CHAPTER - VII

CONCLUSION

The last chapter summing up the entire gamut of observations presented in the study is divided into two main parts. The first deals with the expansion in the urban growth of the city of Goa which in turn is linked to the progress in agriculture and trade. It has been generally observed that the repercussions in the economic and commercial sectors - either negative or positive - are definitely bound to influence the geographical limits of any city. A similar trend occurred even in the case of Goa. As will be seen, it extended in proportion and acquired a comparatively more cohesive form than during the pre-Portuguese period. The second section i.e. the final conclusion, consisting of general encompassing remarks and statements constitutes the latter part.

Divergent hypotheses regarding the concept and origin of cities and urbanization have been promulgated by many historians. To many, locational aggrandizement provides the crucial bond in the explanation of the decline of feudalism, a phase that witnessed the emergence of small towns. The evolution of this phenomenon triggered a series of modifications in the social arena. The migration of skilled artisans and handicraftsmen from the countryside was encouraged. Being involved in traditional crafts, they acquired a definite degree of specialization in activities and vocations conducive to satiating the specific needs of the market. They were able to take advantage of the situation and could realise tremendous profits as their products were demand oriented. In addition to creating an avenue for these artisans, the towns are also considered to have furnished the necessary liquid cash which proved to
be of immense utility for the local peasants. The available beneficial finances enabled them to purchase their enfranchisement over a period of time.

In the post feudal period that witnessed a phase of political, economic and social chaos, the towns also extended and arranged shelter and sustenance for the peasants fleeing from the countryside. The measure served an economic necessity as it offered alternative employment opportunities in the form of the nascent urban industry as well as other ancillary occupations were to be undertaken. On the other hand, an alternative school of thought subscribes to the view that the prerequisite conditions for urban growth are a combination of the existence of an adequate proportion of population to supply commodities for trade and customs and the easy procurability of a surplus towards meeting the same. Emphasis in this context is on the encouragement of transferable indigenous rural production.

Some historians trace the origin to the order and stability of the basic unit of agricultural economy- the village. While it undoubtedly forms the foundation, structures like the castles and strongholds housing the Royalty and army are treated as embryonic features of the latter day towns. These edifices are significant as they embodied some typical characteristics peculiar to the inherent nature of a city. The strict enclosures of the wall, with the well established portion of the proto-city i.e., shrine etc. were already existent. The revival of the protected town sustained tremendous impetus in the form of retrieval of both the regional and international trade routes. It, in turn, led to a wider circulation of those commodities which were in excess. Henry Pirenne has based his theory on the revival of the long distance trade. Its development was so expansive that in addition to its other provisions, the already existent commercial horizons also broadened. The period was also witness to the emergence of an active middle class. This group which had
made commerce its vocation, led a nomadic life. These people were constantly on the move and when they reposed, they exhibited a marked preference to reside in selected, secure and well-fortified areas that possessed strongholds and a wall \[3\]. On the other hand, the majority of the population leading sedentary lives within the confines of the city was engrossed on a professional basis in industrial concerns and in endeavors to enhance agricultural productivity. These activities were also of crucial importance to the very existence of the city. The exigency to safeguard the inherent local interests led to its emanation as a community endowed with the legal entity to stipulate specific laws and institutions.

Thus, towns materialized either due to the transportation of surplus products or, the resumption and the subsequent expansion of trade routes. If observed historically, commerce has been a very decisive factor in fostering Goa's urban growth. The Portuguese had conquered the city in the year 1510. By then itself, there are references to the prevalence of a multidimensional and flourishing metropolis. The main force assisting this expansion was in its inherent nature of being a port and a fundamental politico-economic necessity in terms of the ever growing constant demand for horses by the hinterland kingdoms that is, firstly by the Bijapur and, subsequently, the Vijayanagar empires. As Goa formed the entry point for the import of Arabian horses, it evolved to incorporate a fortified town (centre), a residential area that facilitated large scale transactions in business and commerce. It also lured the rural based handicraftsmen and artisans involved in specialized activities to meet the demands of the residing nobility and rich merchants. These people responded as they were guaranteed of extremely high economic returns for marketing their products. Traders from various countries also indirectly contributed to its prosperity by participating in its commercial transactions and settling within the confines of the city.
Goa had to be conquered twice before it came under permanent Portuguese domination. When Afonso de Albuquerque occupied it for the second time in 1510, he initiated many alterations. The primary move was to introduce some general improvisations in order to establish a definite pattern of administration as well as to step up security measures. The first step in this direction was the reinforcement and enhancement of the town's walls. The practice of filling the moat mainly to serve as a bulwark was commenced only in 1538. The process in operation throughout the year, was discontinued mainly during the monsoon season when natural rains filled the moat. It was more of a precautionary measure to hinder any outside power from launching any attack on the island. These served as the main safeguarding measures. The topography of the city itself, according to Jan hughyen van Linschotten, was based on a pattern similar to Lisbon, the capital of Portugal. The comparison was reflected on the fact that both the cities were geographically located on partly rising and partly level ground. It is a clear cut indication of the significance that Goa had for the Portuguese who found the necessity and the willingness to invest in it. Though the town expanded in an organized manner the main area was however limited, being confined to a minimum of 4 1/2 sq. miles. With such limited jurisdiction, it took only about a quarter of an hour for anyone to walk from the quay on the Rua Direita to the Misericordia. The centre of the city was triangular in shape.

The geographical boundaries and the modifications introduced in the above described territory are restricted solely to that of the city. Neither the islands nor the adjoining areas of Salsette and Bardez have been incorporated. The Rua Direita was the main road of the city. It was practically in the centre and at one of its ends, six smaller individual streets egressed. It passed from the north to the south and also served as the main market. There were
buildings on its either side.

Construction as a phenomenon, played a very major role and contributed tremendously towards the urbanization of Goa. A large number of magnificent buildings came up. It is a clear indication of the fact that edifices had become a medium of expression and people were enthusiastic about granting endowments for this venture. On the Rua direita, beyond the south of the fortress, the first building on the right side of the street was the town hall, then the palace of the Sabayo (i.e. Adil Shah). It continued to function in an important manner even under the Portuguese. It was situated opposite to the cathedral dedicated to St. Catherine. It was later converted into the residence of both the governor and the viceroy. It was also utilised as the seat of the Inquisition where interrogations were held during the period of Terror. At that juncture, it possessed about two hundred prison cells and was referred to as Santa Casa. It wielded tremendous political and administrative power and due to the religious work involved and the importance vested in him, the Inquisitor was socially held in higher esteem than any other Portuguese official. Misericordia was the last building on this side. Of the other buildings, the Bangaçal served even as a storehouse. The Peso was the office where the custom duties were farmed out. Thus, the Rua Direita formed the main road and all the important offices and buildings were along both its sides.

As Goa had always been a great centre for trade, there have been references to the activities of shipbuilding even during the pre-Portuguese period. The Royal shipyard, constructed on an elaborate scale, offered varied facilities for the manufacture of ships, conducting repairs etc. The docks and the arsenal were situated on the ribeira. A foundry for guns, ware houses with provisions
and storage facilities for materials of war were also located. The residence of the vedor was in close proximity to these buildings \[10\].

The streets progressed to the suburbs that were mainly occupied by the natives \[11\]. Further upstream to the left, the customs houses had been erected. Beyond the area were the mango trees cultivations \[12\].

According to the description left behind by St. Francis Xavier, the city was considered to have been surrounded by a parapet wall. It had been secured by a ditch towards the side facing the land. It was populated by a number of whitewashed houses and green gardens. The comparatively more fertile and accessible areas were generally occupied by the brahmins, who were socially the highest and most honored caste among the hindus.

These features formed the general crux of the city limits. Being geographically very small, it was linked extensively to different regions.

The main market place and even the buildings were mainly confined to the Rua direita. Four gates leading the way out of the city were erected in the State’s endeavor to monitor all movement. In the north, the main gate by the side of the river was the Porta de Cais. In the south, in close proximity to the House of Charity, the double Bacaes gate was in the direction of Our Lady of light, the Nossa Senhora de Luz. In the east, the toll gate paved the way to Sta. Luzia and the Sta. Catharina’s gate near the hospital was in the way of the church of Our Lady of Rosario. It was on the way to the springs of Banguenim. These were the main sources of water during the summer months which were periods of acute scarcity of drinking water in the city. The slaves were involved in the transportation of the same.
Urban growth was reflected in the development of another important institution, the hospital. The spread of awareness to care for the sick prompted the local people to extend their cooperation towards its erection and maintenance. It was in close proximity to the bishop's residence and the city wall.

It was planned so elaborately that the stones required for it were transported all the way from Mozambique[^13]. Initially founded on a small scale by Afonso de Albuquerque, it was later expanded. Termed as the Royal hospital, it was under the jurisdiction of the factor of the city[^14]. It was in close proximity to the bishop's residence and the city wall. A specific mention regarding its efficiency has been made even in the elucidation given by St. Francis Xavier when he visited the city in 1542.

Meticulous attention was paid towards the administration and the patients. It is evident from the number of grants in terms of cash as well as commodities that were released by the factor[^15]. The various inferences construe that the hospital was managed very well. The appointments of superintendents for the execution of the same on authorised directions are ample testimony. The welfare of the sick was given supreme priority and they were treated with exceeding solicitude. It used to receive 9,000 cruzados per year on a regular basis. One interesting factor that has been observed is that women were not admitted. In addition to this institution, there is a further reference to the establishment of another hospital for the poor. It came up in 1551 and was located in front of the church of St. Paul. It was maintained through the consignments of fruits and a sum of 300 paraus which arrived from Bardez and Salsette.[^16].

Religious institutions and churches were also constructed through this century. Since a number of christian orders arrived to preach and spread the mission...
of their religion, monasteries and churches were built to house and serve their needs. A few of erected structures whose creation dates to this century are enumerated below.

Afonso de Albuquerque made the first step in this direction as he established a church at the very entrance of the then Muslim town. Seen as a measure of Thanksgiving, it was a token of dedication to St. Catharine. The edifice designed entirely in the Manueline style, was expanded further in 1550 with an augmentation of some form of the Renaissance style by Jorge Cabral. An inscription in the church bears testimony. Another monument, the Se Cathedral which became active only in 1534, was designated so with the declaration of a papal bull issued by Pope Paul III in 1539. In 1558, through another bull the Etsi Sancta, it was exalted to the status of an archbishop’s see [17]. The chapel of the Franciscan missionaries was approbated by the king in 1517. It had a convent attached to it and was consecrated in 1603. The construction of the Basilica of Bom Jesus initiated in 1594, was concluded in 1605.

The seminary of St. Paul or Santa Fe founded in 1541, was located on the outskirts of the city. It was subsequently taken over by the Jesuits in 1542. These missionaries also participated in the dissemination of education among the local people. A college was established towards fulfillment of this goal. Many natives joined it in pursuit of higher education. Those who graduated were sent back to their home regions to serve in their capacity either for officiating as priests and partaking of their duties [18]. The Jesuit order which was initially limited in numbers, thus slowly began to expand and diffuse its thought and philosophy. Their ability to imbibe the vernacular gave them an added advantage over the other ecclesiastical groups. Their messages could therefore understood and accepted easily by comparatively larger sections of
Goa's religious connotation and significance was augmented further with the transfer of the holy body of St. Francis Xavier. It subsequently came to be visualized as a city worthy of pilgrimage. It also reflects on the fact that there have always been instances of towns which developed solely on the basis of religion. This aspect had acted as a unifying force both for attracting people as well as enhancing its status. In the sphere of religion itself, a form of socio-charitable organization that is the local branch of the Misericordia was founded. Established in 1519 to meet the demands of the needy and the destitute, it was organized on a pattern comparable to that of Europe. It also enjoyed Royal patronage. King Manoel who had personal interest in the venture, had endowed the House with the responsibility of the distribution of a sum of 570 pardaus for the newly converted poor in the city. In addition to this financial grant, it received 11 ½ pardaus every week from the feitor which it gave away to the destitute on every Friday [19]. The confraternity being a charitable institution was totally dependent on grants for its survival. What makes it so very special is the fact that it was perhaps the only institution officially permitted to publicly collect alms on a regular basis [20]. Its influence expanded further in the following decades when it gained administrative control over the hospital. The move had become an exigency as the earlier supervision by the factor proved to be ineffective. On many occasions the funds allotted for the same had been misappropriated.

The reallocation was officially executed. On April the 1st, 1543, there was a formal transfer of the power and supervision of the Royal hospital into the hands of the Misericordia. An agreement was drawn up. According to its terms, an annual expenditure amounting to approximately 3,697 pardaus had to be met. The basic avenues for the
same were the Royal revenue and the tanga branca. Other resources were also made available. Four times every year, the Royal revenues of the islands of João and Chorão were diverted. A further step in this direction was in the form of the tanga branca paid by the gaunkars every year. Despite these planned measures, problems could occur at any point. Alternative sources of revenues were therefore constantly tapped to counter any unforeseen calamity. For example, for the year 1543 itself, all the income needed for the hospital was diverted from the house tax of the city. Additional precautions were taken to countenance any more unexpected setbacks. In the event of the non availability of a sufficient annual income from the above discussed sources, the State had to come to the rescue. In an emergency of such gravity, it had the additional responsibility of releasing 300 pardaus on the arrival of ships from Portugal.

The hospital was also to receive benefits in kind. The primary and most necessary commodities listed included four pipas of wine, one pipa of vinegar, and a quarter pipa of oil. Any foreign item that was needed was made available custom free on its availability from Portugal. Regarding its regular administration, the superintendent was in the overall charge of the hospital. The city physician had to compulsorily treat all the sick presented by the provedor. It has also been clearly stated by the people that the hospital was maintained very well by the brothers of the Misericordia. A specific document also records the fact that every year, a minimum of around four to five hundred sick people were offered treatment.

Though there has been some mention of indulgences being perpetuated by the Misericordia, it did not attain such a degree so as to create differences of opinion. In any context, amicable relations continued to be maintained.
with the Crown. The letter of the provedor mor to the king expressing his gratification for the care taken and the endowments towards the institution are a testimony of the fact that the latter was constantly and actively interested in all its organizational activities.

Trade played a very significant role in contributing towards Goa's urbanization. In fact, the expenditure involved in the construction and maintenance of the churches and palaces was practically derived from it. Commerce of this period as discussed was fundamentally of two types: that of the spice trade with Europe and the interport trade of Asia.

The city thus experienced tremendous growth. Its rapid and unprecedented development has often led to its comparison to Rhodes. Efforts were made even at an official level to ensure the proper running of the city's administration. Steps taken in this direction included the allotment of a revenue of 1% to meet the expenditure incurred in its fortification. In addition to the above-mentioned edifices, the town also possessed several homes to house the local population. These were generally made of stone and mortar. Construction was conducted on a very large scale and many were involved in this activity. The magnitude of the participants who were also remunerated for the services rendered amply testifies to the fact that it had evolved into a very important occupation. The windows of the houses did not possess glass panes. They had polished oyster shells that were fitted with wooden framework and lattice work. The fundamental idea was to make them as attractive as possible. In other words, supplementary its utility value in terms of practicality, the mode of presentation became a rather relevant segment in construction. There was an underlying emphasis on the enhanced presentation of beauty. The net conclusion was that attractive residences came up on an elaborate scale. It can be seen to be a consequence.
of the fusion of the two distinctly different cultures. One can therefore surmise that the role played by the builder, the artisan, and others who were involved in correlated occupations that were cognate to construction is next only to the merchants in fostering the urban growth of a city [30].

We also have some data regarding the trends in the level of population. Goa had around fourteen thousand inhabitants. Outside the city, in the suburbs, around fifty thousand people resided. If we take into consideration the different races of people within the city in the year 1548, the existent records corroborate to the presence of nearly forty thousand canarins. Despite their large numbers, the christians on the other hand were also not a minimal proportion and constituted an estimated number of more than seven thousand [31]. This century was not entirely free of natural calamities. It witnessed repeated epidemic attacks whose impact was reflected more within the hindu and the native dominated regions. For instance in 1570 approximately 900 people in the potters class were affected by a severe cholera attack which claimed nearly one third of its population [32].

Over a period of time, changes in the demographic pattern were bound to occur. The incentives from trade and other ancillary activities brought in an influx of people from different parts of the country. It subsequently led to an enhancement in the population level and an acute paucity of housing space was experienced. The shortage assumed such high proportions and land grabbing became so common that even the wide ditch surrounding the wall which was to serve solely as a bulwark against external attack, was also utilised for accommodation purposes. It was in total violation of the Royal order of 1540 that had prohibited the building of even a single residence in the proximity of the outer wall. The radical though illegal extension provided more area for greater numbers to be housed within the city [33].
When the returns from the horse trade were stupendous, a separate section was established within the city. Its responsibility was limited to their welfare and maintenance. The State also extended patronage on many occasions. References regarding the issue of grants - both in terms of cash and kind by the factor of Goa exist [34].

Goa thus became predominant over the decades. It formed the headquarters of the Portuguese commercial empire by the 1530's. There is a reference stating it to be the head of the Estado. Its eminence and wide ranging influence is evident from the fact that many messages were officially dispatched to various parts. Those who were involved in carrying out this duty also received remuneration for the same. As power was vested in it, Goa can be seen as the focal point of all activities - administrative, commercial or diplomatic [35]. Its prestige was furthered through the State's measures.

To sum up, as mentioned and discussed by many historians, it was the Portuguese the first European power who paved the way for the subsequent inroads by the other commercial companies to colonise ports and cities in India. While a number of towns were under their official jurisdiction, Goa has been undertaken as a specific case study for analyzing the extent of their influence since not only was it under direct European rule for a long period spanning many centuries, but it was also invested with much power and developed - in terms of administration and guilds - on lines similar to Lisbon.

Goa had always occupied a very prominent position due to its strategic location. Evidence available from the earlier sources suggest to the presence of a well developed and prosperous economy. Agricultural production was undertaken through communal ownership of the village communities - the
The guild system also existed. A definite amount as tax was levied both in the agrarian sector as well as in commerce. It proved to be a more regular phenomenon in the case of those ships which were seeking entry to the ports. Under the Kadambas, trade was conducted on an scale. Arab and Armenian merchants among others, settled in the city. It was a well-planned town, possessing palaces and a fortified fort. Though some elements of a feudal setup - primarily reflected in the maintenance of a hierarchy for tax collection - were prevalent, Goa due to the influence of the various dynasties, had developed a peculiar framework imbuing all characteristics.

The Portuguese endeavor to conquer Goa resulted in success in their second attempt in 1510. A broad level of transformation was made possible in this century through changes introduced in agricultural production, transfer in land ownership and trade. With its establishment as the headquarters of the Portuguese empire by the 1530's and the setting up of the office of the Viceroy and other officials, non agrarian production became highly specialized and attained a high degree of excellence. Craftsmen and artisans produced commodities of intricate handwork.

Goa offered avenues in trade and many merchants participated due to the lucrative commercial returns. In this century, the arena was further widened with its introduction into the vortex of international market. Transactions were more demand oriented and confined to specific commodities. In addition to other nationalities, Europeans also began participating and they were primarily involved in the transportation of commodities between Goa and Portugal. It is an inevitable presumption to speculate that these trends could have initiated some degree of alteration even at the social level. At the local scale, an exclusive class of elite hindus was incorporated into the caste system in the form of the banias and the sarsawat brahmins who had
migrated to become beneficiaries accruing both from local and inter coastal trade. This group became very prosperous. The intrusion of the christian orders in their bid to divert the revenue emanating from temple lands and their intensive participation in agricultural production created class tensions as the local population was largely displaced. The Portuguese also attempted to evolve a loyal and subservient class through two methods. One was the process of inter racial marriage. Since the very inception, Afonso de Albuquerque was far sighted enough to visualize and realise the relevance of a mixed race to serve their needs. The second yardstick was conversion. Incentives in the form of gifts were offered and with the State passing a number of laws, property could be legally bypassed and be inherited only by the converted. Thus, in addition to the original Portuguese race, a class of people came into being. While access to high offices was denied to them, they fulfilled all minor duties that were not undertaken by the Europeans. This category survived and on the other hand, though the hindus were at times persecuted, the basic caste structure also persisted in its original form. The routine social norms and practices continued through the century irrespective of severe official oppression. And in spite of the varied social distinctions, all the diverse groups were able to survive as a single cohesive unit.

To conclude, if observed in its totality, though Goa was comparatively more preeminent due to the powers vested in it by the Portuguese, it was also administered just as Cochin or any other of the Portuguese colonies. All the ports and regions that were under the jurisdiction of the latter were interlinked especially with regard to commercial transactions and cash transfers. Uniformity in all administrative matters can be observed.

Thus in spite of distinctions in the economic structure and the mode of production, the social framework was able to retain and sustain as an
Integrated unit. The Portuguese were not entirely successful in their endeavor to graft a totally alien society. They were at the most able to develop a small social hierarchy pertaining to their needs alongside.

FOOTNOTES:


13. ANTT, Cartas das Vice reis da India a outras pessoas, 1504-1659, 3rd December 1548.


15. Details regarding this issue are given in Appendix V.


22. AHU, Codices da India. No. 281, Registo das cartas, 4 May, 15 May 1591, No. 230.


27. AHU, Codices da India, no.281, fl.96.86.

28. There are references to a number of houses being constructed:

1. The factor of Goa was instructed to give Sebastião do Porto a thousand *reis* in the name of the king to assist in the construction of houses in the port town.

   28 December 1512. Parte 2 -maço 36- document 76.

2. Message to the factor of Goa to pay Cristovão de Figueiredo two hundred *reis* as financial assistance to build houses.
3. The order of Afonso de Albuquerque to the factor Francisco Cornivel to give Manuel de S.Payo 4 reis as aid to erect houses.

4. Message of Afonso de Albuquerque to the factor to pay Diogo Gonsalves for services rendered regarding certain houses of the inhabitants in the city.

5. An order was released to the factor to give a consignment of a thousand stones to Duarte Pereira superintendent of the defuntos of Goa for building a house.


32. T.R.deSouza (edtd.), Goa through the ages : Vol. II: An economic history, (henceforth referred to as Goa through the ages). Delhi, 1989, p.75 from R.S.S.Chauhan, “Marketing in Goa during the 16th century”, as mentioned in B.S.Shastry (edtd.), Goan society through the ages, 1987, p.159.


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34. Appendix -VI.

35. Appendix -VII.