CHAPTER - IV

THE NON AGRARIAN ECONOMY OF PORTUGUESE GOA

The non agrarian sector encompasses the entire gamut of all activities external to the agrarian and land revenue patterns. It has a relevant place in the economy as it is an amalgamation of those ancillary occupations that contributed towards the overall general growth. It constitutes a very distinctive division both in terms of services rendered and the high returns derived from it. This chapter therefore deals with three main corollaries of the same. The first section comprises of the various vocations practised by that proportion of population not involved in agriculture. In the second, emphasis is laid on understanding the mechanism which sought to safeguard the economic interests of these non-agrarian professions that is, the mode and organization of guilds. The concept of monetization including the introduction and minting of new coins under Portuguese rule forms the concluding part.

As observed in the earlier chapter, the transfer of landholdings initiated a process of social disruption in the ownership pattern in the agrarian sector. Many depending overwhelmingly on agriculture and its correlated activities came to be displaced. They had to subsequently encounter the issue of non-availability of an alternative source of employment within the purview of their village. Faced with the paucity of other opportunities within their regio, they were compelled to migrate to areas offering varied and lucrative avenues of vocations. An exodus of population was thus initiated from these villages to the newly developing small market towns as well as to the main city. This step must have had repercussions as it definitely could have induced some amount of transformation in the demographic trends of the semi urban...
and urban areas. Two major changes can be visualized: firstly this phase was witness to a greater availability of alternative products in the market. Secondly, their presence in town implied the prevalence of specialized occupations. In course of time, the services available and the level of competition at every juncture created an exigency where it became compulsory to safeguard one's occupation. Further augmenting trends brought about the crystallization of certain vocations, that is, the regulation of the highly organized local occupations and other ancillary services into guilds [1].

As in the case of villages, even in the city, some traditional handicrafts fundamental to its existence had always endured as an integral segment of its framework. These incorporated the handicraftsmen and artisans. Those requiring extreme skill and intricate workmanship included the goldsmiths, the gem cutters, the doctors; others which had a comparatively greater value as they satiated the constant daily requirements were the shoemakers, the bakers, the bleeders, the slave retrievers, the barbers, the minters, the sawyers, the carpenters, the blacksmiths, etc [2].

Due to regular transactions in gold, the participation of the goldsmiths in day to day affairs was very expansive. There are references to their general involvement in production of gold ornaments. In addition to manufacturing jewelry in gold, these goldsmiths also participated indirectly in matters of finance as they were responsible for the verification of the authenticity of money collected as revenue payment in the villages. They received a special fee for this task. They thus functioned in a double capacity in the economy. Even in the society, they were a prominent group. Being a very prosperous community, they, along with the makers of silver ornaments owned one entire street in the city. These people were generally hindus [3].
On the other hand, commercial operations concerning money matters had become very important and extensive due to Goa's trade contacts. These multifarious links culminated in the presence and circulation of a variety of coinage and currency in the city. Money changers were involved and in fact they formed a wider fabric of the society engaged in transactions dealing with conversion. The shroffs participating in the market had a major responsibility of determining the exchange rate of pre-Portuguese coins in circulation vis-a-vis the official currency of pardaus, tugas etc. These changers who operated in the city were generally crypto-Jews. Being skilful, they were masters of their profession. Money exchange as can be visualized, was a very lucrative profession. It encompassed a wide spectrum of people from different social strata. While the brokers participated directly, the goldsmiths played an indirect role.

It is perhaps not out of context to state that during this period, coins were minted in Goa with the primary objective of meeting the growing demand and the creation of an uniform standard of currency. The minting of gold coins was usually given on a contract basis to local workers. There is a reference to one Pondea Chatim who received a contract of 7,500 pardaus for the specific minting of the same, São Tomé. Minters were generally employed on a full time basis at the mint at Goa; some of them were at times sent even to Cochin to serve the same purpose. Goa thus definitely acted as the Portuguese headquarters in India in its endeavors to countermand the needs of its other colonies.

The continuous underlying demand for all varieties of cloth by the local strata is a regular feature in any society. A number of weavers who created products as according to the indigenous requirements, had a constant and ready market for their products. However, cotton cloth was not only the
material produced. Other artisans were involved in the highly specialized vocation of silk weaving. These people must have received a high level of remuneration for their products. It is clearly corroborated by the fact that they paid taxes to the State [7]. Since the earliest period Goa had been a transit centre for the precious stones arriving from the Golconda mines. Its geographical location can also be considered to have contributed to the development and extension of this highly skilled profession which demanded skill and craftsmanship [8].

A vocation involving a multitude of people was that of carpentry. Their stupendous contribution had always been realized and acknowledged even at an official level. In fact, in a letter dated as early as 17 October 1510, Afonso de Albuquerque while reporting to the king, alludes to the presence of expert local carpenters and calafates [9]. The comment is relevant as it reflects on the Portuguese capacity to realise the potential of possessing skilled artisans and their long term intention of developing a shipbuilding industry at Goa. Carpenters were employed in all sectors and services of the State. Filipe Fernandes, a carpenter in the Serviço Real was paid a sum of five cruzados for the work he had undertaken to complete [10]. While it is clear that some of them were employed on the ribeira, others were also in demand in the Gunpowder house [11]. There is a treslado of contract by a carpenter namely Antonio Afonso concurring the empreitadas of Benasterim in the Passo Seco at Goa [12].

The stone cutters are another group to find mention in the documents [13]. There is a record of a contract of empreitada of the armazem of the city of Goa which Afonso Mexia, vedor da fazenda made with João Rodrigues, a stonecutter and a citizen of the city [14]. Another deal was signed between the vedor da fazenda of the city with Braz Dias. It was regarding the
completion of brickwork in the Panjim region [15]. *Pedreiros* and *pelourros* too are referred in a document [16]. While some of them received payment in cash, others were compensated in kind. A message was sent by the governor of India, Lopo Vaz de Sampaio to the factor at Goa to pay Diogo Fernandes and Braz Rodrigues, two stone cutters and citizens of the city, two consignments of material [17].

*Naiquebareares* were also remunerated for their services [18]. *Besteiros* have been mentioned along with the gunners and the *espingardeiros* [19]. A message was transmitted by Afonso de Albuquerque in which he ordered the factor at Goa to pay the salary of one month to the *besteiros* and *espingardeiros*. The payment was compensation for services rendered in terms of guarding the city and the island of Goa [20]. These people usually received a salary of 2 *cruzados* in cash and one *fardo* of rice as maintenance for each month. The captain who was in charge of the supervision, received 1000 *reis* as a monthly salary [21]. In addition to cash payments, they were also provided with necessary materials for assembling their equipment. Their captain, Manuel Sodre, for example procured 150 *rodas* of *barbate* from the factor for making *bestas* [22]. The *anadel* of the *besteiros* and *espingardereiros* on the other hand, is stated to have acquired 14 gold coins from Pedro Corveira the *escrivão* of the fort [23].

This century witnessed the erection of a number of buildings. As residences were constructed, documentary evidence suggests the payment to a tile maker's services [24].

The documents further reflect on the fact that the army also received payment. The captain of the *granadeiros* for example, was ordered to pay the gunners in the form of twenty Cambay cloths. The factor was given a
sum of 200 gold pardaus to dispense as salary among the soldiers \[25\].

Certain soldiers were also paid for their services. The governor of India ordered the factor of Goa to pay those employed in the King’s services within the purview of the city; the sailors too received their salary through the same mechanism. They along with the calafates, etc. who travelled with the Armada were given certain quantities of commodities for maintenance \[26\].

In addition to the above mentioned vocations that derived salaries or items in kind from the factor, a number of workers were remunerated for their participation in routine activity. A message was sent to the factor at Goa ordering him to pay João de la Ponte for the work he had accomplished in the monastery of St. Francisco \[27\]. In another document, the governor Fernão Nunes wrote to the factor at Goa to grant Jorge Dias Cabras a sum equivalent to 17 pardaus. It was for an obra completed in the fort of Panjim \[28\].

These instances of regular payment by the factor to those involved in these activities on a professional basis is primarily an indication of their accumulated participation and official recognition of their services.

Other crafts which developed on an occupational basis included those available from the cultivated palm, spoons, ropes, woven leaves and oil were the main derivatives \[29\]. In fact palm tree production was encouraged as it served in many ways.

In addition to these activities, people were involved in vocations pertaining solely to Goa’s position as a port. Two major occupations that evolved included fishing which can be treated as a natural inherent vocation. The second was shipbuilding. It attracted many people at different levels who
contributed towards making it a flourishing industry.

Fishing as such was very common especially for those not capable of generating sufficient capital for large scale investment. A multiformity of nets were generally utilised for trapping fish. There are a number of references regarding their payment by the factor at Goa. In addition to their routine activity, some were remunerated for defending the pass of Benasterim. On occasions others received amounts for going to Batecala. A perusal of the documents indicate a specific mention of the Malabarese fishermen. It is clear indication of the schisms which had developed within the social strata. A general practice that crept into the economic fabric of the port was the payment of taxes. Even these fisheremen were not exempted and they paid 100 cruzados on a regular basis [30].

Goa was a reputed centre for shipbuilding industry - a practice which was in vogue both during the pre-Portuguese period as well as the period under study. Of all the available varieties of wood needed for the construction of ships, there was an overwhelming preference primarily for teak as it was the lightest and most buoyant. It had also proved its durability [31]. Though in great demand, its paucity in Goa prompted its import from the Kanara region [32].

The presence of the carpenters/shipbuilders was also realized very early by the Portuguese; in fact, Afonso de Albuquerque was far sighted enough to comprehend and report in a letter to King Manoel of Portugal about the utility of Goa's capture as the local inhabitants were renowned shipbuilders [33]. In another missive dated December 22, 1510, he elaborates about the easy procurability of both the raw materials in the form of nails, iron, as well as labour i.e., the artisans, the carpenters and the workers who could
contribute towards the execution and fulfillment of this vision [34].

As far as the geographical location of the shipyard is concerned, the main dockyard had the Ribeira das naus on one of its side; on the other was the Ribeira das Gales where commodities awaiting transshipment for foreign countries were loaded [35]. The guards keeping a strict vigil at night, prohibited movement of all vessels except those transporting timber to the shipyard [36]. The three major prevalent forms of ships were the fustas, naus and the galees. These weighed approximately 600 tonnes; the volume had proved to be optimum both in terms of economy and durability [37]. Fustas were usually long and flat ships. These vessels which weighed between 200 - 300 tons, were kept in motion by means of lateen type oars and sails with one or two masts [38]. Some of the naus were assembled at Bassein. They arrived at Goa for the final completion following the construction of the third deck [39]. The most famous nau was the Cinco Chagas by viceroy D. Constantino de Braganca in 1559-60. It served for two decades and a half [40]. The galee Bom Jesus had the maximum capacity; it could accommodate 600 marines and 64 mounted guns. On an occasion, a message was sent by D. Alexio de Meneses to the factor at Goa to give the master of a galee 25 cottons for making spritsails for his vessel [41].

The dockyard etc. was under the supervision of the Control of Royal revenue board alongwith an Intendant general of the Navy [42]. A proper official hierarchy was maintained with the Patrão-mor at the top; subordinate to him were the masters of the shipyard, the caulkers, the blacksmiths, the ropemaster, the masters of sails, the masts, etc. [43]. The then reputed masters were Valentine de Mundole, Francisco Ribeiro [44]. The most notable of the dockyard were Diniz de Costa, Gaspar Lopez and Gaspar Rodrigues [45]. The main master caulkers were Pedro Gonçalves, Jorge Marinho, Andre
The trends however underwent a degree of transformation towards the final decades of the sixteenth century. The captains in those forts who benefited from the felling and selling of local timber, began to charge exorbitantly for the uninterrupted supply of the same to the required regions. Expenses therefore multiplied and the high costs indirectly induced a steep enhancement in the cost of shipbuilding and repair in Goa \(^{47}\). It slowly became an uneconomical proposition and subsequently suffered a setback.

As earlier mentioned, an inordinate number of houses and buildings were constructed in Goa during this century. Detailed references regarding house building will be elaborated in the final chapter of this study dealing with the urban growth. The vast multitude of edifices and structures erected reflect on the high degree of affluence attained by the city. It is an inevitable truth that only with the prosperity of commercial viability, a town can attain a position of attracting an elite class that will be sufficiently enthusiastic about investing in and patronizing its plans for expansion \(^{48}\).

Guilds are an important factor to be discussed in the purview of this chapter on non agrarian production. As some highly major and highly specialized activities were organized into guilds, a cognizance of their functioning becomes expedient. Their origin cannot be dated to this century as evidence corroborates to their presence even in the pre-Portuguese period. The only visible difference to have evolved is that as Goa came under Portuguese rule, these forms were modelled on administrative lines similar to Lisbon. In the latter, the regulations enacted by the majority of the guilds were either due to tradition or by the State and Municipal authorities \(^{49}\). A subtle variance crept up in Goa in the sense that the State was directly involved in their
planning and organization.

On a general level, the Indian urban centres were very expansive. Their organizational and occupational specificities accommodated the commercial elite, the artisans, the traders, etc. into guilds as a substantial part of their framework [50]. Their presence is primarily an indication of the existence and development of the highly specialized occupations, the subsequent drive and the need to safeguard their interests.

The traditional crafts practised were differentiated and codified into guilds founded on caste and their professions. The service endogamous and the identity derived therewith guaranteed the survival of the craft by that specific caste. Being a cohesive body, they conserved the characteristics natural to themselves. Guilds were thus a crucial institutional form of safeguarding economic and professional interests.

Two main sources refer to the existence and extent of the working of the guild system. The ‘Treslados das cartas patentes’ and the ‘Gerais of the Senado Municipal council’ in the Historical Archives of Goa refer to the practice of issue of licenses to different artisans for continuing on their craft or even to possess a shop [51].

The earliest references in Goa after the Portuguese occupation are to be found in the Jesuit missionary reports.

Guilds were mainly composed of artisans and handicraftsmen. There was some clear cut classification between both the activities [52]. The artisans were grouped under bandeiras while the crafts were termed as oficios. As
the Portuguese grafted a system existing in their country, similar practices
continued. The general pattern included the procedure of putting up banners.
The various professional occupations were obliged to maintain different types
to denote their identity and individuality. The barbers for example, belonged
to the banner of St. George while the masons to that of St. Joseph. A number
of crafts could also have a common banner of a patron saint. Religious
inference thus came to be utilised as a basis for representing the interests
of different crafts on the Municipal board [53].

Many regulations were passed to maintain the efficiency of the guilds. The
extant original records of the Goan Municipality dating from the years 1535-
1537 had some rules for the bankers, the suppliers of some basic commodities
as well as services. Every effort was made to shield the interest of the guilds
[54]. In 1545, King João III instructed the Lisbon municipality to inquire into
the regulations of this system. It was also empowered to modify the
legislation if the situation warranted such a move. Consequently in 1572, the
conventions of different crafts (for the years 1549-64) were compiled into
a book titled ‘Livro dos regimentos dos oficiaes mecionicos’. For better
efficiency of this machinery, two juizes were also appointed for supervision
[55]. Despite all these measures at a higher level, there have however been
instances when the city and the State authorities intervened in the organization
and the working of the guilds. A decree passed during the last years of the
sixteenth century stated that no employee would be permitted to seek redress
by any law for unpaid dues. The only condition under which they could
agitate for and demand payment was when they personally possessed a
contract signed with the employee determining all conditions including the
terms of service and remuneration initially agreed upon [56]. In the absence
of the above mentioned agreement that served as a substantial form of
evidence, the worker was at times denied these rights and even compelled
to forfeit them. The State interference thus appears to have been an inevitable development.

If some particular vocations were organized on a professional basis supported by State regulations, it is possible to perceive that a chief or head of each guild could have also existed. We are hereby referring to the concept of Mugaddams; or mocadomes as referred to in the documents. The title basically denotes a chief or master [57], a position of authority applicable to all communities. They represented the professional interests of the different groups of which they constituted a part.

In the documents there has been mention of the guild Mugaddams of the goldsmiths [58], the stone cutters [59], the carpenters [60], the ferreiros [61]. The silk traders, the bigaris [62] and even the marinheiros [63]. These people were involved in regular activities and the records suggest prompt payment by the State. There is an instance where the mugaddams were paid for the obras in the convent of St. Francisco [64]. A few of them generally received some amount for individual services rendered [65]. Others were remunerated for their work of digging cavas [66]. It is thus evident that a number of activities were coordinated and groups of people participated according to their profession and guilds. The process was not confined to physical activities. There have been instances of description of the chief of painters [67]. The reference has been mentioned in a report of 1545. Another report in 1560 elaborates about the baptism ceremony of the mugaddam of the silk merchants and his companion. Elaborate details expounded incorporate trivial matters pertaining to the decoration of the entire street of the silk merchants for the same occasion [68]. It indicates that these people had a very important role to play both as heads of professional groups representing their interests and, subsequently as members of a social elite possessing wide ranging
Thus most of the non agrarian activities were organized into guilds. The 
muqaddams represented the interests of the various groups. They must have 
all been paid promptly. The documents are a testimony to this fact. The 
mocadão of mantimentos received from the factor at Goa, Miguel de Vale, 
a sum of 6 pardaus and 200 tangas in the form of salary to pay 200 Moors 
of the nau Victoria [69]. The governor of India dispatched a message to the 
factor at Goa to furnish all necessities to the Master of Currency to enable 
him to mint gold cruzados that were in the barra of the fort [70]. The factor 
at Goa was in receipt of a message to pay the salary to 207 canarins and 
their mocadão. João, a mocadão, and Antonio, a canarin were to be granted 
their salary by the factor [71].

A natural corollary to all the changes occurring in both the agrarian and non-
agrarion sectors of production is the transformation in the existing monetization. 
All in all, it is a fraction of a general wide development encompassing the 
entire gamut of economic activities. An analysis of the then prevailing coins, 
the necessity to induct new coins into the market and the extent to which 
the market consequently became more flexible would reflect on the prevailing 
economic conditions. After all, changes in the intrinsic value of or in the 
weight of the coins are major indicators of the fluctuations and trends in 
the prosperity of the economy.

In fact, it has been suggested that such processes of monetization implied 
the development of a disseminated network of commodity production in the 
country. The phenomenon of commercialization was slowly evolving; markets 
were not only capable of efficiently redistributing arable or industrial crops 
but could also convert them into monetary forms [72].
Sirwe the urnquest of GIN, the objective of the Portuguerc State was two fold: the first was the introduction of coins in gold, silver and copper to create a new and uniform standard of commerce. This economic process while bringing about an equitable financial balance, was to facilitate trade transactions and displace the other earlier coins in circulation. The second aim was to aggravate the price of metals especially that of gold and silver to prevent their going out of the territory. As we shall see, efforts were made to monitor the movement of gold through constant vigilance [73]. It is to Afonso de Albuquerque’s credit and his farsighted policy that made the local officials conscious of the exigency to conserve metals and introduce new coins as well.

At the time of the Portuguese conquest, the coins in circulation were the pagode and, pratapa varaha. The major coin in circulation was the Adil Shahi coin, the lari. It was of Persian origin and made of very fine silver. Other coins included the cruzados, the Gujarat muzaffarsahis madرافaxios, the venezianos, the soltanis, the docados, the patacas, the dourros, etc [74].

The primary step taken towards organizing the minting of the coins on a proper basis was the appointment of a treasurer of the Casa da Moeda. He was entrusted with the responsibility of issuing coins in gold, silver and copper. The first person to occupy the post was Tristaõ Dega [75].

Minting was immediately started and in the year 1510 itself, around eighty one denominations of these three metals were issued; the earliest coins included the gold Manueis [76]. Having a value of 480 reis, these were embossed with the cross of Christ on one side and a sphere, the emblem of King Manoel on the other. The silver coins called the esperas and the meia esperas, were equivalent to 40 reis. The Greek letter αθή was on one side
while a sphere was minted on the other side of these coins. The xeráfina also in silver, the base alloy in Goa, were worth 300 reis with the engraved form of St. Sebastian and 3 or 4 arrows. The copper coins the leis, superseded all the other coins except the gold pardaus [77].

It was during the time of D. João de Castro that gold coins, the São Tomes were coined in Lisbon for circulation in India and the other Portuguese colonies. They were designated so as the figure of St. Thomas, the apostle of India, was embossed on them. It was equal to five xeráfina or a thousand reis [78] and weighed 345 gms. It had a diameter of 25 mm and was of 20-25 carat gold. For easier accessibility, these were later on issued specially in India by Garcia de Sa. One surprising factor regarding these coins is that their metal content and intrinsic value fluctuated constantly and varied from one colony to another. For example, during the years 1521-27 the São Tome, namely João III weighed 3.2 gms in Goa and the same was 2.47 gms in Cochin. A much revised version with a comparatively lower weight was later minted to prevent its smuggling and consequent minting into pardaus of a lesser value [79]. Attempts were also made to monitor its movement. It was clearly stated that all the available gold was to be minted except that proportion of quantity dispatched to Cochin for meeting the expenditure of pepper purchases.

As mentioned, minters from Goa were also dispatched to Cochin to mint the cruzados necessary for purchase of pepper which was to be transported to Lisbon. Dom Henrique de Meneses (1525-26) in confirmation with the government’s proposal, sent a few moedeiros. As the entire procedure proved to be very expensive and impractical for the government, it was later stipulated that those undertaking the contract of transporting pepper for Portugal had to compulsorily and personally make arrangements to bring the
necessary cash to India. In other words, over a period of time due to financial deficit, Goa was no longer officially responsible for minting coins to meet the cost of buying pepper at Cochin.

Regulations were maintained regarding the movement of gold imports. While officially utilised in the minting of coins, it could not be dispatched from the territory without the consent of the contractor. It was taxed. Ships had to calculate and maintain a record of the exact weight of the quantity of this metal exported from or imported to Goa. Vessels from Mozambique, China etc. were inspected by the ouvidor de cidade who was entrusted with the responsibility of verification and the registration of gold imports. No merchant, especially the cloth merchant, was permitted to accept this metal in exchange for supplies. It could not to be utilised in this context under any condition whatsoever. All these measures undertaken by the government clearly indicate that gold was a very precious metal even for the Portuguese and every precautionary measure was taken to guard it.

Of the other coins in general circulation, those in silver coins substituted the bargany. They always retained their nominal equivalence of 5 tangas or 300 reis. Though generally minted, no silver coins were issued between the years 1500-1550 for a period of five decades. In 1550, the trend changed when the Viceroy D. Antão de Noronha ordered the minting of the São Tomes and Potacões in Goa itself.

The other existing coins were those of copper. The leal and later the bazaruco replaced the earlier jaithar and the smaller denomination, the dinheiro. Copper coins began bearing special distinctive marks only after 1550 when a mint was established at Cochin. The monetary symbols adopted at Goa in this context were roda, G-A, GOA, D-GAO and DE-GOA.
The small coinage was minted at an inflationary rate from the mid 16th century. Copper was at times substituted with kalay and pewter.

The value of copper did not remain stable and kept fluctuating over the years under the various viceroys. It was valued at thirteen pardaus per quintal during the time of Afonso de Albuquerque. During the viceroyalty of Nuno da Cunha, it stabilized at 16 pardaus per quintal; under Garcia de Noronha, it rose to 18 pardaus. However, matters changed during the period of Martin de Sousa who during the years 1542-45 interfered with the copper rate and tried to enhance it. Copper generally valued at an approximate cost of 18-20 pardaus per quintal was forcibly made to be equal to 36 bazarucos. It had severe economic repercussions as laborers refused to participate in work related activities and merchants declined to either sell their commodities or get involved in commerce. It clearly indicates all these classes were farsighted and reasonably aware of the market trends and they were not particularly inclined in any sort of speculative enterprise.

Xerasins or ashrafis were also introduced into circulation. They would have been similar to the preceding bastioes resulting from the continuation of minting silver coins. In addition to the existing copper coinage, the State issued a new coin the salami bazarucos. Though minting of most of the coins was permitted, regulations were passed to prohibit their export; it has been observed more in the case of the bazarucos where the policy was strictly enforced except in certain cases when they were minted by the town’s order to meet some specific demand. The warrant of VII 1600 describe it by saying that ‘from each hundred weight there shall be made 25 xerasins and 3 tangas, weighing one pound weight of bazarucos, one tanga of good coin of 75 bazarucos, from which the bazarucos shall be minted, having one side a sphere and the other with crown and Royal arms’.
Stringent measures were taken by the State towards the regulation and the weight of coins. The Goa Town council made an order that the gold minted should be sold as ounces, eighths, and grains and not as gold xeralina as at present [88]. All the coins of gold, silver and copper in circulation had been weighed and authenticated by the order of the government. Thus, it is clearly evident that the Portuguese were reasonably successful in their endeavor. It was due to their official policy that they could, to a large extent, prevent the outflow of precious metals. Smuggling was controlled.

To facilitate money transactions, over a period coins of very diminutive value were withdrawn from the market to the maximum possible extent. In fact at a particular juncture, there were so many small denominations of copper coins in circulation that it had become uncertain to decide as to which of these could have been the pequenino as defined in the early records of Afonso Mexia [89] Official measures were also undertaken to prohibit the minting of very small coins During the viceroyalty of Dom Antão de Noronha, the Royal Charter of 16-6-1569 confirmed that there 'shall not be minted any more money of the said coins of the Potacões, half Potacões and round tangas therefore in any city of Goa' [90] Government thus played a very major role through the introduction of regulations On the other hand, efforts were constantly made to import copper to meet the inherent demand for minting coins [91]

To conclude, as observed most of the non-agrarian activities were protected through the organization and regulation of the guild system which was similar to the structure in Lisbon. The economy was further strengthened through the constant vigilance of the government who due to its policies initiated the creation of a mint for the issue of new coins. Goa benefited tremendously through the states’s policies as it was termed to be the focal point for all
activities related to banking and the investment of capital \[92\]

FOOTNOTES:

1. T.R.deSouza (edtd.), 'Rural economy and Life' in *Goa through the ages* : Vol. II: An economic history, (henceforth referred to as *Goa through the ages*), Delhi, 1989, p. 89.

2. Ibid. p. 89.


5. Ibid., p.122.

6. M.G.S.Narayanan’s, ‘Comments’, in Narayani Gupta (edtd.), *Craftsmen and merchants: Essays in south Indian urbanism*, Chandigarh, 1993, p. 79. He is commenting on the remarks made by Vijaya Ramaswamy; the same hypothesis could perhaps be applicable even here.

8. T.R. de Souza, ‘Rural economy and life’, in his (edtd), *Goa through the ages*, Delhi, 1989, p.90, ANTT, Mss. CC.,

9. Carpenters: The documents are procured from ANTT, Mss.CC:

i. There are references to the factor at Goa who was ordered to pay to a *mugaddam* and the carpenters

ii. Indian carpenters who were employed on the *ribeira* received remuneration for the accomplishment of work accomplished in Benasterim.
4 September 1526. Parte 2 - maço 35 - document 129.

iii. The factor at Goa, Fransisco Corvinel was ordered to compensate 34 carpenters and 13 sawyers for their services.

iv. Six carpenters who transported stone to Benasterim were paid for the same.

v. Compensation could be in the form of kind as in the case of ten carpenters who received cloths.
13 October 1514. Parte 2 - maço 52 - document 60.

vi. There is a specific mention of 8 carpenters receiving payment.
24 October 1514. Parte 2 - maço 52 - document 143.

vii. All the carpenters etc. who participated both in the *armada* and also in the brick work in the city were given money by the factor.
viii. There has been a specific description of the instrument which Antonio Afonso, carpenter, who constantly completed carpentry in the carpentry works in the Goa armazem.

Year 1526. Parte 2 - maço 36 - document 262.

10. **ANTT** Mss. CC,

2 March 1512. Parte 2 - maço 30 - document 212.


13. Stone cutters: **ANTT** Mss. CC:

i. There is mention of two Indian stone cutters and carpenters.


ii. The factor at Goa was ordered to release payment to stone cutters for the work completed in the following documents.


14 July 1514. Parte 2 - maço 49 - document 86.


18. Naiquebares have been referred to and discussed in documents available at **ANTT** Mss. CC.

i. They were given a stipulated payment by the factor.

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ii. Afonso de Albuquerque ordered the factor at Goa to release 8 Cambay cloths for two *Naiquebares* for their services.


iii. *Naiquebares* are again mentioned in another document.


19. The besteiro was also compensated by the factor


On another occasion, the captain of the besteiro, i.e. Antonio de Horta, received 1000 *trios* of *setas* from the factor at Goa. 2 August 1519 parte 2 - 83 - doc.123.


25. The mention of *Granadeiros*:


Sailors are also stated to have been compensated by the factor.

14 October 1524. Parte 2 - maço 120 - document 63.

26. The dates have been derived from *ANTT* Mss. CC.


28. Ibid. 2 May 1526. Parte 2- maço 133- document 7. It is referred in Gav. 20, maço 2, fl. 25.


30. Simão Botelho, op.cit. Fol. 47. The payment to the fishermen was done by the factor who was ordered to do so: ANTT Mss. CC. ;

I. The Indian fishermen received payment as per order from the factor.


II. Two fishermen were remunerated by the factor.


III. There is mention of the release of a grant to the fishermen of Benasterim for defending the pass.


IV. Malabarese fishermen described as a special category were also in receipt of a salary from the factor.


V. Ten fishermen were procured a sum due to them.


VI. Those fishermen who carried stones etc. to the fort and participated in work were paid for their services by the factor.

VII. Another reference states the order to the factor at Goa to release money to fishermen.


VIII. Five fishermen who went to Batecala were also remunerated for their services.


32. As mentioned in Chapter - V.


36. Ibid. p. 310.

37. Ibid. p. 306.


39. Ibid. p. 283.

40. Ibid. p. 304.

41. Ibid. p. 304. *ANTT Mss. CC*:

42. Ibid. p. 307.


44. Ibid. p. 307.

45. Ibid. p. 307.

46. Ibid. p. 308.

47. Ibid. p. 322.

48. M.G.S.Narayanan, in op.cit. p. 79.

49. T.R.deSouza, 'Rural economy and life', in Goa through the ages, Delhi, 1989, p. 88.


52. Ibid. p. 165.


54. Ibid. p. 164.

55. Ibid. p. 161.


58. The reference to the *mugaddam* of goldsmiths, i.e., Railuchatim is in *The Gavetas*, Tomo-III, maço 2. 2 October 1529. A letter had been written to the king, Dom João III in this context.

59. P.S.S.Pissurlencar, *op.cit.* p. 96, There are references to the existence of and the payment to the *mugaddams* of stone cutters by the factor at Goa in *ANIT* Mss. CC.

i. Regarding their payment of a sum of 6 *pardaus*.


ii. Another compensation by the factor at Goa is mentioned.


iii. The *mocadão* of the *bois* who transported huge stones was compensated for the same by the factor.

24 March 1511. Parte 2 - maço 25 - document 239

iv. Pero Godinho is reported to have acquired a quantity of 1367 stones of *bombarda* from the factor at Goa.


v. There is a statement regarding the contract between the *vedor da fazenda* and Braz Dias in terms of the building stones.


There is a similar account of the prevalence of *mugaddams* of stonecutters even in Cochin. One can therefore surmise that the guild system was not only well developed but was also uniformly expansive throughout the different Portuguese colonies.
60. The *mugaddam* of the carpenters as realized is referred to in the following documents. These are procured from ANTT Mss CC

i. 25 February 1511 Parte 2 - maço 25 - document 154

ii. 1 January 1511 Parte 2 - maço 24 - document 132

iii. 5 November 1511 Parte 2 - maço 29 - document 50

iv. Maldo has been described as the *mugaddam* of the carpenters working on the *ribeira*

v. 15 April 1511 Parte 2 - maço 26 - document 64

vi. João Redondo the master of the carpenters working in the *ribeira*, acquired a compensation of 25 *cruzados* from the factor for work accomplished at his own expense.

There is another general statement sent by Nuno Mexia to remunerate the *mocadão* of the carpenters, the sawyers, the *cordeiros* etc for a contract work of 12 days in the *ribeira*

61. The *mestre* of the *ferreiros* i.e Francisco Ames is stated in a document

i. 28 November 1512 Parte 2 - maço 35 - document - 155

ii. Another master blacksmiths has been named as Beastu

5 November 1511 Parte 2 - maço 29 - document 50

iii. A *mocadão* of the blacksmiths, received his payment in the form of *ferias* for the people who worked in the *obras* of the Goa fort

18 August 1526 Parte 2 - maço 135 - document 154

62. There is another record denoting the payment by the factor to 20 *bigarís* and their *mugaddam*.

The payment by the factor to a besteiro has also been stated.


63. P.S.S.Pissurilencar, op. cit. p. 95. Reference is made regarding the mocadão of the marinheiros. Matença Naíque, who was going to Chaul received compensation from the factor at Goa.


The mocadão of the sailors was given remuneration in kind in the form of one piece of silk. There is also an elaborate description by the vedor da fazenda regarding the master and officials who worked in the obras of the fort of Santa Catarina of Goa.

64. ANTT Mss. CC. 7 April 1526. Parte 2 - maço 132 - document 144.

65. It is clearly evident as to which person has the necessary cargo.

30 January 1511. Parte 2 - maço 24 - document 244.

There is a record of twenty mocadãos each of whom received payment in terms of a cloth.


The factor was ordered by the governor to pay 2 mocadãos.


According to the order passed by the governor, remuneration was to be given to one mocadão by the factor.


A mocadão was paid in lieu of his services.

Some of them were in receipt of a sum of 300 tangas each from the factor.

30 January 1511. Parte 2 - maço 24 - document 244.

There is a further reference to other mocadões who also received a similar amount of 300 tangas from the factor.


66. In addition to the various guilds that were organised, there was a specific mocadão represented the workers employed in the trenches.


The mocadão of the cava is specifically referred to in another document as well.


Two mocadões were remunerated by the factor for accomplishing their assigned task.

30 October 1514. Parte 2 - maço 30 - document 212.


71. Ibid.


75. Tristao Dega, the main officer of the Mint, is mentioned to have received a quantity of six quintals of cobre. ANTT Mss. CC.


An order of Afonso Albuquerque was dispatched to the factor at Goa to release six quintals of cobre to Tristao Dega for conversion into currency.


The factor was ordered to extend all the necessary metals to the officer of the Mint for the minting of currency.

There is a further reference of the release of another consignment of six quintals of *cobre* to serve a similar purpose.


Tristão Dega was again in receipt of the similar quantity from the factor.


77. Nicolau Fonseca, *An historical and archeological sketch of the city of Goa*, Delhi, 1986, p. 30; A message was sent by the captain to the factor Miguel Vale to grant all the available quantity of the necessary metal to the Master of Currency for converting into gold cruzados ANTT Mss CC.


83. T.R.deSouza (edtd.), *Goa through the ages*, Delhi, 1989, p.


91. We have a few documents in ANTT Mss. CC. to substantiate the import of copper:

i. Order to the factor at Goa to give Alvaro Godinho, the treasurer of
house of currency of Goa all the copper necessary for making currency.


ii. Copper arrived even from Cochin as Francisco Corvinel, factor of Goa, received from Lorenço Moreno, factor of the other port, a consignment of 100 quintals.


iii. Order to dispatch 6 quintals of copper to convert into currency.

Parte 2 - maço 25 - document 158.