CHAPTER ONE

SURVEY OF SOURCES

This survey of sources is not meant to exhaust all the source-material that has gone into the writing of this monograph. It is restricted to introducing only the primary sources, both published and archival. All the important and relevant secondary sources have been listed in the Bibliography.

The published primary sources have been discussed under four headings, namely: 1. Official Chronicles; 2. Missionary Reports; 3. Travelogues; and 4. State Papers. Also the treatment of the archival sources is broken into: 1. The Archival Sources in Goa; and 2. The Archival Sources in Europe. Each of these two divisions is further subdivided into: 1. Papers from State Archives; and 2. Papers from Private Collections.

Whatever primary sources are discussed in this Chapter have been consulted personally and their information has been utilized for writing this monograph.

A. PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES

1. Official Chronicles

Castanheda's Historia do Descobrimento, Correa's Lendas, and Barros' Decadas are excellent chronicles written during the sixteenth century celebrating the maritime achievements of the Portuguese in the East. The authors of all these works were self-appointed chroniclers, though patronized by the State. However, it was at the end of the sixteenth century, when the
Portuguese had practically stopped making history that they took seriously to writing it. Accordingly, a royal order of February 25, 1595, instructed the viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque to create a Department of Archives and to appoint Diogo de Couto its first Keeper and State Chronicler. Diogo de Couto (1542-1616) had been brought up in the royal court, but he was not of noble birth and had to face tough opposition in a world where promotions depended on this factor. Couto came to India as an ordinary soldier in 1559 and served for several years in the coastal fleets until he got married and settled down in Goa with a cozier job as Keeper of Government Stores. This job and the style of the historical accounts he had begun publishing on his own won for him a host of enemies. If it was not for the personal interest taken in him by the viceroy Dom Francisco da Gama (1597-1600), Couto would have never obtained sanction of his appointment as the Keeper of Archives and State Chronicler.

By his own initiative Couto had begun writing the history of the Portuguese in India following the style of the past chroniclers. He had started with Decada X, that is, with the accession of Phillip II of Spain to the throne of Portugal. It was a piece of trickery played by Couto to flatter the Crown. When he sent the manuscript of this Decada to the king, he also included a request to be officially given the commission of resuming the writing of Decadas from where Barros had stopped his work. This request was granted, but after much delay caused
by the opposition and intrigues of his enemies. His *Decadas* rank from the fourth to the twelfth and cover the period 1526-1600. The fact that he wrote also about contemporary events and personalities and told truths bluntly was responsible for the loss and mutilation of several manuscripts of his *Decadas*.

Couto has also left a pungent commentary upon his own formal history. It is known as *Dialogo do Soldado Pratico* and exposes the rampant corruption at all levels of administration. Undoubtedly one has to make allowance to Couto's exaggerations and biting remarks against the system of administration which was responsible for his sufferings, but even so this work of Couto stands out as a sincere and frank denunciation of injustice incarnated in the Portuguese Indian administration. Couto attributes the decline of the Portuguese power to corruption in administration and pleasure-seeking in personal lives. In his own peculiar style Couto says that "India turned turtle when the administrators stopped carrying arms and embarking in fleets and chose instead the delights of the Goa town and the posts of public revenue comptrollers and chancellors of the High Court." He then recommends the return to the old fighting simplicity as the only way of staying a total collapse. It is to be noted however that after drawing a bleak picture of the Portuguese Indian empire, Couto ends by repeating (as the previous chroniclers did) that the presence of the Portuguese in the East was by divine dispensation, and that, if the Portuguese would only renew their faith in their mission, God was still powerful to thwart the designs of the Gentiles and the Moors.
Antonio Bocarro was a crypto-Jew from Portugal. He succeeded Couto as State Chronicler and as Keeper of Goa Archives due to the far-sighted and tolerant policy of the viceroy Count of Linhares (1629-35) in 1631. Bocarro had come to India in 1615. When he was not taking part in the fleets, he was mostly at Cochin, where he had married and settled down in 1624. At Cochin he had been drawn back into Judaism, which he finally decided to abjure voluntarily, and on the advice of his Jesuit confessor went to Goa to make his confession before the Inquisition. This happened in February 1624. During his stay at Goa he was recommended to the viceroy Count of Linhares, who had no hesitation about according favours to the Cristaos Novos (or converts from Judaism) hated by the public. He was officially appointed chronicler and successor to Couto on May 9, 1631, and he held this post until his death in 1642 or 1643.9

Among other works of less importance, Bocarro wrote Decada XIII covering the years 1612-17, that is, the five years of the viceroyalty of Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo.10 In reality Bocarro's Decada supplies information also for the period 1609-12 of the rule of Rui Lourenco da Tavora. This work of Bocarro was not published until 1876. The narrative is largely concentrated on Portuguese naval engagements in the Gulf of Cambay and there is very little for Goa. The only noteworthy information is about the introduction of compulsory military training for the natives in the villages of Salcete. All men above the age of eighteen and below the age of sixty were organized into companies and imparted military training in their respective villages. Twice a
a year general parades were held at Rachol, where the Captain of Salcete taluka had his fortified residence. These developments give us some idea of the impact of the colonial wars of the Portuguese upon the lives of the Goan people.

Bocarro's more valuable contribution is his encyclopaedic Book containing designs of all the forts, towns, and settlements in the Oriental State of India along with descriptions of their sites and of all they contain, such as artillery, garrisons, population, income and expenditure, depths of the sea approaches, neighbouring princes in the hinterland, their strength and their relations with them, and whatever else that is subject to the Crown of Spain. The author has done full justice to the lengthy title of his work, and much of the statistical information it supplies regarding trade, wages and prices is not obtainable from any other source. The Book was improved upon by his collaborator Pero Barreto Rezende, the Secretary of the General Registration Office (matricola geral), who added maps to Bocarro's descriptions of the various Portuguese eastern settlements. At least four manuscripts of this work have been so far traced in four different Archives of Europe, namely in the Public Library of Evora (Portugal), British Museum, National Library of Madrid, and National Library of Paris. Only the Evora Ms. has been edited by A.B.de Bragança Pereira in his Arquivo portugues Oriental, but a more critical edition remains a prime desideratum.

Following the death of Bocarro the Archives at Goa did not find a worthy successor to continue his work. A certain Francisco Moniz de Carvalho occupied the post for nearly three decades,
but he was apparently kept in office "for being old (over sixty) and paralytic".\textsuperscript{14} Hence, the Department of Archives had become a haven for parasites. As reported from Goa to Lisbon in 1655, the said Archivist continued in office until he was seventy years old and had produced no significant piece of writing.\textsuperscript{15} In a letter dated January 15, 1667, the viceroy requested the Crown to let him find a Jesuit or some other talent Religious to resume the writing of official history with a nominal stipend of 100 cruzados. The same letter also described the pitiable condition of the Archives Office.\textsuperscript{16} A certain Antonio Gil Preto was then appointed as Chronicler, but no work of his pen has come to our notice.\textsuperscript{17} The job of the Keeper of the Archives was separated from that of State Chronicler, and c. 1669 a certain Antonio de Mattos Soeiro was appointed to serve in this post during his lifetime.\textsuperscript{18}

2. Missionary Reports

It is necessary to distinguish here between the reports proper and the contemporary missionary histories. To the former category belong the Documenta Indica edited by J. Wicki, S.J. and the Documentacao para a Historia das Missoes do Padroado Portugueses do Oriente: India edited by A. da Silva Hegu. The Documenta Indica is more carefully edited of the two, and it contains the Jesuit missionary reports preserved in the Jesuit Roman Archives. It also includes corroborative and illustrative reports obtained from other repositories, chiefly from the historical Archives of Goa. Although these reports, like those in the Documentacao,
belong exclusively to the sixteenth century, they have been most useful to reconstruct the indispensable background to the present study. The documentation for the history of the Portuguese Crown Patronage in India is drawn substantially from the Archives of Lisbon and Goa, but it also includes several documents already published elsewhere. Officially, the period covered by this publication does not go beyond the sixteenth century, but it does include documents which refer to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. 19

As regards the second category of the missionary accounts, there are three important missionary histories composed in Goa during the seventeenth century. The first of these is Sebastiao Goncalves' *Primeira Parte da historia dos Religiosos da Companhia de Jesus* (Part One of the History of the Society of Jesus), written during the years 1604-19. The second one in chronological order of composition is Fr. Paulo de Trindade's *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente* (Spiritual Conquest of the East) written during 1630-36. And lastly Francisco de Sousa's *Oriente Conquistado a Jesus Christo pelos Padres da Companhia de Jesus* (The Conquest of the East for Jesus Christ by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus) written during the last decade of the seventeenth century. 20

All the three missionary authors had spent most of their lives in India, particularly at Goa, and they were in close contact with the ordinary run of the people to whom they sought to preach the message of the Gospels. Sebastiao Goncalves and Francisco de Sousa were Portuguese Jesuits and they wrote about the missionary achievements of the Society of Jesus in the East
during the sixteenth century. The work of Sebastiao Goncalves remained unpublished until recent times because of too many and lengthy digressions of non-religious nature inserted by him. However, it is precisely because of these digressions that the work of Goncalves was useful for our purpose. He informs us, for instance, that the yearly land revenue of the Salcete and Bardez talukas was 60,000 and 15 to 20,000 pardaus respectively, that the rate of interest on loans in the villages of Goa was calculated on monthly basis at fifty per cent, that Sargao was the chief village of Salcete and frequented by caravans of Hindu and Muslim traders, who flocked thither with cloths and foodstuffs, and many other details regarding local beliefs and customs.

Francisco de Souza does not carry his ecclesiastical history beyond 1585, but one comes across in his work several references to events which took place even in the closing decades of the seventeenth century, and it includes also large tracts dealing with secular history. He records, for instance, Barros' account about the origin of the Goan village communities, and then goes further explaining the actual mode of functioning of those institutions. He also refers to large scale mortality in Salcete following the invasion of Goa by the Maratha ruler Sambhaji in 1683, and he places the population of that province at the end of the seventeenth century somewhere around 70,000.

While the Jesuits had concentrated their missionary efforts in Salcete, the province of Bardez was a preserve of the Franciscan friars. The narrative of the Franciscan successes constitutes the subject matter of Fr. Paulo de Trindade's *Spiritual Conquest*.
the East. Only the first volume is relevant for our study of Goa, while the other two volumes cover the story of the Franciscan missions elsewhere in the East. The author provides many side-lights which have proved useful for the study of the socio-economic history of Goa. There are, for instance, village-wise population figures for the convert population of Bardez based on the Baptism registers. We are also informed that Bardez taluka was made up originally of forty-eight villages and that some of these were gradually incorporated into others and the total number was reduced to forty villages, all of which paid to the State treasury an annual land rent of 31,842 tangas brancas, each such tanga being equivalent to half xeralim or 150 reis.

3. Travelogues

The recorded impressions of the European travellers who visited the city of Goa between the closing decades of the sixteenth and the closing decades of the seventeenth centuries also constitute valuable evidence for reconstructing the past of Goa during that period. These travelogues complement the missionary accounts by adding descriptions of urban life to the missionary portrayals of the rural life. Unlike the tourists of our days, the Europeans who visited Goa in the seventeenth century were not attracted by the idyllic beauty of the Goan villages, and by and large they restricted their movements and observation to the city walls. This limitation might have been caused by the Government policy of checking the free movement of the foreigners, particu-
larly Europeans other than Portuguese, as well as by the difficulties of communication, both linguistic and of transport. However what they describe at length, namely the life in the city of Goa, they do it most vividly, enabling us to incorporate this life-element into the dry evidence of the archival records. The eyewitness accounts of the European travellers help us also to verify whether many of the legislative enactments recorded in the State Papers were relevant and effective. Hence, a study based exclusively on State Papers, without taking into account such contemporary eyewitness reports, runs the risk of presenting a picture very much divorced from the reality.

Fortunately there are accounts left by European travellers who visited Goa during the entire span of the seventeenth century at more or less regular intervals. One of the most detailed and picturesque account of the city of Goa is left by the Frenchman Pyrard de Laval, who was in Goa during the opening decade of the seventeenth century. His description can only be matched with another slightly earlier account of the Dutchman, John Huyghen van Linschoten. Both of them saw the city when it was at its zenith of splendour and lived there longer than any other traveller. The Italian nobleman, Pietro della Valle, who came to Goa in 1623 could already notice the signs of decline. The picture of growing misery and unrest in the city and of the aristocracy straining to cover it with a show of extravagance is what strikes us in the accounts of the French jeweller, Tavernier, the Dutch nobleman, Mandelslo, the Italian doctor, Manucci, the French clergyman, Abbe Carre, the English doctor, Fryer, the Calvinist Scot free-trader, Hamilton, and the Italian doctor,
These travellers belonged to different walks of life and their varying interests led them to observe the life in the city of Goa from different angles. Some of them, like Tavernier, Manucci and Hamilton visited Goa more than once. These facts add weight to the evidence of their recorded impressions.

4. State Papers

Under this category we have fourteen collections of published documentation. Some of these publications are already become rare and are not easily available for consultation.

- Agentes da Diplomacia Portuguesa na India (The Agents of Portuguese Diplomacy in India), ed. P.S.S. Pissurlenoar, Bastora, 1952. The work includes 477 documents drawn chiefly from the Historical Archives of Goa to illustrate the collaboration of the non-Christian natives of Goa with the Portuguese Indian administration. The documents also serve for the study of the relations of the Portuguese with their neighbouring rulers during seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries.

- Archivo Portuguez-Oriental (Portuguese Oriental Archive), ed. J.H. da Cunha Rivara, 10 volumes, Nova Goa, 1857-76. The collection is divided into six fascicles. Most of the documents belong to the sixteenth century. The documents have not been compiled under any strict classification. On the whole, fascicles I and II refer to the municipal administration of the Goa city; fascicles III, V, and VI cover general administrative affairs in India; and fascicle IV deals exclusively with the proclamations of the ecclesiastical councils held at Goa between 1567-1606. The series is very carefully edited and is an invaluable publication.
This series has salvaged many of the sixteenth century records of the Historical Archives of Goa which are not easily legible today. Unfortunately, nowhere in India is this series easily available in good shape and in complete form.

- **Arquivo Português Oriental (Portuguese Oriental Archive)**, ed. A.B. de Bragança Pereira, 10 volumes, Bastora (Goa), 1936-40. This series is not to be confused with its namesake above. The documentation published in this series is totally different and it concentrates on the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. For the seventeenth century it contains the Book of Bocarro to which we have referred earlier. The classification of this series in Tomes and Volumes is utterly disorderly and the job of editing is done very shabbily.

- **Archivo da Relação de Goa (Archive of the Goa High Court)**, ed. J.I. de Abranches Garcia, 2 volumes, Nova Goa, 1872-74. The author had in mind four volumes covering seventeenth- nineteenth centuries (until 1836). However, the two parts he published did not go beyond the seventeenth century. The compilation does not follow any criterion of classification, neither is there any sort of index to help consultation. The documentation contained in it is however most useful for a socio-economic study. The originals of the published documentation are preserved in the Historical Archives of Goa.

- **Assentos do Conselho do Estado (Proceedings of the State Council)**, ed. P.J.S. Pissurlencar, 5 volumes, Bastora, 1953-57. The State Council was established in the beginning of the seventeenth century to assist the Government. It was an advisor body to the viceroy or governor of Goa. The MSS of the proceedings of
his Council are preserved in the Historical Archives of Goa. The present series includes these proceedings for the period 1618-1750. The documents are edited fairly meticulously and the footnotes are very illustrative. These documents are valuable for studying all aspects of the Portuguese administration of India.

A Supplementary Volume with two parts has been issued recently by the present Director of the Goa Archives, Dr. V.T.Gune. Part I of this Volume contains subject index and a table of contents to the five volumes edited by Pissurlencar, and Part II includes proceedings for the years 1624-27 not included in Volume I of Pissurlencar.

- Collecaoo de tratados e concertos de pazes (Collection of treaties and concerts of peace), ed. J.F.J. Biker, 14 volumes, Lisboa, 1881-87. It is an indispensable series for the study of the Portuguese relations with the native rulers of Asia and East Africa. The collection includes many other relevant documents beside treaties and concerts. Though the title says that the period covered goes only up to eighteenth century, there are included several documents that belong to the nineteenth century as well. The documents have been carefully reproduced.

- Descripaao Geral e Historica das Moedas (A General and Historical Description of Coins), ed. A.C.Teixeira de Aragao, Vol. III, Lisboa, 1880. It is the Documentary Appendix to this work that is important. In it the author has compiled practically all the available legislation referring to coinage in Portuguese India during sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. The documents for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have been drawn chiefly from the MSS. of the Historical Archives of Goa. The documents for the earlier period

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have been reproduced second-hand from the Archivo Portugués-Oriental of Cunha Rivara.

- Documentação Ultramarina Portuguesa (Documentation on the Portuguese Overseas Dominions), ed. Centre of the Overseas Historical Studies, 5 volumes, Lisboa, 1960-67. The documents refer to a variety of topics bearing on the Portuguese activities in the East and West Indies from sixteenth to nineteenth centuries. The documents published are chiefly from the archival repositories in Europe outside Portugal.

- Documentos Remetidos da India ou Livros das Monções (Documents remitted from India or the Books of Seasonal Correspondence), ed. R.A.de Bulhão Pato, Lisboa, 1880-1935. Documentos Remetidos da India is a series of 62 MSS codices kept in the National Archives of Lisbon (Torre do Tombo) and once belonged to the Monções collection of the Historical Archives of Goa. They cover the years 1605-1651, but the five published volumes do not cover more than 1605-19. This publication was done for the purpose of filling in the gap of nearly twelve years between the last decade of Couto and the decade of Bocarro, as well as to seek confirmation of the story told by Bocarro in the said decade.

- Ensaio Historicó da Lingua Concani (Historical Essay on Konkani Language), ed. J.H.da Cunha Rivara, Nova Goa, 1858. The documentary appendix to this publication carries 90 documents drawn from the Monções MSS of Goa Historical Archives. They cover the period extending from seventeenth to eighteenth centuries. All the selected documents throw light upon the impact of the religious activities of the missionaries upon the customs and tradi-
tions of the Goan society. The publication is invaluable owing to this judicious selection of documents and their careful editing.

- Leis peculiares das Comunidades Agrícolas das Ilhas, Salcete e Bardez (Legislation proper to the village communities of Tisvadi, Salcete and Bardez), ed. F.N. Xavier, 2 volumes, Nova Goa, 1852-55. These were issued as forming Volume V of a periodical named Gabinete Litterario das Fontainhas and published by the same author. The two volumes include almost all the important State enactments regarding the administration of the village communities of the Old Conquests of Goa during the period extending from the sixteenth to the first half of the nineteenth centuries. The documents are largely taken from the Moncoes and Agentes do Conselho da Fazenda MSS of the Historical Archives of Goa. The editing is on the whole accurate, but the author does not always bother to give references to the originals.

- O Livro do Pai dos Cristãos (The Book of the Father of Christians), ed. J.Wicki, Lisboa, 1969. "Father of the Christians" was a State appointed official, generally a religious priest, to look after the welfare of the catechumens and new converts to Christianity in Portuguese India during sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. Since it was an official post many legislative enactments relating to his work are found in the State papers of the Historical Archives of Goa. These, plus two MSS of a manual of duties of the Father of the Christians available in the same Archives (MSS. 7693, 9529) have been published together by J.Wicki in the present publication. The work is extremely valuable for studying the impact of conversions to Christianity upon the Goan society.
- Os Portugueses no Oriente (The Portuguese in the East), ed. E.A. de Sa Nogueira Pinto de Balsemao, 3 volumes, Nova Goa, 1881-82. The three volumes of this work cover the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The first volume is devoted almost exclusively to celebrating Portuguese military deeds and the documents of this volume are drawn from the chronicles of Correia, Harros and Couto. The second and third volumes include a fairly large number of documents taken from the Doncoes collection of the Historical Archives of Goa. These documents are not limited to matters of political nature alone. They cover also Portuguese policy matters regarding the Goan society and their economic life. The documents are reproduced in full and they are integrated into a historical pattern with a chronological arrangement.

- O Senado de Goa: Memoria Historico-Archaeologica (The Municipal Council of Goa: An Historical and Archaeological Recollection), ed. A.C.B. Viriato de Albuquerque, Nova Goa, 1909. After a brief introduction to the history of the establishment and functioning of the Municipal Council at Goa, the author reproduces 249 documents covering the period 1518-1907 but without any chronological order. The documents of the earlier period have been taken from Cunha Rivera's Archivo Portuguez-Oriental. There are altogether forty-five documents for the seventeenth century scattered all over the volume, and these are drawn from MSS 7846 and 7795 of the Historical Archives of Goa.

B. ARCHIVAL SOURCE MATERIAL

Ta.State Papers from the Historical Archives of Goa.

Documentation from the Historical Archives of Goa constitutes the
staple of the present monograph. The historical Archives of Goa continue to be the least utilized mine of historical information. It was the preparation of this thesis that got at least one scholar to spend three continuous years scanning almost every single codex for the seventeenth century. There was much that did not serve the purpose. Much time and energy of the scholars could have been economized if there had been better aids for the consultation of these archival holdings.38

It is possible here to comment only on few select collections of the Goa Archives which have proved most useful for the present study.

1. Proceedings of the Public Revenue Council (Assentos do Conselho da Fazenda): Seventeen volumes of this series cover the seventeenth century from 1613 onwards. There is a twin series with records of the same Council, entitled Peticoes Despachadas, (Replies to the Applications) with four codices for the seventeenth century. Each codex has an average number of 300 folios.

A brief introduction to the organization of the Portuguese fiscal administration is essential for understanding the importance of the proceedings of the meetings of the Public Revenue Council. The entire gamut of trade and fiscal administration of the Portuguese dominions in the East was controlled by a House of Accounts (Casa dos Contos) presided over by a Comptroller General of Finance (Vedor Geral da Fazenda). However, the administrative work had grown so complex in course of the sixteenth century that in 1589 a new constitution (regimento) was given to the House of Accounts. The new standing order created a Board and Court of
Accounts (Meza e Tribunal dos Contos) in order to expedite the business and check corruption. The Board was to be presided by the viceroy, and its membership included the Comptroller of Accounts (Vedor dos Contos) and two seniormost accountants of the House. This Board underwent a change in its composition in 1615 and also changed its designation to Public Revenue Council. The membership of the new Council included the viceroy, the chancellor of the High Court, the comptroller general of finance, the chief superintendent of accounts (Provedor-mor dos Contos), the royal attorney (Procurador da Coroa), the custodian of the property of the dead and absent (Provedor-mor dos Defuntos e Ausentes), and the secretary (Escrivao da Fazenda). The Council had its regular meetings on Wednesday evenings, and the members received no special remuneration for this service until in 1668 it was decided in the same Council that every member should be given 1 per cent from the increase in the State revenues that were farmed out and from the booty of the vessels captured for violating the Portuguese sea monopoly.

The MSS in question contain original papers with signatures of the Council members. Most of the documents bear headings which sum up the nature of the subjects discussed. Only a few volumes have fragmentary tables of contents at the beginning or at the end of the codices. The sixth volume is badly damaged and rendered illegible, and the four volumes of the Peticoes Despachadas make hard reading, but the rest are in good shape and reading condition.

The Assentos deal with such matters as seaborne and coastal trade, money-minting and exchange rates, employment and regula-
tion of salaries, grants to individuals and to religious monasteries, administration of customs and other revenues, village communities of Goa, gifts sent to and received from the neighbouring princes, ship building, and several other topics. The series of *Peticoes Despachadas* is more interesting for the study of the local history as it furnishes many more details about the local revenues and hinterland trade of Goa. Unfortunately, it begins only with 1682 and extends up to 1693.

2. Records of the Farmed Revenues (Arrematacao das Rendas).

The Portuguese in India took up the practice of farming out the rights of collecting State revenues from the Adil Shahi administration. Right from the days of the conquest of Goa the revenue-farmers were natives, generally Hindus from the mainland. The highest bidder had to pay the amount to the Government in quarterly instalments after presenting two kinds of sureties (*fiancas*), namely one-third of the total value of the farmed revenue in the form of mortgages, and one-tenth of the value in cash. The Hindu tax-farmers normally got their friends and well-wishers to stand surety for them in return for temptingly high interest rates. These rendas or non-agricultural revenues were collected from the imports of tobacco, cloths, foodstuffs, and several other minor items. Goa port customs and minting rights were also farmed out occasionally. The contracts were triennial and the terms of such contracts are available in fragmented form for the seventeenth century. Thus, we have MSS 656 (1658-68), 2320 (1696-1756) containing terms of contracts for those years, and MSS 1369-71 (1626-53) containing statements of the sureties.
presented by the tax-farmers during the period indicated.

3. Land and Revenue Registers (Tombos e Foraes)

The title of these MSS can be misleading to one who is not conversant with the land regulations that were prevailing at Goa. Each village community was the owner of all the land within the limits of the village and paid a lump sum of land revenue (foro) through joint responsibility of all the constituent members of the village community. It kept its own record of village lands and the lands distributed through bidding or through grants were registered accordingly. The need of Government keeping Tombos and Foraes did not arise until after there had been an encroachment upon the village ownership rights regarding the village lands that had been traditionally set aside for the upkeep of temples and worship. With the initiation of the conversion drive and the consequent demolition of Hindu temples, the said village lands were taken away from the village community control and either handed over to the missionaries to administer or administered by the State with their produce being ascribed to religious purposes. The Tombos and Foraes are the registers of these so-called namassry lands. They also include records of traditional obligations of individual villages in the form of offerings to the temples and temple servants. New registers were prepared in each of the three talukas during the seventeenth century because the earlier ones were found to have been incomplete owing to reluctance of the village elders to declare truthfully all that had been associated with the temples. Thus, we have MSS 7594-5, which
are two copies of the Foral of the Goa islands (1567), and MSS 3069, 7646, which are another two copies of another Foral of the same taluka drawn in 1646. There are two copies of the Foral of Salcete, namely MSS 3070-71, for the year 1567. A new Foral of the same taluka was prepared in 1622 (MSS 7583-85, in 3 volumes). No Foral of sixteenth century for Bardez is extant, but there are two codices, namely MSS 7587-88, prepared in 1647.

In addition to these Foraes there are MSS 7598 and 3031, which are two copies of a general register of all State revenues from the three talukas (Tombo das Rendas) drawn by the superintendent of accounts, Francisco Paes, in 1595. It is complete regarding the information about revenues of Salcete and Tisvaddi during the pre-Portuguese period, but it provides only limited and sketchy information about the situation in Bardez. It may be mentioned in this connection that from among all the Foraes listed above, only the MS 7588 gives on ffs. 209-209v a complete list of land revenues payable by each village of Bardez taluka. It also lists the values of the other revenues (rendas) collected from the same taluka, thereby making up in some way for the lack of information about Bardez revenues.

4. Village Community Records (Asentos, Memoriaes e Correntes das Comunidades)

Proceedings and account books were issued to the village clerks by the Public Revenue Department (Fazenda) every October with numbered and endorsed pages. There were also memo books issued by the taluka authorities, namely by the thanadar in Tisvadi and by the taluka Captains in Bardez and Salcete. These
books consisted ordinarily of sixty-two folios and had to be deposited by the village clerks and accountants with the issuing authorities at the end of a year.

As the designations of the books indicate, they constitute first hand sources of information regarding the working of the village communities of Goa. Unfortunately, such books belonging to the seventeenth century and preserved in the Historical Archives of Goa do not cover more than half a dozen of villages of Tisvadi, a couple of villages of Salcete, and one lone village of Bardez. As far as the number of these codices is concerned, there is MSS 8000 for Aldona (in Bardez) covering the period 1595-1605 and written in Haleganad script and Marathi language. The two villages of Salcete for which there are extant records are Donkuly and Kortaly. There are eleven codices (MSS 10204-14) for the former, covering the years 1629-95. For the latter we have forty-one codices (MSS 10224-64) extending from 1614 to 1691. In both these series of records there are gaps in the periods indicated. As for Tisvadi, there are twenty-four codices (MSS 10016-10033) for Azosy (1582-1695), twenty-nine codices (MSS 10041-46, 10056-60) for Karbelly (1612-1700), fifteen volumes (MSS 10108-22) for Korly (1607-82), one volume for Gancy (MSS 10141, for 1683-85), four volumes (MSS 10148-51) for Goa Velha (1603-52), and five codices (MSS 10188-90, 10193-4) for Lesser Neura (1600-07, 1646-66).

Many of these books covering the closing decades of the sixteenth century and the first two decades of the seventeenth century are written in Haleganad script and Marathi language.
5. Papers of the Suppressed Convents (Papeis dos Conventos Extintos)

These MSS constitute one of the largest collections of the Historical Archives of Goa. They were salvaged from the monasteries of Old Goa when these were suppressed in 1835. Its lack of classification makes it very hard to consult this collection. After much donkey work it was possible to trace some codices of this collection containing deeds of the bequests left to different religious monasteries in the form of lands and cash during sixteen and seventeenth centuries. Thus, MSS 830, 2819, 3029, 4512, 7594 can serve to give us an idea of the quick accumulation of wealth by the Religious Orders in Goa. The same collection also includes invaluable codices with household accounts of certain monasteries. Thus, MSS 1202, 2088, 2740, 2765, 2785, 4397, 4395-96, 7876, 7878, 7880 provide us with rare information about the prices of different market commodities and about wages paid to different categories of labour in the course of the seventeenth century. It is possible to base the estimates of living cost on these records. The life-style of the monks cannot be compared with that of the ordinary run of the Goan people then, but the practice of poverty by the monks did not allow them to be too extravagant either.

These records of the monasteries also contain abundant references on some other topics which were intimately connected with the economic life of the place. Thus, there is information about the interest collected by the monks on loans provided by them, about the exchange of commodities between missionary settlements, and about their possession of bonded labour.
6. Records of the Goa Municipal Council (Senado da Camara)

This is another very extensive series of MSS in the Historical Archives of Goa. It is classified into nearly two dozens of sub-series, but only half the number of these sub-series contain codices belonging to the seventeenth century. Thus, we have the Proceedings and Resolutions of the Municipal Council (Acordaos e Asentos do Senado de Goa) in nine volumes (MSS 7738-40, 7747-48, 7765-66, 7786-87) for the years 1597-1709. For the Municipal Market Regulations (Almotacaria) there is only MS 7795, which is a nineteenth century copy of the market regulations enacted in 1618. It is the only precious survival of its kind for the seventeenth century. There are five distinct series of records that contain the correspondence between the Municipal Council and the Government, both local and home Government, and a whole lot of decrees, instructions and provisions issued by the Government to the Municipality (Cartas, alvaras, provisoes, correspondencia diversa: MSS 7743-46, 7725, 7846-47, 7862, 7865). Another four distinct sub-series contain documentation regarding the terms to be observed by city merchants, artisans, tax-farmers, contractors of the Public Works, and sureties to be kept by all of them (Assentos e Juramentos, Termos das Obras, Arrematacao das Rendas, Fiancas: MSS 7758, 7760-61, 7837, 7832, 7838, 7852, 7856, 7836). Two sub-series, entitled Letters Patent (Cartas Patentes: MSS 7750-57) and Miscellaneous Records (Registos Gerais: MSS 7696-7704) consist of codices with texts of licenses and work-permits issued to merchants and artisans of the city. Finally, there is MS. 7809 with de-
tails about the convoy-tax (Collecta) introduced in 1623 for gathering funds to finance the building and maintaining of a fleet that would convoy the vessels that brought foodgrains to Goa from the ports of Kanara.

Most of the codices of this collection are well preserved, but the handwriting in many of them is not easily decipherable, and this fact reduces to a large extent the satisfaction which this collection provides a scholar with its valuable contents. Just like the other five series described above, also the records of the Goa Municipal Council have been left substantially untapped until now.

Ib. Private Records in Goa

The difficulties of detecting and consulting records in private possession are too well known to the scholars. Our persistent efforts to trace documentation in the private collections in order to make up for the lack of information for the village communities of Bardez in the Historical Archives of Goa were rewarded with a happy discovery of nine codices. They are of the same type described above, and they belonged to the collection of the late Mr. J. Avelino Joares from Uskai (Bardez). His sister-in-law has donated the collection to Mr. Mariano Dias, the Agent of the Mapusa Branch of Bank of India. Among these codices there is one for Bastora (1679), one for Kanaka (1649), two for Paliem (1589-92, 1654), one for Punalu (1650), one for Sirula (1671-72), and three for Sirula (1660-61, 1672, 1673-74). Of the two codices for Paliem, the earlier one is in Haleganad script. All the other codices are written in Portuguese language.
II a. Records in the State Archives Abroad

Most of the time at our disposal was spent in Portugal, particularly in the Overseas Historical Archives (Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino) of Lisbon. It was also possible to pay short visit to the National Library of Madrid. However, our plans to spend a couple of months at the British Museum were frustrated by the British immigration authorities. These months were then quite profitably spent in consulting the private archives of the Jesuit Curia and of the Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" in Rome.

To begin with we have the Overseas Historical Archives which is rich in documentation for the seventeenth century and thereafter. The importance of this documentation can be gauged from the position occupied by the Overseas Council (Conselho Ultramarino) in the structure of the Portuguese administration of its overseas dominions, including India. The Overseas Council was created in 1643, following the restoration of the independence of the Portuguese Crown in 1640. This new Council was only a resurrected form of an earlier India Council (Conselho da India) established by Phillip II of Spain in 1604 for looking after the administration of the Portuguese dominions in India. It was an advisory body to the King in matters relating to appointments and other administrative matters. The India Council was suppressed in 1614 owing to clash of powers with some other administrative bodies, such as the Crown Board of Justice (Desembargo do Fisco) and the Public Revenue Council (Conselho da Fazenda), both of which had also their say in the administration of the overseas dominions. With the creation of the Overseas Council all such powers regarding the ad-
administration of the overseas possessions were attributed to it. The change of the name perhaps only suggests the decreasing importance of India during the seventeenth century as the centre of Portuguese trade.

The Overseas Council handled all the correspondence from the overseas, both incoming and outgoing. The first bundle of correspondence arriving in (primeira via) from the overseas was generally sent directly to the Crown, but the other vias were read and discussed by the Councillors. They noted down their views (consulta or pareceres) on the matter and submit them to the consideration and final approval of the Crown. Hence, although a great majority of the documents from the Overseas Historical Archives are just copies of the documents found in the Historical Archives of Goa, this additional feature of pareceres recorded along the margins make its documents more valuable.

Among the bound codices there is abundant documentation for the history of the Portuguese Goa-based trade during the seventeenth century (MSS 31-78), as well as for the fiscal administration of Goa (MSS. 218-19, 346, 500). This latter group of codices includes rare information about the income and expenditure of the Portuguese administration of Goa during the years 1623-27, 1630-36. Besides, MS 218 is the only traced accounts book of the Goa factory for the early seventeenth century, and it completes to some extent the information supplied by another lone MS 2316 of the Historical Archives of Goa for the latter half of the seventeenth century. 49
Very useful information is contained also in thirty-eight steel drawers (Caixas da India), each of them containing an average number of 200 files of loose documents. The number of papers in these files varies from one paper to a large size bundle. These documents include official correspondence with the Indian administration, as well as open and secret reports sent from India by individual serving there and by the village communities of Goa. These thirty-eight Caixas cover the entire seventeenth century.

The National Archives of Lisbon (Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo) is such a big mass of un-catalogued records that no work is possible with economy of time. It was possible to consult there the MSS of the Documentos remetidos da India which number sixty-two codices in all and belong to the seventeenth century. There was another useful series of three codices entitled Junta da Fazenda do Estado da India: Registo de Alvaras, Provisoes e Patentes (1617-93), containing copies of several legislative enactments relating to the fiscal administration of the Portuguese in India during the seventeenth century.

The National Library of Lisbon provided two unpublished MSS (1733, 1778) containing very important information for the economic history of Goa. The first of these MSS contained details about the income and expenditure of the Goa administration for the years 1598-1600, and the second MS was Pero Barreto Rezende's enlarged and revised version of Bocarro's Book.

At the Ajuda Library of Lisbon it was possible to trace a precious codex (MS 46.VIII.20) loaded with information about weights, measures and currency employed in the Portuguese and Spanish trade transactions during the first quarter of the seven-
teenth century.

The visit to the National Library of Madrid was rewarded by a chance-discovery of an un-catalogued MS containing the biography of a Flemish jewel-trader, Jacques de Couttre by name, who had spent the entire first quarter of the seventeenth century in Portuguese India. The gentleman also had his brother living at Goa, and both were married there. Jacques describes in detail the customs and administrative systems of the various countries and places he visited in connection with his trade journeys. He had covered most of the southern India, had paid several visits to the court of Adilshah, and went once to the Mughal court demanding the payment of money which a Mughal ambassador at Goa owed to him for purchasing some diamonds from him. There is one Chapter (Book III: Ch. XIV) describing at length the volume, quality and direction of the Portuguese Goa-based trade.

II b. Records from Private Collections Abroad

The Library of the Jesuit Proteria publication at Lisbon had among other precious documents relating to the Jesuit activity in India during the seventeenth century some photocopies of records which had once belonged to the Jesuit Province of Goa and are at present found in the Archive Generale du Royaume Belgique. The photocopies contain reports of the joint pastoral visits by the Archbishop of Goa and the Jesuit Provincial Superior of Goa to the parishes of Salcete taluka in 1596, 1604, 1618, 1637 and 1650. In these reports we have invaluable information for the socio-economic history of Salcete during the period covered by them. They denounce several social and economic evils that were regarded as contrary to a Christian conscience, and they call upon the
parish priests to eradicate such errors and abuses within their respective jurisdiction.

At Rome, the Jesuit Roman Archives had much to hold our attention. Since J. Wicki has not yet completed the editing of the sixteenth century records pertaining to Indian missions in his Documenta Indica, the documentation for the seventeenth century had to be consulted in manuscript form. Annual letters sent to the General Superior of the Society of Jesus in Rome and many other private accounts about things in India make up the contents of the so-called Goa collection. There are interesting documents also in the Fondo Gesuitico, which is a collection of Jesuit papers entrusted by the Italian Government to the care of the management of the Jesuit Roman Archives and housed in the same premises. The documents in these two collections of Jesuit records are written in Latin, Portuguese, Spanish and Italian. The documents are particularly useful for the study of the rural life in Goa.  

Finally, a very brief visit to the Archive of the Congregation "de Propaganda Fide" was worth the trouble. In its collection of Scritture Originali there were quite many references to the activities of the Goan native Bishop Matheus de Castro, who was very vocal in 1650's against the oppression of the Portuguese rule at Goa. We came across in the same collection a long report sent by a Theatine missionary in 1663 describing various social and religious malpractices prevailing at Goa.
NOTES

1. Very little is known about the life of Fernao Lopes de Castanheda. His father happened to be the first judge of the city of Goa. Castanheda's chronicle of the Portuguese discovery and conquest of India goes up to 1541.

2. Gaspar Correa was secretary to Afonso de Albuquerque. His *Lendas* or account of India provides more details than any other chronicle of this period. His story goes up to 1550.

3. Joao de Barros never visited India. He was Crown Agent at the India House in Lisbon. Barros' *Decadas* excell by their geographical precision in their narratives, which do not extend beyond 1526.


6. Ibid., xxiii-xxv.

7. Ibid., 143.

8. Ibid., 246.

9. HAG: MS 1041 (*Consultas*, n.1), fts. 29-31: It lists Bocarro's services in India from the date of his arrival in 1615.

10. *TdT*: DRI. 32, fl. 266 contains two titles of the books written by Bocarro and sent to the Crown in 1636. One of these dealt with reformation of the State of India, and the other was a biography of Sancho de Vasconcellos. For a good assessment of Bocarro's works, as well as of the Portuguese Indian chroniclers, cf. C.R. Boxer, "Antonio Bocarro and the 'Livro do Estado da India Oriental': A bio-bibliographical note", *Garcia de Orta*, 1956(special issue):203-15; C.R. Boxer, "Three Historians of Portuguese India (Barros, Couto and Bocarro)", *Boletim de Instituto Portugues de Hongkong* (July, 1948): 13-44; I.A. Macgregor, "Some Aspects of Portuguese Historical Writing of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries on South East Asia", in *Historians of South East Asia*,


12. The four traced MSS are: Evora Public Library, MS, CXV/2-1; British Museum, Sloane MS 197; National Library of Madrid, MSS 1190 and R-202; National Library of Paris, Fond Portugais MS 1.

13. APO-BP, Bk.IV, Vol.II, Pts. 1-3, Estorila, 1937-38. The edition includes maps of the Portuguese settlements drawn by Pero Barreto Pezende, and these have been reproduced from the Paris Codex.


15. HAG: Moncoes 25, fl. 86.


17. Ibid., doc. 201.

18. AHU: India, Caixa 31, doc. 30.

19. DMP, vols. V, VII, XI, XII contain documents for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the form of histories of the Franciscan, Dominican and Augustinian Orders written at the request of the Royal Academy of Sciences (Lisbon) at the closing of the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The original of these records are today preserved in the National Library of Lisbon.

20. The introductions to the histories of Goncalves and Trindade, edited by Wicki and Felix Lopes respectively, provide abundant information about the lives and work of those two authors. We find no such data in the available Bombay edition of Francisco de Souza's Oriente Conquistado. Therefore, for his biodata of, John Correia-Afonso, Jesuit Letters and Indian History, 123-25.


22. SG, III, 12.
23. Ibid., 15.
24. Ibid., 91.
25. OC, I, 103-104.
27. CEO, I, 292-302. Summing up the village-wise totals provided by him we come to 27,000 as the number of Christians in Bardez c. 1635.
28. Ibid., I, 275.
29. Pyrard de Laval arrived in Goa in June 1608 and left Goa in January 1610. Owing to the difficulty of obtaining the English edition of his travelogue we follow the Portuguese translation.
30. Pietro della Valle arrived in Goa on April 8, 1623. He spent nearly one year at Goa.
31. Jean-Baptiste Tavernier visited Goa twice. First time at the close of the year 1641, and again at the beginning of the year 1648. His first visit was of one week's duration, but his second visit lasted for about two months.
32. John Albert von Mandelslo came up to Isphahan in the company of an embassy sent by the duke of Holstein to Muscovy and Persia. He arrived in Surat in April 1638 and then came to Goa in the company of the English factor of Surat, William Methwold. He stayed at Goa for ten days.
33. Nicolao Manucci reached Goa in May 1667 and left after a long stay of fifteen months. He returned in 1682 or early 1683. On this occasion he acted as a go-between the Portuguese administration of Goa and the Maratha ruler Sambhaji. For these good services he was made Knight of Santiago. Cf. Storia do Mogor, I, lx; HAG: AOP, XV, fl. 31.
34. Abbe Carre reached Goa on the eve of Christmas in 1672. He left a few days later. His mission was to seek the release of all Frenchmen in the Portuguese hands and to send
them to San Thome (Mylapore), which the French had just captured and was being counter-attacked by the Dutch and the Muslims of Golkonda.

35. John Fryer was a doctor in the service of the East India Company of the English. He arrived in Goa at the end of 1675 and left after a few days on the New Year day. He refers to the impact of Shivaji's activities in the Konkan upon the Portuguese coastal trade.

36. Alexander Hamilton paid two short visits to Goa in 1692 and 1704. His account is couched in a scurrilous language which reflects the attitude of a fanatic Protestant against a fanatic Catholic.

37. Gemelli Careri was a globe-trotter like Tavernier. He reached Goa in 1695 and spent there little over a month.

38. Pissurlekar's Roteiro and Gunes's Guide are surely of some help to the scholars who wish to consult the Portuguese records of the Goa Archives, but more useful to the scholars are the short and descriptive articles on some of the important collections of this archive, such as Boxer's "A Glimpse of the Goa Archives", Pearson's "The Goa Archives and Indian History", T.R.de Souza's "Goa-Based Portuguese Seaborne Trade in the Early Seventeenth Century". Here we must praise the efforts of the C.F.H.U. (Centre of Overseas Historical Studies, Lisbon) to calendar some important series of records from the Goa Archives. Fifty-seven volumes of Reacoes, six volumes of Reis Vizinhos, and two volumes of Segredos were thus covered in the Boletim da FilMOTECA UTRAMARINA PORTUGUESA, nn.1-45, 1954-71, which is now defunct. We wish all success to the Indian Council of Historical Research, which has a scheme for resuming the calendaring of the records of the Goa Archives.


40. HAG: Reacoes 19A, fl. 298; ACF, XI, fls. 150, 153v-54.
41. APO-CR, Suppl. 2, 64-65, 174-75: The Hindu tax-farmers promised to pay to their guarantors the highest permissible rate of interest, that is, 10%.

42. During most of the seventeenth century the revenue of the Goa port customs was administered by the Public Revenue Department without farming out. As regards the minting rights, these were always retained by the Government as far as the minting of the small currency was concerned, because it was an important source of profiteering for the Government officials. The minting of gold and silver, the import of which was not easy to control, was farmed out to individuals. Cf. HAG: MS 7761 (Livro de Termos, Assentos e Juramentos), fls. 95v-96v; MS 779 (Cartas e Ordens, n.1), fl. 41.

43. HAG: 7598, fl. 86v: The compiler of the Tombo states that he could not trace in the archives of the House of Accounts any records of the revenues collected from Bardez. All that he could find was a short note in Kanada script written by Azu Naik, who had been collector of that taluka, indicating the amounts collected under some heads of revenue. This MS has been edited by Pissurlencar as Tombo da Ilha de Goa e das Terras de Salcete e Bardez with excellent explanatory notes at the end.

44. Ghantkar, An Introduction to Goan Marathi Records: In the Foreword the author thanks T.R. de Souza, S.J., for preparing his book for the Press. I must confess that there were more than altruistic motives in the help rendered. To hasten the publication was the only way of my having access to these oldest extant documents of the Goan village communities.


46. Cf. App. I c. (Companion Volume)

47. Marcello Caetano, O Conselho Ultramarino. It is sketchy, but excellent and the only well documented history of this Council.
48. Mendes da Luz, *O Conselho da Índia*. It is a detailed and well documented study of this Council.


51. Schurhammer, "Die Anfange des Romischen Archives der Gesellschaft Jesu"; Lamalle, "La Documentation d'histoire missionnaire dans le 'Fondo Gesuitico' aux Archives Romaines de la Compagnie de Jésus".

52. Combazier, "Un inventaire des Archives de la Propaganda"; Kowalsky, "Inventario dell' Archivo Storico della S. Congregazione de Propaganda Fide".

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CHAPTER TWO

RIVALS AND NEIGHBOURS

After a century of nearly undisputed mastery over the eastern seas, and after a sufficiently long spell of undisturbed prosperity, misfortunes began falling thick and fast upon the Portuguese empire. In 1580 Portugal lost its independence and the crowns of Spain and Portugal were united in the person of Philip II of Spain, who assumed the title of Philip I of Portugal. It is true that Portuguese administration and the Portuguese trade were left in the hands of the Portuguese nationals, but the royal authority in Spain showed little concern for the growing difficulties of the Portuguese in the East. Portugal had also no foreign policy of its own and the enemies of Spain were turned into enemies of Portugal. Despite promises to the contrary, Spain had also been utilising the financial resources and man-power from Portugal in order to quell the Dutch insurgency against the Spanish rule.¹

In 1640 the Portuguese regained their independent rule, but it was too late to repair the damage to the national and imperial economy. The century-old fabric of the Portuguese eastern empire had been torn apart and appropriated by its North-European rivals. These reverses had emboldened the native rulers also to flout the trade restrictions imposed on them by the Portuguese and to exploit the competitive market inaugurated by the arrival of the North-Europeans.²

What follows is a short review of a long-drawn conflict which deprived the Portuguese of their strong hold over the
Asiatic trade. This review is indispensable as an introduction to the present study because the place of importance to which Goa had risen depended entirely on its being a strategic base of the Portuguese seaborne trade in the East. Hence, it would be unrealistic to study economic change at Goa within the confines of its geographical boundary.

I. The Portuguese and their North-European Rivals

Neither the English nor the Dutch had been happy with their dependance on the Lisbon market for their supplies of the eastern spices. It was a humiliating experience to the masters of the carrying trade of the Baltic and of the rest of the western Europe. The merchant-adventurers of both these countries had since long back planned and carried out successful preying upon the home-bound wealth-laden vessels of the Iberian empires. Rich prizes had whetted their appetites and tempted them to probe further into the weakness of these empires. Following the union of the crowns of Spain and Portugal, the latter as the weaker partner drew upon itself the fury of the North-Europeans, who fought for spices under the cloak of patriotism and the banner of Reformation.

1. The Portuguese and their English Rivals

The English restricted the use of force to the minimum and succeeded in wresting concessions from the Portuguese through diplomatic tact. The Anglo-Portuguese relations in India reflected very much the pattern of the Anglo-Portuguese relations in Europe. More than once in moments of national crises Portugal had turned to England for help against the enemies threatening her independence. However, England had exploited all such occasions by offering its
alliance to further its business interests in the trade-world of Portugal. With the involvement of the English in the Asiatic trade at the dawn of the seventeenth century, there too the Portuguese were compelled to make concessions to the English in order to buy their neutrality, enabling thereby the Portuguese to concentrate their forces against the Dutch aggressiveness.

In the ominous situation created by the Dutch, the Portuguese could not prevent the English from exploiting their weakness and from strengthening their foothold in the trade of Surat. However, the Portuguese did use whatever little force they could use and tried diplomatic intrigues at the Mughal court to discourage the English trade ambitions. It was only after Captain Thomas had successfully resisted Portuguese attacks off the coast of Surat in 1612, and after Captain Nicholas Downtown had made short work of a Portuguese fleet commanded personally by the viceroy of Goa in 1615, that the Mughal ruler officially sanctioned the trade activities of the English in his lands and accepted an English ambassador in his court.

The Thirty Years' War (1618-48), which had pitted European countries against each other largely on the basis of religious differences, was also responsible for the English and the Dutch co-religionists joining hands in conquering the trade of East Indies. They fought by proxy upholding the grievances of the native princes against the Portuguese. Thus the English assisted the Persians to drive the Portuguese out of Hormuz in 1622. The Dutch did the same in the Indonesian archipelago and in Ceylon. Fortunately for the Portuguese, the English fell out with the Dutch
over the control of the Spice Islands. The Director of the Dutch East India Company had not reconciled himself to the stipulations of the Dutch agreement with the English in 1619 and was of the opinion that the realization of the Dutch supremacy in the Spice Islands would not be achieved if conquests were to be undertaken jointly with the English. The worsening of their relations culminated with the massacre of Englishmen at Ambon in 1623. This incident disturbed Anglo-Dutch relations in Europe for generations and in Asia it caused the shifting of the English East India Company's interest to the west coast of India and to the Persian Gulf. It also influenced the change in the staple of the English trade from spices to textiles.

As a result of the Portuguese initiative and of the willing response of the English, the Anglo-Portuguese relations entered a new phase with the signing of the Goa Accord on January 20, 1655, which marked the cessation of hostilities and inaugurated a phase of mutual assistance. While the long term effect of the truce was restricted to a benevolent neutrality of the English in favour of the Portuguese, there were immediate benefits derived by the two signatories. The Portuguese freighted English vessels to supply provisions to the besieged garrison of Malacca and to fetch copper and ordnance from Macao to Goa through the straits of Singapore where the Dutch were lying in wait for the Portuguese ships. While the English were increasing their profits on the carrying trade, they had a few coasters built in the Portuguese shipyards of Bassein and Daman.
The Anglo-Portuguese relations became tense for a while because the Accord was being violated by some English interlopers who had come to draw benefits of the truce. They belonged to the so-called Courteens’ Association. It was only after quite some time that the Portuguese were convinced that the Accord violators were not associated with the English East India Company based at Surat.\textsuperscript{13}

Throughout the rest of the seventeenth century the Portuguese and the English were kept together by their common hostilities towards the Dutch. While the English fought three wars with the Dutch in Europe, the Portuguese and the Dutch continued locked in their grim duel for the Asiatic trade. The exhaustion of the Portuguese and their inability to contain the Dutch forced them into a marriage treaty with England in 1661. The treaty included a secret clause whereby the King of England committed himself to bring about cessation of hostilities between the Portuguese and the Dutch, or to fight in favour of the Portuguese if the Dutch refused to negotiate.\textsuperscript{14} In return for this secret promise the English merchants were granted the same privileges of trade at Goa, Cochin and Diu as were enjoyed by the Portuguese subjects, but no more than four English families would be allowed to reside at one time at any of those places. The marriage treaty also contained another clause by which the Portuguese Crown ceded the port region of Bombay to the English Crown as dowry of the Princess Catherine of Braganza.\textsuperscript{15}

The cession of Bombay, which was carried out by the Portuguese authorities in India with great reluctance after a delay of four
years, proved to be a severe blow to the Portuguese trade interests. The English Crown transferred the island to the English East India Company in 1668 for an insignificant annual rental of £ 10 and the Company proceeded to transform it into its trade headquarters in India. This fact attracted many native businessmen, who until then had invested their capital in the Portuguese trade. Many native traders and artisans saw in Bombay a safe refuge from the intimidations of the Goa Inquisition or from the Portuguese legislation regarding the orphan children of the non-Christians in the Portuguese controlled territories.

The correspondence between the English and the Portuguese in India during the remainder of the seventeenth century was charged with accusations and counter-accusations. Throughout that period the Portuguese tried to obstruct the growth of trade at Bombay by levying heavy transit duties on goods taken from Bassein, Karanja and Thana, and by prohibiting the transport of timber and food provisions to the island of Bombay. The English responded to this harassment by supplying arms and ammunition to the Arabs of Muscat, who had been harrying Portuguese trade and threatening the Portuguese East African trade centre of Mombasa. At the close of the seventeenth century the Englishmen had problems of their own caused by the high-handedness of some English interlopers, who had roused the anger of the Mughal governor of Surat and had led to the temporary occupation of Bombay by the Siddi in 1690.

The English rivalry in India deprived the Portuguese of much of their cloth and indigo supplies from Gujarat.
Englishmen had also entered the calico market of Sind as an useful subsidiary to their main establishment at Surat, and they had created a new and profitable branch of silk trade, thereby winning for themselves an important position in the trade with the Persian Gulf.\textsuperscript{22} After the acquisition of Bombay the English also challenged the Portuguese trade in tobacco, which was brought to India from Brazil via Lisbon and was found out to be the only profit making item of the Asiatic trade of Portugal in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. At least a part of the tobacco which the English sold at Bombay was purchased at Lisbon itself.\textsuperscript{23}

2. The Portuguese and their Dutch Rivals

When the Dutch came to the East Indies, their considerable financial resources and their long commercial experience gave them an edge even over the English, and hence, much more over the Portuguese. Besides, their superior naval organization and far less organizational hurdles made the Dutch challenge to the "Lords of commerce and navigation" a tremendously overawing experience. The Dutch harried systematically the Portuguese interport trade of Asia from the Persian Gulf to Japan, and they reduced many of the long chain of Portuguese settlements by picking them off one by one.\textsuperscript{24}

To start with the Dutch had begun their operations in the Indonesian archipelago, which Linschoten's \textit{Itinerario} had indicated as the least controlled region by the Portuguese, and as such offering no possibility of a serious clash with them. It was only after the Dutch had tested the strength of the Portuguese
in Asia that they ventured to broaden their area of confronta-
tion. The overbearing attitude of the Portuguese fort captains
and their extortions from the native merchants of the spice is-
lands had won easy allies for the Dutch. With their support and
active collaboration the Dutch restricted the Portuguese influence
to Malacca, which also lost its importance rapidly and fell into
the Dutch hands in 1641. Little earlier the Dutch had already
wrested from the Portuguese their rich monopoly of the Japanese
trade, and the straits of Singapore were no longer safe for the
Portuguese shipping with the Dutch gun-boats lying in wait for
the Portuguese vessels, particularly those engaged in trade with
Macao and Manilla.

The Dutch had stepped up their aggression in the Indian Ocean
after the Portuguese had come to an understanding with the English
in 1635 in the form of Goa Accord. Along with a campaign of
diplomatic intrigues at the Mughal court, the Dutch initiated a
practice of blockading the Goa port every year at the time of the
arrival and departure of the ships of the Carreira da India. These
regular blockades disrupted the Portuguese Goa-based seaborne
trade quite effectively, so much so that between 1640-1644 not
a single carrack could leave Goa for Portugal. The loading
and unloading operations of the Carreira ships were then shifted
to the northern ports of Chaul, Bassein and Bombay, though this
meant a lot of extra expenditure in the transport of goods and
bullion from the northern ports to Goa and vice-versa.

When the Portuguese regained their independence in 1640, the
Dutch hailed the Portuguese revolt as a blow to Spain, but they
showed no eagerness to relieve their pressure upon the Portuguese colonies in the East Indies. The Dutch did accept a ten-years truce in favour of the Portuguese, but its ratification was delayed to gain time to effect the capture of Malacca. Blockading of Goa port continued and the tempo of attacks on Ceylon was intensified. The Dutch did not want the truce to snatch from their hands what they considered to be a sure catch. In the meantime the Portuguese were trying frantically to convince the Dutch that they were bound morally to honour the terms of the truce.30

Before the said truce had come to an end in 1652, the Portuguese arms had received a boost in the form of a successful campaign against the Dutch in Brazil.31 The Portuguese had also succeeded in winning over the ruler of Macassar in the Spice islands to resist the Dutch claims and to keep them distracted there.32 Portugal had also initiated negotiations with England in order to ensure English support once the hostilities with the Dutch were resumed.33 However, in spite of all these precautionary and countering measures, the fury of the Dutch attacks, when these were renewed, was beyond the Portuguese arms to contain. By 1658 the Dutch conquered all the Portuguese settlements in coastal Ceylon, and by 1663 they had rounded off their Asian conquests with the capture of Cochin and the other Portuguese strongholds on the Malabar coast.34 The Hague treaty of 1661 put an official end to the Luso-Dutch feud, which the Portuguese had no wish to renew even when the Anglo-Dutch wars of 1665-67 and 1672-74 presented promising opportunities for regaining some of the losses.35
The effects of the prolonged Luso-Dutch conflict were disastrous and devastating for the Portuguese. During the conflict Portuguese India was bled white, both in terms of manpower and financial resources. At the end of the conflict the gorgeous East was a thing of the Portuguese past glory. Even though only fragmentary statistical information is available to calculate Portuguese losses, it is sufficient as an indicator to the magnitude of the total losses. During one decade between the years 1629-1639 the Portuguese lost nearly 6,000 men, 160 ships, and over 7,500,000 xerafins as booty, mostly to the Dutch.36 Much more serious losses followed in the sieges of Malacca, Colombo and the Kanara and Malabar settlements.

II. The Portuguese and the Neighbouring Princes

The control of the Indian seaborne trade by the Portuguese at gun-point had forced the Muslim rulers of the Deccan in 1570 to a concerted action for driving out the Portuguese. However, this lone and praiseworthy exception in Indian history ended in a fiasco. May be their defeat is to be attributed largely to the determination of the Portuguese to stay on. It may not be a wild fit of imagination also to suppose that in the wake of the extinction of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar at the hands of the same Muslim coalition, the Hindu population of the Portuguese dominions and from the neighbourhood intervened to sabotage the Muslim enterprise.37 Sixty years earlier, when the Portuguese captured Goa, the success of the Portuguese was made possible by the native Hindu population which fought side by side with the Portuguese to liquidate their Muslim overlords.38
Even though the Portuguese had come out unscathed and had been successful in reiterating their determination to continue acting as "lords of navigation and commerce", they had not failed to learn their lesson. They had narrowly escaped from being pushed into the sea by the land forces of the neighbouring princes. The situation had changed with the arrival of new European naval powers, whose alliance the native powers were likely to seek to blunt the edge of the Portuguese superiority. This realization forced the Portuguese to be cautious and more restrained in the enforcement of the sea control and in their relations with their neighbours in the course of the seventeenth century.39

1. Portuguese-Mughal Relations, 1600-1700

The Portuguese came into contact with the Mughals when Akbar annexed Gujarat to his empire in 1573. Akbar then tried to win the friendship of the Portuguese in India by exploiting their proselytizing zeal. His pretentions were so well disguised that it took the wise Jesuits quite some time to realize that the Mughal emperor was playing a political game.40 However, Akbar continued to press for the presence of the Portuguese Jesuits at his court, left the Portuguese with Daman in his Gujarat subah, promised not to shelter the Malabar pirates, and agreed to the condition that he would be entitled to only one cartaz-free ship to make voyage to the Red Sea once a year.41 The Portuguese on their side were well aware of Akbar’s might and of the vulnerability of several of their forts on the western Indian coast. Thus they took pains not to offend the Mughals, and the Jesuits were coaxed to continue residing at the Mughal court despite their
repeated reports expressing the futility of their continuing there. [42] Portuguese interests in Gujarat formed the backbone of the Portuguese revenue in the East. From their establishments at Bassein, Daman and Diu they issued cartazes to all ships leaving the ports of Gujarat and collected the passport fees. The Portuguese coastal fleets from Goa visited the ports of Gujarat every year and carried large proportion of the merchandise exported from the province, particularly cloths. [43] Indigo also formed an important item of trade with Gujarat. [44] The importance of this trade can be gauged from a report sent by the Goa municipal council to the King of Portugal in 1606: "The disturbances in Gujarat where the natives have rebelled against the Mughal have taken a heavy toll of the revenues of this Portuguese State of India, because the vaniās (banianes) were the ones who patronized most of our customs." [45]

It was during the rule of the successors of Akbar that the Portuguese-Mughal relations were strained on different occasions. When the Portuguese saw, for instance, that in spite of the efforts of the Jesuits at the court of Jehangir to dissuade the emperor he was responding favourably to the approaches of the Englishmen and had even granted them permission to have a trade counter at Surat, the viceroy of Goa ordered the admiral of the Portuguese fleet in the northern seas to lie in wait for any ship of the Mughals that might return from Mecca to Surat. A vessel returning from Mecca with large amount of precious cargo was accordingly captured, sacked and set afire. [46] The hostilities which ensued led to the siege of Daman by land, while the Portuguese retaliated...
by bombarding the port towns of Broach, Gogala and Surat. Neither party derived any substantial benefit from the war which lasted two years until a peace treaty was signed on June 7, 1615. The war had damaged the economy of both the contenders. As reported by the Chief Revenue Superintendent of the Portuguese State of India on December 25, 1614, "the State of India is in a miserable situation because its customs are without revenues as a result of hostilities with Mughal and the consequent disruption of the trade with Gujarat." 47

Even though the very first clause of the treaty of 1615 required that the Mughal emperor should expel the North Europeans from Surat and refuse entry, protection and replenishments to their ships in any port of the Mughal empire, it remained a dead letter. The Mughal emperor accepted that very year the Englishman Thomas Roe as an accredited ambassador of the Crown of England at his court. Jehangir was convinced by the events which he had witnessed that the superiority of the English naval power could be effectively used to check the insolence of the Portuguese. 48

The Portuguese were also aware of the fact that the Mughal could cause great harm to them by utilising the naval arm of the English or of the Dutch. Accordingly, they pretended to ignore the demands of the treaty and their fulfilment on the part of the Mughal. They had also adopted a more flexible policy of sea control with regards to Mughal shipping: Mughal ships were often allowed to leave the ports of Gujarat without cartazes but under condition of paying customs duties on the outgoing and incoming goods at the Portuguese customs house at Daman. 49
Soon after Shahjahan took into his hands the reins of the Mughal empire the Portuguese were in for some rough time again. Shahjahan had several grievances against the Portuguese administration in India, as well as against the Portuguese renegades and adventurers in Bengal. His anger took the form of a campaign against the Portuguese settlement at Hughly, which he captured and carried several thousands of Portuguese men, women and children prisoners to Agra, where he converted them to Islam or reduced them to slavery.\(^{50}\)

After Shahjahan annexed the lands of Nizam Shah to his empire in 1636 the Portuguese at Daman were living under a permanent threat of the Mughal forces. For a couple of years or two the Mughals succeeded in subduing the ruler of Kannagar, known to the Portuguese as Choutea. The Mughals then demanded from the Portuguese a contribution (ga\(\text{auth}\)) which they had been paying to the King of Kannagar. The Portuguese subjects who cultivated the lands of Daman were thus required to pay not only the usual 17% of the produce, which they paid to the Choutea, but an increased rate of 25%. The Mughals refused to pay any heed to the representations of the Portuguese administration.\(^{51}\)

When Aurangzib took over the Mughal administration in 1658 the situation in the Deccan took a serious turn and forced the Portuguese to be on their guard. Aurangzib was decided to bring to a successful end the plans of his forefathers for the subjugation of the Deccan, and perhaps, of the entire Indian subcontinent. He personally assumed the command of the operations and shifted his court from Agra to Daulatabad. However, there was a new ele-
ment, which Aurangzib's predecessors had not faced: the
Marathas. During the Mughal-Maratha conflict the Portuguese
kept themselves at arm's length, praised Shivaji's valour as
no other contemporaries have done, and prayed that the duel
might last long and save the Portuguese from the ambitious
designs of both the mighty neighbours.\textsuperscript{52}

2. Portuguese-Ahmadnagar Relations, 1600-1636

Until 1600 there had been constant and serious frictions
between the Nizam Shahi and the Portuguese, but after this they
shared community of interests and considerations of safety
against Mughal aggressiveness. The Portuguese had their pros-
erous Province of the North and its safety required the preser-
vation of Ahmadnagar as a buffer State. Time and again the
vice-roys in India received instructions from the King of Portugal
to make their own the cause of Malik Ambar, who was straining
all his military and diplomatic skill to keep Nizam Shahi alive.\textsuperscript{53}

In 1604 Malik Ambar granted to the Portuguese the right
to collect half of the land revenue in Chaul in recognition of
the aid he was receiving to resist the Mughal forces. The
Portuguese proved true to their traditions and resorted to
high-handed exactions from the peasants of Chaul. Malik inter-
vened to put an end to these abuses, but the Portuguese could not
bear the idea of being corrected by a pagan. Both sides resorted
to violent attacks and the hostilities lasted for several years
until an imminent threat of the Mughal forces to both of them
brought them to mutual understanding in 1615 through the media-
tition of Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur. A tripartite agreement was concluded at Nauraspur, near Bijapur, in 1615.\textsuperscript{54}

In 1625 the Portuguese resumed hostilities in Chaul and the provocation led to the capture of Dabhol by Malik Ambar. Thereafter some sort of truce was concluded.\textsuperscript{55} The following year Malik Ambar died and was succeeded by his less talented son Fath Khan. The year 1627 saw the passing away of Ibrahim Adil Shah II who had been friendly with Malik Ambar. Also the Mughal emperor Jehangir died that same year. The fresh arrangement of the political chessboard proved fatal to Ahmadnagar. The new rulers of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur were more divided than ever before, and this enabled Shahjahan to woo Bijapur and break the backbone of Ahmadnagar's resistance once and for all.\textsuperscript{56}

Shahji Bhosle, a Maratha general, who at different times had served the Nizam Shahi, the Adil Shahi and the Mughal, made a bid to shore up the sinking fortunes of Ahmadnagar. In his total isolation he appealed to the Portuguese for help, but the latter were cautious and did not want to invite upon themselves the wrath of the combined forces of Shahjahan and Adil Shah.\textsuperscript{57} In 1636 Nizam Shahi ceased to exist. A letter of the King of Portugal to the viceroy in India refers to the difficulties that resulted from the disappearance of an independent Ahmadnagar. In these circumstances the letter instructed the viceroy to seek all means to sow dissensions among the Mughal and the Dutch, and this is described as an urgent need in order to prevent the loss of Bassein, Chaul, Daman and Diu, to all of which the Mughal claimed right as the new master of Ahmadnagar.\textsuperscript{58}
3. Portuguese-Bijapur Relations, 1600-1686

Portuguese relationship with Bijapur is particularly significant because the capital town of the Portuguese in India had been wrested from Bijapur in 1510. Also its neighbouring provinces of Saloete and Bardez had belonged to Bijapur and had passed into Portuguese hands in 1543. Until 1579 Adil Shah made repeated attempts to regain these lost territories. The seventeenth century inaugurated a phase of peaceful relationship between the Portuguese and Bijapur with the exception of two breaches in 1654 and 1659.

During the first quarter of the seventeenth century the Portuguese-Bijapur relations were conspicuously cordial and some minor frictions did not lead to any serious conflict. The good services of Ibrahim Adil Shah were even sought by the Portuguese to act as intermediary between them and the Nizam Shahi in 1615. As the first quarter of the century was coming to its end, the relations entered a phase of a long drawn tension resulting from provocations and retaliations from either side. Already in 1623 the Bijapuris had approached the English seeking a pact with them to expel the Portuguese, but this request was not taken up by the English with enthusiasm because of Roe's "go slow" policy with regards to getting involved into hostilities in India.

Adil Shah began expressing his grievances openly when the Portuguese captured two vessels belonging to him in the Persian Gulf and killed their crew in cold blood in the year 1629. Adil Shah retaliated by detaining a Portuguese vessel carrying the
Portuguese revenue comptroller of Muscat in the port of Rajapur, where the vessel had sought shelter against tempest after obtaining permission of the Bijapuri authorities to enter. The Portuguese added more fuel to the flame by seizing yet another vessel of Adil Shah. To this the Bijapuris reacted very sharply by withdrawing their ambassador at Goa, by closing all the ports in Adil Shah's territory to Portuguese shipping, by stopping all food supplies to Goa, and by threatening to invade the provinces of Bardez and Salcote.

The Portuguese had sensed the gravity of the developments and how they could ill afford to have a war with Adil Shah. Unexpected circumstances played in their hands and provided them with the required opportunity to diffuse the tension. This happened when the joint forces of the Mughals and Nizam Shahi besieged Bijapur in April 1632 and the Portuguese received a frantic call from Adil Shah to help him with gunners, powder and ammunition. The Portuguese did not only accede to the request, but even offered to manufacture gunpowder and ammunition for Adil Shah if he would send the necessary raw materials. The aid was sent with utmost secrecy, and while ostensibly it was shown as a favour done to Adil Shah, the Portuguese knew well that a defeat of Bijapur at the hands of the Mughal would be damaging to the safety of the Portuguese in the heart of their empire.

After a short interval of respite there followed another bout of tense relations, which culminated with large scale invasion of Bardez and Salcote in 1654 and another minor invasion
of the same provinces five years later. The renewal of tension was caused by the facilities granted by Adil Shah to the English and to the Dutch at Dabhol, Karwar, Rajapur and Vingurla. The Portuguese felt particularly aggrieved by the concessions made to the Dutch, whose attacks on the Portuguese shipping and the blockades of the Goa port had become more intense and regular after they had obtained facilities for replenishments at Vingurla. The Dutch had also been instigating Adil Shah to attack Goa by land while they would intensify their attacks by sea. Adil Shah appears to have been taken up by the idea, and even the mode of sharing the booty was apparently settled. However, more pressing engagements of Adil Shah in Kanara saved the Portuguese at Goa. But in 1654 Adil Shah did not resist the temptation of capturing the Portuguese territories of Bardez and Salsete. Apparently, the invasion was effected at the request of the Goan native brahmin Bishop, Matheus de Castro Mahale, who was residing in the Bijapuri town of Bicholim. The Bishop had developed a hatred for the Portuguese colonial rule in his native land and had been instigating the Goans to revolt and shake off the Portuguese yoke. He had the hope of rousing the natives to revolt at the time when the forces of Adil Shah would march in. However, the Portuguese had already smelled his subversive plans and frustrated the possibilities of his organizing the fifth-columnists. The invasion by the Bijapuri forces ended in a fiasco.

After 1656 the Bijapuris had to deal with the Mughals and the Marathas. There were also the desais who were resisting subjugatio
by any of these powers and their tendency to seek refuge in the Portuguese territory often placed the Portuguese in embar-
rassing situations. But the Portuguese favoured secretly the
guerilla movements of these desais to keep the powers concerned
distracted with campaigns to bring them to book.69

On the whole the Portuguese-Bijapur relations were more
cordial than the relations of the Portuguese with any other
neighbour of their in western India. It had to be so because
the Portuguese in Goa depended heavily on Bijapur (Balghat) for
their food supplies and many other daily necessities. Portu-
guese Goa-based trade also depended on Bijapur for the supplies
of cloths. Precious stones, which constituted the second most
important trade item, were brought from Golkonda via Bijapur.70
Most of the saltpetre for the gunpowder manufactory of Goa was
obtained from Bijapur, and so also the sailors who manned the
coastal fleets of the Portuguese.71 All these considerations
compelled the Portuguese to grant a most favoured treatment to
the rulers of Bijapur. According to the terms of a treaty
signed with Bijapur in 1571, and which remained substantially
in force throughout the seventeenth century, Adil Shah received
annually six duty free cartazes, was allowed to import duty free
twenty-five horses every year, could import from Goa without
paying customs duty goods worth 6,000 golden pardsas every year,
and was promised half share in the booty whenever the Portuguese
captured any ships in the ports of Bijapur for not carrying
Portuguese cartazes.72
4. Portuguese-Kanara Relations, 1600-1700

The capture of Goa in 1510 was effected by Afonso de Albuquerque on advice and active collaboration of Timmaya, a naval chief of Honavar, a principality of Kanara. Thereafter, Goa and most of the scattered settlements of the Portuguese in Asia were sustained with rice supplies from Kanara, while the pepper cargoes from Kanara justified the pains taken by the Portuguese in founding an empire in the East Indies. Kanarawas also the main supplier of teak timber for the works of the Goa shipyard.

Kanara had been a mosaic of petty principalities which enjoyed large degree of autonomy, earlier under Vijayanagar until 1565, and later on under Bijapur. The Portuguese had been dealing with them directly and had made treaty agreements with their rulers. By these treaties the petty chiefs were made to supply to the Portuguese a definite number of rice bales by way of tribute (pareas). They were also compelled by the terms of the same treaties to provide pepper cargoes to the Portuguese ships of the Carreira at moderate rates. This exploitation by the Portuguese went unchecked during most of the sixteenth century.

Along with other troubles from different quarters, the Portuguese began facing difficulties in Kanara as well, with the dawn of the seventeenth century. The Nayaks of the Keladi family had begun showing expansionist desires of their own. The sixth ruler of that family, Venkatappa Nayak (1592-1629), had succeeded
in annexing the territory of the queen of Gersoppa, called the
queen of pepper by the Portuguese, and he had turned his atten-
tion towards the lands belonging to the chiefs of Bangher and
Mangalor, where the Portuguese had their settlements and counters.
The Portuguese could easily foresee the harm which this unifica-
tion bid of the Nayak would bring to their trade interests and
the problems which it would cause to the Portuguese presence in
the East. This is clear in the instructions that were addressed
by the King of Portugal to the viceroys in India. The latter
were instructed to frustrate the designs of the Nayaks of Akkeri
by setting Adil Shah against him and by welding the other chiefs
of Kanara into a confederacy against Venkatappa Nayak.77

The Portuguese had too many difficulties of their own to be
able to provide any effective assistance to the petty chiefs of
Kanara, who were seeking Portuguese protection against Venkatappa’s
imperialist ambitions. They were absorbed one by one until
Venkatappa extended his kingdom to include in it all the territo-
ries between the rivers Sirjan and Chandragiri. The Portuguese
were left untouched in their forts at Basarur, Bonavar and Mangalor,
but their dictates were no longer going to be tolerated. Venka-
tappa had made his estimates of the power and wealth of the Portu-
guese. He made overtures to the English regarding sale of pepper
to them.78 The military operations against Bangher were also di-
rected against the Portuguese at Mangalor. The Portuguese saw the
new line of attack and chose to disown the cause of the chief of
Bangher. In January 1620 the Portuguese came to a treaty agreement
with the Nayak. It was the first in the series of treaties which the Nayaks of Ikkeri would dictate to the Portuguese.

Following the death of Venkatappa in November 1629 the Portuguese tried to exploit the situation caused by the contest for succession in Bidnur. The Portuguese were inclined to consider Virappa as the rightful heir because he showed himself more amenable to Portuguese pretentions. However, the Portuguese gains were short lived as Virappa died a few months after signing an agreement with the Portuguese, and Virabhadra Nayak remained the uncontested ruler of Kanara. The new ruler could not immediately win the submission of the many petty chieftains who had been subjugated by his Kelady predecessors. The Portuguese aided the rebel chieftains and at the same time approached Virabhadra with the proposal of their readiness to mediate between him and the rebels. The proposal was rejected by Virabhadra, whose campaign to subdue the chieftains was coming to a successful end. On the contrary, in order to punish the meddlers, Virabhadra imposed a ban on the purchase of rice by the Portuguese in Basrur. As a result, the Portuguese who could not afford to do without Kanara rice agreed to come to an agreement: The Portuguese would retain their position in Basrur, but they would not fortify the peninsula of Gangolly as they wished to do. Thus, a status quo was maintained regarding the issue which had become a bone of contention between the Portuguese and the Nayak. But there were other clauses on which concessions were made by either side: The Portuguese could fell all the timber
they wished to have for the Goa shipyard, and timber for twenty-four masts would be cut and delivered to them by the Nayak at the mouths of the rivers Gersoppa and Sangari. The Portuguese agreed to buy 500 khandis of pepper from the Nayak immediately, and another 350 khandis every subsequent year at the rate of 22 pagodas a khandi. The Nayak was also given right to import twelve horses every year without paying customs duty to the Portuguese, and to have two duty-free cartazes for his ships. 82

Hardly a year had passed after signing the treaty and Virabhadra required that the Portuguese should pay him 28 pagodas for a khandi of pepper, claiming that the English were willing to offer him 30 pagodas per khandi. He threatened with a new ban on rice purchases if the Portuguese refused to yield to his demand. The Portuguese did refuse the terms and their ship of Carreira left for Portugal in 1636 with only 6 to 700 quintals of pepper which was stocked prior to the blockade. To punish the intransigence of Virabhadra they intensified the naval control of the Kanara coast to prevent any pepper or rice from being taken out. This tough action brought Virabhadra to his senses and he realized that the trade with the Portuguese alone was bringing into his treasury an average of 500,000 pagodas every year. 83 The Portuguese reciprocated to the improved behaviour of Virabhadra by supplying him guns, powder and ammunition to stand the attacks of Adil Shah, who had already captured a number of Kanara forts. 84

Shivappa Nayak, who began his rule in 1645, was determined to bring to completion the expansionist plans initiated by his
predecessors. Within a decade from his coming to power he deprived the Portuguese of all their establishments in Kanara. Shivappa's success was due largely to the timeliness of his operations against the Portuguese: The Portuguese were locked in a desperate campaign with the Dutch in Ceylon, and in Goa preparations were afoot to resist an impending invasion by Adil Shah. Economically also the Portuguese faced a hopeless situation: Every possible source was tapped to finance the defence efforts. It was in such a context that Shivappa was willing to raise the siege of Honavar if the Portuguese would buy from him 1000 khandis of pepper immediately and 500 khandis every subsequent year at the rate of 28 pagodas. The Portuguese were in no position to buy even 300 khandis for the quoted price. The Portuguese were left with no other alternative but to order the garrison of the Honawar fort, which was surviving on rats and cats, to quit the place.

Following their expulsion from Kanara the Portuguese tried to give vent to their rage by scouring the coast of Kanara with whatever ridiculous navy they still possessed. Even the rage of the Portuguese had to be restrained: Rice supplies from the North could never be sufficient and fresh attacks by the neighbours of that province could not be ruled out. These considerations led the Portuguese to be more realistic in their approach with Kanara.

After Shivappa died in 1660, his son Somashker Nayak sent an ambassador to Goa inviting the Portuguese to re-establish their counters at Basrur, Honavar and Mangalore. The negotiations ended
with a treaty that was signed on April 30, 1671. The treaty remained a dead letter and the Portuguese could not re-enter Kanara because of the threats of the Dutch, who sent their fleets to Kanara to pressurise the ruler of Kanara to give up the idea of bringing the Portuguese back. The Portuguese in the meantime continued their favourite pastime of patrolling the coast.

Somashker Nayak was assassinated in December 1671. An infant grandson, Basava Nayak, was placed on the throne, but the power was in the hands of the queen mother and her favourite, Timmaya Nayak. The Portuguese did not like the attitude of the new rulers, who were favouring trade with the Arabs of Muscat and had granted them permission to have factory in Kanara. The purchase of the Kanara rice by the Arabs led to a sharp rise in the price of rice from less than eight pagodas to fourteen pagodas per coria or score of bales. The Portuguese, who had re-established counters in Kanara, now closed them down and resorted to gunboat diplomacy once again. A new succession feud raised the hopes of the Portuguese for a while, but it was ultimately with the queen and the prince that the Portuguese signed a new treaty on December 15, 1678, whereby the Portuguese obtained a factory in Mangalor and the promise that the Arabs would have no access to the Kanara ports. The Arabs, however, continued to frequent Kanara ports and they even set fire to a Portuguese ship convoy in Mangalor waters in 1695. The Portuguese wished to withdraw from Kanara and resume hostilities, but on second thoughts they only expressed their displeasure to the queen.
5. Portuguese-Maratha Relations, 1636-1700

Portuguese-Maratha relations are particularly significant to a student of the history of the Goan people considering the fact that long before Shivaji laid the foundations of the Maratha State Goa shared cultural life of the Maratha region around it. There is undeniable evidence to prove that the Varkari Panth, which gave the first shape to Maratha literature and brought about a cultural unification of the Marathas, had its devotees in Goa. The Jesuit historian, Sebastiao Goncalves wrote in a letter dated November 1565 and written from Goa that the Hindus of Goa could be heard singing on the streets of the town some invocations to the god Vithal of Pandampur. Marathas, as an ethnic group, were also an important segment of the Goan population. Apparently, after conversion they gave rise to the Chardo caste, which vied with the brahmins for social equality. The ascendancy of the Marathas in the social status in Goa is attributed to the rule of the Silaharas in Goa c. seventh century A.D. In addition to the Maratha race and the Varkari religion, there was the Marathi language, which had gained firm foothold in Goa, as it can be can be gathered from the extant epigraphic and documentary evidence. Although the Portuguese discouraged the development of the vernacular language and literature, the recording of the proceedings of the village councils continued to be done in Marathi until the second decade of the seventeenth century. It is against this background that the study of the Portuguese-Maratha relations becomes more meaningful and significant.
The first contact between the Portuguese and the Marathas on political level is recorded in a letter addressed by Shahji Bhosle to the Portuguese captain of Chaul on September 26, 1636. Finding it impossible to revive Nizam Shahi against the joint aggressiveness of the Mughal and Adil Shah, Shahji was appealing to the Portuguese for help and was requesting shelter for his wife and children. The Portuguese refused to provide military assistance, but they were willing to offer shelter to his family.102

The earliest reference to Shivaji as Shahji's son occurs in a Portuguese record of 1657. By and large the Portuguese looked favourably upon the rise of Maratha power under Shivaji's leadership. In the context of the growing might of the Mughal the rise of the Marathas was a godsend to the Portuguese promising to them a more stable balance of power. But as long as Shivaji's activity was confined to the Deccan, the Portuguese could safely entertain feelings of genuine appreciation of his achievements. During 1657-59 Shivaji added most of the North Konkan to his dominions, thereby making the Portuguese feel that he meant serious business. Shivaji's frictions with the Siddi of Danda, and Shivaji's plans to express his sovereignty by building a navy, made the Portuguese intensely aware of his vicinity.104 It was then that the Portuguese adopted a policy of open friendliness and silent obstructionism. The policy of obstructionism was aimed at frustrating the ambitious plans of Shivaji to have maritime forts and a strong fleet. Among the
reasons put forth by the State Councillors to justify this policy we read that "if he (Shivaji) succeeded in capturing some Portuguese vessels, the taste for booty would encourage him to intensify such harmful adventures, and the Portuguese friendship with him was not firm enough to check such a development. Besides, Shivaji had proved himself to be a good pay master and with his ready cash he had been alluring not only natives but even Portuguese renegades into his service". However, the Portuguese were so deeply involved in their struggle with the Dutch and with the rulers of Kanara that there was neither will nor means to face another contender close at home. Hence, the Portuguese failed to check the cherished goal of Shivaji when he raided Basrur and brought back an immense booty, he had 85 vessels, big and small, which took part in the operations. According to a report of the Portuguese viceroy of India in 1667: "I am worried with his growing might in the sea, because he has built marine forts which could have been impeded right in the beginning, and he has a large number of vessels, although all of them are not big in size."

The Portuguese kept themselves well informed about the movements of Shivaji and they were quite impressed by his guerilla tactics marked by lightning operations against his enemies and collection of fabulous sums of gold. With their long experience of dealing with the Indian rulers the Portuguese had assessed Shivaji's might rightly. Aware of his capacity to cause harm to them, the Portuguese kept the Siddi supplied with food provisions, fighting material and money to keep Shivaji distracted as long as
possible. The Portuguese also armed and provided asylum to deaala of Kudal, Pernem and Bicholim during their fight against Shivaji. The Portuguese had also given in to the threats of Mirza Raja Jay Singh, who had been sent by Aurangzib against Shivaji, and given him some ordnance pieces. Shivaji replied to the mischief playing Portuguese by invading Bardez in November 1667 and by looting the region for a couple of days.

After Shivaji's open campaign against the Portuguese in Bardez, he also tried to capture the very town of Goa by infiltrating his men. This ruse was detected by the Portuguese in time and his bid to capture Goa was frustrated. In 1679-80 Shivaji had planned an all out war with the Portuguese, who were stubbornly continuing their aid to the Siddi of Janjira and were refusing to satisfy Shivaji's demands about the payment of Chauth. However, unexpected news of Shivaji's death brought relief to the Portuguese, who were tense with expectations of his attack.

Portuguese-Maratha relations were seriously disturbed during the sort rule of Sambhaji. Anticipating Sambhaji's plans to fortify the Anjidiv island, the Portuguese foiled the bid by quickly taking possession of that island, a measure which the Portuguese considered as vital to safeguard the safety of the grain carrying vessels plying between Kanara and Goa. The Portuguese had also allowed the Mughal troops to cross the Portuguese province of the North in their advance against Sambhaji's positions. Sambhaji reacted sharply by mounting a massive attack on Goa in 1683, and were it not for the news of Mughal troops coming to meet
Sambhaji, Goa would have fallen into Sambhaji's hands, while the Portuguese officials were gathered round the relics of St. Francis Xavier seeking his intercession and protection. Peace between the Portuguese and Marathas was restored, and Sambhaji could not trouble the Portuguese thereafter deeply engaged as he was with the Mughal forces until his pitiable death at their hands in 1669. Following the death of Sambhaji, his younger brother Rajaram sought refuge in Ginji and his generals continue a guerilla type of warfare against the Mughal forces which had almost occupied the entire Maratha territory. Placed in this situation the Portuguese resorted to a reversal of policy, whereby they began favouring the Maratha chieftains in their fight against the Mughals. Shah Alam's demand of a huge fee for having saved Goa from falling into Sambhaji's hands, as well as his plot to seize Goa by treachery had convinced the Portuguese that it was more convenient for them to have weak Marathas as their neighbours than a powerful Mughal.

The Portuguese-Maratha relations had their repercussions upon the local economy of Goa, as well as upon the Portuguese Goa-based seaborne trade. The local economy depended on the mainland for the supply of a variety of essential commodities which were exchanged for copra, palm sugar, areca nuts and salt produced in Goa. When Shivaji established salt monopoly in his lands and created salt depots at Manneri and Fatorpa in the neighbourhood of the Portuguese territory of Goa, it became difficult to find outlet for the salt which was the main exchange commodity of the Goan traders. By way of retaliation the Portuguese authorities
began compelling the fisherfolk that came from the Maratha territory to fish in the rivers of Chapora or Aldona to buy all the salt they require for salting the fish they caught there.\textsuperscript{121}

As regards the coastal and the seaborne trade of the Portuguese, the navy of Shivaji never turned out to be a serious threat to the Portuguese naval superiority, but it became a source of constant irritation to the Portuguese because of its interference with the Portuguese coastal trading.\textsuperscript{122} What harmed Portuguese seaborne trade most were the constant wars waged by the Marathas in the Deccan and elsewhere. These wars were a serious obstruction to the supply line of the trade items. The ships of the Carreira could not leave for Portugal with the desired regularity, because while the Dutch were preventing the safe arrival of the ship convoys bringing cloths from Kutch, the Maratha wars impeded the arrival of diamonds from Balghat.\textsuperscript{123} The third important trade item was saltpetre. When the carrack \textit{Bom Jesus de Sao Domingos} left for Portugal in January 1677 it could not carry any load of saltpetre, and the reason given by the Chief Revenue Superintendent to justify the lack of saltpetre is that Shivaji's wars had thrown the entire Portuguese trade into disarray.\textsuperscript{124}

In addition to the above long term consequences, temporary damage of no less consequence resulted from the Maratha invasions of Goa. Thus, Shivaji's invasion of Bardez in 1667 was accompanied by heavy loss in cattle, and Sambhaji's invasion in 1683 destroyed palm groves and paddy crop of Bardez and the salt industry of Salcete.\textsuperscript{125}
NOTES

1. Livermore, A New History of Portugal, 158-72; Ameal, Historia de Portugal, 329-52.

2. Ganguli, Readings in Indian Economic History, 64 ff.


5. Livermore, op.cit., 176, 182-84.


12. EPI (1634-36), xi, xvi-xviii, 226; Bal Krishna, Commercial Relations between India and England, 1601-1757, 65, 83.

13. AHU: India, Caixa 13, doc. 15 (8.1.1638); TdT: DRI.37, 429; DRI.38, 74-75; Bal Krishna, op. cit., 65-66, 68, 74, 234.


15. Ibid., 331-32: Clauses XI and XII.

17. HAG: Monoeua 42, fls. 136-200; AHU: India, Caixa 28, doc. 79; Caixa 39, doc. 34; Pissurlencar, op. cit., IV, 280-88; Boxer, op. cit., 272-73; Baião, A Inquisição de Goa, I, 408.

18. Pissurlencar, op. cit., 245, 247, 283, 320-23; EFI (1670-77), x; Danvers, op. cit., 360-61.


23. HAG: MS 1501 (Ordens Regia), fls. 10-11.


27. Harrison, "Europe and Asia", 665; Pissurlencar, ACF, II, 117 ff. The Carreira da India was the round voyage between Portugal and India. Cf. Boxer, SBE, 207-22; "The Carreira da India (Ships, men, cargoes, voyages)" anud Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos e as Comemorações Henriquinas, 33-82.

29. HAG: ACF, IX (1653-60), fls. 6v-7, 61, 77v, 77v, 160v-62, 247v-48v, 250v-51; X (1660-66), fls. 9-9v, 33v-34, 49v, 55, 256-67; Pissurleocar, ACF, IV, 353. The bullion that arrived in the northern ports was transferred to Goa with the help of the Gujarati merchants who charged 3% transference duty.


32. Danvers, op. cit., 300; Meilink-Roelofs, op. cit., 164, 207.

33. Livermore, op. cit., 176-84; Boxer, EST, 115.


35. Boxer, "Portuguese and Dutch colonial rivalry, 1641-1661", 41-2; Queiroz, op. cit., 699, 965-993, passim.


39. Bulhao Pato (ed.), DRI, I, 144: In an instruction dated 10.x. 1607 the King of Portugal wrote to the viceroy of India: "It is convenient for the well being of our state that the neighbouring rulers be divided among themselves and that should be achieved subtly by employing all possible means." This was the kind of the strategy of intrigues by which the Portuguese wished to survive after their military might alone was no longer sufficient.

40. Wicki, DI, XII, 379, 475, 625, 660.


44. AHU: India, *Caixa* 2, doc. 71 (20.xii.1612): Two ships left for Portugal with nearly 120 quintals of indigo @ 57 xerafins a quintal. This load indicates a sizable decline in comparison with the load of 809 quintals (of 120 lbs. each) taken in 1603. Cf. Moreland, *op. cit.*, 93.


47. AHU: India, *Caixa* 2, doc. 145 (25.xii.1614): "Achei este Estado miseravel e sem rendimento das alfandegas por causa do Mogor tohler o comercio de Cambaia e outras guerras do Norte". Cf. Another report on the Gujarat trade and how it was affected by the war against the Mughal: AHU, India, *Caixa* 3, doc. 46 (5.ii.1615): Cottons, indigo and opium are indicated as the chief items of this trade.


56. Nayeem, *op. cit.*, 95-6; Pissurlencar, "A India em 1629", in *BIVG*, n.7, 1930: 52-61: Is the text of a report sent to Portugal by the viceroy Count of Linhares on January 6, 1631, describing the state of political affairs in India.


58. HAG: Monoces 214, fl. 54; Pissurlencar, *ACE*, II, 257.

59. Villiers, *The Indian Ocean*, 158: Refers to Roe's maxim in his negotiations in the East: "Trade that comes by compulsion is not profitable and only arouses the hate and opposition of the natives".

60. TD: BRI, 37, fls. 485-85v; Pissurlencar, *ACE*, I, 237.


63. Ibid., 414-16.

64. *Loc. cit.*


69. Pissurlencar, ACE, IV, 140, 491-2.


71. HAG: *Moncoes* 14, fl. 207v; *Moncoes* 19A, fl. 128; Pissurlencar, ACE, I, 117-9, 179.


73. Cf. supra n. 38.


77. Bulhao Pato, DRI, II, docs. 232, 303, 331; III, docs. 517.


79. Pissurlencar, ACE, I, 536-41 (includes Kanada text).

80. Ibid., 252.

81. Ibid., 569; HAG: *Ordens Regias*, n.2, fl. 20.

82. Pissurlencar, op. cit., 570. The equivalence between Ikkeri gold currency and Goan gold currency is given as 100 pagodas=102 santhomes.

83. Ibid., II, 12-3, 55-6.
84. Pissurlencar, ACE, II, 203.
87. HAG; ACE, IX (1653-60), fls. 99v, 146v, 175-75v, 186, 194-94v.
89. Ibid., 396-8.
90. Biker, CT, IV, 189-97; Pissurlencar, ACE, IV, 216-7.
91. HAG; Monocoes 31, fls. 78-9v, 80-1v, 106-107, 128-9.
92. EPI (1661-64), 343 n.3; Pissurlencar, op. cit., 226-7.
94. Biker, CT, IV, 205-15, cl. 5.
97. Silva Rego, DMP, IX, 475-6: The quotation reads: "... sari upazoni sangelim ekavella dekasi pandhari Vithala rayachi nagari".

103. Pissurlekar, Portuguez-Marath Sambandh, 41.


105. Pissurlekar, ACE, IV, 5-6.


107. AHU: India, Caixa 27, doc. 87.

108. AHU: India, Caixa 27, doc. 99; Pissurlekar, ACE, IV, 5, 6-8, 214-5, 225-6.


110. Pissurlekar, ACE, IV, 146; Manucoil, op. cit., II, 120-5, 132-137.

111. Pagadi, op. cit., 194-6; Sarkar, op. cit., 352.

112. Pissurlekar, Portuguez-Marath Sambadh, 190 n. 1.


114. AHU: India, Caixa 30, doc. 47.

115. HAG: Moncoes 47, letter n.4; Pissurlekar, The Portuguese and the Marathas, 64.


118. Ibid., 159, 163.


120. Kulkarni, op. cit., 223; HAG: N3 1127 (Peticoes Despachadas do Conselho da Fazenda), I, f1s. 49-51.
121. HAG: MS 1127 (Peticoes Despachadas do Conselho da Fazenda), ffs. 9, 21v-22.

122. HAG: MS 970 (Reis Visinhos, n.2), ffs. 36v-7, 73v-77; MS 971 (Reis Visinhos, n.3), ffs. 8v-11v, 12v-14v, 29-29v; MS 972 (Reis Visinhos, n.4), ffs. 12, 29v.

123. Pissurleocar, ACE, IV, 296-7.


125. Pissurleocar, The Portuguese and the Marathas, 23; HAG: MS 1127 (Peticoes Despachadas do Conselho da Fazenda), ffs. 146v-147: Refers to Sambhaji's invasion of Salcete and capture of salt-laden boats and documents connected with salt administration. Ibid., ffs. 154-54v: Is an application of the salt-revenue farmer of Bardes complaining that he cannot continue with his obligations because within nineteen days from his taking up the contract the trade with the mainland had become paralyzed. He indicates May 5 as the date when the hostilities started and December 8 as the day of invasion by Sambhaji's forces. Ibid., ffs.223-223v: An application of the General Assembly of the village communities of Bardez requesting postponement of the time limit for the payment of the land revenue. They say that the villages were depopulated and the peasants were without seed and oxen for ploughs. Cf. also Pissurleocar, ACE, IV, 571-4: Refers to the disruption of the inland trade of Goa as a result of the hostilities mounted by Sambhaji and the consequent scarcity and dearth of food provisions in Goa.