellers.\textsuperscript{31}

\textsuperscript{29} Valentine Ball(ed.), \textit{Tavernier's Travels in India, 1640-1676}, vol.I, New Delhi, 2007, p 150
\textsuperscript{30} Teotonio de Souza, \textit{Medieval Goa}, pp 123-124; However both Della Valle and Tavernier attest to cases where commoners excelling in military offensives were often promoted to important positions and assumed the title of "Dom". Della Valle lists a case when the captains refused to obey the commands of their admiral general on a mission owing to his low birth.
\textsuperscript{31} Viceroy to Crown dated 15th March 1523 in \textit{Documentos Remetidos da India}, Vol IX. p 47.
Thus by 1620s a significant change was marked with the reduction in the earlier mercantile Portuguese and non-Portuguese European mercantile residents of Goa. The wealthy and elite amongst the Portuguese householders now consisted of a few Portuguese officials and mercantile soldiers who “though marry’d (sic), and, few except Priests and Doctors of Law and Physick(sic), are seen without a sword.”

Testimonies to the limited wealth concentrated amongst such officers and soldiers are gained through details on a series of politico-economic and commercial privileges granted to them. Documents and travelers refer to the arrangements made by the empire whereby the captains and sailors of the Estado were granted exemption from payment of customs duties at the Portuguese ports and the profits earned from such mercantile engagements (in lieu of a regular salary from the treasury) provided sustenance during the monsoon months when the ships wintered. Likewise in the case of soldiers, records reveal similar privileges being extended wherein each military man and official was to be promoted in rank after nine years of service with appointments to a higher office in sea or on land or if they did not wish to accept it were permitted to travel as merchants. This is well indicated by Tavernier, when he cites the case of a Frenchman who displayed courage in battle and rendered active service to the state for a considerable time being rewarded as “the Sieur des Marests was one of those who received most wounds and acquired most glory...and Dom Philippe when he became the Viceroy thought that he deserved no less a recompense than the office of the captain of his guards....”

The privileges granted to such military men often led them to reinvest their wealth in the intra-Asian trade and for the soldiers and sailors who did not possess enough

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33 Valentine Ball(ed.), *Tavernier’s Travels in India, 1640-1676*, vol.1, pp 155-156.
34 Valentine Ball(ed.), *Tavernier’s Travels in India, 1640-1676*, vol.1, pp 155-156.
35 Valentine Ball(ed.), *Tavernier’s Travels in India, 1640-1676*, vol.1, p 173.
mercantile capital of their own to avail of loans which was eagerly provided to them by money lenders and capitalists of the port city to undertake voyages on 100 per cent interest. The rising status claims of the military-men by the 1670s stemming from their politico-economic rise as officials and merchants from the privileges ceded by the state is evident in Philip Baldeus’ observations,

“The manner of living of the Portuguese is the same here (Goa) as in most other places of the Indies; they are distinguished into Cazados, i.e. married people and Zoldados, single people; the last are more esteemed…”

Similarly, Abbe Carre narrates the case of the Portuguese commandant in Persia, Senhor Emmanuel Mendes, a rich official of the empire posted in Persia by the 1670s and engaging in a thriving private trade with the Persian merchants “...being well known and esteemed by the leading local merchants”. Thus apart from glimpses into the wealth accumulated by this official through private trade despite the Persian Sultan’s rejection of the Portuguese yoke, Carre’s account also highlights the extractive tendencies of the early colonial state drawing a share of the mercantile profits of such officials by summoning them to submit their accounts at Goa. Such coercive fiscal extractions often led the Portuguese officials and military men to disassociate themselves from the direct control of the empire by resigning from active services and seeking better fortunes as private traders in alternate urban centers.

The condition of the city by late 17th century distinctively reveals cases where many wards of the city were depopulated with migrations of the prosperous Portuguese families both mercantile and officers-cum-traders. Corroborative testimonies are

37 Valentine Ball(ed.), Tavernier’s Travels in India, 1640-1676, vol. I, pp 166-168
38 Philip Baldeus, A True and Exact Description of The Most Celebrated East-India Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel and Also of the Isle of Ceylon, p 608.
39 Fawcett(ed.), The Travels of the Abbe Carre, Vol I, p 107
gained through the degeneration of some parish churches such as the Church of St Alexis, the Church of St Thomas and the Church of the Cross of Miracles (Cruz dos Milagres), where the migration of residents drained their social base. This again point to the depopulation of various centers in the city and the concomitant reduction in the income of the parish churches. That much of these migrations comprised primarily of Portuguese and European merchants can be deducted from the accounts on the establishment of the church of the Cross of Miracles in 1619. Sources attest that the funds rallied for its construction were mobilized from the citizens rather than from the religious Orders or the Estado. Likewise the decision to construct the edifice was actually based on the report that the Cross displayed miraculous tendencies to healing the sick, which is also suggestive of the possibilities that the official propaganda surrounding the twin miracles—of the flaming Cross and the stream of water issuing from the rock where the Cross had rested in 1619—made use of through the agency of the Archbishop Dom Christovão de Lisboa (in his dual capacity as ecclesiastical head of Goa and governor of the State). The fact that the circulation of such miraculous stories coincided with the period that fevers and pestilences ravaged the city enables us to co-relate how the former might have served the interests of the Padroado to restrain migrations of the residents. The later degeneration of the church and its subsequent falling into ruins by 1659 further coincided with the Dutch blockade of the port in 1660-1661 again hinting at how the impoverished and migrating settlers must have been primarily Portuguese mercantile families.

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41 The parish church constructed by Archbishop Alexis de Menezes in late 16th century showed signs of decline by 1630s. Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch, p 273.
42 For the sketches of the Churches of St Thomas and Cruz dos Milagres refer Appendix 6. The Church of the Cruz dos Milagres fell into ruins by 1659 A.D
43 Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch, p 276.
44 For information on the fevers and pestilence affecting the city in 1618-1619 Cf supra no. 21.
45 For details on the blockade of the harbor of Goa in 1660-1661 and naval attacks on predominantly Portuguese ships (including the ones of Jesuit traders) see Niccolao Manucci, Mogul India or Storia Do Mogor, Vol IV, pp 78-79; also see Vol II, p 89, footnote#102 for the editors notes on the Dutch blockades of April 1637, October 1637-January 1638, January-February 1639, 1660-1661.
The increasing impoverishment of the parishioners is well explained by the ill-maintenance of the edifice of Cruz dos Milagres and the concurrent disuse of the church (probably because of migration of the residents). These developments were linked to the disruption of the supply of necessary provisions and merchandise to the port-city following the Bijapur invasion of Salcete and Bardez in 1654-1655\(^{46}\) and the yearly Dutch blockades from 1656-1663\(^{47}\). Thus Baldeus refers to the Dutch "frigots to cruise with a sloop near the Cape and the Burned Islands (called Ilhas quimadas) whereby the Portuguese Caffilas, which supply them with Provisions are prevented from going out or in."\(^{48}\) Furthermore, it also hints that much of the parishioners who were most affected by the Dutch blockades were primarily the Portuguese residents and European traders as the ships blocked were the mercantile vessels sailing in from Mozambique, Muscat and other ports on the intra-Asian trade routes. Similarly, Manucci indirectly hints at the predominantly Portuguese and European neighborhood of the Rua de Santo Aleixo. His account refers to the large Portuguese houses (such as that of the rich widow Dona Christina) as well as European inhabitants\(^{49}\) (apart from the activities of foreign missionaries such as the Carmelites and Augustinians) of the street space adjacent to St Alexis Church and the Convent of the Carmelites.\(^{50}\) Once again this enables us to link the steady decline of the parish church of St Alexis by mid 17th century to the declining

\(^{46}\) For the destruction of Salcete and Bardez by Muhammad Adil Shah (1626-1660) of Bijapur on August 12 and again in October of 1654 till the conclusion of peace on March 7, 1655 see William Irvin (Trans.), Nicolao Manucci, Mogul India or Storia Do Mogor, 4 Vols. Delhi, Low Price Publications, 2005 (reprint). Vol. III, pp 159.

\(^{47}\) Listing of the yearly Dutch blockades between 1630s and 1650s in Pearson, 'Goa-based Seaborne Trade' in Teotonio de Souza (ed.), Goa Through the Ages, p 159.

\(^{48}\) Philip Baldaeus, A Description of the East India Coasts of malabar and Coromandel and also of the Isle of Ceylon with their adjacent Kingdoms and Provinces , New Delhi, 1988, pp 608-609.

\(^{49}\) Nicolao Manucci, Mogul India or Storia Do Mogor , Vol III, pp 163-164.

\(^{50}\) The exact geographical scaling of the sites (apart from the ruins and existent structures of other religious institutions) of St Alexis and the Carmelite convent as well as the street space falling in between these institutions see illustration: City Plan 4.2.
prospects of its mercantile *casado* parishioners who had funded church maintenance and activities. Likewise the decline of the parish church of St Thomas by the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century can be linked to the declining mercantile prospects of its New Christian residents in the wake of the Maratha attacks on the city disrupting inland trade in precious stones by the end of the 17th century.

Historical reconstructions trace the European residents of the port city consisting of a significant number of European military men; and, merchants who worked in individual capacities and also as agents of large firms in Portugal or other parts of Europe harboring ambitions of returning back to Europe after their tour of duty in India was over. In a period when Portugal prioritized Brazil over Goa for the supply of soldiers, mariners, ships and fiscal resources, the *Estado da India* sought to recruit the much needed military men from the non-Portuguese Europeans. Sources reveal how by the late 17th century French, English and Flemish soldiers sought service within the *Estado* and residence at Goa lured by the prospects of amassing wealth through mercantile gains and returning back to Europe. For the early colonial

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53 The cases of the large fortunes made by Portuguese Manuel de Moraes Supico by 1630s, Flemish de Couttre brothers as well as the wide financial networks of the Portuguese Jews or New Christians having agents in Goa discussed by Pearson, ‘Goa-based Seaborne Trade’ in Teotonio de Souza (ed.), *Goa Through the Ages*, p 151.

54 For details on the rise in importance of Brazilian sugar over Asian spices especially pepper for Lisbon by 17th century and the consequent diversion of military and fiscal resources to expand returns and secure the Brazilian coastline see V M Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial*, Vol I, p 49.

55 Tavernier attests to the contestation between the Dutch and the Portuguese to recruit European militarymen. In late 1640’s the Portuguese viceroy Dom Philippe de Mascarenhas appointed two militarily skilled Frenchmen – M du Belloy and St Amant - and ensured that they were married to Portuguese mestico women to remain rooted in Goa. For details see Valentine Ball(ed.), *Tavernier’s Travels in India, 1640-1676*, vol.I, pp 164 -165. Also by 1670s the maintenance of the militarily skilled and technologically adept French squadron under the French commander Cadet de la Vertierre in Goa is testified by Fawcett(ed.), *The Travels of the Abbe Carre t*, Vol I, pp 217-218.
State, the commercial privileges granted to officials, soldiers and mariners were
done for the purpose of building up military power in India through recruiting men
trained in new techniques of maritime warfare and armaments to meet the mounting
military and naval challenges by the Dutch, the English and the Asian powers.
Evidences point out that the ‘free’ burgers (particularly the soldiers and mariners)
were primarily commoners from Europe\textsuperscript{56} or - as often was the case – male criminal
exiles (\textit{degredados})\textsuperscript{57} from Lisbon who could not return till their term of sentence
(for their misdeeds) was over\textsuperscript{58}. The petition of Frey João de Christo to the
Overseas Council in Lisbon to be granted the power to place all the young boys who
arrived on ships at the College of Reis Magos in Goa hints at the increasing number
of unmarried and young \textit{degredado}-soldiers (convicted for trouble making and
criminal offenses) arriving from Portugal in Goa by the mid and late 17\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{59}
The changed demographic composition and mercantile prospects of the port city is
much more clear in the contemporary Abbe Carre’s reference,

\begin{quote}
“First the great trade and commerce, which so enriched this town, ceased:
and then all the treasure and immense wealth, which they had collected,
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{56} The “low condition” of the soldiers and their being referred to as \textit{Reynos} or “men of the kingdom
of Portugal” reveal their being commoners in Portugal who assume the air of gentlemen when they
reached India. See Albert Gray(ed.), \textit{The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval, Volume II, Part I}, pp
120, 122, 123. Also see Ball and Crooke (eds.), \textit{Tavernier’s Travels in India (1640-1676)}, pp 151-
152.

\textsuperscript{57} Scholarly survey of contemporary official documents reveals an almost complete absence of
reference to exile or penal servitude in the literature on Portugal and her empire. Nevertheless some
contemporary chroniclers mention exiles as being omnipresent throughout the empire. See Timothy
Joel Coates, \textit{Exiles and Orphans: Forced and State Sponsored Colonizers in the Portuguese Empire,

\textsuperscript{58} Albert Gray(ed.), \textit{The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval, Vol II, Part I}, pp 124; Fawcett(ed.), \textit{The
Travels of the Abbe Carre}, Vol I, p 217. Also see C.R Boxer, \textit{Portuguese Sea-borne Empire}, pp 297-
301; R.S. Whiteway, \textit{Rise of Portuguese Power}. pp 73-74. The pressure method of drafting soldiers
and mariners by the mid and late 17\textsuperscript{th} century is further explored in Teotonio de Souza, \textit{Medieval
Goa}, p 155.

\textsuperscript{59} Petition dated 8 February 1657 in AHU, \textit{Caixa da India}, Caixa 24, doc. 29, cited by Timothy Joel
Coates, \textit{Exiles and Orphans}. p 117.
vanished like smoke. The noble families that upheld this splendor also disappeared. Others came from Portugal so impoverished that the little they had on arrival lasted only a moment longer. This is not surprising as formerly the men of honor and capable of governing were sent out, whereas to-day Portugal sends only people taken out of jail or from the scaffold, and outcasts exiled her, who are more inclined to dissipate than to try to amass wealth. I am not therefore surprised that they have reduced the town to such a state that the inhabitants can hardly make a living. The only people who seem to flourish are the principal officers, who share the balance of the revenues among themselves, and those (such as the priests and fidalgos) who have preserved some effects and lands in the country.\(^{60}\)

In this context a re-reading of the extrinsically racial laws of 1644\(^{61}\)—that prohibited slaves, colored people and colored wives to return to Europe on the one hand; and, authorized only those free burgers who were married and traveling with European wives to travel back to Europe along with some of their personal items—provides fresh perspectives. An indirect analysis of the law and its renewal in 1650 and 1713 suggests the tendency amongst the “free burgers” to marry wealthy native heiresses or rich Indian widows\(^{62}\) and migrate from Goa to Europe, which had increased considerably by the mid 17\(^{th}\) century. Our observation can be further confirmed by critically analyzing the functioning of the Tribunal of the Holy Inquisition in Goa by this period and placing it in the background of the urban conditions. The flight of such Portuguese mercantile residents could be viewed as the inherent tendency of commoners, mercenary/volunteer soldiers and degredados (whose term of exile was over\(^{63}\) or those who fled the state’s control\(^{64}\) married or


\(^{61}\) Francisco Bethencourt, ‘Low Cost Empire’, p 123.

\(^{62}\) The Goa municipalities repeated requests to the state authorities and the proclamation of the decree in 1684 that no native Christian widows would be prevented from marrying Portuguese settlers. For details refer Teotonio de Souza, *Medieval Goa*, p 146.

\(^{63}\) Case of Antonio de Sousa Falcam sentenced to degredo for life in India but returning to Portugal on the death of his parents and other family members. Also he amasses significant riches by securing
based at Goa to return to their mother country after amassing significant fortunes in Goa. Their wealth could be explained as acquired either through marriages with native heiresses or accumulated as profits from economic privileges (merces) such as being holders of significant commercial voyage concessions, rents or revenues at Goa in lieu of remuneration for military and naval services. This enables us to conceptualize a situation wherein the wealth of the noble or low-borne degredados and militarily skilled volunteers serving as officials, soldiers or mariners to the Estado (apart from other fidalgo officials) could rarely be accumulated and circulated within the port city as re-investments for further mercantile gains. Contrarily much of the wealth was hoarded and shipped back to Portugal by the returning officials, sailors and soldiers along with their families prompting the censures on such migrations by 1644 and 1650. This can be corroborated by Manucci’s references to several cases wherein low-born men of Portugal arriving in Goa and often serving as soldiers held ambitions of marrying rich heiresses of Portuguese and mixed-blood lineage.

the post promised as part of the dowry of his wife in the fort of Daman despite his degredo status from the Oversees Council. For details see Timothy Joel Coates, Exiles and Orphans, p 61.


65 Details of the proposal of the municipal council of Goa in 1640s to the king to grant the privilege to the Portuguese citizens of the exclusive right to marrying Hindu heiresses cited in Pearson, ‘Banyas and Brahmins’, pp 96, 97. This proposal can be viewed as revealing both the desirability and perhaps the prevalent practice of marrying such heiresses for acquiring wealth by the impoverished Portuguese residents of the city especially the wandering and uncouth soldiers often engaging in criminal acts stemming from poverty and desiring quick gains through marriage. Also see the municipal councils attempts at absorbing the wealth of native Christians (converted Canarins) by pressuring the State to enact laws facilitating remarriage of widows and heiresses from the native Christians with the Portuguese see Teotonio de Souza, Medieval Goa, p 146.

66 For the case of Manuel de Saldana serving the Crown in a military capacity and aspiring for rise in rank on the basis of merit despite his degredado status, see correspondence of Crown to Viceroy dated 10th April 1668 in HAG, Livros das Monções do Reino, 34, fol.265.

67 Francisco Bethencourt, ‘Low Cost Empire’, p 123.

68 Niccolao Manucci, Mogul India or Storia Do Mogor, Vol III, pp 166-168
Alternatively, sources suggest that a majority of the Portuguese and non-Portuguese Europeans (mercenaries and degredados) were rarely bound by feelings of loyalty towards the empire and were rather prone to shift their loyalties for better prospects in neighboring kingdoms. Tavernier notes the marriage of European militarymen with native and mestiço women of Goa; and, Manucci remarks upon both the shortage and recklessness of the Estado’s officials, soldiers and mariners (manning the Portuguese garrison forts in the islands of Goa and armadas guarding the port-city) in the face of the threat of Maratha takeover of the city following Sambaji’s capture of the island of Santo Estevão in 1683 A.D. Similarly records attest to the flight of a large group of Portuguese degredados in 1617 on their being transported from Lisbon by Dom João de Almeida who handed them over to Dom Nuno de Sottomaior, captain of the ship Candallaria. Moreover both Portuguese and Dutch documents attest to the blocking of the mercantile ambitions of such degredados, soldiers and mariners by 1630s and 40s owing to the offensives of the Dutch forces on Portuguese ships since 1605 and the yearly blockades of the Goan port from 1604-1605, 1638-1644 and 1656-1663. The declining income of such officials and soldiers with lowered salaries and blocking of their maritime mercantile prospects perhaps explained the lawlessness in the city of Goa and the unruly behavior of both its jidalgo and low born militarymen by mid and late 17th century as testified in contemporary accounts to the insecurity of life and valuables in the once

70 Valentine Ball(ed.), Tavernier's Travels in India, 1640-1676, vol. I, pp 164-165
71 Niccolao Manucci, Mogul India or Storia Do Mogor, Vol II, p 255.
72 Letter from Crown to Viceroy, 13th April 1617 in Raymundo Antonio Bulhao Pato (ed.), Documentos Remitidos da India, Vol. IV.
commercially flourishing city. Tavernier too narrates the mercantile wealth reaped by such Portuguese officials and soldiers before the Dutch dominance over strategic ports and balance of trade was disrupted as,

"....the Portuguese were then all rich- the nobles on account of the Governments and other offices, and the merchants by the trade which they enjoyed before the English and the Dutch came to cut the ground from under their feet."  

The declining commercial prospects of Portuguese sea-borne trade from the port of Goa prompted a significant section of the erstwhile married businessmen and shipowners resident at Goa and the Portuguese soldier-cum-merchant community to seek their fortunes in other flourishing port cities such as Surat, French Pondicherry, English Madras, Masulipatanam; and, after the end of the war with Dutch in 1660s Portuguese migrants to the prosperous Dutch cities of Malacca, Colombo, Negapattanam and Cochin were also noticeable. The trend of the Portuguese and Christian Indians to illegally migrate to the Deccani kingdoms and carve out livelihood as renegade Muslims in their new settings were recorded by the late 16th and early 17th century accounts. Such migrations were often aided by the familiarity and mercantile networking of the Goan casados and Portuguese military men with the indigenous and Portuguese settlers constituting the shadow empire in Bengal, Arakan, Coromandel, Surat etc. Concurrently, the renegades—comprising of the Portuguese and non-Portuguese European mercenary soldiers and

degredados—were often enrolled in the military service of neighboring kingdoms in return for handsome payments and other privileges. Thus Bernier refers to the Portuguese supplying cannons and artillery to the ruler of Bengal Sultan Suja-ud-Daulah and the large number of Portuguese mariners and soldiers (apart from other Europeans) who were renegades from Goa, Ceylon, Cochin and Malacca constituting the frontier guards serving the king of Arakan by the 1650s.80 Similarly, Abbe Carre narrates the case of the Portuguese renegade Dom Pedro de Castro who finding his outlets to gain profits within Goa and being punished for his involvement in illegal trade and criminal acts made his way into Bijapur ‘to seek the protection of some nobleman and possibly become a renegade Moslem there.’81 The low commercial profits of Goa stemming from Dutch blockade of the port is corroborated by contemporaries linking the struggles of the Portuguese householders and soldiers at mimicking aristocratic lifestyles82 and the resort of previously prosperous property holders to alms for surviving the general impoverishment.83 Even in cases where the militarily skilled settlers had managed to accumulate wealth within Goa such capital could be categorized as “dead” money” which was either reinvested in land (in the lure of sustained revenue returns for the capitalist relative to unstable commerce)84 or hoarded to be transported back to Europe. Thus Abbe Carre who visited Portuguese Goa by the late 17th century reveals how much of the countryside and islands adjoining the port city was,

“... delightful, being ornamented by castles, churches, villas and country houses, from which their seigneurs derive large revenues.”85

80 Constable and Smith (eds.), Travels in the Moghul Empire AD 1656-1668 by Francois Bernier, pp 82, 174, 175.
83 Valentine Ball(ed.), Tavernier’s Travels in India, 1640-1676, vol.I, pp 151, 152
The reference to seigniorial revenues indicates the landed wealth of the churches, nobility and officials in the non-urban neighborhood and the concomitant rents and revenues derived from such possessions.

With the surfacing of this category of urban dwellers from the newly moneyed groups out of the *degregados*, who began to replace the mercantile segments of the city, there was an equal amount of attempt from the urban elites to use Inquisition as a tool to tame them and probably also to keep them away from being the dominant group in the city. The careful cataloging of the trials of non-Portuguese Europeans in the Goa inquisition suggests the maximum charges leveled against the European renegades of Protestantism and going over to Islamism and rare (almost negligent) cases of those charged with Hinduism, blasphemy, sodomy and superstition during the seventeenth century.\(^6\) For the period stretching across 1563-1623 the total Europeans facing trials was estimated at around forty nine of which the maximum were the French followed by Germans, Flemish and Dutch nationalities. However, a listing of the trials from 1600-1623 reveal the victims as six Germans, four Frenchmen, four Englishmen and three Flemish; with just two being Dutch.\(^7\) This supports the observation that much of those convicted—primarily the Germans and Flemish—were individual traveling merchants or worked as agents of big business firms of Europe; and the accused French and English predominantly mercenary soldiers who were quick to change sides and migrate to prosperous ports or serve neighboring kingdoms when profits from Goa-based sea trade dwindled. Testimonies of contemporaries such as the Englishman Ralph Fitch, French traveler Dellon etc., support the deduction that much of these non-Portuguese nationals were merchants, mariners or soldiers.\(^8\) Furthermore, documents reveal that by 1620s

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\(^7\) Ibid.

\(^8\) For example the cases of Englishman Ralph Fitch, French national Tavernier who was a jeweler and merchant and Dellon. See Horton Ryley, *Ralph Fitch: England’s Pioneer to India and Burma His Companions and Contemporaries*, vol.1, New Delhi, 1998; Valentine Ball(ed.), *Tavernier’s*
and 1630s much stress was given by the State to maintain and increase the number of cells in the Palace of the Holy Inquisition for which funds were raised from the treasury and as loans from the Goa municipality and urban residents. Such investments and the fact that by the late 17th century the Inquisition was the largest of all palaces of Goa reveal its increasing use by the State to control and mobilize men and resources. On such cases of the European merchants and agents being accused of Islamism and Lutheranism, the Inquisition served as a tool for the Padroado to confiscate their properties which could be used for funding the administrative and military urgencies of the State. This is borne out by Dellon’s descriptions of the Holy Inquisition confiscating the movable and immovable wealth of the rich Portuguese citizens posthumously and symbolically burning their effigies and mortal remains at the stake to punish them for their heresy. It also enabled the early colonial state to harness its soldiers and mariners who had either escaped from Goa and the Estado’s services for the purpose of engaging in mercantile pursuits or had bargained on the basis of their familiarity with the Estado’s defensive tactics and techniques of warfare better positions in rivaling kingdoms. Similarly the Europeans, who were arrested as prisoners of war or as trespassers in Portuguese


89 Case of the French militarymen such as M du Belloy, St Amant, Sieur des Marests. See supra nos. 35, 54, 91, 280.

90 Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch, p 213.

91 Dellon’s narrative of the Inquisitional courts, the trials and the subsequent events including the trial of prisoners who died in the Inquisition and a man who was never accused in his lifetime but was found guilty of heresy “was plucked from his Grave after they had formed a Process against him, as he had left very considerable Riches.” For details see Maurice Collis (ed.), _The Land of the Great Image Being Experiences of Friar Manrique in Arakan_. New Delhi, 1995, pp 50-63.

92 This is attested to by the case of the Frenchman M du Belloy who served as a soldier for the Estado but soon escaped from Goa to Macao where he led “a life of gambling and enjoying the fortunes” he had made by trade. The Inquisition was used by the Portuguese of Macao who had lent him money or were trade rivals to eliminate his mercantile ambitions and by the State to confiscate his wealth and ship him back to Goa. For details see Valentine Ball (ed.), _Tavernier’s Travels in India, 1640-1676, vol.I_, pp 166-168.
controlled areas, were often harnessed to serve the state as soldiers after their term of sentence decided by the Inquisition and the State judiciary was over. Corroboration of the increasing agenda of the State in consolidating the Portuguese and European military men and mariners by the mid and late 17th century can be deducted from the letter of the Goa Governor Antonio Paes de Sande on January 24, 1681 to the Portuguese king on the increasing threat of Maratha invasions and the acute shortage of manpower in the imperial army at Goa. Military and naval urgencies compelled the Estado to recruit indigenous Christian’s as soldiers grouped on caste basis in the army and Portuguese armadas by the 1680s and 1690s.

Thus with the decrease in maritime private trade because of increasing Dutch threats and concomitant to the emigration of mercantile segment of city-dwellers because of recurring pestilences and epidemics, new social groups began to play a vital role in the city space. A major segment of the evolving social group stemmed from inferior background, at times criminal often pauperized or having low birth, whose major aim was to make as much wealth as possible either by marrying rich heiresses or by indulging in arms-trade with neighbouring kingdoms. Their increasing commercial engagements with neighbouring principalities made them to be viewed as competitors for the old generation of mercantile city-dwellers, who resorted to Inquisition as a tool to erase them with repeated allegations of blasphemy, Islamism and Hinduism.

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93 An example of this was the Frenchman Pyrard de Laval, who was kidnapped from Calicut, sentenced in Goa and enrolled as soldier of the Estado after his sentence had been served.


95 Reference to the Christian canarins recruited as soldiers defending garrisoned fortresses and in Portuguese armadas in letter from Goa to king of Portugal, 20th jan.1685 in Mendonca, ‘The City Carousel: Relocation of the Capital of the Estado da India.’
........Images of Doldrums and New Economic Players

In contrast to the earlier spatial assertions in the city of Goa, portraying the mercantile prosperity and political might of the Lusitanian Christian power during the late 16th and early 17th century, the city structures completed after mid-seventeenth century are conspicuously identifiable because of the lack of ornamentation and sumptuousness of art in the civil edifices, with the magnificence of Goa being limited only to its religious structures.96 The decadence in wealth-flow had already begun to get reflected in the physiology of the city. Eventually the financial pressure was felt in the running of several institutions, which earlier had been depositories of immense liquid wealth. The official correspondence of the Misericordia reveals the inability of the former to maintain its various orphanages and hospitals by 1650s and by 1666 it reported to the crown about the fiscal shortages in maintaining the two retreat houses for women in Goa.97 By the 1670s the conditions of decline were much more prominent in the degeneration of the urban grid structure and the ill-maintained streets as noted by contemporary travelers such as John Fryer and Abbe Carre. Unlike the 1630s when majority of the urban dwellings were pleasant and handsome and the Portuguese lived luxurious lives98, official documents testify to the utter desolation and poverty of the dwellers by the 1690s with the residents often resorting to “demolishing their houses and selling their timber and furniture to find means of obtaining their regular meals for some time longer.”99 Alexander Hamilton further reveals the unwholesomeness of the city and the sparsely inhabited wards by the late 17th century.100 John Fryer remarks,

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96 This is verified by the field-study conducted in the site.
97 Letter from Santa Casa de Misericordia to the King in HAG, Livros das Monções do Reino, 33, fol. 157.
98 Edward G (ed.), Travels of Pietro della Valle in India (AD 1623-24), pp155-56; Commisariat (ed.), Mandelslo's Travels in Western India (1638-1639), pp 60-61, 62-63; Ball and Crooke (eds.), Tavernier's Travels in India (1640-1676,) p 150.
99 Teotonio de Souza, Medieval Goa, p 143.
"The City of Goa looks well at a small distance... everywhere Colleges, churches and glorious structures; it has Gates to it, and a wall; it is modeled but rudely, many houses disgracing it with their Ruins, the Streets interfering most confusedly..."\(^{101}\)

Sources reveal the worsening hygienic and sanitation arrangements reflected in the frequent outbreaks of epidemics and pestilences in the city. Mandelslo testifies that much of the royal hospital remained crowded by late 1630s with patients suffering from the "pox or bloody flux".\(^{102}\) Tavernier too notes the spread of cholera, scurvy, enteric and venereal diseases during the 1640s and blames it on the general heat within the city and putrification of air. However, he associates the disease inducing stagnant air to the geographical placement of the port city sandwiched between the mountains.\(^{103}\) Manucci too confirms the prevalence of "colic of the bowels with vomiting and laxity" affecting the youth of the port-city as symptomatic of cholera (mort-de-chien) and other diseases such as "spleen, the itch and fevers" stemming from the unhealthy climate of Goa.\(^{104}\) The tendency of the travelers to blame the diseases and fevers to the heat, humidity and stagnant air of the port-city can be explained as the general ignorance of the medieval Europeans of the prevalence and multiplication of disease inducing pathogens owing to the unsanitary conditions of the mercantile urban centers lacking proper waste disposal and food storage facilities.\(^{105}\) By mid and late 17th century the disease inducing air began to be clearly associated with the general filthiness of the port city as noted by both John Fryer and Alexander Hamilton\(^{106}\).


\(^{102}\) Commisariat (ed.), *Mandelslo’s Travels in Western India (1638-1639)*, p 70.

\(^{103}\) Valentine Ball (ed.), *Tavernier’s Travels in India, 1640-1676*, vol. I, p 150.


Fryer observes the lack of a proper waste disposal mechanism within the urban center by citing the tendency of the laity to performing ablutions on the roofs of their houses and "leaving their excrement there." Further corroborations could also be found in Manucci’s account of the citizens hurling excrement on the street walkers as an expression of vengeance in mid 17th century Goa. There was also the lack of a proper waste management mechanism and the municipality’s disinterest in constructing aqueducts for providing the clean drinking water from nearby springs to the city by the 17th century. However, travelers testimonies to the deteriorating sanitation and hygiene of the port-city triggering such pestilences and endemic fevers show how the city municipality’s preference of short term solutions rather than long term projects—including the maintenance of civic concerns—could be linked both to the shortage of funds at the disposal of the Goa municipality and the Estado; as well as, deteriorating wealth-flow into the city. Very often the municipality’s measures were limited and short-term, as happened in 1644, when revenue gained from a leased paddy field to maintain four mukadams was diverted for the cleanliness of four wards of the city. Though this was a definite improvement from the municipality’s earlier position of making the urban dwellers dispose waste in the river near St Catherine’s quay, such measures were highly inadequate to meet the sanitation requirements of the urban city which was crowded

108 For example, the case of the French merchant Clodio Menolhao being assaulted by a native shoemaker with whom he had a dispute, which is narrated in *Manucci, Mogul India or Storia Do Mogor II*, p 164.
110 Mandelslo, Hamilton and Baldeus speaks of the unwholesome air of the city and the infectious diseases especially burning fevers, small pox, stomach ailments, scurvy, venereal disease etc see Commisariat (ed.), *Mandelslo's Travels in Western India (1638-1639)*, Footnote#1 p 70-71; *A New Account of the East-Indies being the observations and remarks of Alexander Hamilton From the Years 1688 To 1723*, Chapter XXI, p 249; *Philip Baldeus, A True and Exact Description of The Most Celebrated East-India Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel and Also of the Isle of Ceylon*, Chapter XIII, p 603
by hundreds of homeless Portuguese families fleeing from the fallen Portuguese possessions of Ceylon, Cochin etc., from 1650s onwards. Such a picture of increasing strain that the influx of poor Portuguese refugees placed on the municipal finances is gained in the translation of the 1664 letter of the municipality to the crown noting,

"...it is pitiable to see them (newly immigrant married Portuguese) moving in bands from door to door begging in order to find some means of supporting their wives and children. Besides there are many others living with their friends and relations..."\(^{112}\)

However the municipality could not help much, as it was unable to divert resources for addressing the impoverishment of these immigrants and for controlling the corrupt practices of elite consumers who evaded the repayment of debts and credits to local and regional merchants which negatively affected urban trade.\(^{113}\) Things were compounded by the low fiscal reserves in 1650s, when it struggled to contribute 10, 000 xerəfins to the Estado for its defensive venture in Ceylon and Kanara.\(^{114}\) Unlike the previous periods when the municipality of Goa had actively advanced loans to the Estado to meet military demands in Asia, by the late 17th century it was unable to make any contribution to the government in the face of Maratha attacks. By 1690s in a letter of the crown to the Viceroy Count of Villa Verde the financial bankruptcy of the Goa municipality was revealed.\(^{115}\) The declining reserves of the Goa municipality could be attributed to the increasing corruption within the municipal ranks and the mismanagement of funds in the seventeenth century which were not re-invested to boost commercial engagements within the city or to provide basic civic amenities like hygiene, regulated food supplies in time of famines etc., to the residents. In 1631 the Viceroy Count of

\(^{112}\) Translation of an extract written by the municipality to the crown in Teotonio de Souza, *Medieval Goa*, p 150, footnote#58.


\(^{114}\) Teotonio de Souza, *Medieval Goa*, p 142.

Linhares complained to the king about the hoarding of grain by the municipality officials to exploit the conditions of scarcity caused by famine and drought and making private profits by reselling the grain at a higher price. Furthermore in 1636 the collecta-financed flotilla was caught smuggling part of the food-grains imported from Kanara to relieve famine threat of the city\textsuperscript{116} indicating the collaboration between the State and municipal officials with the regional traders to engage in illegal trade and hoarding. These officials of the municipality were mostly the elites amongst the Portuguese settlers while the mestiços and the New Christians occupied lower offices and were servants of the municipality by the privilege granted to Goa municipality by crown to appoint its own officers and servants. The situation reveals the curious phenomena whereby despite the growing complexity of trade and artisanal engagements within the city by the seventeenth century, much of the laws regulating the market such as the regulations of 1618 and the imposition of additional taxes often served the interests of the elite class of Portuguese consumers including the officials and the clergy. In 1632 instructions were given by the Goa High Court to the juiz dos orfãos to keep an orphan’s- chest in accordance with the law suggesting that either it was never maintained or was by the period emptied ignoring the regulations\textsuperscript{117}. Sources reveal that the funds generated by the Misericordia for the upkeep of the orphans (both for the maintenance of boys till 15 years of age and girls till 25 years) and arranging for husbands and dowries of orphaned women was partly generated from selling donated or confiscated properties left by contributors, defaulters, heirless wealthy citizens respectively by the Municipality and Misericordia;\textsuperscript{118} partly from the share of the special one per cent tax from trade allocated by the Municipality for urban charitable institutions;\textsuperscript{119} and, partly from the inheritances that the orphans and widows bought to the Retreat of Nossa Senhora da Serra. In this context, the testimonies of the provedor-mor dos

\textsuperscript{116} Teotonio de Souza, *Medieval Goa*, p 144.
\textsuperscript{117} Timothy Joel Coates, *Exiles and Orphans*. p 216.
\textsuperscript{118} Arthur Coke Burnell(ed.),*The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies*, vol. I, p 186.
\textsuperscript{119} Timothy Joel Coates, *Exiles and Orphans*. p 219
defunctos de Goa and the juiz dos orfãos to the crown by the end of the 17th century on the bankruptcy of the orphans chest and the lack of maintenance of any accounts hints at the tendency of the administrators of these charitable institutions to manipulate the resources demarcated for the orphans and widows for aggrandizement of personal wealth or positions.

New taxes were imposed by the municipality from the second decade of the seventeenth century to generate revenue to meet the military requirements in the face of Dutch attacks and administrative crisis within the city. For this purpose the trading classes of Jews and Hindus, whose business somehow thrived despite recurring Dutch attacks, were also taxed. The 2% consulado tax on the export of precious stones from 1617 onwards to meet the cost of building ships and maintaining crews engaged in fighting against the Dutch can be decoded as targeting primarily the New Christian and Vanias who were the principal traders of precious stones. While the Portuguese New Christians were integral links in the Jewish trading networks and acted as agents at Goa exporting precious stones from the inland marts of Bijapur and Golconda, the Gujarati Vanias were also listed as prominent sea-traders of precious stones apart from being grain merchants and textile dealers as early as 1580s. As had been mentioned before the intensive inland Ghat-route trade of the Banjara and the Saraswat Brahmins and continuity of Goa's coastal trade with the northern ports of Konkan and the Southern ports of Canara through the Canarin traders secured the necessary provisions especially foodstuff for the city. In this context the collecta tax (1623) on the import of

120 Letter dated 14th December 1696 in AHU, Caixa da India, Caixa 38, doc 93; Timothy Joel Coates, Exiles and Orphans. p 216.
121 Teotonio de Souza, Medieval Goa, p 141.
123 For details and reference see Chapter V, footnote # 92.
foodstuff (barring those which was supplied from the neighboring agrarian hinterlands of Bardez and Salcete) can be conceptualized as being directed against the Canarins, the Banjara traders and Saraswat Brahmins as evident in their resistance to 1623 general meeting where the Viceroy, the fidalgos and members of the municipal council voted in favor of the new tax—thus annulling the oldest privilege of free trade on foodstuff that was granted to the city since 1518. Moreover (as mentioned before) sources suggest that by mid 17th century the dependency of Goa on this coastal and inland trade on foodgrains such as rice, wheat, corn etc., was heightened by the conditions of famines and droughts plaguing the city with the diversion of the limited municipal reserves to counter Dutch blockades and the Bijapuri invasions of Salcete and Bardez in 1654-1655. Travelers reveal the armed galleons of the Estado accompanying the local mercantile vessels transporting necessary foodstuff such as corn from the ports of Konkan to Goa by the mid 17th century. Mandelslo also suggests how necessary provisions such as rice, sugar, fruits and conserves apart from spices such as ginger, cardamom and pepper came from the neighboring coastal regions such as the rice-producing ports of Canara, Bijapur and Konkan. Baldeus' testimony to the Dutch frigots obstructing the Portuguese caffilas supplying provisions to the port-city in 1640s and 1650s and Manucci's account of the “small vessels sent under the convoy of a 34-gun frigate” to obtain provisions from the territories of Canara fearing disruptions by “Malabar pirates” suggest the almost complete dependence

124 HAG: Alvaras e Provisoes de Sua Magestade, 1593-1781, f. 249; Alvara e Provisões de Sua Magestade 1617-52, ff. 28v-29; Livro de ordens regias, 1630-1638, ff 98v-100; Also see Pearson, ‘The Crowd in Portuguese Asia’ in Coastal Western India..., p 54.
127 Commissariat (ed.), Mandelslo’s Travels in Western India (1638-1639), p 73.
128 Philip Baldaeus, A Description of the East India Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel and also of the Isle of Ceylon with their adjacent Kingdoms and Provinces, New Delhi, 1988, pp 608-609
129 Manucci, Mogul India or Storia Do Mogor, Vol IV, p 81.
of the port-city on the neighboring coastal ports and economies hinting at the shrinking of the port's maritime contacts with its erstwhile forelands and hinterlands in Malabar, Bengal, Ceylon and Cambay. Thus while the narratives demonstrate a continuity in Goa's dependence on import of essential provisions to meet urban consumption demands; it simultaneously hints at a distinct change from the previous trade of the Goa-based Portuguese casados obtaining rice and sugar from the ports of Bengal and Coromandal, spices such as ginger, cardamom, pepper etc., from Malabar (apart from Canara) to the flow of resources from the agrarian units of Bardez and Salcete following Portuguese penetration and consolidation. By the mid and late 17th centuries the inland Ghat-route trade of the Banjaras and the coastal trade of the non-Christian regional merchants from Bijapur Konkan and the agrarian tracts of Ikkeri played the central role in the import-trade of the port-city. On the one hand this suggests the shrinking of the maritime mercantile space of the city of Goa and the declining engagements of its colonial community of sea-faring casado traders with their Asian supply zones and markets. Concurrently, the increasing role of the indigenous ship-owners and traders in supplying necessary provisions as part of the protected convoys hints at shifts happening in the process of accumulation of mercantile wealth and wielding of politico-economic power within the city space with the regional and Hindu traders (substituting the previously rich casado traders) controlling the urban economy.

The developments suggest significant linkages between the urban changes on the one hand; and, wealth accumulation within the economically powerful resident communities of New Christians and Hindu traders on the other hand. As has been stated above by the 1670s the depopulating of some of the wards of the port city is noted by contemporary travelers despite the influx of the homeless and poor Portuguese families from the erstwhile Portuguese enclaves in Asia. In this context a shrinking of the territorial boundaries of the city is indicated by studying the deteriorating conditions of the parish church of St Thomas at the south-eastern

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extreme of the city and the ruin and eventual abandonment of the Old College of St Paul. Testimonies to the economic and demographic growth of the ward associated with the church of St Thomas is deducted from its elevation as a parish church by the late 16th century and corroborated by Laval who notes the greater number of inhabitants in the parish. However, by the late 17th century the edifice was called the old or broken St Thomas church indicating ill maintenance causing irreparable wear and tear to the parish church. Curiously, concurrent to the decay of the church was the dwindling of its parishioners which by the early 18th century ceded a count of 493 persons. Documentary references of the late 1670s and early 1680s hint at the shrinking demography of the parish and the ebbing of the urban traffic between the parish located to the west of the city and the commercial city in contrast to its flourishing status in the late 16th and early 17th century. This is evident in Fryer’s remark that the parish of St Thomas was regarded by the city “in the same manner Old Rome did the Martian Vale.” Furthermore, Fryer refers to the diamond trade of the “two Martins, both Jews” and their being allowed to “live as Christians...constantly frequenting Mass, and at Table every Meal during our day had Hogs-flesh served up.” Abbe Carre confirms the New Christian merchants Antonio and Diogo Martin as prosperous diamond and gemstone dealers who also traded provisions especially foodstuff to the English ships in return for money and English cheese, hats, olives, silk stockings, ribbons, Spanish wines, French brandy and other similar articles. Partly, this hints at how apart from the officials and

132 Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch, p 271.
133 Ibid.
134 The location of the parish on the Street of St Paul of the Arches which previously was called the Rua de Carreira dos Cavallos a major market place for Persian horses saw the traffic of inland Hindu and Muslim merchants till 1550s; and, from 1560s onwards there were intensified economic activities of indigenous craftsmen and Portuguese traders due to the flourishing college, school and seminary in the educational complex of St Paul. For details see Chapters 4 and 5.
clergy, much of the private Portuguese trade was limited to the activities of the
small number of the New Christian residents of Goa. Their active mercantile
engagements within the Jewish commercial web that girdled the globe (connecting
the American, European, Mediterranean and Asian marts) and with the European
mercantile powers in supplying high value commodities such as diamonds and
gemstones suggests the continued accumulation and concentration of mercantile
wealth within the community. Fryer’s references to the Martins attending Mass and
their Christian customary and dietary practices enables a reconstruction of their
involvement in the activities of the parish church viz., fiscal and administrative
contributions to the maintenance of the church to emphasize their Christian
leanings. Alternately, this also enables us to link the deteriorating conditions of the
parish church of St Thomas by the 1680s and 90s with the petering away of this
commercially active New Christian community of Goa by the late 17th century.

Tavernier attests to the flourishing trade in precious stones and pearls at Goa by the
Portuguese trader’s contacts with inland regional suppliers and miners by the early
decades of the 17th century.137 Sources further reveal that apart from being bankers
and money lenders138 these New Christians of Goa from the beginning of the 17th
century till 1630s and 40s exported uncut Indian gem stones to their Jewish
counterparts in Lisbon from where it was supplied to the main European markets. In
return their Europe-based Jewish partners “dispatched lapidated gems and jewels to
Asia, besides supplying the Asian market with American stones.” 139 Trade in such
high value commodities led to immense concentration and accumulation of
mercantile wealth within the New Christian community. While corroborating
Fryer’s account of the Martin brothers, Abbe Carre also testifies to their being the

137 Valentine Bal(ed.), Tavernier’s Travels in India, 1640-1676, pp 95-96.
138 Linschoten and Laval both refer to the New Christians as bankers and money lenders as examined
in Chapter 5
139 Joao Teles e Cunha, ‘Hunting Riches: Goa’s Gem Trade in the Early Modern Age.’ in Pius
Malekandathil and Jamal Mohammad (eds.), The Portuguese ,Indian Ocean and European
Bridgeheads,. p 281.
most powerful and richest Portuguese traders in Goa by the late 17th century. Carre further reveals how Senhor Antonio Martin worked as a French agent in Goa and his brother Senhor Diogo Martin was posted in Golconda to obtain the supply of diamonds from the miners.\textsuperscript{140} Similarly the Friar gives information on the trade of these Portuguese dealers of precious stones with visiting English ships.\textsuperscript{141} On the one hand, such accounts offer significant glimpses of the New Christian merchants of Goa monopolizing not only the international and intra-Asian trade in gemstones but also how the community controlled regional commerce by having agents posted on the important zones supplying uncut stones (mines of Golconda and Deccan);\textsuperscript{142} and, inland markets and regional courts for re-sale of the imported finished stones and jewels from America and Europe. Concurrently, sources reveal the shifting mercantile affiliations of the powerful New Christian traders based at Goa to the trading companies of the British and French lured by prospects of making commercial profits in a period when the port city’s international, intra-Asian and regional trade ebbed. The case of Antonio Martins sharing significant information (gained through his brother) with Abbe Carre on the French situation at São Thome(Mylapore)\textsuperscript{143} in the face of inland threats by the Qutub Shahis of Golconda and the fluctuating Luso-French relations reveal the tendency amongst New Christians of Goa to be motivated by mercantile gains in redirecting their loyalties. Similarly the New Christian traders of Goa engaged in extensive intra-Asian maritime trade with the Persian ports\textsuperscript{144} of Hormuz and after 1622 from Muscat and

\textsuperscript{140} Fawcett(ed.), \textit{The Travels of the Abbe Carre}, Vol I, p 207.

\textsuperscript{141} Fawcett(ed.), \textit{The Travels of the Abbe Carre}, Vol 3, p 715.

\textsuperscript{142} On the prized quality and the quantity of diamonds produced in the Kingdom of Ballagata or Adil Shahi Bijapur and Golconda see Albert Gray(ed.), \textit{The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval}, Vol II, Part I, p 136; On the profitable diamond trade between Goa and Bijapur see John Fryer, \textit{A New Account of East India and Persia being Nine Years' Travels 1672-1681}, Vol II, p 25.

\textsuperscript{143} Fawcett(ed.), \textit{The Travels of the Abbe Carre}, Vol I, p 207

\textsuperscript{144} See Della Valle’s reference to the Persian New Christians being brutally slain as a result of the tensions and its report by the Carmelite fathers. Edward Grey(ed.), \textit{The Travels of Pietro della Valle in India}, vol.1, p 172.
Bahrain importing pearls and precious stones and exporting jewels.\textsuperscript{145} Corroboration of the above assessment on the mercantile wealth amongst the New Christians of Goa and their rise as significant players within the urban economy of Goa can further be gained from the continuous complains of the municipality to the crown\textsuperscript{146} regarding the lack of opportunities for the Old Christian settlers to invest their limited wealth in profitable trade. Moreover evidences of the significant and generous loans and contributions to the Estado by these Jewish converts during the first half of the seventeenth century to finance naval offensives and maintaining the Portuguese soldiers\textsuperscript{147} reveal their rising politico-economic importance within the urban social fabric.

The revenue derived from taxing the continuous export trade in precious stones and diamonds of the New Christians (with their relations in Lisbon till the 1640s on Carreira ships) had been a significant source of income for both the state and the sellers of the “liberty chests” both by way of the various import and export taxes as well as the high prices at which the “liberties” were sold by the officials, sailors and soldiers of the Estado.\textsuperscript{148} Concurrently, the disrupted Carreira trade owing to the Dutch blockade of Goa from 1640s to 1650s and the displacement of the Jews from Lisbon severely affected both the Estado’s and municipality’s revenues from taxes and the concentrations of wealth amongst the Goan New Christians.\textsuperscript{149} Thus Tavernier notes the declining condition of the urban markets by 1660s, which earlier used to trade in high value commodities stating,

“Goa was formerly the place where there was the largest trade in all Asia in diamonds, rubies, sapphires, topazes and other stones. All the miners and

\textsuperscript{146}Cunha Rivara (ed.), \textit{Archivo Portuguez-Oriental}, Fasc. I, part 1: 102, 106, 112, 119, 121; Part 2: 44, 57,64-65, 204-205; HAG: \textit{Livros das Monções do Reino} 20, fl. 28; Teotonio de Souza, \textit{Medieval Goa}, p 175.
\textsuperscript{147}Letter of Chief Secretary of the Council of India to the King in 1636, cited from Teotonio de Souza, \textit{Medieval Goa}, p 124.
\textsuperscript{149}Cunha, ‘Hunting Riches: Goa’s Gem Trade. .’, pp 297-298.
merchants went there to sell, whereas, in their own country, if they showed anything to the kings or princes they were compelled to sell at whatever price was fixed."150

These New Christian traders used the English ships during 1660s and 1670s to illegally smuggle gemstones out of Goa. Thus Abbe Carre refers to the flourishing illicit trade in precious stones of these Portuguese merchants (posing as traders of grain and other provisions) with the English ships and links it to the prompt payment of remittances from England.151 For the English, who had to pay many customs taxes if they engaged in trade with the crown, direct contact with the Portuguese merchants for obtaining precious stones and other high-valued wares proved advantageous. This reveals how with the active help of the Portuguese Old Christian and New Christian merchants as well as European traders international trade was still carried on in periods of Dutch blockade through non-Portuguese European ships. However, by 1680s and 1690s the intra-Asian and regional trade of Goa further suffered both as a result of internal political tensions and external developments. Thus from 1660s till the 1680s the inland supply routes in diamonds and gemstones faced continuous bottlenecks with political and military tensions stemming from conquest of Santhome in 1662 by the Qutb Shahi ruler of Golconda and the Maratha attacks under Shivaji152 causing the New Christian settlers to migrate to Madras and divide the supply of diamonds between the English and Goa by late 1680s and 1690s.153 As mentioned before the deterioration of the parish church of St Thomas by the late 17th and early 18th centuries hints at the declining fortunes of its parishioners predominantly the New Christian diamond and precious stones dealers. Furthermore its ill-maintenance hints at a depopulation of the parish with migrations of these New Christian residents. Likewise the dominance of Surat

150 Valentine Ball(ed.), Tavernier’s Travels in India, 1640-1676, p 95.
and Madras by the late 17th and 18th centuries as prosperous centers of gem trade and the discovery of the diamond mines of Brazil in 1720s further affected the commercial fortunes of these Jewish converts of Goa eventually triggering their migration to these ports that superseded Goa in the changing conditions.\(^{154}\) Moreover, the economic relations of the New Christian traders of Goa with the English and French trading companies, often acting as their mercantile agents posted in Goa and their relocation for mercantile profits to other commercially viable regions\(^{155}\) hint at the further deterioration of the economic conditions of the Portuguese and their city of Goa by the end of the 17th century. Concurrently, the shrinking of both the territorial and the demographic extent of the port city and the urban material efflorescence could thus be linked with the depleting trade of the port which spiraled with the relocation of its rich Portuguese Neo-Christian trader settlers.

Unlike the previous periods the various civil and charitable structures such as the royal hospital, hospital de São Lazaro, hospital of all Saints, the retreats of Santa Maria Magdalena and Nossa Senhora da Serra etc., by the mid and late 17th century were ill maintained.\(^{156}\) The silence of the travelers on urban charitable institutions (primarily the hospital for lepers and the one for Indian Christians; as well as, the retreat houses for women) contrasts sharply with Linschoten’s and Laval’s notes on the Lusitanian city attending to the urban poor, destitute and orphans using public funds.\(^{157}\) Such a silence can be understood as hinting at deteriorating conditions of the institutions due to the scarcity of funds stemming from trickling contributions of the municipality and urban citizens. However, sources do mention in quite some detail the degenerating standards of the royal hospital by the mid and late 17th century which in the past had evoked praises for both its glorious structure and its immaculate management of the charitable enterprise by the Jesuit Missionaries. The


\(^{155}\) Cf supra nos 150, 153.


\(^{157}\) Analysis of Linschoten’s and Laval’s account in Chapter 4.
hospital's splendor diminished rapidly by the late 1640s and 1650s which suggests an integral link between the declining fortunes of the urban mercantile wealth stemming from the Dutch mercantile aggressiveness of mid 17th century and the concurrent impoverishment of the Portuguese citizens, the municipality and the declining reserves of the Estado. Thus Tavernier observes,

"The Hospital at Goa was formerly renowned throughout India; and, as it possessed a considerable income, sick persons were very well attended to. This was still the case when I first went to Goa; but since this hospital has changed its managers, patients are badly treated, and many Europeans who enter it do not leave it to be carried to the tomb... Generally all the poor people who tend to recover their health cry out from thirst, and beg for a little water to drink; but those who wait upon them, who are at present Blacks or Mestiffs- avaricious persons, and without mercy- do not give a drop without receiving something, that is to say unless some money is placed into their hands, and to give colour to this wickedness they give it only in secret saying that the physician forbids it..." 158

The laxity of management and the high levels of corruption amongst the staff and servants are further corroborated by Manucci who sought to nurse his ill-health at the Carmelite Convent rather than the royal hospital. 159 Thus the contemporary testimonies to the fading fortunes of the royal hospital by the second half of the 17th century suggests fluctuations in the flow of funds stemming from lowered contributions by the municipality, the Misericordia and Portuguese citizens; and, the diminishing profits from the various mercantile rendas granted by the State to the Jesuits for maintenance activities due to the declining mercantile prospects of the port. Tavernier's reference to the food comprising beef-tea and rice-gruel 160 contrasts sharply with the nutritious and wholesome meals of bread and meat 161

158 Valentine Ball(ed.), Tavernier's Travels in India, 1640-1676, pp.159-160.
160 Valentine Ball(ed.), Tavernier's Travels in India, 1640-1676, pp. 159-160.
served to the patients of the royal hospital in late 16th and early 17th century as recorded by Pyrard de Laval. This also indicates the continuity of the food scarcity in the port city despite the strong measures of the municipality in 1630s and 1640s to overcome such shortages by regulating imports and controlling redistribution of foodstuffs at a standardized rate within the city for checking misappropriation. Corroboration of the municipality’s failed attempts at controlling import and redistribution of foodgrains can be gauged from various complaints of the Estado to the crown citing corruption and hoarding of imported foodstuff such as the profiteering by the municipal officers in 1631 by exploiting the scarcity caused by drought and flood and reselling hoarded commodities at higher prices in 1631; the smuggling of the foodgrains by the tripartite collaboration between the Portuguese captains of the flotilla’s, the Hindu Saraswat Brahmin traders and New Christians; the dismissal of a corrupt Hindu official in charge of collecting duties of imported foodstuffs by the Viceroy Count of Linhares in the 1630s etc. Similarly, by 1640s testimonies are gained on the employment of Hindu native physicians (panditos) and bleeders (sangradores) in the royal hospital By the late 17th century official correspondences of the Estado da India and other institutions in Goa suggests the overwhelming dependence on such native physicians replacing the Portuguese surgeons and apothecaries. This is evident in the 1687 letter of the provincial (local director) of the Madre de Deus monastery to the Viceroy accounts.

162 Teotonio de Souza, Medieval Goa, pp 175-6; 177.
163 Complaints of the Viceroy to the King regarding hoarding of grain by the municipal officers for making a profit dated 1631 in Teotonio de Souza, Medieval Goa, p 144
165 HAG: Livros das Monções do Reino 14, fols. 45-48; MS 7738 (Accordoos e Assentos do Senado de Goa, 1629-1632), fols. 199-204; Teotonio De Souza, Medieval Goa, p 118.
166 AHU, Caixas da India , Caixa. 34, no. 144 (letter dated 1688); Agnelo Fernandes, ‘Goans in Portuguese Armadas’, p 109. Moreover by late 1680’s 30 panditos (doctors) were in service of Camara de Goa as well as of religious and civil authorities. See Teotonio de Souza, Medieval Goa, p 159.
the overwhelming involvement of Hindu _vaidyas_ to treat the epidemic diseases in _Mormugao_ and recommended their utilization within the city in a larger capacity.\textsuperscript{167} Such contemporary evidences can be seen as indicative of the upward socio-political mobility of such native healers by the late 17\textsuperscript{th} century. Their economically influential (or privileges) and socially respected positions within the Lusitanian urban society correspondingly demonstrated the city's dependence on the skilled services of such Hindu healers. The reliance of the Goan hospitals and Portuguese settlers on native cures such as making the patients drink cows urine and bleeding more than the prescribed European standards\textsuperscript{168} reveal the inability of the municipality to employ the services of Jesuit doctors and Portuguese surgeons and apothecaries either because of shortage of funds, or, because of the shortage of Portuguese medicos owing to migrations away from the unsanitary city and its diminishing economic attractiveness for reasons also of fresh but poor migrants from Lisbon.

The case of the royal hospital provides insight into not just the cost cutting tactics of the management but perhaps also the reduction in the population of Portuguese physicians and apothecaries within the urban center. Moreover, incidents of the collaboration of the regional merchants with Portuguese officials in illegal trade and hoarding; and, the testimonies to the intensified services of the Hindu artisans, physicians, diplomats, bureaucrats and lawyers in the city suggest the rise of these Hindu professionals to fill the vacuum created by the displaced Portuguese residents. The preference for Hindu healers was concurrent with the politico-social status that Hindu merchants now began to command in the city space as controllers of the urban economy and flow of wealth through their trade and services linked with the inland regions of Bijapur, Golconda, Canara and Gujarat, where they were socially and nattally rooted.\textsuperscript{169} Contemporaries further refer to the immense

\textsuperscript{167} HAG, Livros das Monções do Reino 52, Folio. 191 v/

\textsuperscript{168} Valentine Ball(ed.), _Tavernier’s Travels in India, 1640-1676_, pp 159-160.

mercantile traffic between the Adil Shahi kingdom and Goa through the Banastarim pass by the 1620s and 1630s, through the Saraswat Brahmin networks. Scholars trace the significant Ghat route trade of the Banjaras (by early decades of the 17th century) supplying essential commodities to the city of Goa such as foodgrains from Konkan, saltpeter from Bijapur, and ballaghatte cloth from the interiors of Konkunad in Tamil Nadu. As has been mentioned in the previous chapter there was accelerated commercial activities of Gujarati Vanias or Banias, the Saraswat Brahmins, the Banajaras, the Canarins etc within the imperial capital. Linschoten noted how the Gujaratees and the Banias of Cambay in their significant role as sea-traders dealing in precious stones, textiles and grains had concentrated enormous wealth within the community residential spaces within the city of Goa. By the mid and late 17th century Manucci testifies to the dominance of the Bania shopkeepers within the city selling provisions such as garlic, pepper, butter apart from other commodities. These traders acted as lifelines to the rice deficient state even at times when political tensions between Goa and Bijapur; and, Goa and the Nayakas of Ikkeri were quite high apart from the blockading of the Goa port by the Dutch forces. As mentioned before Mandelslo’s testimony to 300 frigates and

171 Saltpeter was essential for the manufacture of gunpowder. By the mid 17th century the arsenal of Goa had increased its capacity to produce gunpowder and armaments and in fact a thriving illegal trade went on by the corrupt officials of the state and municipality with the renegades and other Hindu traders supplying these armaments and gunpowder to the inland regional kingdoms.
172 The coarse cotton cloth of Balaghat was an essential export commodity from the port of Goa to the West African Gold coast which the Portuguese exchanged in return for gold and slaves. See Rene Barendse, 'Blockade: Goa and its Surroundings 1638-1654.'
175 Manucci, Mogul India or Storia do Mogor , Vol. III, p. 159.
176 For details on tensions stemming from the State formation ambitions of Venkatapa Nayaka of Ikkeri, the conflict between the agrarian tracts of Canara and Goa; and, the conclusion of peace between the regions in Edward Grey(ed.), The Travels of Pietro della Valle in India, vol.I, pp 190-191.
boats loaded with pepper, rice, cardamom, sugar, fruits and conserves entering the port of Goa\textsuperscript{177} can be seen as coastal vessels merchandizing foodgrains and spices of such Hindu traders to the famine and drought ridden urban center.

Concurrently, the Hindu traders primarily the Saraswat Brahmins also functioned as high value revenue farmers (rendeiros) within the port city.\textsuperscript{178} To scholars during the period between 1600 and 1670, of the total number of the available holders of the farmed revenues (rendas) almost a majority of 80 per cent comprised of Hindu revenue holders\textsuperscript{179} of which 62.7\% were the Saraswat Brahmins\textsuperscript{180} with rights over commercially lucrative rendas such as tax collection rights over the import and export of opium, textiles, customs revenue on tobacco, imported foodstuff (only food from Bardez and Salcette were duty free), silk and cotton cloth revenue etc.\textsuperscript{181} Though the major share of the total value of all the rendas that was held by Christians indicated that the average value of a renda held by a Christian was still higher than that held by a Hindu, the average value for a Saraswat was higher than for other Hindus.\textsuperscript{182} Sources also indicate how sometimes the rendas were grants made by the early colonial State to the Hindus in lieu of their role as translators (linguas) to communicate with local authorities and as important ambassadors\textsuperscript{183} and informers\textsuperscript{184} of the Estado communicating strategic information from inland kingdoms. Thus Azu Naique was sent to the Mughal emperor in 1613, Krishna Sinai was sent to the Bijapur sultan in 1646 and Ramogi Sinai Cotthari was sent to the

\textsuperscript{177} Commisariat (ed.), Mandelslo’s Travels in Western India (1638-1639), p 73
\textsuperscript{179} M.N. Pearson, ‘Banyas and Brahmins’ in Coastal Western India, p 98.
\textsuperscript{180} M.N. Pearson, ‘Banyas and Brahmins’ in Coastal Western India., pp 98, 99.
\textsuperscript{181} Teotonio de Souza, Medieval Goa, pp 116-117.
\textsuperscript{182} Pearson, ‘Banyas and Brahmins’ p 98.
\textsuperscript{183} Francisco Bethencourt, ‘Low Cost Empire’. p 119.
\textsuperscript{184} For case of letters by Gujarati varias from Mughal provinces detailing Estado of the Political developments at the Agra and Delhi see Edward Grey(ed.), The Travels of Pietro della Valle in India, vol.I, pp 176-177.
Kanara authorities and the Mughal emperor on various occasions from 1645 to 1647 and in return some of these ambassadors were rewarded with privileges such as Ramogi Sinai Cotthari became customs broker of Goa in 1665. Similarly converted Brahmins were also recruited in the state’s services and accumulated significant socio-commercial privileges as rewards (*merces*) for their services. Thus the Brahmin Nicolau da Silva was recruited as official of the State secretariat and was rewarded on the basis of his service merit and military tenure as the broker (*corrector*) of the cotton trade in the fort of Diu for six years despite the prejudices against Canarins (Goans) from occupying such lucrative posts. This reveals the rise of such converted and non-converted Saraswat Brahmins as significant holders of wealth within the Goan society as well as wielders of socio-political status within the city-space.

The above corroborates the rising politico-economic significance of the Banias and Saraswat Brahmins filling up the void left by migrating Portuguese businessmen during the seventeenth century and threatening the very ethnic base of the imperial capital. On the one hand, as much of the State revenue by the seventeenth century was derived from the farming out of such *rendas* and as it was predominantly the Hindu capitalists who invested in purchase of *rendas* (especially the Saraswats) it suggests the rise of Hindus as virtual controllers of the urban economy. Scholars have also reconstructed that apart from lending money to the Goa government the

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185 Francisco Bethencourt, ‘Low Cost Empire’, p 119.
186 For the chronological account of the events of the life of the Brahmin Nicolau da Silva from 1628 to 1660’s see HAG, *Consultas*, MS. 1050, ffs 188-189. Also see the gist of his experiments in State service as well as his rise professionally and financially in the administrative structure in Agnelo Paulo Fernandes, ‘Goans in Portuguese Armadas.’ pp 110-112.
187 For the racial discrimination against *mesticos*, canarins and Brahmenes in appointments to military commands and government posts on grounds of their physical and moral inferiority see letters of Goa camara to the King dated 1607 in C R Boxer, *Portuguese Sea-Borne Empire*, pp 303, 304.
Gujaratis sold goods to it and owned ships in partnership with the Portuguese thus hinting at the evolving mercantile capital and economic importance of these traders within the city space. The high concentration of wealth amongst the Hindu community residents in Goa can be corroborated from the municipal council's proposal of 1640s demanding a decree from the king to pronounce that "no Brahmin or Kshatriya or member of any other caste who is rich or has property" might marry his daughter to anyone except to a Portuguese born in Portugal and that such people must also bequeath all their property to these daughters only. Such a request from the municipality, which was still the prerogative of the Old Christian 'white' settlers, revealed the intentions and attempts at appropriating and concentrating the wealth of the Hindu traders for the urban dwellers of Goa. The resources thus mobilized were expected to boost business ventures undertaken by the Portuguese traders and through these citizens be extended to maintain the Lusitanian city of Goa, their imperial capital in Asia. The decree of 1684 issued on the demand of municipality for ordering that no native widow may be prevented from marrying Portuguese settlers once again indicates the interest of the municipal council to get the wealth of the native Hindu traders and capitalists concentrated within the city of Goa through its appropriation by the Portuguese settlers of the city. Further, the influx of a number of homeless and poor Portuguese from the destroyed Portuguese colonies of Hormuz, Muscat, Ceylon and Cochin to Goa and the general impoverishment of the urban citizens explains the urgency behind the repeated requests of the municipality to the State for such laws in 1640s, 1660s and 1680s and the proposed marriages with such rich Hindu ladies were meant to enrich this impoverished segment among them. In this regard analyzing the

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189 M.N.Pearson, 'Banyas and Brahmins', in Coastal Western India, p 104.

190 The municipal proposal is cited in M.N. Pearson, 'Banyas and Brahmins' in Coastal Western India,, p 96.


192 Ibid; HAG, MS 7747 (Senado: Diversios 1610-1704), fl 44v; MS 7745 (Registros das Cartas Regias, 1630-1712) fls 6v, 11v; Francisco Bethencourt, 'Low Cost Empire', p 123; Teotonio de Souza, Medieval Goa, p 146.
decree of 1644 forbidding the return to Europe of ‘white’ men with their coloured wives, coloured people or slaves suggest the strategies of the early colonial State to discourage the return of the wealthy married settlers to Portugal and attempting to mobilize and concentrate their recently acquired wealth within the imperial city.

On the other hand, the significance of the Hindu traders as diplomats of the Estado in inland regional kingdoms and the evidences suggesting the important role of the Banias and other Hindus in advancing loans, free contributions (donativos) etc., to the Estado reveal the rising socio-political status claims of such economically dominant groups in the Lusitanian city space. Thus references abound to the special considerations extended by the Viceory to address the complains of the Gujaratis residing in Diu against the Portuguese residents in 1603, extension of certain privileges such as the Portuguese law in judging the Banias etc. Such evidences reveal the political influence and elite position enjoyed by the economically dominant group of Gujaratis and Banias. Again testimonies are gained on the significant information passed on by the traveling Banias, Gujaratis and other rich merchants to the Estado at Goa regarding important politico-administrative developments in the neighboring inland kingdoms and this was often used by the State to supplement and validate the official angle released by its political ambassadors and diplomats appointed in regional courts. Moreover, as the major traders and shopkeepers of the city these Hindu traders became an important pressure group influencing the Estado’s administrative decision making.

193 Francisco Bethencourt, ‘Low Cost Empire”, p 123.
Thus evidences reveal how in 1630s the Viceroy Count Linhares was pressurized by the city shopkeeper’s collective exodus from Goa to revoke his administrative restrictions on foodgrain distribution including the dismissal of a corrupt Hindu official in charge of collecting duties of imported foodstuffs.\(^{199}\) The municipal council’s decision of 1632 on retaining the *collecta* tax on rice imports was again influenced by the Hindus of the city voting against the proposed substitute of fee on non-Christian marriages.\(^{200}\) Similarly, in 1678 the pressure tactics of the Hindu revenue farmers of salt in Bardez were evident in their non-cooperation with the government appointed revenue administrator by refusing to cede any information on salt exporters to Balaghat.\(^{201}\) The Portuguese legislation that prohibited such Hindus ownership of immovable property by these Hindus traders inside the Portuguese jurisdiction\(^{202}\) can be seen as the reason for explaining the inability of the State and the municipality to extract resources from these merchant capitalists and traders through forceful capitation levies and contributions. Linschoten too confirms how by law the Hindu traders and artisans were prohibited from practicing customary observances and religious rites which was limited to their houses in the mainland.\(^{203}\) As these traders often possessed households and other immovable capital in the inland kingdoms their efforts were always geared towards transferring a significant portion of the mercantile wealth accumulated at Goa to their homelands rather than reinvesting in sea-trade in the face of Dutch and English military threats and inland trade with the frequent assaults on the imperial city by regional kingdoms like the Marathas, Nayakas of Ikkeri etc. We further find incidents wherein the wealthy *Banias* and other traders often shifted sides to serve as brokers


\(^{200}\) HAG, *Fazenda*, VIII, 207r-208; M.N. Pearson, ‘Banyas and Brahmins’ in *Coastal Western India*, p 106

\(^{201}\) HAG: MS 1127, fls. 21v-22, 49-50; MS 1158, fl. 141v; Teotonio De Souza, *Medieval Goa*, pp 118-119.

\(^{202}\) Teotonio De Souza, ‘Hindu Entrepreneurship in Goan History’, p 18.

and engage in commercial relations with the new rising powers – the French and the English. Apart from the drain of the majority of their wealth from Goa to the inland regions, the very fact that these Hindu capitalists were not permanent residents of the city nor did they harbor feelings of loyalty or fealty to the *Estado* and the Lusitanian metropolis of the East (unlike the mercantile *casado* citizens of Goa) explain their lack of interest in contributing towards the maintenance of the urban edifices and civic structure. Their control over the markets and pressure tactics naturally hampered the efforts of the extractive early colonial State to use them for the purpose of resource mobilization and accumulation catering to the State’s and Goa municipality’s politico-military and administrative needs.

This leads us to analyze the changing trends of trade and urban phenomena in the imperial port-city and understand the shifting strategies of the early colonial State to consolidate resources against the background of the changed socio-economic and political conditions of the late 17th century. However such an investigation requires the mapping of the changing mercantile fortunes of the port of Goa and the fluctuations in the fiscal reserves and other resources of the *Estado* gained from the port city and its other possessions in Asia. By 1660s the port of Goa had lost much of its commercial vitality and was no longer designated ‘Queen of the Oriental marts’. By this time the port of Surat had emerged as the predominant exchange centre in both international and intra-Asian trade and by the end of the seventeenth century the rise of Madras on the eastern coast under the auspices of the British. Moreover, Goa’s erstwhile satellite ports at Bassein and Kanara witnessed flourishing regional trade and triggered the ambitions of the quasi-mercantilist states of Golconda and Ikkeri respectively. Majority of the *Estado*’s income by the seventeenth century was derived from rents from leasing cargo spaces to merchants on the *carreira* voyages, sale of *rendas* and the flow of excess revenues from the ports and forts of the Portuguese after their expenses were met. Diminishing profits from the mercantile engagements of urban residents by 1630s and a reduction in the *Estado*’s receipts by the late 17th century reveal how the flow of mercantile, fiscal...
and human resources from the various Portuguese possessions registered a sharp downturn. The low capital accumulation within the imperial city was also partly linked with the diminishing flow of revenues (gained as rents and taxes) from the customs houses of Bassein, Diu, Cochin, Macao, Malacca and Ceylon to the State treasury at Goa.

To a great extent, these developments can be attributed to the gradual uprooting of the Portuguese monopoly over the major spice markets by the Dutch through establishing contacts with the Asian marts. The systematic military offensives of the Dutch on the strategic ports of the Portuguese and the long blockade of the port of Goa from 1638-1650s choked both the commercial voyages of the carreira ships transporting commodities from Lisbon to Goa and between Goa and the other Asian ports; and, sending military reinforcements (men and armaments) from Lisbon to Goa. Testimonies to the inactivity of the carreira ships and the declining trends of international commerce at the port of Goa stemming from the Dutch blockade are echoed in John Fryer's note

"At Noon we came in view of Goa, not without the sight of a many Baloons passing to and again very swiftly, it being the greatest pastime they have to Row against one another.....their Europe Ships lying here neglected till they rot for want of Cargo, Three great Carracks being ready to drop in Pieces; notwithstanding they have small Trading ships in the River, and against the City, beside a Carrack under the Agoada, which they send home this year."207

205 Lischoten testifies to the enormous revenues gained by the Estado and the flow and concentration of such resources to Goa from the port of Diu owing to its strategic placement between the commercially active ports of Cambay and Sindh and its mercantile community of Banias, Gujaratis, Persians and Arabs. See Arthur Coke Burnell(ed.), The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies Vol.1,p 57-8.


207 John Fryer, A New Account of East India and Persia being Nine Years' Travels 1672-1681 Vol II, p 159.
Similarly the dependence of the Goan merchants and the State on the English for conducting both intra-Asian and international trade bypassing Dutch vigilance of the harbor is evident in Mandelslo’s description of the extravagant welcoming of the English captain of Surat by the Estado officials, the municipality and the various religious Orders of Goa; and, uninterrupted voyages of the mercantile English ships after conducting commerce with the Goan port back to Surat.\(^{208}\) Philip Baldaeus too gives a comparative account of the fading maritime engagements of the port in intra-Asian trade and attributes the concentration of the mercantile wealth and traffic in Goa to its European and Hindu traders revealing that Portuguese traders were by this time a minority of the urban population,

"The city of Goa increasing every year in Riches and Traffick, increase also in strength by addition of several ports near the waterside; this being the capital city of the Portuguese in the Indies. Its Traffick was much more considerable formerly than of late years, since by our blocking up the Bar of Goa they were not a little disturbed by our ships. Whilst Goa was in its flourishing state, they used to send their ships to Pegu, Siam, Japan, Persia, Cambaja, Arabia, Malabar, Coromandel, Bengale, Achem, Besides divers other places. Its well inhabited not only by Europeans, but also Canarins, Moors and Pagans of all Nations, who live for the most part upon trading, or are handicrafts men. The Great Street of Goa has many rich shops well stored with silk, porcelain, and other precious commodities, Drugfety Wares, Manufactories etc."\(^{209}\)

Fluctuations in the flow of funds affecting the income of the Estado were the cumulative effect of multiple political challenges faced during the 17\(^{th}\) century. The loss of geographically and commercially strategic ports such as Syriam (1612), Hormuz (1623), Muscat (1640s), Ceylon (1668) and Cochin (1663);\(^{210}\) and, its

\(^{208}\) Commisariat (ed.), Mandelslo’s Travels in Western India (1638-1639), pp 59-61.

\(^{209}\) Philip Baldaeus, A Description of the East India Coasts of Malabr and Coromandel, p 608.

\(^{210}\) Edward G(ed.), Travels of Pito della Valle in India(AD 1623-24), pp 187-88, 172; Philip Baldaeus, A Description of the East India Coasts of Malabr and Coromandel, pp 608-609, 610-611,
concomitant loss of commercial relations with Japan (1638), Hugli (1632), the
Indonesian spice Islands and the Kanara ports (1654) to the English and the Dutch
and the increasing political assertions 211 under the Safavid Sultan Shah Abbas, the
Omanis, Tokugawa Ieyasu, Mughal governor Qasim Khan, the Nayakas of Ikkeri
ecc., affected negatively the prospects of trade returns for the Portuguese in Asia,
which eventually got reflected on the city space of Goa..

Against the background of mounting pressure the Goa municipality submitted a
memorandum to the viceroy urging him to conclude peace with Shivappa Nayaka of
Keladi (Ikkeri) so that the supply of foodgrains and other essential commodities to
Goa could be restored, apart from conserving the fiscal and material resources
dverted against the Nayaka.212 This suggests both the dependence of Goa on such
neighboring economies for provisions as well as the increasing concern of the
municipality to conserve resources employed in military contestations with regional
powers for the purpose of diverting it to meet the larger Dutch threat that the city
began to face from mid 17th century. Similarly, Abbe Carre mentions how by the
late 17th century the Portuguese tactic of regulating the flow of wealth from the
various commercially strategic ports (in the face of crumbling political dominance
of the Estado over the customs houses) shifted to usurping the private mercantile
wealth amassed by its officials appointed as administrators in the factories and
fortresses at such ports.213 By the 1680s and 90s the Estado began to increasingly
depend on forced contributions from the Portuguese, non-Portuguese residents of
the city, Hindu and Muslim traders as well as loans from the religious institutions

211 Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Portuguese Empire in Asia, pp 144-180.
212 Memorandum of municipality to Goa governor on 9th May 1654 in Assentos, III, pp 333-337; also see V.T.Gune, Gazetteer, p 160.
and confiscation of church ornaments such as silver and gold candleholders, jewels etc., for meeting the dangers of Maratha invasion.\textsuperscript{214} The severe want of resources within the Imperial city was also manifested in the decadence of the royal arsenal where

\begin{quote}
\textit{...formerly they made guns and other instruments of war.... Now it seems to be a mere warehouse of cables, rigging and other naval gear; but once it could rightly be called the sole arsenal in the East.}\textsuperscript{215}
\end{quote}

Such a deterioration in manufacturing cannons and guns can be viewed as the result of financial crisis experienced in the city following its shrinking market. Similarly documents hint at the declining production in the State industries, as well. Manucci’s reference to the Viceroy Francisco de Tavora’s grant to Aurangzeb’s fugitive son Akbar to build a sea-faring vessel on the Goa river ignoring the latter’s alliance with the rivaling Maratha chief Sambhaji\textsuperscript{216} suggests the temptation of earning significant revenue prompting the viceroy’s grant. Furthermore it indirectly reveals the declined profits of the royal dockyard stemming from the lowered demand for constructing and maintaining vessels used by the private Portuguese and European traders owing to the depleting Indo-European and intra-Asian trade of the port and the concurrent low reserves that could be mobilized by the State and municipality to construct or maintain the armada ships, mercantile galleys and \textit{naus} by the late 17\textsuperscript{th} century. The scarcity of funds mobilized towards such State industries is testified by the protest of 500 poor artisans of Goa shipyard against non-payment of wages on October 8, 1694.\textsuperscript{217} Furthermore, another explanation to the depreciating income of the \textit{Estado} by 1680s can be linked to the reduction in the total revenues derived from sale of \textit{rendas}\textsuperscript{218} suggesting declining trends of trade at

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{214} Fawcett(ed.), \textit{The Travels of the Abbe Carre}, Vol I, pp 215-216, 217.
\item\textsuperscript{216} Manucci, \textit{Mogul India or Storia do Mogor}, Vol II, p 245-246.
\item\textsuperscript{217} Teotonio R.de Souza, \textit{Medieval Goa}, p. 153.
\item\textsuperscript{218} This reduction in income from \textit{rendas} can be deducted from Pearson’s estimates of total receipts from \textit{rendas} for the years 1600, 1635 and 1680 that suggest a sharp depreciation from previous income from sale of \textit{rendas}. See Pearson, ‘\textit{Banyas and Brahmins},’ p 97.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
the port of Goa which made investment in such rendas unprofitable. The developments mentioned above reveal that by the mid and late 17th century while the incomes reduced the expenses of the Estado steadily mounted, particularly for erecting fortresses and defensive arrangements to contain the recurring threats from the Dutch, the inland rulers and the Marathas.219

New Exigencies and Reshaping of Goa as Rome of the East

The strategies of the early colonial State in securing the flow and concentration of men and wealth within Goa in the changed conditions of the mid and late 17th centuries necessitated the re-fabrication of the imperial capital as Rome in India. Thevenot, who attributed the diminished wealth and the ruined commerce of the port city of 1666 to the vanity of its citizens and naval onslaught of the Dutch, maintains that “the city is great and full of beautiful churches and convents, and well adorned with palaces.”220 Such descriptions of the city are corroborated by John Fryer’s observations on how the city by 1675 had disarrayed streets and houses falling into ruins but still looked noble on account of its religious edifices. Thus he remarks,

“The city of Goa looks well at a small distance.....everywhere colleges, churches and glorious structures......the city is Rome in India, both for absoluteness and fabrics, the chief consisting of the churches and convents or religious houses though the laity have sumptuous ones of stone......The clergy affect little of outward state, going about only frater cum socio in couples; they salute a father by first kissing the hem of his garment and then begging a benediction.”221

219 Valentine Ball(ed.), Tavernier’s Travels in India, 1640-1676, p 151.
221 John Fryer, A New Account of East India and Persia being Nine Years’ Travels 1672-1681, Vol.II, pp 149,156.
The above further reflects the socio-economic status of the clergy of Goa. The accounts of Alexander Hamilton (despite his exaggeration of recording 30,000 clergy in the city) reveal the class of clergymen who living parasitically on the laity and several richly furnished and highly ornate religious structures of Goa.\footnote{Alexander Hamilton, \textit{A new Account of the East-Indies being the Observations and Remarks of Alexander Hamilton}, pp 248-249.}

Similarly documents refer to the increase in the number of nuns joining the monastery of Santa Monica (from the nobility, the middle income group and the orphans) after the upper limit of 40 members was revised by the king in 1615 to permit the convent in accepting as many candidates as it could afford economically\footnote{Letter of the King to Viceroy Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo dated 21st March 1615 in Documentos Remettidos da India ou Livros das Moncoeis, Vol III, Lisbon 1885, Doc 603, pp 330-331.} In 1624 the total number of nuns entering the convent was raised to the maximum limit of fifty\footnote{Crown to Viceroy dated 23rd March 1624 in Documentos Remettidos da India Vol X, pp 363-364.} though nuns were not to inherit goods without royal authority. Similarly the great wealth concentrated within the Convent on account of the rich and noble Portuguese widows and daughters is evident in the second\footnote{Letter from Crown to Viceroy dated 9th March 1613 in Documentos Remettidos da India Vol II, pp 384 - 386.} parecer of where the chancellor of Goa Relaçao, Gonçalo Pinto da Fonseca attributed to the Convent as possessing an income of 4,000 $\text{pardoas}$ (derived as returns from its properties)and spending an enormous amount of 200,000 $\text{pardoas}$ on constructing the edifice of the Convent. Case studies reveal how widowed noble women such as Donna Catarina—also known as Catarina de Santa Monica who entered the convent along with her three daughters—donating the proceeds from her inheritance of the returns from the lucrative China voyage and an amount of 400 $\text{pardoas}$ for life\footnote{Both travelogues and official correspondence reveal (directly and indirectly) the intensified concentration and accumulation of men and wealth within the religious Orders, especially the Jesuit House (New St Pauls or St Rock), Augustinian Convent and Monastery of Santa Monica, visually expressed in the maintenance of the pre-existing structures as well as the ornamental and sculptural}. Both travelogues and official correspondence reveal (directly and indirectly) the intensified concentration and accumulation of men and wealth within the religious Orders, especially the Jesuit House (New St Pauls or St Rock), Augustinian Convent and Monastery of Santa Monica, visually expressed in the maintenance of the pre-existing structures as well as the ornamental and sculptural
architecture of new additions to these religious edifices during the period. Furthermore the foray of new religious such as the Carmelites and Theatines within the urban space as well as the Padroado’s changing relations with these Orders provides insights into the State’s vested interests in nurturing only those institutions and clergymen within the city that could contribute resources in the form of fiscal loans and render military services as well as acknowledge the patronage of the early colonial Christian State.

On the one hand the State’s encouragement to such religious in claiming socio-political superiority through their edifices, lavish lifestyles and glamorous feasts and festivals within the city space of Goa reveals evolving strategies whereby the wealthy religious institutions were expected to provide financial aid to the Estado in meeting political and military exigencies in Goa. On the other hand a critical analysis of the Padroado’s propaganda declaring the imperial city as “Rome of the East” with the divine mandate to rule—in its capacity as the protectorate of St. Francis Xavier—suggests the State’s efforts at harnessing the loyalties of all the Catholic Christians including the clergymen, non-Portuguese Europeans and native converts to collaborate with the Estado in defending Goa, both financially and militarily, against the mid 17th century Dutch offensives and the Maratha aggressions by the late 17th century. By late 17th century the State employed various control mechanisms for limiting the centrifugal acts of European and native clergymen (empowered by the rival Christianizing institution of Propaganda Fide) to legitimize settlements of Goa’s migrant community of Portuguese merchants, European renegades and converted artisan-cum-traders in urban centers outside Portuguese control. Concomitantly a systematic knowledge formation process to this image of ‘Rome of the East’ was undertaken by the State to project the erstwhile commercial space of the port city as a pilgrimage center by upholding the

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226 Details on the renovation and beautifications of the structures in Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch, pp 305, 307, 313, 316, 317, 318.

227 Ibid. pp248; 256.
sanctity of the shrine of Saint Xavier and sacred and miraculous space of the Goan Churches.

The attempt to construct visually an image of ‘Rome of the East’ made the state and padroado authorities allow the new religious Orders to set base in Goa and erect convents and churches within the imperial city, despite the mounting fiscal and military challenges of the mid seventeenth century. However, Estado was very keen to ensure the oath of fidelity from the foreign friars of such new religious Orders and the acceptance of the Padroado patronage dictated the continuity of these Orders in Goa as evident in the expulsion of the Carmelites in 1707 on their refusal to take the Oath of allegiance. The Carmelite Convent and its church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel constructed adjacent to Nossa Senhora do Monte by 1612 was praised for its picturesque location and beautiful edifice by several travelers including Della Valle, Tavernier, John Fryer and Abbe Carre. Della Valle in particular records the glamour marking the celebration of the canonization of St Theresa in 1623 and the organization of feasts and mass within the Carmelite church which was attended by the Portuguese fidalgos and the Viceroy. Such celebrations however can be seen as mechanisms that the Carmelites used for asserting their social claims and position within the city space. The importance of


229 The Idea of transformation of the mercantile space of the city into sacred space by the late 16th century can be deducted from Hamilton’s reference to the organization of city life in Goa dictated by Church time as “Every church has a set of bells, that one or other of them are continually ringing, and, being all christened, and dedicated to some saint, they have a specific Power to drive away all Manner of evil Spirits” see Hamilton, A New Account of the East-Indies being the Observations and Remarks of Alexander Hamilton, p 249.

230 Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch, p 257.


these assertions for the Order can be gauged in entirety only by contextualizing the acts against the hostility of the Estado to the foreign Carmelite friars from Rome who generally owed their loyalties to the Propaganda Fide and refused to pledge allegiance to the patronage of the Padroado ultimately leading to conflict with the Portuguese authorities and their final expulsion from the city by 1707. Moreover, the contemporary testimony to the grace and beauty of the edifice of the Carmelite church and Convent, the gilded altar and the letters of gold surmounting the door of the cells notwithstanding accounts also record the inferiority of these structures to the size of the other religious edifices of Goa. Indirectly this testifies to the lower funds invested by the Carmelites in the constructions. Sources reveal that much of the resources were actually gifts and bequests of few rich noblemen such as Dom Pedro Mascarenhas rather than grants advanced by the Estado. Similarly in the case of the Italian religious Order of the Theatines, the only grant made by the State was the allotment of the site for the establishment of its Church and Convent near the Quay and Palace of the Viceroy by the royal letter of 1655, while the rest of the resources were mobilized by the religious Order itself. However the grant of such land when studied in the background of a Theatine friar Dom Pedro de Avitabili’s visit to Lisbon and swearing of fealty to the Padroado; and, the engraving of the coat of arms of Portugal on the front façade of the church of St

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233 For details on the Padroado’s demands, the Carmelites refusal to accept Padroado patronage and their expulsion see Edward G(ed.), Travels of Pitro della Valle in India (AD 1623-24), p155-56; Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch, p 257; also see Patrick Lobo, Magnificent Monuments, p 23; Thekkedath, History of Christianity in India, Vol II, pp 7, 8.


236 Gemeli Careri, Churchills Voyages and Travels, Vol IV, p 251

237 The letter of Viceroy Count Linhares on 15th April 1634 testifies to the grant of funds by Dom Pedro Mascarenhas to the Carmelites on condition of erecting a monument in his memory with his coat-of-arms engraved in it. HAG, Livros das Monções do Reino, Goa. Gov. Rec, MSS, No 20 cited by Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch, p 259.

238 Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch, p 248.
Cajetan\textsuperscript{239} reveals how and why the State extended support to the Theatines rather than the non-succumbing Discalced Carmelites, who were finally expelled from the city. This suggests the Padroado’s calculated support and control over the religious of Goa in a way that would ensure absolute loyalties of the clergy to the Portuguese State and the imperial capital city of Goa. Abbe Carre’s account also refers to the discrimination faced by the foreign friars especially the French clergy\textsuperscript{240} working in China, Madras and regions on the Indian west coast; and, those native priests\textsuperscript{241} who gained their legitimacy from Rome and owed patronage to the Propaganda Fide. The Padroado condemned such clergy and punished them by subjection to Inquisitional trials,\textsuperscript{242} which reveals the State’s strategy of favoring the missionary activities of only those religious who pledged fidelity to the Portuguese crown and patronage. In that sense these religious Orders were used as political tools to rally the loyalties of Portuguese and catholic converts to the Padroado and the early colonial state, ensuring flow of resources to the imperial capital city.

\textsuperscript{239} Patrick Lobo, \textit{Magnificent Monuments}, pp 58, 60

\textsuperscript{240} The use of Inquisition against the French Bishop M de Beritte for his ministry in China, French ecclesiast M. Dechevroeuil of China being captured and subjected to Inquisition, the capture and the Inquisitional trial of the Capuchin Friar Ephraim of Nevers for his ministry in Madraspattanam or Fort St George, all refer to the Estado’s use of the Inquisition as a tool to eliminate the legitimacy of those priests who fuelled dispersion of Portuguese and native converts to rival commercial centers. For details see Fawcett(ed.), \textit{The Travels of the Abbe Carre}, Vol I, pp 209-210.

\textsuperscript{241} The most evident case is of Bishop Dom Matheus de Castro, a native Canarese Brahmin, who got converted to Christianity and sought priesthood from Rome after being rejected by the Padroado. This led him to be in conflict with the Portuguese system and even after becoming a bishop, he went to Bijapur and organized a rebellion of the Brahmins against the Goa authorities by 1650s. For details on the Estado’s attempts to censor the working of the native Bishop see Charles Fawcett(ed.), \textit{The Travels of the Fawcett(ed.), The Travels of the Abbe Carre}, Vol I, pp 205-206. Also see Teotonio de Souza, ‘An Unsung Hero: Mathias de Castro Mahale’ in \textit{Goa Today}, January 1975.

\textsuperscript{242} Cf. supra no 237.
Picture 20: Front Façade of St Cajetan with Coat of Arms of the King of Portugal

Picture 21: Sculptural and Architectural Aesthetic of St Cajetan modeled on St Peters Basilica.
However—in contrast to the humble edifices, curtailed religious activity of these foreign Italian friars—the earlier religious Orders such as the Dominicans, the Augustinians, the Franciscans, the Jesuits and the nuns of Santa Monica continued to expand, decorate and ornament their glorious edifices with grand façades and ornate architecture. On the one hand, this suggests the undiminished flow of wealth to these Orders, despite the financial crunch the city was experiencing. In the case of the Jesuit edifices Tavernier\textsuperscript{243} refers to the five grand houses of the Jesuits within the city by the 1660s and Mandelslo\textsuperscript{244} as well as John Fryer\textsuperscript{245} both refer to the magnificence and splendor of the Professed house of the Jesuits; the architectural marvel, ornaments and rich altar of the Bom Jesus basilica; the richness of the tomb of St Francis Xavier within the Basilica; and, the New college of St Paul with its magnificent library, hospital, well stocked apothecary’s shop and the adjoining Church of St Roch. Tavernier also reveals how by 1663 the well maintained Professed House had been rebuilt by the Jesuits at the cost of 60,000 ecus following an accident that burnt a major section of the House.\textsuperscript{246} Evidences reveal how large amount of money was spent by the Order on the construction of additional wings to the Bom Jesus Basilica during the 1650s.\textsuperscript{247} The new chapel built by the Jesuits to house the shrine of St Francis Xavier\textsuperscript{248} ornamented with lattice work and elaborate paintings of the Saint; and, the adjacent Sacristy built by the funds advanced by Balthazar de Veiga whose coffin was placed within the sacristy by 1659\textsuperscript{249} suggest the enormous concentration of wealth within the Order.

\textsuperscript{243} Tavernier names the five grand houses of the Jesuits in the city as the College of St. Paul, the Seminary, the Monks House, the Novitiate, and Bon Jesus. See Valentine Ball(ed.), Tavernier's Travels in India, pp 159-160

\textsuperscript{244} Commissariat (ed.), Mandelslo's Travels in Western India (1638-1639), pp 62-63.

\textsuperscript{245} John Fryer, A New Account of East India, vol.1, pp 11-13.

\textsuperscript{246} Ball and Crooke (eds.), Tavernier's Travels in India, p 159

\textsuperscript{247} Patrick Lobo, Magnificent Monuments; Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch, pp 286, 287-290, 300-301.

\textsuperscript{248} This chapel was constructed in 1655 see Ibid, pp 286, 287, 290

\textsuperscript{249} For details on the foundation of the Sacristy on 29th February 1652 and details on its spaciousness, vault and ornate portal which lend it a grandeur surpassing the sacristy's of all other Goan churches
at a time when the mercantile economy of the city reeled under Dutch blockades. Similarly, the flow of resources to the Basilica can be gained from its rise as a pilgrimage center on account of the miraculous healing properties\textsuperscript{250} associated with the relics of the Saint Francis Xavier which were transferred to the Bom Jesus Basilica from the Old College of St Paul in 1624. \textsuperscript{251}

\textbf{Picture 22: Chapel housing Shrine of Francis Xavier}

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\textsuperscript{250} A detailed account of the cult of saints within the Catholic Church, ritual kidnapping wherein the relic was visualized as the "living saint" and the various miracles spun around the relic of Francis Xavier see Pamela Gupta, \textit{The Relic State: St Francis Xavier and the Politics of Ritual in Portuguese India}. New York, Columbia University (unpublished Ph.D Thesis), 2004, pp 58-60, 293-

\textsuperscript{251} Fonseca, \textit{An Historical and Archaeological Sketch}, p 286.
That the flow of resources within the Order from regions outside Goa by way of such donations and offerings continued till the end of the 17th century can be corroborated through records and inscriptions of 1670s and 1690s. The silver statue of the Saint adorning the altar of his chapel in Bom Jesus baslica in 1670 was made of the gift of 3,000 cruzados offered by the nun Maria Francisca Xaveria, a rich Genoese noblelady and widow of Urban Durati; the gold diadem crowning the

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252 The translation of the inscription at the base of the silver statue is derived from Fonseca, *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch*, p 287. Patrick Lobo further adds that the rest of the expenses for making the silver statue was incurred by the Jesuit Provincial, Antonio Botelho, and the silver
head of the silver statue; the ornate vestments of gold and silver clothing the saint’s relic gifted by Donna Maria Sofia, the Queen of Portugal; the gold medallion at the feet of the saint offered by the king Dom Pedro II of Portugal; the gilded baton of the saint encrusted with 194 emeralds; and, the magnificent sarcophagus of rich Italian stone by the Grand Duke of Tuscany Cosmas III in 1690s reveal the significance of the Basilica (as a major pilgrimage center) in channelizing flow of wealth from rich Catholic Europeans and Portuguese to the city, stimulating its urban economic processes. Furthermore apart from the relic of the saint the promotion of the sacred space of the Bom Jesus as a major pilgrimage center by the late 17th century can also be linked to the consciously cultivated and propagated legend of the saint as “Defender of the East” wielding the staff that protected Portuguese territories. The miracle of 1683 when the divine intercession of the saint repelled the Maratha chief Sambhaji’s invasion of Goa on the appeal of the Viceroy Count of Alvor soon colored the cultural consciousness of Catholic Europeans in the East by becoming a customary practice in the induction ceremony of subsequent Viceroyos where they appropriated the saint’s divine protection by claiming his sacred staff.

The use of such resources coming obtained as gifts and donations for constructing and maintaining the structures necessitated the hiring of artisans, unskilled labour

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253 The grantees mentioned above - Maria Francisca Xaveria, Cosmas III etc- reveal how the wealth from the residents of Italy; and, the Portuguese - Balthazar de Veiga, the Royal family etc - resident in Lisbon got directed to Goa at a time when the commercial wealth of the city declined. The use of the wealth to undertake construction activities suggests that it found its way into the city and stimulated the economy in particular trade and artisanal activities in a period when fiscally the port city reeled under declining intra-Asian and international trade and the drain caused by increasing military expenses of the State.

254 Casimiro Christvão de Nazareth, *Mitras Lusitanas no Oriente*, Lisboa, 1894, pp.206; 622

force, buying construction materials etc with the urban center. This shows the importance of the Jesuit institutions of this period in accumulating and channelizing wealth received in the form of donations and offerings from the Catholic Christian community of Asia and Europe, but ultimately stimulating the economic processes of the city. Mandelso says that the wealth within the Jesuit Order by 1640s was reflected on the format and structuring of the professed house of the Jesuits with its well furnished large halls, elaborate dining and sanitation facilities etc.256 His observation on the keenness of the Jesuit fathers of Goa to entertain William Methwold, the President of the English factory at Surat, on his ten day visit to Goa257 suggests their mercantile interests in using the English ships as the medium to conduct their trade and correspondence with other Asian ports at a time, when Dutch naval aggression on incoming and outgoing Portuguese galleons and carracks were on the rise. Corroboration can be also traced in Abbe Carre’s account of the endeavors of the Goa Jesuits in 1680s to secure their business interests in the English-controlled port of Bombay and their lands (aldeas) in Thane.258 Thus he refers to the visit of the “Paulist Father and some Portuguese grandees from Goa” visiting Bombay

“to treat with the English President about some rents and claims which they said they possessed in the dependencies of Bombay…”259

The structural additions and maintenance of the edifices; and, the donations and gifts by wealthy pilgrims meant for all practical purposes pumping of resources into urban circulatory channels, whose ultimate result was stimulation of urban economy. In the politico-economic context of the late 17th century when the maritime mercantile dominance of the city of Goa stood contested by Surat and

256 Commisariat (ed.), Mandelslo’s Travels in Western India (1638-1639), pp 62-64.
Madras; its regional trade disrupted by the power houses of Bijapur, Ikkeri and Golconda; its State industries (Royal arsenal, shipyard etc.) disrupted with the bankruptcy of the public treasury; and, the continuity of the city itself threatened by the conquests of Maratha chiefs Shivaji and Sambhaji, the processes of church-constructions and pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Francis Xavier pumped enough liquid wealth to revive artisanal activities and mercantile engagements within the port city; and, mobilized resources (both men and material) from neighboring regions. However, even by late 17th century Hindu and Mohammadan merchants and artisans traded in the city in considerable numbers. Thus “the Great Street of Goa (Rua Direita) has many shops” selling imported commodities such as Arabian horses, vessels of agate, porcelain, silk, luxury goods etc despite the decline in the port’s maritime mercantile relationship with the trading zones of Pegu, Siam, Japan, Persia, Cambaja, Arabia, Malabar, Coromandel, Bengale, Achem. At the same time we find mention being made about the scarcity of necessary provisions (following the Maratha invasion of 1683) and migration of opulent families away from Goa into the suburbs and neighboring villages of Guadalupe, São Lourenço, Naroa, Chorão etc. For finding the meanings of this mutually contradicting situation one has to search in the religious houses, where enormous wealth used to get accumulated in the city during this period. Abbe Carre, who despite his prejudice against the Portuguese clergymen, reveals the mercantile activities.
and production activities within the city spinning around the demands of the Church in his remark,

"You must indeed go into the Portuguese convents if you still want to find riches and treasures: there you will see brokers, merchants and other country people, who trade only with Portuguese priests. All the commerce of that nation is thus in their hands²⁶⁷

A corroboration of this can be gained through the analysis of the massive reconstruction works undertaken at Santa Monica around 1617-1620 to enlarge the convent. The edifice of the Convent by 1627 underwent substantial changes and differed considerably from the earlier humble structure of 1606 constructed from the meager sum of 3000 xerafins donated by Archbishop Alexis de Menezes. The royal letter of 1617 directing the Viceroy to clear all the debts owed by the State to the nuns and the response of concerned officials promising to act as needed²⁶⁸ can be linked to the subsequent renovation and additions to the Convent funded by itself for accommodating new entrants. Concurrently, the kings heeding to the request of the nuns in the same year and appointing the Archbishop as the assessor of the surrounding private houses for purchasing the territory to enlarge the edifice of the Convent reveals the State’s interests in mobilizing wealth accumulated and concentrated within Santa Monica through renovations and maintenance activities. Behind such a move one may notice the State’s efforts at modeling Santa Monica as a wealthy self sustaining institute rather than dependant upon Government aid, when analyzed against the context of the earlier hesitation of the crown in 1607²⁶⁹ in granting the sum of 2000 xerafins by the municipality of Goa from royal income of 1% additional customs tax sanctioned for meeting the defense needs of the city. The

royal decree\textsuperscript{270} made it mandatory for the membership of the Convent to be limited to rich European noblewomen, orphans with dowries and wealthy widows. Thus instead of drawing upon the scarce funds of the state and the Padroado, the Convent was expected to evolve as a center of mobilizing its own funds within Goa both from its own sources of income and from rich Catholic Christian benefactors. The State also permitted the Convent to cultivate its own regular sources of income by re-investing the wealth (acquired from patrimonies and dowries) into investments in landed property within Portuguese territories except a few categories of public property.\textsuperscript{271} Documents recording the heavy losses suffered by the Convent when the Marathas conquered Portuguese controlled territories on the west coast of India (the northern provinces) reveal indirectly Santa Monica's enormous resources drawn primarily from its vast landed possessions in Portuguese possessions north of Bombay\textsuperscript{272} and shops in Bassein which it had both purchased and acquired as the patrimony of the ladies who entered the convent. Likewise, the regular flow of wealth to the convent from its possessions in Goa apart from the regions outside Goa and from its business engagements in other urban centers\textsuperscript{273} elevated it as one of the most economically and socially powerful religious institutions. This later made the Municipality go for bitter complaint against the institution for

\textsuperscript{270} For details of the royal letter to Viceroy dated 11 December 1607 see Carlos Alonso Vanes, 'The Convent of Saint Monica and its inhabitants.' in Pius Malekandathil and Jamal Mohammad (eds.), Portuguese, Indian Ocean and the European Bridgeheads, p 166.

\textsuperscript{271} For details of the royal alvara of 9th February 1611 to the Viceroy Dom Lorenzo de Tavora granting the nuns of Santa Monica the privilege to buy real estate worth not above 3000 xerafins see Documentos Remettidos da India, Vol II, Doc 168, p 23.

\textsuperscript{272} Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch, p 309.

\textsuperscript{273} The business travels of nuns to China, properties outside Goa and the fact that many of the inmates of the Convent were rich noble ladies from other regions of Asia and Africa including Mombasa, Malacca, Bassein, ceylon etc in Vanes, 'The Convent of Saint Monica and its inhabitants,' pp 177, 178.
withdrawing sizeable resources from the city and thus imposing limitations on the mercantile potential of the trading Portuguese citizens.\textsuperscript{274}

However for the State, the concentration of wealth within Santa Monica connoted not only the withdrawal of the financial aid (from the royal income) to the institution but also making the latter a regular source for the Estado to extract loans and free contributions to meet military and administrative exigencies of the mid and late seventeenth century. The alvara of 1636 extending royal patronage to the Convent\textsuperscript{275} provides a glimpse of the extension of State’s claims over the wealthy and economically powerful institution. Likewise the redistributive role of Santa Monica (just like the Augustinian and Jesuit Orders) in investing funds rallied from its various sources for setting up missions and churches in Portuguese controlled areas suggest twin gains. For the religious institution it connoted channelization of wealth from the neighboring economies for religious purposes. For the early colonial State, the royal convent enabled the securing of the loyalties of rich Catholic men and women to the Padroado system at Goa at a time when the Portuguese patronage of Christianity in the East was increasingly contested by the direct engagements of the Propaganda Fide and the Italian friars in Asia; and, the maritime dominance of the Protestant mercantile powers attracted the allegiance of Portuguese merchants and mercenary soldiers. Eventually the circulation of miracle stories like the weeping of Jesus’s figure on the cross in 1636\textsuperscript{276} and the story of stigmata(sacred wounds), that Sr. Maria Crom was said to have had on her body in 1683\textsuperscript{277}, elevated the convent to the status of a pilgrim centre.

\textsuperscript{274} Complaints of the municipality against the increasing tendency of rich widows and heiresses at entering the convent with their patrimonies or inheritances in Teotonio de Souza, \textit{Medieval Goa}, p 146.

\textsuperscript{275} Fonseca, \textit{An Historical and Archaeological Sketch}. p 305

\textsuperscript{276} Personal interview dated Dec 2009 with Sr. Jyoti Fernandes, Convent of Santa Monica; also see Fonseca, \textit{An Historical and Archaeological Sketch}. pp 310, 311; Vanes, ‘ The Convent of Saint Monica and its inhabitants,’ p 177;

\textsuperscript{277} Interview with Sr Jyoti Fernandes. also see Fonseca, \textit{An Historical and Archaeological Sketch}. pp 307-309; Pius Malekandathil, \textit{The Germans, the Portuguese and India}, p.110
Picture 24: Showcasing Legend of Sr. Maria Crom at Santa Monica before entrance to the Church

Picture 25: Miraculous Crucifix Preserved and Adorning the Church of Santa Monica
Thus the marking of the church and convent of Santa Monica as sites of miracles (similar to the relics of Saint Francis Xavier) helped in crafting the State's claim that Goa and the Portuguese territories were spiritually protected and the Padroado's
rule was divinely sanctioned. In this context, the official recording of various miracles associated with Santa Monica during the seventeenth century reveals the processes through which the sacred space of the church and convent were transformed as pilgrimage centers for both Goans and Europeans alike by the Padroado. Thus the testimony of the Viceroy and many fidalgos (officials of the State) to witness the miracle of the moving crucified image of Christ on 12th February 1636 in the church of Santa Monica, the celebration of a glamorous feast to commemorate the miracle and the public treasury’s annual grant to keep the lamp in the cloister burning 278 reveal the State’s role in engraving the sanctity of the sacred space within popular memory. Apart from the offerings and donations of the pilgrims and devotees such miracles also enabled the indirect binding of the loyalties of the scattered and widely distributed Catholic Europeans and Portuguese who migrated from Goa or were mercenary soldiers. At a time, when the early colonial state was experiencing dearth of human and material resources, pilgrim processes that helped to forge loyalty and attachment among the Portuguese descendants to power centre was immensely promoted by the state. The accounts of Tavernier 279 and Abbe Carre 280 refer to the Estado’s dependence on the naval and militarily skilled Frenchmen during the mid and late 17th century. Tavernier also refers to the loyalties commanded by the Padroado from the Catholic Frenchmen during the mid 17th century in his notes on the soldier Sieur des Marests who refused to align with the English President and remarks,

278 For description of the miracle and the following events see Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch. pp 310, 311.
279 Taverniers comments on M du Belloy and others given earlier in this Chapter Cf. supra nos 55, 92.
280 The accounts of Abbe Carre reveal the large number of Frenchmen enrolled in the Estado’s army and his attempts at weaning them away from Goa. While he blames the failure of his attempts to the Portuguese Viceroy’s guarding such soldiers, the very fact that despite many discussions with the soldiers he couldn’t persuade them to leave the Estado suggests their continuity in Goa to reasons beyond the Viceroy’s overzealousness. Fawcett(ed.), The Travels of the Abbe Carre I, Vol I, pp 217-218.
"But at length he told them that, not being of their religion, he felt some scruple in serving with them against the Portuguese, and that this was the only reason that prevented him from accepting the offers which they so kindly made him."  

The need to mobilize men and resources who were dispersed following the Dutch blockades and Maratha invasions; and, the Estado's efforts at controlling further migrations of wealthy Portuguese families to the suburbs and villages of Goa can be seen in the Viceroy's testimonies to the two miracles during the year 1683 marking the miraculous space of the imperial city and the divine rule of the Padroado. Thus the miracle of the stigmata of Christ on the body of the dead Prioress of Santa Monica, Sr. Mary of Jesus, formerly the German noblelady Dona Maria de Crom, in 1683 and its documentation in official correspondence to Europe suggests the new processes of knowledge formation on the divine signs as assurances of the righteousness of the Padroado and protection of the Portuguese territories. The accounts of Gemeli Careiri in 1695 record the circulation of the miraculous legends for the larger part of the late seventeenth century. This hints at the appropriation of such miraculous legends by the State to meet its immediate needs of mobilizing men and resources into Goa struggling against political challenges, declining maritime trade, impoverished Portuguese residents, famines, diseases, and depopulation of the city's wards. Alongside such miracles, sources reveal the extensive missionary field of the Augustinians and the concentrations of wealth within the Order through bequests of rich Portuguese noblemen and its members.

281 Valentine Ball(ed.), Tavernier's Travels in India, p 172.
282 Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch. pp 307-309
283 Ibid, pp 308-309.
284 For details on the spread of the Augustinian mission fields in more than 24 other venues from Mombasa in the East Coast of Africa to Malacca in South East Asia see Antonio da Silva Rego (ed.), Documentacao para a Historia das Missoes do Padroado Portugues no Oriente, Vol XI, pp 147-228; Vol XII, pp 165-185.
comprising primarily of Portuguese nobility285 with substantial inheritances. The reconstruction of the collapsed edifice of the church of the Miraculous Cross in 1669 by the Augustinian friars Agostinho dos Reis and Frei Simão da Graça was done partly through financial help from their own Order and partly by donations from private Portuguese traders.286 This reveals the redistributive role of such religious Orders and institutions extracting enormous resources from regions outside Goa and from pious Portuguese people and using the funds to establish churches and carry out missionary works. Furthermore, the wealth gained by the Augustinians both on account of the inheritances and from resources from its various mission fields especially from Hormuz where it remained active till 1622 and Persia was exhibited in the magnificent palace-like Convent of Our Lady of Grace in Goa which redoubled as its headquarters as testified by Mandelslo.287 Ovington also remarks on the opulence of the European friars residing in Goa in general and the Jesuits in particular as,

"The numbers of their clergy increase here, as well as in other Popish countries.... they tell us, that none of their nation is admitted to the Priesthood, who is not possessed of some Patrimony, to avoid a burthen to the Church.....The Jesuits among all the rest of their Orders, are the only men in Supreme Repute, which they aspire to by the easy absolutions of their Penitents, an pretensions to stricter Sanctity, and a more unblemished Character, than the rest of their Orders......."288

Furthermore, travelers also record the elaborate processions and masquerades celebrating the feasts and festivals held by the Dominicans and the Augustinians
during the 17th century — despite the declining wealth of the municipality and the Estado — indicating and celebrating both the socio-economic power of such Orders and the marking of the city space as the sanctuary of Christianity by parading it as the ‘Rome of the East’.

However, the short term interests of the extractive early colonial State in converting the urban space into a pilgrimage center to mobilize men and wealth; and, the use of the economically powerful religious institutions and clergy for free contributions and military services created bottlenecks in the wealth concentrations and mercantile outlets for the Portuguese citizens of the urban center. The construction and renovation activities undertaken by the Jesuits and Convent of Santa Monica suggest how such acts aided the growth of the mercantile community of Hindus and Muslims who specialized in regional trade and artisanal activities. Furthermore, it encouraged the growth of the negro slaves and mulatos (mixed blood descendants of African slaves and Portuguese) acting as unskilled labour force for such enterprises and accounting for almost one-fourth of the city population by 1695. The concentration of wealth within such Orders and their dominating mercantile ventures of the port city with the English and French ships blocked commercial opportunities for the Portuguese residents. Moreover, sources attest to the corrupt practices of the Portuguese clergymen and fidalgos leading a life of luxury and refusing to pay back the credits to the merchants and artisans of the city causing further damage to urban commercial activities. Ovington too testifies to the

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289 The Feast of Corpus Christi was celebrated by the Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians. See Edward Grey (ed.), *The Travels of Pietro della Valle in India*, vol. I, p 167.


291 Manucci attributes the arrest and inquisitional trial of the Capuchin monk Father Ephraim to the “hatred and envy entertained against him by the Jesuits and secular priests of San Thome” and the fact that the English did not consent to the Governor of San Thome bishopric to appoint a secular clergy replacing Father Ephraim in Madras “as they (English) knew well they (other Portuguese priests) were all licentious—a fact quite scandalous and public—each one keeping a mistress in his own house.” For details see Manucci, *Mogul India or Storia do Mogor*, Vol IV, pp 447-449.
luxurious and oppressive lifestyle of the clergy surviving off the labours of the urban laity\textsuperscript{292} both in appropriating scarce foodstuff and in non-payment of credits to the urban shopkeepers. The enrollment of rich widows and Portuguese heiresses into the Convent of Santa Monica further affected the attempts of the Portuguese residents at using dowries gained through marriages as mercantile capital. Similarly the testimony of Alexander Hamilton on competition amongst the Portuguese socio-economic elites of Goa to secure positions for their sons within the churches in pursuit of a luxurious lifestyle and riches\textsuperscript{293} reveals the withdrawal of the capital from being re-invested by the Portuguese into taxable trade. Thus in the long run the concentration of wealth within the religious Orders during the course of the seventeenth century was one among multiple factors which led to declining trade of the citizens apart from the migration of the Portuguese renegades and the illicit trade of the Portuguese officials with the Hindu merchants. This explains the declining reserves of the Goa municipality which used to extract a considerable share of its income from taxing urban commerce and shops. Documents testify to the financial bankruptcy of the Goa municipality in 1693\textsuperscript{294} when much of the Portuguese citizens resorted to demolishing their houses and selling them for survival\textsuperscript{295} and the main traders of the city comprised the Hindu merchants who evaded payments to the municipality.

In a nutshell, the period between 1610 and 1690 marked a complex situation in the city of Goa, with dwindling trade, followed by decline of urban population, particularly of the mercantile segment of Portuguese \textit{casados}. This process got


\textsuperscript{293} Hamilton, \textit{A New Account of the East-Indies being the Observations and Remarks of Alexander Hamilton}, pp 248-249.

\textsuperscript{294} Letter of the king to the Viceroy Count of Villa Verde dated 1693 on the inability of the Goa municipality to contribute to the newly established company of commerce citing financial bankruptcy as the chief cause. HAG: \textit{Livros das Monções do Reino} 58, fls. 167 (10.ii. 1693); also see Teotonio de Souza, \textit{Medieval Goa}, p 143.

\textsuperscript{295} Letter of Municipality to King dated December 1693 in HAG: MS 7865 (\textit{Cartas dos Governadores e Reis de Portugal}, 1676-1708), fl. 93v. (I, xii. 1693).
accelerated by the recurring attacks on the city by the Dutch and the frequent outbreak of pestilence and epidemics in the city because of poor sanitation conditions, which further made many entrepreneurial segment of the city to flee to safer areas for conducting their trade. In the changed situation the Jewish converts or the New Christian traders as well as Saraswat Brahmins and the Banias began to dominate over the commercial and banking activities of the city. The Estado on its turn attempted to incorporate these ethnically diverse mercantile and moneyed segments within its politico-economic agenda so as to raise sufficient resources to counter the attacks from the Dutch as well as from the Marathas. Despite these calamities and dwindling fortunes the various religious institutions, which used to amass huge wealth from their agrarian properties and from the commercial voyages granted to them by the crown, pumped a sizeable chunk of their wealth thus accumulated into the city for constructing buildings and ornamenting them still in a highly appealing way. This stimulated the economic processes of the city in a highly limited way, giving multiple job opportunities to artisanal segment of the city. But over and above this, the shift towards beautifying religious edifices and ornamenting them with golden tilt and colour helped to formulate and reinforce the perception of Goa as being the ‘Rome of the East’. This image was cemented by circulating miraculous stories about different churches and shrines of Goa, and the terrible losses that the city experienced on the mercantile front were thus made to get compensated by inflating the religiosity of the city-dwellers and taking them to the perception of Goa being the spiritual capital of Asia. The miracle stories woven around the shrine of St. Francis Xavier and the convent of Santa Monica made them to evolve as pilgrim centres in the city, making the Christians from all over Asia converge there through the mechanism of pilgrimage and facilitating the early colonial state to maneuver the situation for mobilizing out of them enough resources, both material and human, for meeting its needs. However, the Maratha aggression breaching the security of the port-city acted as the catalyst in the shift of the Viceroy’s permanent residence (under Dom Pedro Antonio de Noronha e Albuquerque in 1695) to the Casa da Polvora Palace in Panemim. With this transfer of the imperial headquarters, the erstwhile spatial significance of the port-city as
constituting the political and administrative heart of the *Estado da India* soon faded. What then remained in the decadent city were the huge edifices devoid of actual substance of power and bereft of ability to manifest the magnificence and grandeur that it used to convey through these structures.