EVALUATION OF THE EARLIER WORKS

Several Indo-Portuguese historians have written voluminous works on the history of the Portuguese colonies in the East, but only a few have written about Portuguese Bassein, which was not only the capital of the Portuguese Province of the North but also one of the most flourishing towns in the East, particularly during the 16th century. Some historians have written about Goa, Diu, Daman and other Portuguese colonies in India, but not about the Portuguese prosperity that prevailed in Bassein during this particular period. Most of these historians write about the history of Portuguese India in general.

Some attempts to write the history of Bassein have been made by modern historians like the late Panduronga Pissurlencar, J.G. da Cunha, Braz Fernandes, Bragança Pereira, Amancio Gracias, Ismail Gracias and a few others. But, most of them have written mainly about the political history, and not about the socio-economic life of the people of Bassein during the Portuguese rule. For instance, Panduronga Pissurlencar has detailed the Portuguese-Maratha conflict that took place in the later part of the Portuguese rule, in Bassein. J.G. da Cunha's book entitled Notes on History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein is the only work which talks about the political history of the Portuguese Bassein. A specialised study of the socio-economic aspect was needed to fill this lacuna. An attempt is made here to survey the source material for this study under various heads.

PRIMARY SOURCES:
A. Portuguese Chroniclers

There are five main Portuguese chroniclers who wrote about
India. They were João de Barros, Diogo de Couto, Antonio Bocarro, Fernão Lopes de Castanheda and Gaspar Correa. They have furnished a lot of information on the establishment of the Portuguese Empire in India in general. All of them have covered in detail, the rise of the Portuguese power in Bassein. So an evaluation of the works of these five writers may be taken into account. The writing of the first three chroniclers is known as Decadas da Asia.¹

JOÃO DE BARROS (1496-1570)

João de Barros is one of those Portuguese historians who wrote on the early Portuguese adventures in the East. He wrote the Deeds done by the Portuguese in their discovery and conquest of the Seas and Lands of the East,² published under the collective title, Decadas da Asia.

Though he was primarily a chronicler, he has paid attention to the trade and commerce of the Portuguese colonies in the East. Moreover, he wrote about the conditions of trade before the arrival of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean. There is a special section dedicated to the history of Gujarat, of which Bassein was one of the important parqanas, in addition to being a flourishing port. Barros has described in his fourth Decada, all the important coastal towns of Gujarat beginning with Dwarka in 1. João de Barros, Decadas I,II,III,IV 9 Volumes,(Lisboa,1777-78) Reprint, (Lisboa, 1973)
Antonio Bocarro, Decada XIII, 2 Vols., (Lisboa, 1876)
2. João de Barros, Da Asia de João de Barros, Das feitos, que os Portugueses Fizeram no descobrimento e conquista dos Mares, e Terras do Oriente (Lisboa, 1777).
the north to the boundaries of Chaul in the south. He has also discussed the structure of society to some extent, the social customs and the political changes in the region of Gujarat.

The rise of Bahadur Shah, who was the ruler of Bassein and last Muslim king of this region, and the activities of Malik Tughan or Malik Tokan who was in charge of Bassein at the time of the Portuguese conquest, are also described in detail.

Though Barros had never been in India, he was quite competent to write the history of the East. He was in charge of Casa da India in Lisbon which organised all expeditions to India and also looked after the administration of the overseas trade of Portugal. All the ships coming out to India were fitted by Casa da India. The details of the soldiers, mariners and all coming to India were preserved there.

Secondly, though he was not a linguist, he had the advantage of having at his disposal several interpreters to handle various sources in diverse languages concerning the farflung Orient. He was officially appointed by the king to write the history of the Portuguese expansion in the East.

João de Barros has given an interesting account of the Portuguese conquest of Bassein. In his fourth Decada, he starts with the early Portuguese attacks on Bassein by the Portuguese naval commanders like Heitor da Silveira and Antonio da Silveira.3 Later on he gives a detailed account of Nuno da Cunha's attack on Bassein and its conquest from the Muslims, leading to the subsequent treaty of Bassein in 1534.4 Again, in the second part

of the same decada, he provides information about the Mughal attack on Bassein and its gallant defence by Antonio Galvão.  

**DIOGO DE COUTO (1542-1616):**

Diogo de Couto continued the chronicle of Barros, since he succeeded him as the official chronicler. Fortunately for him, on February 25, 1595 the official archives named Torre do Tombo da India were established at Goa by the order of the Portuguese king. Since only three Decadas out of the four of Barros were published during the time of Couto, he started with the year 1526 and Decada IV. Thus his work overlaps the fourth Decada of Barros, who had already narrated the Portuguese activities in the vicinity of Bassein and its final conquest in 1533, leading to the treaty of cession of Bassein by Bahadur Shah to the Portuguese in 1534, and the succeeding history till 1539. The fourth Decada of Couto was first published in 1602, and his last Decada in 1645.

The competence of Couto to write the history of Portuguese expansion is beyond question. He studied extensively in Portugal and was well-read in Latin, Italian and Spanish. Moreover, he had lived in India for nearly fifty years which gave him plenty

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9. C.R. Boxer, "Three Historians of Portuguese Asia" (Barros, Couto and Bocarro) *Boletim do Instituto Portugues. de Hongkong*, No.1, July 1948, pp.15-44.
of opportunity to notice at close quarters the things he describes. He toured all the different parts of the West coast of India. Moreover, in his official capacity as the chief 'keeper of records' (Guarda-mor) in Goa, he had access to all the relevant important documents. Later, when he was appointed the official chronicler, (Chronista-mor da India), the government papers necessary for the work were placed at his disposal. Thus, he was in a far better position than others, even over Barros, who did not have the fortune of being an eye-witness in India.

Couto witnessed the Portuguese activities in relation to the Gujarat rulers, their pressure, tactics and their attacks on their important towns on the western coast. He was able to visit some of the trading centres of western India. His fourth Decada is of immense value for the study of Bahadur Shah, the ruler of Bassein. He has also discussed to some extent the social composition of his Empire in the Decada IV.

Couto deals with Bassein in the same Decada like Barros. He gives the account of the early Portuguese attacks on Bassein by Heitor da Silveira¹¹ and the conquest of Bassein by Nuno da Cunha.¹² It is interesting to note that Couto is the only Portuguese author who gives us details of the treaty of Bahadur Shah of Gujarat and the Portuguese, signed in 1534, regarding the cession of Bassein to the Portuguese. Even Simão Botelho, who has first recorded this treaty in his Tombo do Estado da

¹⁰. Chronista-Mor da India was quite a prestigious appointment in the Portuguese administration, which was introduced in the 15th century, Fernão Lopes (1380-1460) was the first recipient of this title.
India does not give as many details while Barros and Biker give only a summary of the treaty.

But it is a surprising fact that though Couto has written eight more Decadas, narrating the history up to the end of the 16th century, he does not give details of the subsequent development of the Portuguese town of Bassein, which came to be known as one of the most flourishing cities of the East during the period covered by him. Even Barros stops with the laying of the foundation-stone of the citadel of Bassein.

ANTONIO BOCARRO

Bocarro, the last of the official historians, was appointed Chronicler and the 'keeper of records' in Goa in the year 1631, and held this office till his death in 1649. He completed only one Decada known as Decada XIII which was written in 1635. It was published in two volumes by the Royal Academy of Lisbon in 1876.

Bocarro was competent enough to write the history of Portuguese India. As he was the official chronicler, all the important documents and state papers were at his disposal. Moreover, he could consult any important personality connected with a particular event. Being an eye-witness, he could evaluate the

13. Simão Botelho, Tombo do Estado da India, f1s.21-21v, first published in R.J. de Lima Felner's Subsidios para a Historia da India Portuguesa (Lisboa, 1868).
16. Couto, Decadas, V to XII.
18. Antonio Bocarro, Decada XIII do Historia da India, 2 Vols. (Contd...)
situation better. In addition to this, he followed the general guidelines given by his two great predecessors, Barros and Couto.

Moreover, though he follows the general pattern of Barros and Couto, he has much more to say about the political, commercial and religious life of the Portuguese and the local people. He also has more to say about Portuguese administration than Couto. But Bocarro rarely mentions the source of his information though he often quotes the official documents. Similarly when he narrates the story, where the vivid details make it obvious that he was depending upon an eye-witness, he does not give credit to any one of them.

Unfortunately, Antonio Bocarro does not deal with Bassein in his Decada like Barros and Couto, though his Decada covers the entire political career of Nuno da Cunha, who captured Bassein from the Muslims. He simply refers to the arrival of Nuno da Cunha in Bassein and his visit to some parts like Virar in northern Bassein. 19

But this is not the case with his second and very detailed work known as 'The book of the plans of all the forts, cities and provinces of the State of India.' 20 It was written in 1630 and gives detailed maps and plans of the forts, cities and

... (Lisboa, 1816). This is the last volume of the series.
20. Antonio Bocarro, Livro da Plantas de todas as Fortalezas Cidades e Povoções do Estado da India Oriental. The original manuscript of this work is preserved in Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, Secção Reservados Cod. 11057. The two more contemporary copies of this work have been preserved in Biblioteca Publica de Evora, Portugal and (Contd...
provinces of the Portuguese State of India. This is the first attempt of a historian to prepare such a book, and hence is of immense value.

This is one of the most important historical works regarding a particular period during which the Portuguese established their control over the western coast of India from Diu in the north to Goa in the south. Bocarro gives minute details of the fort of Bassein, its fortifications and defences and of other Portuguese settlements. He also gives details of the administration, the officials who were involved in the day-to-day administration of Bassein, their duties and salaries.

This book was first edited by J.H. Cunha Rivara in his 'O Chronista da Tissuary'. Later on Bragança Pereira once again edited this important book in his Arquivo Português Oriental. He has edited the same book partially for the second time in O Oriente Português. The regular reproduction of this book by these two authors shows the historical value of the work.

Pedro Barreto de Resende was the Secretary to the Portuguese Viceroy, Conde de Linhares. He used the information collected by Bocarro and produced a separate volume entitled Livro do

Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, Spain. In addition to these copies Prof. C.R. Boxer gives the information about some more copies in his article "Antonio Bocarro and the Livro do Estado da India Oriental" in Garcia da Orta commemoration Volume (Lisboa, 1956) p.208.
22. APO (BP) Ed. Vol.II, Part I, pp.174...
23. Bragança Pereira (Ed.) O Oriente Português, (Goa,1934-35) No.7,8,9 pp.106..., Henceforward referred to as OP.
Estado da India Oriental in 1646. In this manuscript, Resende gives colour maps of Portuguese forts, cities and important Portuguese personalities with brief surveys of their careers.

There are two non-official historians of the same period who were competent official chroniclers. They are Fernão Lopes de Castanheda and Gaspar Correa. These two Portuguese historians have left their mark on writing of the history of this period.

FERNÃO LOPES DE CASTANHEDA

Castanheda was the son of Lopo Fernão de Castanheda, the first Portuguese judge of Goa. He accompanied his father to India in the fleet of Nuno da Cunha, the founder of Portuguese Bassein. He lived in India for ten years, from 1528 to 1538, and collected information for his celebrated work entitled *History of the Discovery and Conquest of India by the Portuguese*. This work covered the period from the early Portuguese discoveries till 1542.

He collected the information from the Portuguese captains and noblemen, who were involved in actual combats on the spot. In order to avoid errors, he personally visited a number of

24. Pedro Barreto de Resende, *Livro do Estado da India Oriental*, Original manuscript is preserved in collecção Fondo Geral, also called as Iluminados of Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, Cod.139-140. One more manuscript is also preserved in Bibliothèque National de Paris, Fonds Portugais I and still one more in British Museum, Sloane Collection MS.197. Two more copies of this work are also available in the National Library, Madrid, MS 1190 and R.202 and Evora Public Library, MS CXV/2.1.

25. See the colour photo of the Bassein fort after this page which is collected from Iluminados cod.140 Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa referred earlier.

Photograph of Rosende's original painting from the National Library of Lisbon

Cod. 139-140
places and got acquainted with the people connected with the events. On his return to Portugal, he contacted knowledgeable persons to authenticate some of the points he had and spent twenty years in the preparation of his work. Thus, his meticulous care and efforts to pursue sources, put him far ahead of any Portuguese historian who tried to cover the same period. 27

Castanheda's book is one of the most valuable sources of historical writing and contains plenty of information on various towns, the people, production and trade in India. He is said to have relied on Duarte Barbosa 28 for the earlier details. He furnishes information regarding the various battles between the Portuguese and the native rulers. In Chapter 130 of Book III, he gives a detailed description of the kingdom of Gujarat of which Bassein was an important province.

Castanheda gives details of the early Portuguese activities leading to the ultimate conquest of Bassein. He starts with the Portuguese attacks on Bassein by commanders like Heitor da Silveira 29 and Antonio da Silveira. 30 The conquest of Bassein by Nuno da Cunha in 1533 has been dealt with in minute detail in his book. 31 No other author of Portuguese history provides such information on this subject. He narrates the planning of the

campaign by Nuno da Cunha, his arrival in Bassein with a huge armada, his difficulties and his final assault on Bassein. 32

He also deals with the attempted Mughal attack on Bassein in detail. 33 In fact, he is the only Portuguese historian who narrates this event in such detail. Moreover, he gives information about the plunder of Bassein by a Gujarat officer called Bramaluco. (Burhan-ul-Mulk). 34

It is interesting to note that his stay in India, from 1528 to 1538, covers the entire career of Nuno da Cunha, the founder of Bassein. He was present at many warlike conflicts in which Nuno da Cunha was involved, so he can be relied on more for details, though not for chronology. His style is quite plain and evidence comes from his personal experience and attempts at verification. Castanheda's work can be called the most useful historical book on Bassein for the early activities of, and conquest by the Portuguese.

GASPAR CORREA

Gaspar Correa came to India in 1512, where he worked in various capacities and stayed here for nearly fifty years. Once he was the Secretary to Afonso de Albuquerque. During his long stay in India, he wrote the book entitled Lendas da India 35 (an account of India) consisting of ten volumes, which cover the period from 1497 to 1550.

32. Castanheda, op.cit.
35. Gaspar Correa, Lendas da India, or Cronica dos Feytos da India, 4 vols., (Lisboa, 1858-64).
He is more a historian than a mere chronologist. As a secretary to Afonso de Albuquerque, he had at his disposal the large number of documents which passed through his hands. Moreover, he was personally present at many of the major events during the period of this study. So his book should be counted as an important source of information. Among all the writers of his period, he gives the greatest importance to the commercial motives of the Portuguese in the East. He narrates in detail, the various trade routes, commodities of exchange and so on. He also describes, minutely, the relationship between Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat and the Portuguese.

Gaspar Correa deals with the conquest of Bassein in detail. He starts with the early Portuguese attacks on Bassein by Diogo da Silveira. He also provides information regarding the planning of the campaign by the Governor, his personal participation in it, the final attack on Bassein and the fall of the town. He further gives more details of the ceremony of the laying of the foundation-stone of the citadel of Bassein Fort. But though he covers the period upto 1550, he is silent, like Diogo de Couto, regarding the further development in Bassein from 1536 to 1550, during which period the town was taking the shape of a flourishing European colony.

Thus the official historians like Barros, Couto, Bocarro as well as the unofficial historians like Castanheda and Gaspar Correa are all quite essential to study the early Portuguese activities in the neighbourhood of Bassein and the subsequent conquest. Each of them is important for one reason or another.

37. Ibid, p.689.
B. OTHER PORTUGUESE SOURCES:

In addition to the works of these five Portuguese historians, there are many other works relating to the history of Western India, especially the accounts of Portuguese and other European travellers. Some of them had personally visited Bassein during the early part of the 16th century and also later on in the 17th century. Duarte Barbosa, Garcia da Orta and Manuel Godinho are three important Portuguese who visited most of the flourishing trading centres of Western India.

Barbosa had published his travel account entitled A Book of Duarte Barbosa. Garcia da Orta, a great Portuguese physician, is remembered for his book. This book gives details of different Indian medicines, drugs and their uses. Though the author was primarily a doctor, he gives details of the people and their social behaviour as well as descriptions of the places he visited. It is interesting to note that Garcia da Orta personally visited Bassein. His book contains a separate chapter on Bassein in which he speaks mainly about the people of Bassein like the Gentios (Hindu), the Parus (Prabhus), the Baneanes (Gujarati merchants), the Moors (Muslim), the untouchables and especially the Parsee community. He also writes about the plants and fruits of Bassein and their medicinal uses.

Manuel Godinho was a Jesuit priest in Goa. He was there at the time of the conflict between Antonio de Mello e Castro and the

38. Duarte Barbosa, op.cit.
English, over the cession of Bombay after the marriage treaty of Charles II of England and Catherina de Bragança, a Portuguese princess, signed in 1661. The Portuguese Governor was reluctant to hand Bombay over to the English. He wanted to convince the Portuguese King, Alfonso VI, of the importance of Bombay and why the Portuguese should retain this place. So he sent Manuel Godinho to Lisbon via a land route, to avoid the delay due to the colonial rivalry which prevailed in the Indian Ocean among European powers during this particular period.

Manuel Godinho visited Bassein in 1662 where he stayed for some days and proceeded to Daman, Surat and finally to Lisbon. He published his travel account in which he gives details of the Bassein Fort city and its administration, its officials and their work. He also gives details of the neighbouring villages, their people and agricultural products.

D. João de Castro wrote the *Description of the Western Coast of India in 1540* which was published later on in 1843 as *Roteiro*. Together with his other work entitled, *Cosmographia e Descripção do Reino de Daquem*. The first one gives the description of the western coast of India from Goa to Diu, in which

42. Manuel Godinho, *Relação do Novo Cominho Que fez por terra e mar vindo de India para Portugal no anno de 1663* (Lisboa, 1665) Reprint with introduction and notes by A Machado Gue rreiro, (Lisboa, 1974).
43. Ibid., pp.31-33.
44. João de Castro, *Primeiro Roteiro da Costa da India desde Goa ate Dio* (Porto, 1843). The original manuscript of this work is preserved in *Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa in Colleção, Fondo Geral, Cod.8033* entitled *Roteiro da Costa do Norte de Goa ate Dio*. Description of Bassein on f1s.16-20 and 25-41v.
the author has described the coast of Bassein in detail and the second one furnishes a good account of Maharashtra and the Konkan. The book contains the plans of the different places as prepared by the author himself.

There are a few collections of documents edited or published which in one way or other shed light on the history of Bassein. Among them are some editors whose works require special mention, as they are useful not only for the study of the political history of a particular period, but also for the socio-economic aspects. Antonio da Silva Rego has edited Documentação... Another important documentation is done by Joseph Wicki under the title Documenta Indica.

It is interesting to note that both the documentations began in 1947-48. Generally speaking, Silva Rego exhausted the documents mainly from the Roman archives. Secondly, while both the documentations deal chiefly with the religious history of the regions concerned, they do throw enough light on the socio-economic aspects. These two collections are very useful to study the history of Bassein during the sixteenth century.

J.H. Cunha Rivara has edited Archivo Portuguez Oriental. This is valuable for the study of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Cunha Rivara has also edited some important

documents, especially letters of the Portuguese kings and other valuable documents in his *Chronista da Tissuary*, in which he has published some chapters of the book of Antonio Bocarro called *Livro das Plantas* ..., already referred to.

Bragança Pereira has edited many documents under the same title as *Arquivo Portugues Oriental* which are of immense use for students of the 16th and 17th centuries. It also contains Bocarro’s famous book *Livro das Plantas* ... already mentioned. Originally Bragança Pereira published the same chapters of Bocarro’s book as Cunha Rivara but added the photographs of Resende’s manuscript available at the *Bibliotèque National*, Paris.

*Documentos Remettidos da India* or *Livro das Mançôes* is another collection of documents of Portuguese India. This is the collection of the letters exchanged between the Portuguese Governors in Goa and the kings of Portugal, or after 1580 of Spain. This documentation is done in two series. Bulhão Pato has edited the earlier series which covers the period from 1605 to 1609. Antonio da Silva Rego has brought out four more volumes of this series at the later stage.

Silva Rego has edited two more series of documentation. They are *Documentação Ultramarina Portuguesa*, and indices with


50. See the original photograph on the next page.


summaries of documents in Boletim do Filmoteca de Ultramarina Portuguesa. The first one is a collection of the Portuguese documents available in the overseas archives and the second one is like the inventory of the documents available in various parts of the world regarding the Portuguese overseas activities. There are many important references to Bassein in these two documentations.

R.J. de Lima Felner has published some important 16th century documents in his 'Subsidios para a historia da India Portuguesa'. It also contains Simão Botelho's Tombo do Estado da India with his four important letters of which three were written by Botelho to the Portuguese King, when he resided in the fort city of Bassein in 1548-49. These three letters throw much light on the village life of the people of Bassein and their economic condition.

Lastly, special mention must be made of the work done by the late Panduronga Pissurlencar, former Director of Historical Archives of Goa. He has published several important documents in his Regimentos das Fortalezas da India. It contains a separate chapter on Bassein Fort. His last and the greatest publication was Assentos do Conselho do Estado, which contains the minutes and correspondence of the council of State in Goa with the Portuguese

55. R.J. de Lima Felner, Subsidios para a historia da India Portuguesa (Lisboa - 1868).
56. The original manuscripts of these letters are preserved in the National Archives of Portugal, Corpo Chronologico, Part I, Maço - 79.
57. Pissurlencar, Regimentos das Fortalezas da India, (Bastora-Goa, 1952).
58. Pissurlencar, Assentos do Conselho do Estado, 5 volumes (Bastora-Goa, 1953-57). Henceforward referred to as ACE.
agencies in the East during the 17th century.

C. OTHER EUROPEAN SOURCES (TRAVEL ACCOUNTS)

There are some non-Portuguese European travellers who visited India during the Portuguese period. They throw some light, especially on the western coast of India, where there were some Portuguese pockets. Some of them not only visited these colonies but also stayed with the Portuguese, and from there visited several settlements outside, which were under Portuguese control.

Among them are Mandelslo, Niccolao Manucci, Gemelli Careri, John Ovington, Ludvico de Varthoma, J.B. Tavernier, Thomas Best, John Fryer, J.H. Van Linschoten, Pyrard de Laval and Pietro della Valle. Of these travellers, J.H. Linschoten, Pietro della Valle, Pyrard de Laval, J.A. Mandelslo, Careri


and John Fryer visited Bassein during the Portuguese rule. Their travel accounts are useful to a student of Bassein history. The others, though they did not visit Bassein personally, give a general account of the western coast of Gujarat and Maharashtra. Careri, Fryer and Pyrard de Laval actually stayed in the fort city of Bassein, and they furnish us with information about this Portuguese city, its Portuguese inhabitants and their hospitality, and the churches inside the fort. They also give some details of the villages which they visited outside the fort and the social and economic life of the people residing in those villages. Most of these travel accounts are published in English by the Hakluyt Society of London.

SECONDARY SOURCES:

The secondary sources of the period of study can be divided into different categories according to the languages, viz., Portuguese, English and Marathi - for the sake of evaluation.

Portuguese Secondary Sources:

There are several Portuguese authors who have written on the early Portuguese activities in India in general, and on Bassein in particular: Asia Portuguesa of Manuel de Faria e Souza gives a general account of the Portuguese in India but the author has made use of earlier writers like Barros, Couto and Bocarro. Oriente Conquistado of Fr. Francisco de Souza gives a detailed

66. Francisco de Souza, Oriente Conquistado a Jesus Cristo Pelos da Companhia da Província de Goa (Lisboa, 1710) Reprint 2nd Ed. (Bombay, 1881-86).
account of the religious activities of the European missionaries working in Asia. The author gives a vivid description of various religious Orders working in Bassein. But he also touches the economic and social aspects of the period concerned. Conquista Spiritual do Oriente of Paulo de Trindade is similar type of work. The author concentrates mainly on religious conversions and missionary activities including Bassein.

There are two more books in Portuguese which refer indirectly to the history of Bassein. One is Garcia da Orta e seu tempo. It gives details of the life of Garcia da Orta who was for a long time a practising Portuguese physician in India. The book makes some important references to Bassein and its people. The second book is Seis Fortalezas, Feitorias da India. This book devotes one chapter which furnishes information about Bassein fort, and also to the general rule of the Portuguese in Bassein in short, but is not well documented.

There are some articles written by different authors which deal with the history of Bassein. J.B. Amancio Gracias has written two articles regarding Bassein. One is "A epopeia Portuguesa nas tarras do Norte". In fact this was the paper presented before the conference in the Institute of Vasco da Gama at the occasion of the commemoration of the fourth centenary of the Portuguese conquest of Bassein which was later published in the

67. Paulo de Trindade, Conquista Spiritual do Oriente, written in 1638, Lisboa, Original of this work is preserved in Biblioteca Vaticana, Roma, Vol. Lat. 7746.
68. Conde de Ficahlo, Garcia da Orta e seu tempo, (Lisboa, 1886)
In addition to these historians, there are some more Goan historians, who have written directly about the Portuguese rule in Bassein (1534-1739). They are A.B. de Bragança Pereira, Amancio Gracias, Ismail Gracias, Panduronga Pissurlencar and Braz Fernandes. Most of them have written about the history of Bassein in Portuguese except Braz Fernandes who has written in two languages viz., English and Portuguese. Bragança Pereira and Panduronga Pissurlencar are well known for their publications.

70. J.B. Amancio Gracias "A epopeia Portuguesa nas terras do Norte" Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama No.XXV.p.4
Rev. Fr. Joseph Wicki has published a manuscript entitled "Percalsos das aldeas a terra de Baçaïm Vistos e Julgadas pelo Padres Francisco Rodrigues Por 1570" in Institute Vasco da Gama (No.76,1959) which is published separately in book form (Bastora, 1959). This manuscript is preserved in Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Codice 280. It gives vivid details of the village life in Bassein which is of great use.

In addition to these articles there are some more articles like "Os Ultimos dias de Bapaim" by Ismail Gracios in O Oriente Portugues (Vol.IV and V 1907-8) pp.121-128, and "Os Ultimos Cinco Governadores do Norte" O Oriente Portuguez (Dec.1930-39) Vol.III, 1906 pp. 1.18, 77-92, 147-160,225-236. His second article is "Antiquidades Portuguese em Bapaim" in O Oriente Portugues (Nova Goa, 1905) p.262. In this article the author gives details of the present ruins of Bassein fort. It is surprising to note that the author has made use of J.G. da Cunha's book in English known as Notes on Antiquities and History of Chaul and Bassein, referred earlier and the Bombay Gazetteer edited by James Campbell, Bombay, 1882, rather than the Portuguese original sources which were easily available in Goa during those days.

71. Braz Fernandes, Armas e Escricões de forte de Bapaim,(Lisboa, (Contd...
of various documents. The others have written in different periodicals like *O Oriente Portugues*, *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama* etc.

The entire volume of *O Oriente Portugues* 7,8,9 of 1934-35 is devoted to the history of Bassein which was published by the Portuguese government of Goa, Diu and Daman to commemorate fourth centenary of the Portuguese conquest of Bassein. It has been separately published in the form of a book by the publisher. So it is the first book in Portuguese where the different authors have tried to write on various aspects of Portuguese Bassein. The following are some of the articles published in this issue

"Epigrafia de Baçaim" (Epigraphy of Bassein). The article is divided into two different parts. In the first part, the author gives the inscriptions regarding Bassein found in Goa, and in the second part he gives the inscriptions found in various churches in the fort of Bassein. Though some of the inscriptions were published by J.G. da Cunha, it is the first comprehensive attempt of this kind. Later on almost all the inscriptions were published in Portugese and English in one volume.

1951). This book has been published in Portuguese and English in one volume.


72. *Bragança Pereira*, *O Oriente Portugues*, *op.cit.*.


74. J.G. da Cunha, *Notes on History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein* (Bombay, 1876) Hereafter referred as *Chaul and Bassein*. 
criptions found inside the fort were published by Braz Fernandes in a book form. 75

"O fundador de Baçaim" 76 (The founder of Bassein). Though the title of this article is 'The founder of Bassein', the author narrates the entire career of Nuno da Cunha, rather than his role as the founder of Bassein. He gives unnecessary details of the early Portuguese exploration and later on also describes Nuno da Cunha's efforts to capture Diu, the narration of which does not fit in with the title of this article. Moreover, the article is not well documented.

"Os Portugueses em Baçaim" 77 (The Portuguese in Bassein). This is the most exhaustive and important article of the issue and has been divided under subtitles like the conquest, territory, population, economic life, colonisation, conversion of the people etc. This is the first attempt to write the history of Bassein in Portuguese. It touches on most of the political, social, economic aspects of Portuguese Bassein. But it lacks certain things. Though sub-titles like conquest, population, economic life etc., are given, the author gives only a brief summary of these aspects in a few pages. For example, though the article covers more than three hundred pages, the conquest is summarised in merely four pages, 78 population in three pages 79 and economic life in six pages. 80

On the other hand, the author deals with the entire Bassein province from Agashi, Arnala in the north to Caranja in the south

75. Braz Fernandes, Armas e Escrivanias de Forte de Baçaim, op.cit.
78. Ibid, pp. 97-100.
80. Ibid, pp.151-156.
including Salsette, Bombay and Elephanta island etc. Moreover, the author has given unnecessary details of the foreign relations of the Portuguese with the neighbouring princes and details regarding the cession of Bombay to the British all of which does not suit in an article entitled, 'The Portuguese in Bassein'. However, this exhaustive article is a good attempt by a Goan advocate-cum-historian to write the history of the Portuguese Bassein for the first time. Moreover, it is well documented and the author has used documents available in Goa and Portugal. "Maratas em Baçaim" (Marathas in Bassein). This article is written by Panduronga Pissurlencar. In fact, this is the reproduction of his exhaustive articles published in Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama under the title "Portugues e Maratas", which is translated by P.R. Kakodkar. The author gives minute details of the Bassein campaign of Chimaji Appa (1737-1739) which resulted ultimately in the conquest of Bassein by the Marathas.

In addition to an article in this issue by Ricardo Michael Tellies on the epigraphy of Bassein referred to above, there is a separate book written by Braz Fernandes which gives the inscriptions found in the fort of Bassein with their photographs.

82. Ibid, pp.245-316.
83. Branganca Pereira was professionally an advocate in Goa.
86. P.R. Kakodkar, Portuguese and Marathas, (Bombay, 1975)
87. This topic deals with the period which is not under our study.
88. Ricardo Michael Tellies, op.cit.
89. Braz Fernandes, Armas e Escricões de forte de Baçaim, op.cit.
and a historical account of some of the important personalities connected with the inscriptions. However, there are some mistakes in this book.

**ENGLISH SECONDARY SOURCES:**

As far as the English secondary sources are concerned, they may be divided into two major categories, the books giving the background history of the region of Bassein and the period concerned and the books written directly on the history of Bassein.

There are several English books which throw light on the history of Portuguese India in general and which have some pages devoted to the Portuguese activities in Bassein. The first among them is F.C. Danvers' work. This was a pioneering work on Indo-Portuguese history in English. He has dealt with the Portuguese conquest of Bassein and subsequent events, but like most of the Portuguese historians, is silent about the development of Bassein in the later sixteenth century. Though he has made exhaustive use of the documents, he has not mentioned them in the foot-notes or elsewhere.

The second important book is *The rise of Portuguese Power in India* by R.S. Whiteway. This book gives a comprehensive history of the establishment of the Portuguese power in India. It covers the career of Nuno da Cunha and gives the details of the conquest of Bassein to some extent. But it is limited only to the first fifty years of Portuguese rule. However, this book is more authentic and better documented than Danvers' *The Portuguese in India*, 2 Vols. (England, 1894) Reprint - England, 1966.

Portuguese in India.

In addition to these major works, there are several books written by different authors which throw some light on the history of Portuguese Bassein. *A History of Maratha People*[^92] has devoted a separate chapter to Bassein. Though the authors have made much use of secondary sources, they have given just a few references to the Portuguese printed sources.

Another book entitled *History of Gujarat*[^93] gives rather detailed information about King Bahadur Shah of Gujarat who ruled over Bassein for some time. The author has also devoted two chapters to Portuguese Bassein, one regarding the Portuguese rule and another about the antiquities of Bassein. The author has made use of the secondary sources in the Portuguese language.

*Bombay Mission History*[^94] gives information about the religious history of Bassein along with metropolitan Bombay. *In the Mission Field*[^95] gives a photographic history of the people of Bassein and Bombay. This volume was prepared by the religious authorities of Daman to convince the Roman religious hierarchy of the development of the people of Bassein who were under Portuguese religious control at the time of clash between Padroado and Propaganda Fide.[^96]


[^95]: Sebastião Jose Pereira, Bishop of Daman, *In the Mission Field*, (Ed.) (Bombay, 1925).

[^96]: Padroado and Propaganda Fide - In the eastern world the Portuguese were supposed to be pioneers of the introduction of Christianity after the Renaissance period. Later on the Portuguese religious hierarchy known as Padroado clashed with (Contd...
The volume consists of various articles written by eminent personalities of Bombay and Goa during the particular period. It contains an article in which the author gives the historical background of the ruins of Chaul and Bassein Fort. But he seems to have committed certain blunders as for example, when writing historical background of ruins of the Bassein Fort, at one place he says that "the citadel in the fort of Bassein was originally a Musalman fort which was taken by Nuno da Cunha in 1533" but earlier, talking about the same structure, he says that "Nuno da Cunha razed down the Musalman fort to the ground and returned to Goa."

There are two detailed essays, in possession at the Heras Institute of Bombay, which give some information about Portuguese Bassein. One is "The Decay of Portuguese Power in India". In this essay, the author has refuted the argument that the Portuguese Missionaries were responsible for the decay of the Portuguese in India, with special reference to Bassein. The essay

the official Roman religious authority called Propoganda Fide. So it was quite natural that the Bishop of Daman who had the religious control over Bassein, published this volume with the help of Goan historians who were pro-Portuguese during those days.


99. Ibid., p.517.

is available in the form of a booklet. The second paper is "Some documents on the Bassein Mission in possession of the Society of Jesus". It refers to some of the important documents available in the Jesuit archives of Rome which are not published anywhere and the author traces the importance of their publication.

Having examined the books and some articles in English relating indirectly to the history of Bassein, let us evaluate some books and articles written directly on the history of Bassein. The first and the most important book on Bassein is Notes on History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein by J.G. da Cunha. It is the first and only comprehensive book published on the history of Bassein. Since the author was a medical practitioner and not a historian, there are certain deficiencies in the narration, and the information is neither systematic nor well arranged.

Secondly, the author's observations are sometimes wrong as he was not well acquainted with the area concerned. Moreover, his remarks about the people of Bassein are prejudiced and misleading. But this is one of the most important books on Bassein as it is the first attempt to write the history of Bassein in English using Portuguese sources. Even the Bombay Gazetteer which was compiled in 1882, has relied mainly on this book for the information on Bassein.

The second book is 'The East Indians' by Elsie Baptista. It is a Ph.D. thesis in Sociology submitted to the University of Bombay and later on published by the East Indian Association of Bombay. The book gives detailed information about the historical background and the social practices of that Roman Catholic community of Bassein and Bombay, generally known as the East Indians. These people are distinct from the Goans and Mangaloreans of Bombay who are also Roman Catholics. But though the title of the book is The East Indians, it gives more details of one major community of North Bassein and speaks little about the Christian community of South Bassein and practically nothing about the East Indians of Bombay. There is one more Ph.D. thesis (unpublished) submitted to the University of Bombay. The author gives details of the educational development in Bassein, from the Portuguese period to the 20th century. He also deals with the historical background of the people of Bassein and some of the important historical places in and around Bassein. But the information is based mainly on secondary sources. The original documents regarding the Portuguese and the later period are not used.

There is another book, written jointly by two Jesuit Priests, Frs. Jense and Conti. The title of the book is In the days of Gonsalo Garcia. Gonsalo Garcia is the only canonised saint of India even today. He was born and brought up in Bassein during the early years of Portuguese rule. As he stayed with the Jesuits in Bassein Fort, the book provides more information about the Jesuit buildings, priests and events connected with them.

105. E.P. Coelho, Four Centuries of Christian Education in Bassein, (Bassein, 1959).
106. Jense and Conti, In the days of Gonsalo Garcia, (Bombay, 1957)
In addition to these books on Bassein, there are two 'guides' written by two different authors regarding the Portuguese antiquities of Bassein. One of these is A Guide to the ruins of Bassein. The second one is A Short Guide to Bassein. Though these short guides are written mainly for the tourists, they furnish ample basic knowledge about the different historical monuments in Bassein Fort.

In addition to these books on Bassein, there are some articles written by various authors like, Braz Fernandes,


109. J.G. da Cunha "Notes on History and Antiquities of the island of Bassein", first published in volume of the Royal Asiatic Society 1874. Later on the same was reprinted by Bombay Historical Society under the title "Notes on History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein" and ultimately published in book form in 1876 which is already referred earlier.


Braz Fernandes, "Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein" In the Mission Field, already referred earlier.

Braz Fernandes "The last days in Bassein", first published in Indo-Portuguese Review, Calcutta, 1925 and reproduced in the Journal of Bombay Historical Society, Vol.1928 deals with Portuguese Bassein facing the challenge of the Maratha invasion which is beyond the scope of our study. But it is a surprising fact that the author has simply translated Ismail Gracias's articles entitled "Os Ultimos
J.G. da Cunha, G.M. Moraes, John Corriea-Afonso, and the author of the present work. The articles are written in different journals and periodicals. But some of them deal with the later part of the Portuguese rule in Bassein, a period which is not under study here.

MARATHI SOURCES:

There are a few primary Marathi sources relating to the Portuguese rule in Bassein. They are known as Modi sources from Peshva Daftar, Peshva Diaries and other private records available with the families which played important roles in the formation of the destiny of the country. But most of these sources deal with the religious persecution, the plight of the people and the Bassein campaign of the Marathas, which is not under the scope of our study.

dias de Bacaim in O Oriente Portugues Vol.IV and V 1907-8, which is already referred to earlier.

111. R.D. D'Silva.
Perhaps the most important and authentic Marathi book on this topic is Portuguese–Marathi Sambandha\(^{112}\) by Panduronga Pissurlencar. This is the only Marathi book available giving the correct idea about the relations between the Portuguese and the Marathas right from the beginning. Moreover, he has also discussed all the Portuguese sources, available in Goa and Portugal, Rome, England etc and evaluated their importance. In fact, the book is the outcome of a lecture series delivered by the author under the auspices of the Poona University. Panduronga Pissurlencar has himself rewritten the lectures for this book. So there is no possibility for those kinds of errors generally committed by editors when a book of this type is published. This is the only Marathi book this great historian has written, as all his writings are in Portuguese. Hence, the book is considered the most important Marathi book on Indo-Portuguese history. It devotes several pages to Bassein and indicates original sources regarding history of this important Portuguese colony.

In addition to this book, there are two more volumes available in the form as Bakhars (बळखर). They are Mahikāvatiči Urfa Māhīmči Bakhar\(^{113}\) and Sāsthichi Urfa Thānyachi Bakhar\(^{114}\).

These Bakhars mainly give general and exaggerated accounts of


113. V.K. Rajwade, (Ed.) Mahikāvatiči Urfa Māhīmči Bakhar (Marathi) Original title महिकावतीची उर्फ माहीमी बक्कर (Poona, 1924).

114. G.G. Naik, alias Anjurkar Naik, Sāsthichi Urfa Thānyachi Bakhar (Marathi), Original title सास्थ्यीची उर्फ थाण्याची बक्कर which was in Modi and was later on republished under the title Sāsthichi Bakhar Urfa Vasaicha Durdhhar Ransangrām (Marathi), Original title
certain events and hence sometimes they are very confusing. Mahī kavātichi Bakhar is important for the pre-Portuguese village life in Bassein and the area around. It covers the period from 1138 to 1538. But it has devoted only two pages for the arrival of the Portuguese and has committed certain mistakes. For example, on page 63 it says of the Province (of Bassein) "The Governor was bluff by the sweet tongue Portuguese, invited to their ship and, on his way back, murdered". Here, the author of this Bakhar has confused the reader by substituting Malik Taughan for Bahadur Shah. It was Bahadur Shah, who met the same kind of fate later on near Diu and not Malik Taughan near Bassein.

The second Bakhar called Sāstichi Bakhar (also Thanyachi Bakhar) deals mainly with the Bassein campaign of Chimaji Appa. It has been compiled by a contemporary person from the family of Anjurkar Naik.

Marathi Riyasat by the great historian G.S. Sardesai, deals with Bassein in the chapter "Vasaichā Apurva Ransangrām" but it gives the details of the Maratha campaign which is not under the scope of our study.

The most comprehensive Marathi book on the conquest of Bassein by the Marathas from the Portuguese in 1739 is Vasaichi Mohim. The book not only gives details of the activities of the Portuguese before and after the fall of Bassein but also a brief survey of the Portuguese-Maratha relations from the time of

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115. V.K. Rajwade, op.cit., pp.63-64.
Shivaji. It also provides valuable information about the religious persecution of the people by the Portuguese in Bassein and mentions the sources of information. But the author has made use of only secondary sources in Portuguese with the help of some scholars as he did not know Portuguese. But he is frank enough to acknowledge the help rendered by Panduronga Pissurlencar in translating and interpreting the Portuguese material.

K.R. Shirsat has published 'Vasaiche Panmali' (Marathi). It deals with one important community known as Somavanshi Kshvatriyas. But it is full of mistakes and confusing statements. Hence, this book is not helpful to students of history who want to read more about the history of Bassein in general, and Panmalis in particular.

Another book on Bassein Vasaichi Lok Geete by K.R. Shirsat contains a collection of the folk songs of the Christian community in Bassein. These are the traditional songs sung at the time of a wedding ceremony and at some important events before and after a ceremony. But most of them are incomplete. Moreover, the author does not give any explanation or interpretation of those songs which are connected with the ceremonies performed. It is interesting to note that some of these songs have references to the Portuguese language and culture. But the author of the above mentioned book has failed to collect these songs. Similarly, in the first part of the book where

118. K.R. Shirsat, Vasaiche Panmali, Marathi, original title वासाईचे पानमाली, (Bassein, 1980).
120. See some of these wedding songs in Appendix V.
the author gives the historical background of the Christian community of Bassein, there are many mistakes regarding events, dates and interpretation.

The author of the present work has published a book entitled *Vasaitil Khristi Dharma va Khristamandire* using English, Portuguese and the Marathi sources. It relates to the general history of Bassein, with special reference to the churches.