Conclusion

The foregoing discussions focused on the types of meanings that were inscribed on the city-space of Goa in the process of its manipulation by the Portuguese for their political furtherance and resource mobilization. The research questions made me on the one hand to see the extent to which the Portuguese depended on this city to sustain their larger Asian projects and on the other hand to look into the nuanced ways how the city, along with its economic content, social processes and spatial phenomena, was subjected to a constant process of definition and re-definition, with the timely additions of new meanings and deletions of obsolete logic, depending upon the socio-economic and political exigencies within which it was made to function. Various meanings and logical processes, reflecting the larger early colonial intentions of the Portuguese in Asia, were studded on to the urban space of the power centre in an intense way through elaborate spatial processes and architectural formatting; but the dynamics of the processes emanated from the huge amount of wealth generated from its trade.

1. The phase wise study of the port-city of Goa (Velho Goa) during the 16th and 17th centuries sheds light on the correlation between mercantile engagements of the port and the evolution of the city. Our investigation has revealed peculiarities in urban development in a two pronged manner. Firstly, it demonstrates that patterns of trade and urbanism witnessed in the pre-Portuguese period and under Lusitanian early colonial domination differed substantially from each other. Under the Bahmani, and Adil Shahi period the intensification of the entrepôt trade at Ela was matched by the expansion of the urban center with the sea-faring Muslim mercantile communities constituting the socio-political elite and acting as chief advisories to the king. However, urbanism as it evolved at the port-cities of Chandrapur, Gopakapattanam and Ela, which were the major urban centres of pre-Portuguese Goa, contrasted sharply with the patterns of urban evolution under the Lusitanian occupation. We have outlined the predominantly entrepôt role of the pre-Portuguese Goan ports and existence of residential clusters and market
spaces of heterogenous sea-traders much before the planned city came into existence. The physicality of the Goan port-cities before the Portuguese occupation comprised of market and residential spaces (Hanjaman Nagar) that cropped up much before the ruler’s power claims and appropriation of city space. Gradually, the establishment of a citadel enclosed within a fortified wall (that soon became the city wall) and its functioning as the political nucleus of the urban center show the growing web of social relations. The royal fortress—with its residential palace of the Sultan and the offices of the imperial advisors and officers—became the center of the administrative unit formed by the port-town and its suburban agrarian villages in the pre-Portuguese days. Our study establishes that urban development in pre-Portuguese Goa was not funded solely by commercial wealth accumulation as the royal treasury that financed construction, maintenance and defense activities drew a substantial share of its resources from land revenue apart from assistance from urban trading residents. Thus despite the rise of a nascent money economy (such as in Ela under the Adil Shahi Sultans) stemming from these commercial port-towns in the pre-Portuguese period, it did not facilitate marked changes in crafts and agrarian production within the commercial urban unit or its rural hinterland. However during the period of our study, the intensified trade under the Portuguese emitted immense economic force and energy for intensified labour processes orienting towards urban constructions as well as state-owned manufacturing and drawing recurring labour force from the hinterland villages and causing intensified division of labour.

2. The study also unveils the co-relation between shifting trends of urbanization and fluctuations in mercantile wealth generation within the port city under Portuguese occupation. The expansion of the urban frontier fanning out in a semicircular form around the wharf region (following the Portuguese takeover of the port-city) demonstrates urbanism and spatialization being motored by its trading individuals and institutions. It traces the complexities marking urban socio-political relations in different successive phases of urban expansion that stemmed from the wealth
of the maritime private traders. Earlier studies had offered simplistic explanations to the historical evolution of Golden Goa in the 16\textsuperscript{th} and 17\textsuperscript{th} centuries—the city attaining its glory between 1510-1630 and decline by 1690—linking it to the fading politico-military dominance of the \textit{Estado} faced by rivaling European maritime mercantile powers especially the Dutch, the French and the English. Our study ventures beyond this traditionalist interpretation that overlooked complex internal and external dynamics that worked to shape and re-shape the different socio-economic layers of the city. Corresponding to the intensified economic activities there was a layering of the urban society, which ultimately got reflected in the pattern of the city’s spatial process. The different layers and strata of the urban society were transplanted into the settlement pattern of the city, making the elites congregate near the \textit{rua direita} and the lesser creatures and the socially ostracized groups including the Jews in peripheral areas of the city towards the interior, while the others were distributed in between in a geo-physical hierarchy, but centering around one or another church of the city.

3. In the initial phase of the 16\textsuperscript{th} century the shaping of the port-city by royal decrees was predominantly geared to attract the military and trading Portuguese migrants as settlers. This subject community of ‘white’ settlers and their mixed breed offspring was to be the resource base assisting the early colonial State in its larger politico-military and commercial ambitions. In this context, the urbanization process was initially geared towards establishing a Lusitanian city space through grafting institutions similar to those of Lisbon and later stimulated by granting socio-political and economic privileges to Portuguese \textit{casado} traders, which prompted many of the Lusitanian soldiers to forgo their military profession and take up trade and other commerce-related professions. The Lusitanian soldiers and adventurers eventually became socially and natally rooted in Goa through intermarriage with native women, giving rise to a sizeable civil population in the city and a significant social base for the Portuguese power centre to always bank upon. Eventually attempts were made to create a trading group out of this civil population with a view, on the one hand, to taking over Indian Ocean trade from
the native merchants and, on the other hand, to acting as commercial
intermediaries between the various indigenous economic groups and the crown.

4. The formation of the mercantile segment of *casado* traders out of this civil
population of the city and the expansion of their commerce into wider zones of
the Indian Ocean meant corresponding addition of value to the city of Goa, by
way of wealth that they accumulated from trade. The new power assertions
(reflected in the changed dialogues of the early colonial State with the mercantile
players in Goa at a micro level and the traders in the Indian Ocean) coincided
with the substantial increase in the *casado* population of the city and the latter's
successful appropriation of the intra-Asian maritime mercantile space and
regional trading networks which till then was dominated by Islamic and Hindu
traders. With the increase in the flow of trade surplus, the simple civil and
ecclesiastical structures of the city that were erected in the first half of the
sixteenth century were replaced by highly decorated and ornate monumental
edifices evoking awe and fear among their collaborators and co-sharers of power
in the Portuguese system. The establishment of the ornate churches, significant
administrative institutions and other charitable institutions acted as the
architectural devices and visual media to assert the imperial-maritime power of
the Portuguese not over Goa alone but also over the vast commercial domain of
the Indian Ocean.

5. On to the urban space of Goa were grafted a variety of European urban
institutions like municipality, misericordia, churches and religious houses,
schools and colleges, conveying new meanings of urbanism to emerge in India
and these meanings were inherently linked with their notions of hegemonic
exercise of power and monopolistic hold over commerce in the Indian Ocean.
military aggression in the Indian Ocean. We have also reconstructed how the
State alvaras systematically increased the number of parishes within the *Ilhas de*
Goa and granted revenue rights of politically volatile agrarian villages of Tisvadi, Salcete and Bardez (that faced constant threats of military invasion by the Vijayanagara and Bijapur) to missionary Orders. These policies reveal the purely politico-economic interests of the Estado in using the Imperial capital as a colonial cultural artifact and the missionaries as agents to secure the loyalties and mobilize resources of native converts in such peripheral and contested zones.

6. With clusters of religious institutions in the city the Portuguese re-created European Christian space in the imperial capital, where trade and wealth accumulation was to happen not as in any other urban centre, but as in the “Rome of East”, an epithet that it eventually acquired. By the coining of this epithet a religious purpose was embedded into its commercial activity i.e., integration of commerce with religious intentions, which extended things to such levels of activities as prompting the traders to contribute for missionary projects, erection and decoration of churches as well as ecclesiastical institutions and sustenance of church-run social -cum-educational and charitable institutions, besides allowing the religious congregations to take up commercial voyages to lucrative destinations. The linking of trade with religion was made not only to make the traders contribute to the construction processes of the churches and ecclesiastical institutions within the city as to make it a beautiful European Christian city in the east, but also to make the wealth of the mercantile city-dwellers flow to the city-space using their religious sentiments in a way that would ensure the presence of enough artisans and craftsmen for the labour processes arising out of the demands and needs of the expanding city.

7. Alternately, the changing imagery of the port city by 1580-1610 as Goa Dourada and “Treasury of the East”; and, the symmetrical layout of commercial streets and market spaces has been conceptualized as denoting the centrality of private mercantile wealth in the port-city following the withdrawal of the Estado’s monopoly in Indo-European and intra-Asian trade. There was a dynamo effect of the contract system (in Indo-European trade), which intensified intra-Asian trade.
of the Portuguese dwellers, substantially boosting wealth accumulation and cultivating a vibrant money market in the port-city. Concurrently, there also happened a territorial expansion, by which the erstwhile peripheral zones distant from the wharf were encompassed by the second half of the sixteenth century within the city grid structure and this correlates the rising urban demography of the expanding city (predominantly Portuguese sea-traders apart from other skilled and unskilled labourers) and specialization of urban production activities catering to the increased consumption needs of the city. This established the motoring of urbanization dictated by the funneling of mercantile wealth within the city through the activities of its trading Portuguese residents and missionaries; and, urban religious institutions especially churches, colleges, novitiates and headquarters of the religious (such as the Jesuit Casa Professa, the Convent of Santa Monica, Augustinian Collegio do Populo etc) concentrating resources derived from its various commercial engagements, movable and immovable properties in Goa and other Portuguese spheres of influence. The wealth thus accumulated within the city raised the purchasing power of its wealthy Portuguese and institutions; accelerated the wheels of intra-city trade and flow of men and material from the hinterland areas to the city; increased production by urban guilds, urban construction industry and State owned manufacturing units (such as the royal arsenal, gunfoundry, shipyard etc) to meet both internal consumption needs and export markets; changed the patterns of agrarian production in the immediate hinterlands to cash crops rather than foodgrains (urban agrarian imports were predominantly secured through coastal and inland trade with Bijapur and Ikkeri).

8. With the intensification of trade, wealth-concentration and urbanization processes by 1570s, the civic bodies like the municipality of Goa began to undertake a variety of projects being geared towards beautifying the city with various status asserting structures housing civil, ecclesiastical and charitable institutions apart from Portuguese residences; structurally re-arranging the riverside space to encourage maximization of mercantile traffic at the port and closely monitor the
loading and unloading activities at the wharf; and, strengthening the defense of the city and harbour of Goa (through fortresses, maintaining armed flotillas, equipping the *armadas* etc) to safeguard incoming and outgoing mercantile vessels. The two major moneyed institutions of this period namely the municipality and the *Misericordia* started playing the role of redistributing the finances accumulated from urban taxes and alms for asserting the wealth, politico-military valour and socio-cultural superiority of the commercial city, as representing the mercantile interests of the trading elite citizens preferring short term quick returns yielding projects to crucial long term investments (such as sanitation and export related manufactories). On the one hand, there was the unprecedented velocity and intensity of private sea-trade that the city experienced by this stage and the purely mercantilist nature of the wealth accumulated within the port-city that pulled its urbanization. On the other hand, it shows how the early colonial state used the port-city as an instrument to contain the conflicts between the power-wielding wealthy urban elites, civil and ecclesiastical institutions (such as the municipality, the Augustinian and Jesuit houses etc); and, use urban institutions such as the municipality, the *Misericordia* and the headquarters of the various religious Orders including the wealthy Goan churches and seminaries to facilitate the circulation of the accumulated wealth for the maintenance of the port-city, security of the harbor of Goa and offering solutions to the resource crunch within the *Estado* from time to time. The architectural and social mechanism of the re-arranged city space by the late 16th and early 17th century helped the *Estado* to articulate its logic of domination over the various commercial and political actors of the Indian Ocean especially the rivaling new European maritime mercantile power of the Dutch and the English as well as the regional maritime traders (Muslim Mappilas of Malabar); and, quasi-mercantile States of the Ottomans, Bijapur, Calicut etc. The discussions establish how the port-city became a colonial cultural artifact of the *Padroado* to extend its ideological superiority, politico-military dominance and economic control over the neighboring economies; and, cohere the commercially moving private Portuguese traders.
9. By the early 17th century the flourishing commercial port-city soon gave way to the shrinking maritime space and markets of its port, dwindling trade of its casado citizens and changing nature of the wealth accumulated within the Imperial capital. The changes within the urban center are reconstructed in the emptying of several wards that were earlier inhabited by the mercantile Portuguese householders and just a marginal increase in urban demography with majority being Hindu traders, indigenous converts, negro slaves and mulatos (mixed blood descendants of African slaves and Portuguese). The study thus deconstructs contemporary reports on the magnificence of the Imperial capital city and shows how the declining private trade in the seventeenth century was followed by neglect of civic maintenance activities, ill maintenance of charitable institutions and rampant unsanitary conditions in the city. The abrupt blocking of the flow of wealth into the city from trade made it sick and weak, making many city-dwellers flee to rivaling commercial ports (such as Surat, French Pondicherry, English Madras, Masulipatnam etc) and converting the fiscal resources held by the resident clergy, religious Orders, fidalgo officials and low borne degredados (serving as soldiers, navigators etc) into dead capital that was invested either in land (granting returns as seigniorial revenues) or hoarded in urban churches, convents and fidalgo households or shipped back to Europe rather than being reinvested as commercial capital. The shrinking of both the territorial and the demographic extent of the port city (especially its Portuguese trading householders) in the second half of the seventeenth century was followed by decreasing production activities in the State enterprises (royal arsenal, shipyard, gunfoundry, mint etc); fading of intra-city trade as well as maritime trade of its Portuguese householders; and increasing concentration of mercantile capital in the hands of the Hindu traders who were not permanent residents of the city. The low fiscal reserves in the city is further evident in the inability of the Estado to raise sufficient men and fiscal resources to face Maratha and Dutch onslaught for which they resorted to forced contributions from individuals (Hindu and Muslim traders, non-Portuguese Europeans, degredados, fidalgos, missionaries) and
confiscation of church ornaments such as silver and gold candleholders, jewels etc. The catalyst precipitating the abandonment of the port-city by the Estado can be traced to the bankruptcy of the civil institutions of the Misericordia and municipality by the 1690's. This bankruptcy—owing to its declining finances from alms and taxes from trade and compounded by the relocation of the few rich Neo-Christian trading householders of the port-city to neighboring ports by the late 1680s and 1690s—affected the city's defense budgets and considerably lowered the redistributive State’s ability to ward the city from Maratha offensives prompting the shift of the Imperial capital to Panelim.

10. In this context the growing centrality of the sacred space of urban churches and religious houses—replacing the erstwhile dominance of commercial streets and market spaces—corroborate our deductions of new strategies being adopted by the extractive colonial State to maneuver out of these urban religious institutions and structures mobilization of enough resources, both material and human, for meeting its accelerating administrative and military needs between 1610-1690. The study thus breaks down traditional arguments on the religious conservatism of the Padroado dictating the transformation of Goa into a “Christian stronghold” for broadcasting Christian communities. It successfully demonstrates that the circulation of multiple metaphorical claims and legends of Goa being “Rome of the East”; as the protectorate of Francis Xavier who was upheld as “Defender of the East”; as the place witnessing various miracles; as a pilgrimage destination for rich Catholics Europeans and Asian converts; and, as the host of extravagant religious feasts and festivals (despite the municipality’s and Misericordia’s scarcity of funds) were new religious props of the early colonial power to control the dispersed community of Portuguese merchants and adventurers and to meet the ever-increasing political challenges of the mid and late 17th century by ensuring the convergence of Christians from all over Asia at the divinely sanctioned Imperial Christian capital city. As stated, these strategies became essential to ensure resources for meeting the steadily mounting military and administrative expenses of the Estado (in the face of the Dutch and Maratha
attacks of the mid and late 17th century) that were compounded with the inability of the authoritarian State to raise wealth from the declining private maritime trade of Goa; get loans from the bankrupt municipality and Misericordia; and, extract forced contributions from the Hindu capitalists and corrupt officials who simply emigrated from the urban center when subjected to the least amount of pressure by the extractive state. Our findings reveal how the multiple dialogues of the extractive and redistributive State at the core power center of Goa was shaped by the new colonial conditions of the mid and late 17th century—flight of trading casados and Europeans of the port-city to more active neighboring ports, rise of indigenous trading pressure groups, changing nature of wealth concentrated within the port-city, politico-military aggression of the European mercantile powers and regional potentates etc—rather than merely being a reflection of the ideological and political changes at Lisbon. Furthermore it also opens up the possibilities of studying the fluctuations in the Estado’s control over its spheres of influence in the Indian Ocean world as directly related to the accumulation and mobilization of maritime mercantile resources at the Imperial Christian capital city of Goa facilitated by its trends of urbanization and trade.

In short, though the Portuguese retained the port-city of Goa as their capital for about 180 years, its urban content varied from time to time on basis of the changing meanings infused into it through a variety of economic and socio-political processes, depending on the exigencies. Goa, as their power centre in the east was a city that was built not only on the material wealth alone, but also on the cultural capital and also on the cultural imagination of the city-dwellers, using a variety of imageries, metaphors as well as cultural mechanisms, which helped them to sustain its urbanity, even when wealth flow from trade dwindled in the second half of the seventeenth century. The inscription of changing meanings on to the port-city of Goa was continued as a recurring process as long as it could keep functioning as a pliable tool for the furtherance of Portuguese political control and resource mobilization in the east, despite the later shattering of its material foundations and the fragile cultural pillars it was made to stand.