CHAPTER - III

THE AGRARIAN ECONOMY OF PORTUGUESE GOA

The comprehension of the agrarian structure of any economy is very pertinent as it forms the fundamental platform on which the entire framework is based. Involving a large proportion of the population at all levels - in terms of the land lords, the tenants and bonded labor - any degree of transformation is bound to have wide ranging consequences on both the participants as well as others who indirectly derive benefits.

The manner and the extent of metamorphosis of the agricultural base of Goa during the first century of Portuguese control forms the major focus of this chapter. It is divided into three major segments. An elucidation of the facts that had attracted and prompted the Portuguese conquest constitutes the first part. It incorporates a note on the pertinent territories under their jurisdiction. The second portion is a description of and the extent of changes induced through land transfers to the missionary orders, the dominant Portuguese ecclesiastical groups and, its subsequent impact on the communities. The final section comprises details of the crops cultivated, the collection of revenue - both at the village level and passes and, the administrative hierarchy maintained for the execution of the same.

Goa's initial capture in 1510 only marked the beginning of the territorial extension which continued both during the sixteenth and, the eighteenth centuries. Tiswadi and the adjoining islands of João, Chorão and Divar were first to be subject to Portuguese jurisdiction. These, along with Bardez and Salsette, were designated as the Velhas Conquistas. A number of factors had
motivated the Portuguese to develop an interest in the possession of Goa. Commercial profit played a major role. Goa had always been a very active transit centre for all commodities; it was more so in the traffic in horses. The Portuguese opined that their conquest would facilitate the further development and enhance the prosperity of the town. Moreover, it was presumed that the possession of a land base along the coastline would lead to the establishment of an exclusive and undisputed supremacy over the sea and also support possible political expansion into the hinterland.

The subjection of Goa to the rule of the muslim sultans of Bijapur was considered an expedient factor for wrestling the port. A further inducement was seen in the need to eliminate the Turk and Arab traders settled in the city [1]. On an imperialist level, territorial conquest was important to Afonso de Albuquerque as it could provide a base for further the consolidation of the latter day Portuguese empire. The accelerating cause was however the internal turmoil within the town, a situation aggravated with the death of a tyrannical ruler. Maladministration became rampant; and at that juncture, no leader capable of either resisting external threat or subduing the inherent chaos was present. Timoja, a local chieftain who allied with Afonso de Albuquerque in the execution of the conquest, was actually responsible for the arousal of the Portuguese interest in the port. He was in fact their prime informer regarding Goa’s excellent natural facilities [2].

These facts induced the Portuguese to launch their offensive against Goa. The entire process, though easy, occurred in two separate phases. In February 1510, Afonso de Albuquerque was requested by the local hindu inhabitants and his friend Timoja, the advisor of the Hanover fleet, to attack Goa. The latter was assigned the responsibility of invasion by land while Albuquerque executed the assault through sea.
Being in a state of utter political confusion, the city did not offer much resistance. In March 1510, Afonso de Albuquerque entered the town. The subsequent two months were consumed in its extensive fortification. The euphoria was however short-lived as, within three months, Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur recaptured Goa in a sudden ambush during the monsoons. He was unable to particularly benefit from this seizure and the entire exercise proved to be futile as Afonso de Albuquerque regained the port on a permanent basis in the month of October of the same year [3]. Even then, Ismail Adil Shah had not been subjugated totally. Another attempt made under the leadership of Faulad Khan in 1512 was repulsed by the Portuguese who successfully gained control even over the fort of Benasterim [4].

Goa proved to be very beneficial to the Portuguese. Its prestige is testified by Duarte Barbosa who stated that, it was "their most significant acquisition and gave (them) a very strong position on the west coast with a good harbour and a territory capable of furnishing them with supplies [5]. The retention of the port for four and a half centuries is clear testimony of the long lasting advantages accruing from it. They created a city and its administrative machinery on lines somewhat similar to that at Lisbon, their capital, and successfully transplanted a proportion of the population loyal to their administrative infrastructure as well as to the Portuguese crown.

In December 1510, Albuquerque formally laid the foundations of a new fortress for the Portuguese and repaired the existing city walls. A chapel to St. Catharine was commissioned. Panjim was chosen as an important military station to monitor and restrict infiltration in any form. Ships entering or leaving the river were constantly monitored. This precautionary measure had become imperative in light of the earlier but temporary reconquest by the Adil Shahis.
The augmentation of territories under the Portuguese authority began with the acquisition of Salsette and Bardez through a tactical move. With the death of Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur, Asad Khan authorised the Portuguese to occupy these territories as he required their political support for his nominee, Mir Ali, in his claim for the throne. The Portuguese thus gained a foothold into the immediate hinterland in 1543 [6]. It is generally opined that the names of the three provinces were derived from the number of settlements each possessed. Bardez implying Bara and desa i.e., the twelve regions Tiswadi had thirty and Salsette is considered a misproportioned form of sasashta or sixty six [7].

Among other political acquisitions relating to this period, the fortress of Reis Magos situated on the right side of the Mandovi river in Bardez was captured in 1551 [8]. The fortress of Rachol in eastern Salsette wrested from the Bijapur king in 1520 by Krishnadeva Raya of Vijayanagar, was later ceded to the Portuguese during the governorship of Diogo Lopes de Sequeira. It formed an outer link. Being on the fringe and locationally vulnerable, it was frequently attacked not only by the muslims but even by the Marathas in their incursions into Goa [9].

The geographical limits of the city were clearly streamlined by the two rivers at its either end. The river Zuari bordered the southern coast, Mandovi marked the northern limit. It was possible to reach the mainland by crossing the fords of the interior creeks of these two rivers. Three comparatively larger islands of the ilhas formed the mainstay. Chorão, a flat island, was positioned on the right side of Mandovi. The hilly João was towards its left. Divar located in between and renowned for its temples, had earlier been inhabited by brahmins [10]. Regarding its other locational advantages, the harbour in the Zuari estuary to the south was a little more protected from
the north west monsoon than that of Mandovi in the north. Both however remained closed during the monsoons - that is, the months of June to September - when fresh water from the Mandovi was available. As salt water constituted the mainstream during the remaining part of the year, it became necessary to use slaves for transporting fresh water from springs outside the city confines [11]

The geographical confines of the area controlled by the Portuguese was merely 166 sq kms of islands and the two estuaries [12]. As the wall surrounding the city and the suburbs did not offer much protection to its western side, a number of fortified check posts were fabricated along the river separating the island from the mainland. Other landmarks that defined the city limits included the suburb of Panelim which led to Ribandar, this in turn was in the direction of Panjim and Taleigão. In the south, Batim paved the way to Agaçim. The Nossa Sra da Cabo on the western end of the Goa island, served as a landmark for all incoming and outgoing ships. Ponda, which was not very far, was separated from the coastal provinces of Konkan and Balaghat by the Western Ghats [13]

The above description forms a concise picture of the geographical location and confines of the city. An analysis of the agrarian structure, which even during the pre-Portuguese period was composed of village communities with some prominent elders serving as leaders, follows. The existent pattern underwent a radical transformation in the sixteenth century, a phase that was witness to alterations in landownership when the religious orders as well as the lay Portuguese acquired lands. The former, due to the State's sanction, initiated a process of possessing areas that had earlier been under temple jurisdiction. The original framework experienced disruption with the influx and forced inclusion of these foreigners.
To begin with, the Portuguese had not made any open or full fledged endeavor to acquire lands. In fact, Afonso de Albuquerque on his conquest had clearly stipulated terms that included regard and continued preservation of the then existing local customs in their traditional forms. In another document, Francisco Corvinel the factor at Goa was ordered by the Governor, Afonso de Albuquerque, to respect and grant to the gaunkars of the city as per their custom [14]. In spite of the declaration, some shifts in the official policies did occur. Within a decade of the conquest, that is, in March 1518 itself, the King of Portugal had announced the transfer of all lands in the island of Goa to the Portuguese. Under this regulation which appeared to exclude direct possession by any other social group, the only exemption was made in the case of the native christians.

The decree created tension and was therefore revoked. A much simplified and acceptable version was later introduced according to which transfers were to occur only in the case of muslims’ lands. The canarins, as earlier, were permitted to claim continued ownership over their lands [15]. All these measures clearly indicate that subsequent to their political conquest, the Portuguese considered it their prerogative to interfere in and establish direct ownership rights over the local village lands. In addition to these activities, the Portuguese realized the exigency to document and maintain a record for a better and comprehensive understanding of the agrarian framework, the role and limitations of the duties of the village communities and also a stipulated payment of revenue. The primary step in this direction was the issue of a charter by Afonso Mexia, the superintendent of the public exchequer. The Foral as it was designated, was granted to the people of Goa by the King João III in September 1526 in an endeavor to preserve and protect and the indigenous bodies as embodied. It had 49 clauses. It is significant as it was the first exposition by any European to discern the mechanism of the
The entire treatise was formulated through information procured from learned natives of Tiswadi and the erudite brahmins of the mainland.

While defining the proprietary rights of the communities, the charter ensured their permanence and exclusiveness as it declared that irrespective of any form of misconduct, they could not be displaced of their privileges. Some of the clauses incorporated under it included:

1. The concept and heritage of the gaunkars.

2. The island of Tiswadi on which the city of Goa is located, is reported to have possessed 31 villages. These include Neura (a comparatively big settlement), Ganssim, Ella, Azossim, Calapor, Morombim, Carbolim, Battim. Others were Tallaulim, Sallecer, Mercurim, Agaçim, Neura (small), Mandur, Corlim, Oraraa, Gaudalim, Renovaddy, Bambolim, Sirdao, Curqua, Taleigão, Goa Velha, Gonvally Moula, Cugir, Dugary, Morura, Morombino (small), Chimbel, Pannellim, Bangany.

3. Each village had the obligation to pay a certain quantity of revenue as per their tradition.

4. A proportion of the cultivated rice had also to be given.

5. Tangas were to be paid by the cultivators of rice and palm.

6. Alternative provisions were elaborated in instances when villages were unable to pay the revenue within the stipulated time.

7. If the gaunkars of any village were unable to contribute their due, they had to face the reversible suspension of their rights.
8. The gaunkars's prerogatives being inherited, they could not under any situation whatsoever be deprived of them.

9. In addition to the privileges of the gaunkars, details regarding the payments by the palm and areca cultivations were also elaborated. The palm trees leases were auctioned every twenty five years, its payment on a general level was however a minimum sum of 5 tangas.

10. The areca trees needing little water paid a comparatively less amount of 4 barganis as foro while others requiring more had the obligation of submitting 6 barganis.

11. The escrivão in the village had the responsibility of making lists.

12. The traditional role of the gaunkars endowed them with the right to grant lands freely and permanently to the brahmins in the temple, the escrivão, the porteiro, the rendeiro, the washerman, capateiro, the carpenter, the blacksmith, the faraz, and the women of the temple. These could be revoked only in the absence of the required services.

14. Details about the tanador-mor

15. No outsider could easily acquire property within the purview of the village. A gaunkar if he wanted, could sell provided he had procured prior consent of the village council for the same and represented its right of pre-emption.

17. In periods of non payment by the inhabitants, the gaunkar could compensate for the same as the remuneration had to be made within the declared time period.

20. The arrendamento of the rice producing lands.
21. The gaunkars of the island of Tiswadi, Divar, Chorão and João distributed barganis to their respective residents so that the latter could participate at their own cost in services that included cleaning the muros and chapas of the cavas.

28. Details regarding children and descendants.

33 Further mention of sons and the issue of descendancy.

34. It was clearly stipulated that bribes in any form were not to be taken by those serving in various official posts.

39. Each of the piace procured 2 medidas of rice as maintenance eat and 1 real to purchase betre as compensation for his services of a day.

41. On occasions of celebrations or functions, the principal gaunkar of each village was the first to be offered betel, pachoris etc.

43. The definition of “Nemo”.

45. The village of Taleigão is specifically noted as it was the first to possess harvested rice

46. The cultivated rice of the season was initially offered to the main gaunkar in the village. The dancers also had the obligation of performing foremost at the residences of the principal gaunkar. 

Lands were distinguished on the basis of crop cultivation which in turn was dependent on the suitability of soil in the three regions namely Tiswadi, Bardez and Salsette. Of these, Bardez was inhabited by people involved in agriculture. Salsette on the other hand, was located on the southern side of the Goa island. Its most prominent villages included Rachol, Orlim, Margão, Mormugão, Verna and Cortaly. It was considered to be most fertile. Its hills were naturally endowed with an abundant supply of timber partially
used for the local shipbuilding industry. A variety of fruits were grown. The primary crops cultivated were rice, palm and areca; cereals were also produced though on a comparatively smaller scale. Plots termed gharghitas, ghormanda, kulagas/thikas were utilised for the coconut and areca plantations. The terraced fields reserved for the production of cereals, could be leased either temporarily or on a permanent basis.

All the trees were to be grown in an officially stipulated manner. Lands for coconut plantations for example, were measured with a rope composed of 80 cubits. In spite of a standardized form of quantification, the mode of cultivation varied from region to region. In Salsette, for instance, the acceptable distance between two trees was 80 cubits. In Bardez, cultivation was much more concentrated as an approximate number of five trees were raised within the stipulated area. The palms had to maintain an established distance of 12 paces between every two trees. Areca production could be in the smallest as well as the largest plots — which in terms of area could house up to a maximum of 600 trees. The Jesuits who were actively involved in agricultural production released an excellent treatise titled “Arte Palmeira”. It was a product of their observations and practices. The Order is also credited with the introduction of cash crops. Cashewnuts occupy the pride of place. Pineapples, tobacco, potatoes, papayas, red peppers and all the multifarious possible varieties of grafted mangoes were grown. The transfer of crop technology from one Portuguese colony to another is best exhibited in the introduction of the plum, originally from Mozambique.

Due to systematic and organized cultivation, the productivity and yields of palm, areca and coconuts was very high. The regular production of these crops in Salsette and Bardez imply a constant market for the same. Palm
especially had a very wide market as it could serve a variety of purposes. Arrack, a highly popular indigenous drink was derived from it. Its sugar could be consumed and its leaves were utilised for creating thatches, mats and umbrellas. Documents pertaining to the high levels of palm production are listed below. Simão de Pedrosa, the storekeeper of the armazem of Goa, received from the local factor, Francisco Corvinel, 5,000 olas of the palm for a brahmin resident of the Divar island namely, Deva [26]. The storekeeper is once again stated to have received 53,000 and 25,800 olas of the palm from the factor Miguel de Vale [27]. 17,750 olas of the palm were released by the factor at Goa to the meet the needs of the local storekeeper [28]. Another document clearly corroborates to the arrival of 20,600 palm olas native to the Salsette region [29] An instalment containing 18,400 olas of palm, 50,000 of areca and 71 kernels of the Salsette region have been recorded [30]. The same month again lists the acknowledgment of 11,700 olas of the Salsette palm [31]. A subsequent transaction of 5,000 olas of the palm were dispatched by the factor [32]. A small consignment of 4,100 palm olas was once again transferred to the storekeeper [33]. A substantial increase in production (which in turn is linked to demand) can be visualized as the documents refer to a comparatively large instalment of 15,900 olas [34]. 19,000 olas of palm and areca were also stated to have been received by the storekeeper at Goa [35].

While large scale production was carried out in Salsette only 4,000 palm olas, native to Bardes are mentioned to have been transported [36]. It therefore becomes very evident that former was definitely more fertile with greater level of productivity which at times attained a very high proportion of a sum 37,000 palm olas [37] Pedro Godinho, the storekeeper at Goa once again acknowledged the receipt of an enormous quantity of 23,500 olas of even areca [38] There is a separate reference to the dispatch of 18,000 olas
of the same crop by the factor [39]. The cultivation of coconuts is also cited. João Lobato testified that the recebedor of the revenues of the city acknowledged the cargo of 81,000 cocos given by the palmares of the city [40]. It thus becomes evident that the different regions were distinctly earmarked for varied purposes. The highlands for instance, totally rent free, were granted as compensation for the rendering of services. The elevated areas in the river valleys on the other hand served for accommodating the gaunkars. The fertile and arable plains that were highly productive and the major areas of large scale cultivation, could satisfy many needs including the maintenance and associated needs of the temples, the demands of the village gaunkars and sustenance of the village servants. The common lands were the only ones that could be auctioned. In Salsette and Bardez the land rights of a particular village could also be leased out for the payment of a quit rent as tribute[41].

In addition to the introduction of new crops and the enhanced crop productivity, this century was also witness to large scale transfers in the landownership pattern. The major groups responsible for this activity were the religious orders who had arrived at Goa. The Franciscans who came in 1518 were subsequently followed by the Jesuits in 1542 and the Dominicans in 1548 [42]. It soon became imperative for the State to make provisions in the form of grants and endowments for the construction of churches and creation of accommodation for these congregations. The process of generating a regular avenue of income was initiated through a systematic and large scale destruction of temples that began in the 1540's [43]. The economic motive became the most important factor in the conversion drive which was inducted in the commercially lucrative regions. It is clearly corroborated in the case of Cuncolim, an area naturally endowed with an abundant availability of fresh water and a permanent bazaar at one of its end [44].
The money initially procured was not very substantial. A paltry sum of 250 pounds per year was derived out of which 100 pounds was a compulsory payment to the confraternity and another 150 pounds was to compensate the loss of the destroyed temple structures. It therefore became necessary to tap alternative sources of regular revenue that is the agrarian structure. The Portuguese considered the subsidizing of the religious institutions (as in the case of temples) an inherent function of the communities and therefore transferred the same obligation of meeting the expenditure incurred in the maintenance of churches, repairs etc. On the 21 March 1569, Dom Sebastião promulgated an order by which the incomes of the destroyed hindu temples of Salsette and Bardez were to be transferred to the churches. The Jesuits also procured lands (especially in Salsette) through grants from private individuals. Such measures assisted in augmenting their influence.

The church thus began to appropriate for personal use all the rent free lands and also the sums from the common fund originally earmarked for the expenditure incurred by the temples. In 1549 the confraternity of the Jesuits not only procured the right to possess lands for themselves but even the prerogative to take over areas which had been the subject of any concealed grant. Land grabbing was also conducted in the guise of the dissemination of education. For instance, the Royal letter of 9 March 1579 ordered the release and diversion of the revenues derived from the lands of 10 villages for the foundation of a Jesuit college at Margão.

The large holdings and material success of the Jesuits created a great degree of resentment among the gaunkars and the lay Portuguese. Many grievances were voiced against them. The Portuguese settlers in fact wrote to the King of Portugal stating, 'If the State in India is lost, it will be solely because of the Society of Jesus. The income which the fathers derive from their
properties in Salsette alone would suffice to maintain all the religious houses that we have here' [43].

Evidence clearly indicates that the State policies encouraged the intrusion of a new class of landowners - both lay and religious Portuguese who dislodged some of the earlier traditional rights and complicated the simple working mechanism of the communities. A number of landed groups who lost their earlier privileges included.

1. The kulacharīs, either brahmins or kshatriyas, were generally gaunkars. They participated in the management of a few village communities and had the prerogative to bid at the auctions of works that were undertaken and accomplished. In fact this was perhaps the only category of State revenue farmers who had the additional responsibility of controlling and maneuvering the supplies of goods on a regular basis. Though partially eliminated, they were not wiped out altogether.

2. The other groups to forfeit its prerogative was that of the kulkarnis who were originally shenvis. They faced irreparable losses as, irrespective of the clauses in the Charter, they were compelled to sell their posts to new converts. This clear cut planning by the State was seen to be an official policy aimed at differentiating and prohibiting the intermingling of christians and the hindus.

3. The beneficiaries of the State policy who were able to extract a greater share of the surplus through the peasants working on the lands were the adventios. The newcomers demanded for an equitable share in the annual surplus and exercise of rights. Being in a comparative larger proportion, they displaced the hindu gaunkars who could also be prohibited from
participating in matters relating to the village administration. Social schisms slowly crept in and over a period, it was officially declared that no Portuguese could offer any form of employment to the local inhabitants. Matters attained such a gravity that even the posts of the village clerk, traditionally occupied by the xenoy brahmins, were diverted to a new breed of converts.

The Vantely / Khuntkars / Accionistas: This class of shareholders came into existence due to the conversion of interests into freely available shares [49].

Therefore definite trends in the landownership pattern can be discerned. The local peasantry also underwent some gradation. With the process of subletting, the khazan lands were sublet to a khot who in turn disbursed them among other members. A form of bonded labour also came into existence following the Jesuit policy of procuring the services of people who due to some earlier obligations in terms of small but irretrievable loans, had to work on a free basis [50]. They usually leased lands from the gaunkarias for a minimum stipulated amount, and in turn sublet the same to the other cultivators at very high rates. These activities, over a period of time, were instrumental in enhancing the proportion of bonded labour. On the other hand they did not altogether exploit the agrarian system. In addition to the introduction of new cash crops and improved methods of enhancing productivity, they organized a number of seed banks to counter the paucity experienced by farmers who had not made arrangements for the same. The only condition attached to it was that the seeds had to be returned during harvest time - a practice which was usually not observed [51]. Thus a definite form of hierarchy came in to existence at the agrarian base. The gaunkars - either the traditional or the convert - occupied the apex. These were followed by the peasants with the land less laborers forming the base.
LAND REVENUE

It is very relevant to understand the mechanism of revenue collection as most of the salaries of the various officials in the government were derived solely from it. It formed such a large percentage that its collection was in fact made compulsory. It was only in the case of the outbreak of a war that the payments could be temporarily deferred \[52\]. The mechanism for the collection of revenue was very well developed. At the provincial level, the chief revenue superintendent was responsible for the proper execution of the duties. Of the three regions under the Portuguese jurisdiction, Tiswadi had a landar mor who was basically an intermittent link between the government and the local base. He had the responsibility of collecting customs and taxes from the communities. He also had to oversee all activities including the arrival of commodities through the passes. Bardez and Salsette were under the official supervisorship of captains \[53\].

In this context, it is important to comprehend the mode of operation of the villages as they are the foundation on which the entire superstructure is based. The major occupations practised were those of the carpenters, the blacksmiths, the washerman, the potter, the barber, the basket weaver, the cobbler, and the canoe man who procured their salary from the rent free lands granted to them on an exclusive and permanent basis. These could be revoked only in the absence of provision of the required services \[54\]. As the village contained land for the cultivation of crops, it had to make arrangements for the protection of the same under its jurisdiction. The responsibility of patrolling the houses, the orchards, the palm groves and paddy fields - the main avenues of revenue - was allocated to the jari whose office was farmed out. As compensation for his duty, he received his payment in kind. In Kortaly, for instance, he was entitled to 6 coconuts for
every instalment of 100 plants and 2 kudeu of paddy from each plot of cultivated land. With the introduction of other crops, he benefited with the allocation of an additional 10% of the entire produce of jackfruits, bananas and areca nuts.

Crops were leased out regularly. In fact, all lands - even the best rice fields - were auctioned. It can be seen to be more of a precautionary measure to check any form of misappropriation of funds due from them. The palm trees had some term of relaxation in rules as these were exempted from any form of directive whatsoever for the first 25 years of their growth. The amount collected from these was in the form of tanga brancas for every 100 trees. On occasions, a few of the Portuguese leased out coconut trees to the Canarins. The latter benefited to such an extent that there have been instances when the latter possessed as many as 300 to 400 trees.

The revenue collection the village was done through the offices of the potekar and the village clerk. The village clerk had the duty of making a list of all the revenue paying gaunkars and submitting the same by the 25th day of each month to the potekar who then procured the receipts from the kulkarnis. The potekar was the final authority in charge of the accumulation of revenues at the village level. As he was actually responsible for the cumulation of the stipulated amount, he also enjoyed certain privileges. He was entitled to the aggregation of interest in kind on the amount paid by him to counterbalance the deficit incurred by the defaulters. These were in two major forms: those collected as grain and others in the form of coconuts.

The tanadar who was at the provincial level, was involved in the various aspects of revenue collection. The first tanadar to find a specific mention
was Timoja. After the first conquest of Goa in 1510, he had anticipated procuring the town for himself. He was in fact willing to pay a compensation in the form of an annual tribute of 20,000 pardaus to the Portuguese for the same. Afonso de Albuquerque foiled his designs as he preserved the port for the Portuguese. Timoja was instead nominated as the chief magistrate for all Goan residents and also farmed out the revenues of all lands excluding the ilhas for a sum of 1,00,000 cruzados. Social interaction was generally open and access to higher administrative posts was possible in the early decades of the Portuguese conquest. As recognition for his active political support and collaboration in 1510, a hindu named Krishna was endowed with the offices of the tanadar and corretor of the horse trade in 1523. By 1526 his position became even more powerful and he was vested with the additional responsibility of monitoring the communities. Wide and undefined authority even in the spheres of the judiciary and defence made him practically invincible. He was assisted in his duties through a number of pience who were under the headship of a naik. The State also supported his administrative responsibilities. Messages were dispatched to the gaunkars to give Krishna stipulated sums so that the same could be transferred to the State exchequer. Another order was sent by Afonso de Albuquerque to the gaunkars of the island of Tiswadi asking them to contribute 150 pardaus to the tanadar. Further message records and indicates the release of another 150 pardaus stipulated as rent. The tanadar could also write to the King on certain economic issues. For instance, Krishna had reported to the King João III about the depreciation in the production of palm and areca cultivation which fell from 10,000 to 5,000. He requesting the ruler to be sympathetic, therefore suggested a slash in the remdas of the areca and palm to be collected for that year. This letter is an indication of the fact that though the local governor was quite powerful, the King remained the final decision making authority in all matters pertaining to the State of India.
All the regions under the Portuguese jurisdiction paid revenues fixed by the State. Every year, the islands of Chorão, Tiswadi, Divar and João - individually gave the factor at Goa, Miguel de Vale, 27,337 tanga brancas [64]. In other terms, the accumulated amount was 4,201,916 2/5 reis [65]. The gaunkara of Salsette were under obligation to pay 978,371 reis. Those of Bardes had to give a sum of 192,970 reis [66]. Supplementing these were the taxes on all commodities entering the town through the passes. These were at Panjim in the west, Dangim, Gandaulim and Benasterim in the north east, Agacim in the south east. Control was established at Naroa the focal point that led to Bicholim from the island of Divar. The ebb tide at the ford of Gandaulim being shallow, it was also termed as the Dry pass. Benasterim also known as the Santiago, was very frequented as it formed the main entry gate for people coming from the Ponda region with necessities required by the local population [67]. Carbolim was São João Bantista and Agacim was also entitled as São Lorenço. Another two check posts at Ribandar and Panjim were primarily to watch over the river Mandovi as vessels moved through it to gain access to the city. All the passes and the different regions in Goa are clearly indicated in the adjacent Map No.1 [68].

At each pass, a capitation tax was collected. The duties at all the passes was 1 ½ %. In addition to this exaction a further 4 ½ % was inflicted on all items in 1548. Termed Renda da betel, it included betel, areca, jackfruit, green ginger, lemons, oranges, mangoes, coir, etc; none of these could be sold independently except by orchard owners and when they were farmed out. The few commodities that were exempted from the payment were the seed pearls, corals, gold, silver, and precious stones [69]. The records of the farming contracts of this period generally elucidate the classification into major revenue heads. These incorporated the incomes from the duties charged on the supplies arriving at any of the check posts from Sanquelim and
Bicholim through the rivers of Narve, Chora, and Penha de Franca. The minor revenues were the duties charged on the daily provisions that arrived through the river of Rachol in the canoes of Bandode till Madkar

Revenues thus acquired were disbursed among various offices. The *rendas* of Bardes and the island of Goa were diverted for the payment of the ecclesiastical ministers at Goa. This is corroborated through a letter of the Archbishop of Goa. Others reimbursed for their activities included the cloisters, priests, viceroy and other officers in the State; allotments for special yearly stipends were also made.

Though there has been some paucity of material regarding detailed information of the extent of land transfers, it becomes abundantly clear that they were a regular phenomenon through the sixteenth century. The shifts in landownership especially to the Jesuits is a typical instance of the procedure adopted by colonial powers; it was witnessed even in the case of the British in the subsequent centuries. It did not prove to be totally detrimental to the local people as the Jesuits were responsible for the introduction of a variety of crops and techniques to enhance agricultural productivity. It is possible to visualize that the concentration on agriculture could have been of a greater magnitude during the subsequent century. The crucial factor for this change of attitude is assumed to be in the declining fortunes in commercial transactions following the involvement of other European companies. The Portuguese lost out on their supremacy and the vast gamut of the population participating in trade were compelled to divert their attention and find an alternative vocation - it was to be in agriculture.
FOOTNOTES:


17. As per the clause of the Charter.


the Charter.


29. Ibid. 5 May 1525. Parte 2 - maço 125 - document 96.


33. Ibid. 16 May 1525. Parte 2 - maço 125 - document 137.

34. Ibid. 16 May 1525. Parte 2 - maço 125 - document 138.

35. Ibid. 17 May 1525. Parte 2 - maço 125 - document 140.

37. Ibid. 27 May 1525. Parte 2 - maço 125 - document 166.


44. T.R.deSouza, “Rural economy and life”, in his (edtd.), op.cit. p. 86.


50. T.R.deSouza, \textit{Medieval Goa: A socio economic history}, (henceforth referred to as \textit{Medieval Goa}) Delhi, 1979, p. 170;


52. According to the Foral, as stated in Rui Gomes Ferreira, \textit{op.cit.} p. 28.


55. HAG, 10228, fts. 23v - 4, in T.R.deSouza, "Rural economy and life", in his (edtd.), \textit{op.cit.} p. 100; R.S.Whiteway, \textit{op.cit.} p. 82.


60. In Salsette the tanadar had 12 piaes under his control who received separate remuneration for their services. As stated in Henry Yule and A.C.Burnell (edt.), Op.cit.p.787. details regarding their remuneration are in appendix - I.


63. As Gavetas, Tomo III, gaveta 20, maço 2, fl. 25.

64. ANTT Mss. CC: 2 November 1525. Parte 2 - maço 85 - document 168.

65. Henry Yule and A.C.Burnell (edt.), op.cit. p. 68; Simão Botelho, Tombo do Estado da India, in Rodrigo Felner (edt.), op.cit. pp. 46, 47.

66. Ibid. p. 56.

67. T.R.deSouza, Medieval Goa, Delhi, 1979, p. 112; Specific mention of Benasterim as an important check post in Nicolau de Fonseca, op.cit. p. 154.

68. M.N.Pearson, Coastal western India: Studies from the Portuguese records, New Delhi, 1981, p. 74; The map has been taken from Georg Schurhammer, op.cit. p. 136.
69. Simão Botelho, Tombo do Estado da India, in Rodrigo Felner (edtd.), *op.cit.* pp. 48, 49.


71. AHU, Codices da India, No. 281, Registo da carta 4 de Maio e 15 Maio 1591; Jan hughyen van Linschotten also refers about the same.

72. Details about the specific payments to different heads are in appendix 2.