The city of Goa, which the Portuguese captured from Adil Shah in 1510 and converted into headquarters of their eastern empire in 1530, originally gained importance as a replenishing centre for the Muslim trading vessels and had developed into an important horse mart supplying quality steeds from Hormuz to the rulers of the Deccan and Vijayanagar. The capital of the region was shifted from the northern bank of the river Zuari to this place on the southern bank of the river Mandovi due to at least two most probable reasons: Firstly, the Muslim rulers of the Bahamani dynasty must have found the new city founded by the Muslim traders a more congenial place than the region developed by their Hindu predecessors. Secondly, the silting of the Zuari river had apparently reduced the strategic and commercial importance of the capital lying on its bank, thereby making the transfer unavoidable.

Very little is known about the city of Goa and the development of urban economy before the Portuguese take-over. A short but comprehensive report by a near-contemporary of Albuquerque has described the city soon after its conquest by the Portuguese as "very great, with good houses, well girt around with strong walls, with towers and bastions". The inhabitants of the city are described as "Moors of distinction, many of whom were of divers lands. They were white men, among whom, as well as merchants of great wealth, there were also many husbandmen."
of the urban economy is further stressed by saying that "land, by reason that the harbour was exceeding good, had great trade, and many ships of the Moors came thither from Mecca, the city of Adem, Ormus, Cambaya and Malabar".3

From the rest of the meagre information that is available it is clear that Goa was occupying a pivotal place in the Muslim trade in western India. There were even good facilities for ship building and ship-repairs.4 It was precisely because Albuquerque had the right assessment of the situation that he went ahead with the plans for the conquest of Goa against a strong opposition of his colleagues.5 It was again due to the realization of the strategic importance of Goa that the Portuguese shifted their headquarters from Cochin to Goa in 1530.6 Goa then became the central port of assembly of the Portuguese Asiatic trade. And since the Portuguese monopolistic pattern of trade was enforced with gun-boats, the royal shipyard was developed in Goa on a gigantic scale with facilities for ship-building, ship-repairs, gun-casting, and storage facilities for all the necessary armament and provisions for the fleets which cruised the eastern seas. It was in Goa that one could feel the pulse of the Portuguese commercial life in the East.7

With the dawn of the 17th century the Portuguese fortunes in the East were already set on their downward march, but the French traveller Pyrard de Laval, who lived in the city during the closing years of the first decade of that century, found the Portuguese eastern metropolis still commanding considerable power,
wealth and celebrity. However, hard times followed and misery was looming large even though the Portuguese married settlers were trying their utmost to hide their poverty and to extend the show of extravagance much longer than they could afford it. The decline was obviously due to dwindling trade prospects, but there were internal causes which hastened the process. These internal factors were the natural concomitants of urban development, namely moral degradation and ecological hazards. Hence the need of the following topographic and demographic considerations.

**Urban Topography**

The city lay on the northern coast of the Tiswadi island and on the left bank of the Mandovi river. It was situated nearly two leagues away from the place where the Cabo promontory of the island jets into the Indian Ocean. The city extend along the river side from Panelim to Daugim, a distance of about two-thirds of a league. Along the coast were located some of the important State and city establishments: On moving in a West-East direction one met first the royal shipyard (ribeira grande), followed by the quay of Saint Catherine, the galley yard, the quay of the viceroy, the customs house and the store-houses for the imported foodstuffs (bangacal). Immediately behind this line of establishments but contiguous to it were the royal hospital and the palace of the viceroy. On the eastern side of this palace was the chief city market square (terreiro de mimentos and bazar grande), and to its western side was the main entrance gate of the city, known as the arch of the viceroy because every new viceroy entered by that gate to take office.
The heart of the city was somewhat triangular in shape with its base running parallel to the river bank from the hillock of Our Lady of Mount on the eastern side to the hillock of Our Lady of Rosary on the western side. Taking into account the accidents of the terrain it was a distance of nearly 4,500 feet.\(^{11}\) The centre of the triangle base was the starting point of the Straight Street (rua direita), also known as Street of Auctionings, because it was the busiest marketing centre of the city and there were all kinds of goods, including slaves, auctioned all throughout the week, with the exception of Sundays and holidays, from early morning until noon.\(^{12}\) This street was flanked on either side by shops of jewellers, goldsmiths, shroffs, and many other kinds of merchants and artisans, chiefly from Europe.\(^{13}\) This main street ended with the square of the Church of the Holy House of Mercy, which lay almost at the centre of the city.\(^{14}\) Behind the Holy House of Mercy (Santa Caza de Misericordia) there was another marketing centre, which was very much frequented, though for non-lasting food commodities like green vegetables the city folk had to visit the basarinho, meaning small market, which lay between the Convent of Saint Francis and the royal hospital, and for fish supply they had to frequent the quay of Saint Catherine.\(^{15}\)

The square at the terminal of the main street was known as pelourinho velho or old pillory, because there was the court of justice and the city police station. The law breakers were often whipped there in public.\(^{16}\)

There were six different streets coming to meet at the pillory square, and among these there was one that descended from the
the hillock of Our Lady of Light rising at the southern extreme of the city and marking, so to say, the vertex of the city triangle. This point was about 2,400 feet away from the river bank. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the city proper, excluding the suburbs, had a circuit of about four and half miles. The city had grown in size by two-thirds of the area it occupied earlier, and the city population had spilled over into seven to eight suburbs.17

The city and the suburbs were enclosed within a wall which was of little resistance on the western side of the city, but the wall along the river bank separating the island from the mainland was supplemented with fortified checkpoints, known as passos. There were six such passos, namely at Daugim, Gandaullim, Benasterim, Karbelly, Agsy and Narve. Of these, the outposts of Gandaullim, Benasterim and Narve required greater vigilance, because at Gandaullim the river could be easily crossed at the low tide, while Benasterim was the entry gate for all those who came from Ponda region bringing the essential supplies to the city population, and Narve was a Hindu centre of pilgrimage and crowds of Hindus from the mainland flocked thither once a year for a purification bath in its sacred tirtha.18

Each of the above mentioned outposts had a captain, a scribe and a garrison of forty to fifty men, whose duty was during normal times to keep an eye on those entering and leaving the island, and chiefly to prevent the escape of the runaway slaves and others sought by justice. All persons and goods crossing
these passages were required to pay tolls, which constituted a regular source of significant revenue for the state and it more than covered the state expenditure with the maintenance of the personnel attached to those outposts. In addition to the six outposts protecting the city and the island against any mischief from the mainland side, there were another two checkpoints at Ribandar and at Panjim, from where strict watch was kept over vessels that entered the river Mandovi and moved towards the city. All the vessels that entered from the sea side had to obtain clearance certificate from the Panjim checkpoint, while the vessels coming through Mopasa river were searched at the Ribandar outpost where special attention was paid to checking illegal transactions in slaves and weapons.

The interior of the city was a maze of criss-crossing roads and alleys, most of which were named after the professions of the artisans who had their workshops along them. Thus, there were hatters’ street, street of goldsmiths, street of book-sellers, street of Gujaratis, and so on. Many of the streets were paved and there was quite an extensive network of drainage canals, which were sufficiently broad and deep, and they conducted the rain waters either into the lake of Karbelly at the southern end of the city or into the river.

The city had no facilities of running water and the population had to avail itself of the fresh waters of the springs within the confines of the city or to utilise the house wells. There was one good spring near the hillock of Our Lady of Mount on the north-eastern fringe of the city, but a more appreciated
spring was at Bangany, which was about a quarter mile away in the western direction. It was from this spring that water was generally supplied to the city population by the slaves. Apparently the city elders were not eager to set up aqueducts in the city, because they and the other Portuguese settlers, who could earn money by employing their slaves in this service to the public, would lose such income.\(^{23}\) However, a limited project was taken up in 1601 to direct the waters of a water tank to the old pillory square in order to mitigate water shortage during the hot summer months.\(^{24}\) But even then the city continued to depend upon the Bangany water. The Portuguese and the half-castes did not use any other water for drinking purposes; however, the natives and the Hindu settlers depended exclusively upon their house wells.\(^{25}\)

Just as the city lacked good water supply facilities, also the sanitary arrangement for the disposal of the city refuse were most primitive and far less hygienic than in the neighboring rural areas which had pigs to do the scavenger's job.\(^{26}\) The river bank, right in front of the city, was the site assigned by the municipality for emptying the dirt pans and for the common people to discharge directly their duties of nature.\(^{27}\) However, it was not uncommon to find the city dwellers following the law of least resistance and messing all over the place, so much so that the municipality authorities were called upon by the viceroy in the beginning of the seventeenth century to take immediate
measures to prevent dirt being thrown on public streets. In spite of these measures the situation had worsened in the course of years, and we find that in the late seventeenth century it had become a favourite pastime of the unruly citizens to hurl pots of excrement from the house windows at the street walkers down below.

To conclude the topographic survey of the city, it can be said that the low-lying situation of the city, which was surrounded towards the interior by a chain of highlands, and the porous nature of the soil served to enhance the problems created by the over-crowding of the city and by the lack of sufficient sanitary arrangements to meet them. These factors were responsible for the repeated attacks of cholera and their devastating effect, particularly in those wards of the city which were occupied by a majority of Hindus and native Christians.

Urban Demography

The following survey of the city population cannot be but limited in scope and merely indicative of the general trend, because the data available are neither complete nor precise to warrant any firm conclusions. There are many stray references to the non-Christian business and merchant community of the city in the State records. There are references to the capitation levies imposed on them at different times, but the nature of the data provided is such that it is not possible to calculate from them the strength of the of the community concerned.
The same applies to the revenue records. Since there was the practice of farming out right of collecting revenues to private individuals, the latter alone kept up to date lists of the taxpayers, and these lists are either lost or in some private collections. Our only help outside official records lies in the reports of the Religious Orders and in the accounts of the European travellers who visited Goa in the course of the seventeenth century.

According to the statistics gathered in the very first year of the seventeenth century in order to tax the Hindu population of the city there were 20,000 of them. This constituted apparently one-third or so of the total city population, because the earliest information that we have for the population of the city in the seventeenth century places 5,000 households in the city and its immediate surroundings, which gives us 75,000 as an approximate figure for the total population, considering that each household consisted of fifteen persons, including the slaves. Of these city dwellers not more than 1,500 were Portuguese, and the rest were native Christians, Hindus and African slaves. The information that is available for about twenty years later gives the total number of households as 3,000 and says it clearly that the population was reduced nearly to a third of the population in the earlier times and that several wards of the city were practically deserted. The city population went on dwindling in the course of the century, and in 1658 when the Government was considering the possibility of demanding some contribution of the Hindu inhabitants of the city it was found out that their number was
about one-tenth of what it was at the beginning of the century, that is, about 200 only. And among these there were no more than seven or eight Gujarati merchants with sizable capital. By the end of the seventeenth century the total population was somewhere around 20,000 and about a fourth of this number was made up of mulatto or those having a mixture of negro blood.

The causes of the population decline were manifold: The religious intolerance of the Portuguese with its various restrictions upon the public celebration of the religious rites and social functions of the Hindus, and particularly the practice of taking away the Hindu orphan children from their families in order to catechize and baptize them, were responsible to some extent to drive away moneyed Hindus from Goa in the course of the seventeenth century. The arrival of the English and the Dutch in India and the consequent loss of the Portuguese trade monopoly in the eastern seas further encouraged the process of desertion on the part of the Hindu merchants and traders, who abandoned the city of Goa and the other centres of the Portuguese trade to move into the new centres developed by the English and the Dutch. The Dutch blockades of the Goa port, the wars with Kanara rulers, and the feeling of insecurity caused by the Maratha threats, were important factors that contributed to a large scale emigration of the Goans, chiefly from the province of Bardez, to the neighbouring territories, particularly to Kanara, from where foodgrains were brought to Goa.
There were also the repeated attacks of epidemics that took severe toll of the city population, particularly in those wards of the city which were occupied by a majority of Hindus and native Christians. Thus, for instance, in the cholera attack of 1570 about 900 people were affected by it in the ward of potters and nearly one-third succumbed. So also after the cholera attack of 1618-19 the number of Hindu inhabitants of Santa Luzia ward was reduced from about 30,000 to little over 15,000, which could be due partly to deaths and partly to migrations.

In addition to epidemics there were famines. The severe famine of 1630 which played havoc all over India also left its scar on Goa. The food scarcity was such that many were pushed into the river and died drowned owing to rush at the river-side city market. There was another reported famine during the months of June-August 1648 when several persons were found dead every day on the streets of the city and its suburbs.

Among the various constituent groups of the city population the Hindus were economically the predominant group. Almost all of the foreign travellers who paid long or short visits to Goa during the seventeenth century have referred to the business involvement of the Goan Hindus. They not only controlled the market by supplying goods and labour, but were also acting as State revenue farmers. In the first decade of the seventeenth century the total of the farmed revenues (rendas) amounted to 68,555 xeraiénas per year, and of these 62,815 or 91.7% were ad-
ministered by Hindus. The highest investment of one single individual was 13,400 xerains, and that was of Narsu Naik, the collector of opium tax. The second in rank was Damu Sinay, who had bought the right of collecting cloth revenue for 12,000 xerains. These are not the highest investments recorded. The tobacco revenue, which was one of the highest on the State revenue list, was generally farmed out for an average of 25,000 xerains during the seventeenth century and the tax farmer was almost always a Hindu.

One factor in favour of the Hindus was their contacts with the neighbouring lands. This was not possible nor allowed to native Christians or to the Portuguese for reasons based on religious grounds or national security. Their contacts with their business partners on the mainland enabled the Hindus to run profitably whatever business they were involved in. Besides, most of the Hindus running business in Goa or acting as State revenue farmers had their household belongings and capital on the mainland safe against the vagaries of the Portuguese administration, which too often sought funds for their war campaigns from the purses of the Hindu businessmen. These circumstances enabled the Hindus to risk large investments, because much of their money was borrowed from the locality with the promises of high interest rate. The Portuguese administration faced a permanent problem regarding these Hindu revenue farmers, who had a common tendency to cross the borders whenever they feared official action for failing to satisfy their terms of contract. It is true that they
had to present reliable sureties, but these guarantors were either Portuguese who were tempted with promises of high interest or their own relations and friends who accompanied them in the exodus. The Portuguese administration was helpless in such situations, but generally the Hindu tax-farmers would apply for a safe-conduct and return and resume their obligations as if nothing had occurred.\textsuperscript{44}

The Hindus in Goa were not just shopkeepers and tax-farmers, but they were in every kind of trade and profession, and were much appreciated not only by their common clients but even by the Religious and State officials. While the employment of Hindu artists to produce objects of Christian worship was strictly prohibited by the provincial Church councils, the Religious Orders still preferred them for the decoration of their Churches.\textsuperscript{45} Also the State authorities held them in high esteem as it can be concluded from the appointments made by the Public Revenue Council to the cavalry regiment of Salcete in 1683. A Christian was appointed to look after the horses and was paid three xerafins per month for every six horses he took care of. A Hindu blacksmith was enrolled to nail horse-shoes and fix the harness. His salary would be one Santhome of gold per month plus a daily measure of rice. The only reason given to justify this unequal treatment is recorded in the proceedings of the Council meetings as "he is a Hindu and must be kept satisfied".\textsuperscript{46}

In course of time the Hindus had acquired such a control over the entire fiscal administration that on more than one occa-
sion the Government made attempts to take over the administra-
tion of certain branches of revenue but failed miserably, either
because the Government did not have trained personnel to replace
the services of the Hindus, or because other Hindu tax-farmers
and merchants sympathized with their co-religionists and threat-
ened the Government with a showdown that would paralyze the
administration. Thus, for instance, in 1630's the viceroy
Count of Linhares had to face the grim situation caused by the
famine which had affected most of the neighbouring regions as
well. The viceroy detected that the Hindu official in charge
of collecting the duties on imported foodstuffs was in collusion
with the retail merchants and was letting them sell foodgrain
for excessively high prices. The viceroy deprived him of his
job and entrusted the municipality with the task of importing
and distributing foodgrain to the people at moderate prices.
This measure caused an exodus of the city shopkeepers and the
Government was in no position to replace their machinery of dis-
tribution. Only when the restrictions on the merchants were
lifted the situation returned to normalcy.47

Here follows another instance of the Portuguese administra-
tion succumbing to the pressure-tactics of the Hindu revenue
farmers: It happened in 1678 when the Government took over the
administration of the salt revenue of Bardez. This revenue
administration had been linked until then with the customs reve-
 nue. In protest against the new measure the Hindu customs tax
farmer refused to cooperate with the Government appointed revenue
administrator and supply any information regarding the export of salt to the Balghat, even though he had detailed lists of people who owned oxen and the number of the oxen involved in the Goa-Balghat trade. Not long after, the Government had to relinquish the administration of the salt revenue and hand it back to the Hindu customs revenue farmer. Even though the instances quoted refer sometimes to the revenues of the areas outside the city, the revenue farmers when they were Hindus had generally their residence in the city, and as such they belonged to the economically dominant Hindu group of the city population.

Another group of the city population consisted of the native Christians, who were disparagingly called Canarins by the Portuguese, were generally recruited from among the poorer sections of the natives, though not necessarily from less noble castes. Those who had belonged to well-to-do Hindu families had been disowned by their kith and kin for betraying their ancestral religion and were thus reduced to poverty. Also those who had belonged to the classes of artisans and had been doing well were alienated from the solidarity of the old fellow workers. Besides, the preference that the Portuguese showed to the non-Christian artisans and businessmen contributed to crown the heap of derision of which the converts had become victims. Conversion to Christianity had come to be regarded as invitation to beggary by the Hindus and as production of fodder for the fires of the Inquisition by the Portuguese.
The share of the native Christians to the urban economy as artisans or as tax-farmers or in any other capacity was just marginal, but their services were exploited to some extent for manning State fleets and for menial works in State establishments and in private houses. Some, however, had succeeded in getting education in the schools of the Religious Convents and had begun acting as legal solicitors and as clerks of low category in various State departments. There were still others, but belonging exclusively to the Brahmin caste, that sought the privileges of the clergy, but these were not granted to them in full measure by the Religious Orders that were in charge in the training institutions for the clergy and considered the ambition of the Christian niggers as preposterous.

There is not enough evidence to prove that there were mass migrations of the native Christians from the surrounding villages to the city in search of jobs, but there are sufficient indications that village folks visited the city and kept it supplied with fresh vegetables, fruits and other necessities.

The white population of the city can be classified into five different sub-groups, namely: 1. The married settlers known as moradores casados; 2. The high ranking Government officials who generally returned to Portugal on completion of their term of office; 3. The soldiers that came in the ships of the carreira to serve in the East; 4. The inmates of the Religious monasteries; and finally, 5. The community of white businessmen, particularly the Portuguese Jews, who were known as Cristaos novos or gente da nacao.
The moradores casados belonged to two distinct groups, one considering the other as socially inferior, but both shared responsibility in the city administration. The component of lesser standard consisted of mesticos or half-breeds generated by the mixed marriages encouraged by Afonso de Albuquerque in order to find a legitimate solution for the uncontrollable passions of his soldiery, as well as for creating manpower that would be acclimatized to India and would thereby reduce the dependence upon supply of manpower from Portugal. The casticos were the descendants of Portuguese parents, but born in India. These considered themselves racially superior to the former group of mesticos. Albuquerque's scheme for mixed marriages had entered rough waters during his own lifetime, because of the opposition of some of his colleagues who had represented to the Crown that Albuquerque's scheme would throw the Portuguese colonial empire in the East into the hands of the dregs of the Portuguese society, because only such people had begun taking advantage of the scheme. It was then that orphan girls began to be sent regularly to India in the annual fleets: The new scheme was aimed at relieving the burden of the growing number of Portuguese families that were losing their bread-earning members in the national adventure of colonial expansion, and at the same time it would help retaining in India the blood purity of the ruling race. The scheme was made attractive to the Portuguese in India by granting different kinds of jobs to those who chose to marry these orphan girls.
The important administrative posts in India, such as that of the viceroy, the chief revenue superintendent, the judges of the High Court, the chief secretary, and some other jobs were reserved to fidalgos and high ranking nobles who came to India with the sole idea of amassing wealth. None of them entertained the desire of settling down in India, but they looked forward to their return home with improved finances. When calamities befell the Portuguese in India during the seventeenth century and took away all the former glamour of their eastern empire, the viceroys in India could not find sufficient number of fidalgos to fill the responsible posts that were falling vacant.\(^{56}\)

The community of soldiers at Goa was never very large and there were never at any single time during the seventeenth century more than a few hundreds ready to take up arms at any emergency call.\(^{57}\) The number of the India-bound ships that left Portugal during the seventeenth century had dwindled to nearly half from that of the previous century, and the average per year had fallen from seven to four approximately.\(^{58}\) The involvement of the Portuguese in war with the Dutch rebels against the Spanish rule in Europe took a severe toll of the financial resources and the fighting population of Portugal. These factors combined with harsh treatment, unrewarding payment, and the unimaginable hardships of the journey discouraged volunteers for the manning of the Portuguese Indiamen. The shortage of men had thus become a chronic problem during the seventeenth century, and a solution to
it was found in the practice of emptying the prisons of Portugal. 59

Over one third of the men that embarked at Lisbon normally succumbed during the journey and the remaining had to undergo a long or short period of hospitalization on reaching Goa. Once at Goa, if the ship could not immediately return to Portugal, the municipality took care of the crew men during the winter, but the soldiers were left to fend for themselves. The State would feed them freely and pay them a small salary during the five months of summer when they were required to embark in the coastal fleets, but during the remaining part of the year some who had relatives in India went to stay with them, others crossed the borders and went to offer their services to the native rulers, others still made friends with some local women and lived with them at their cost, and there were quite many who found a solution to their economic insecurity in the clerical gowns and under the Convent roofs. 60 The soldiers were known as soldados which meant bachelors in common parlance, because the cazados or married settlers were not compelled to military service and were distinguished from the former by a cloak they wore. 61

In the Portuguese seaborne empire, which has justly been called "a military and maritime enterprise cast in an ecclesiastical mould", the clergy constituted the most powerful section of the white population. 62 The privileges of the clergy had their source in the so-called Crown Patronage (padroado real) whereby the Roman Pontiffs expected the Portuguese Crown to promote the
expansion of Christianity in its expanding national jurisdiction. Goa, which had been granted metropolitan archbishopric, had become the headquarters of the missionary activities in the entire Portuguese empire, and there were set up Religious monasteries which trained missionaries for the vast field. The sixteenth century may be called the heyday of the Portuguese missionary expansion in the East, but during the seventeenth century the Crown was beginning to realize that in the process of preaching the Gospel the Religious Orders had departed from the evangelical poverty and had grown wealthy beyond the limit of tolerance in the context of the financial straits of the State and its lay citizens. Widespread contacts of the missionaries, plus the accumulation of capital in the hands of the organized managements, permitted the Religious Orders to multiply their capital in commercial transactions, while the limited capital of the lay individuals and the highly corrupt State machinery offered no scope of any profitable trade to these parties. In order to promote a more just and equitable distribution of wealth, the State legislation tried to stop the multiplication of the Religious houses, prevent the clergy from acquiring more and more landed properties by influencing the last wills, and punish the businessmen who cooperated in the trade activities of the clerical merchants. The State was also caught in a problem caused by the soldiers, who on their arrival to India sought to escape military service by entering the monasteries. It is noted in a record of complaints of the State officials that in 1636
there were altogether 1,750 men in different Religious Orders in the Portuguese State of India, while the number of the soldiers to defend the State did not reach that figure.66

Finally, the fifth and the most important section of the white population for the economy of the city consisted of various European nationalities, but more particularly of the Portuguese Jews. The importance of the latter group can be best understood in the general context of the national economy of Portugal, whose experiments in discoveries and overseas expansion had received a boost and had gained quick success due to a very large extent to the exodus of Jews from Spain and their inflow into Portugal with their capital and skills.67 The same anti-semitic policy of Spain was extended to Portugal following the amalgamation of the two crowns, and this was greatly responsible for the rapid decline of the Portuguese trade even before the arrival of the North European rivals in India.68

It is not possible to determine even approximately the number of the European businessmen settled at Goa, neither that of the Portuguese Jews, at any time during the seventeenth century. In 1606 the Portuguese Government imposed a ban on foreigners visiting and living in Portuguese overseas possessions, excepting the islands of Azores and Madeira, after one year from the proclamation of the order.69 We know that Pyrard de Laval was caught under this order, and so was a Fleming trader Jacques de Couttre and his brother. This is known from the accounts they themselves have left.70 However, the execution of the decree
could not have been very strict because we find eight Genoese merchants and businessmen settled in Goa offering a loan of 50,000 cruzados to the State in 1625 for the purchase of cargo for the Lisbon-bound ships. Also the correspondence of the Goa municipality authorities with the Crown during the first three decades of the seventeenth century and even later contains complaints against the New Christians living in the Goa city and monopolizing its trade, thereby preventing the Portuguese settlers from investing their limited capital profitably. It indicates that in spite of the bans on the Jews and other foreigners, they were too essential for the urban economy of Goa and for the general economy of Portugal to be ferreted out that easily. This is made clear by the chief secretary of the Portuguese Indian administration when he wrote to the King in 1636 that the Jews residing in Goa were on the whole well behaved, generous, and very useful to the royal exchequer. He further added that the State would be never in position to equip several fleets in the past were it not for the loans of the Jewish businessmen. He also praised the generosity of the Jews in sheltering and feeding the soldiers who arrived from Portugal and had nowhere to go, and accused the Portuguese settlers of doing nothing of this sort.

Finally, the last section of the city population, but not less important whether numerically or economically, consisted of the slaves, who were the social underdogs providing cheap labour. A comparatively small number of slaves was State-owned and these
were employed in the galleys and in the gunpowder manufactory. Most of the other slaves in the city were owned by the Portuguese, who had invested nearly a million cruzados only in the slaves they had acquired from Japan in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. The author of the Decada XIII and the chronicler of the Portuguese state of India, Antonio Bocarro, writes that the number of slaves owned by the Portuguese settlers was estimated at ten per household in 1635. He refers also to natives owning slaves. The Italian doctor, Gemelli Careri, who visited Goa in 1695, found the city of Goa teeming with mulatoes or the descendants of the negro slaves crossed with the Portuguese. According to him, they must have formed at least one fourth of the city population.

The slaves were obtained from different parts of Asia and Africa. In the beginning, large bulk of slaves arrived from Japan, Macao, Bengal and East Africa, where the native agents captured people from the interior and sold them to the Portuguese traders who visited those regions. The slave trade of the Portuguese in Japan and Macao was halted when the Jesuit missionaries, entrusted with the task of preaching Christianity to these countries found it difficult to convince the natives of the Christian love at a time when they were experiencing the barbarities of the slave traders, who were co-religionists of the missionaries. The Jesuits brought pressure upon the Goa administration and had laws enacted banning all illicit forms of slavery practised by the Portuguese in the above mentioned lands of the
Far East. Also the slave traffic in Bengal subsided after the atrocities perpetrated by the Portuguese invited the wrath of the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan, who destroyed the Portuguese settlement at Hugli and carried away thousands of the Portuguese men, women and children captives to Agra. The slave traffic then concentrated on East Africa. There is no way of checking the numbers of slaves that arrived from thither every year, but one single frigate that came from Mosambique to Goa in 1683 had brought 207 negro slaves. They had been purchased by different persons at Goa and some belonged to the crew members of the frigate who enjoyed the privilege of bringing a fixed number of slaves duty free while others had to pay a freight charge of five xerafins per slave. A limited number of slaves was obtained by capturing Muslim vessels that visited Mecca every year or any other vessels that failed to comply with the Portuguese passport regulations. The captives were either sent to the galleys and gunpowder manufactory, or they were sold at the slave-market on the rua direita of the city. The law did not allow the Portuguese to enslave the natives of Goa, but we do come across references in the records to low-caste natives called kunbies being enslaved and deported en masse to Ceylon to cultivate lands there. It may be that the Portuguese at Goa could not possibly keep slaves belonging to the same land, but we have no records to definite evidence either to conclude that Goan natives were included in the number of the Indian slaves that were sent to Portugal in the yearly trips of the Indiamen.
As we have said, the slaves constituted cheap labour power and the wealth of the Portuguese in India was calculated from the number of slaves they owned. The male slaves were generally required to do all kinds of tough menial jobs or to help in the construction works. Their most common occupation was to carry water from the Bangany spring and to bear palanquins and parasols. The male slaves were also employed by their masters to punish their enemies and rivals. There were always many runaway slaves who were a menace to public safety and the Government was even forced to take stiff measures to control their movements outdoors after sunset. We know that during the viceroyalty of Filipe Mascarenhas (1646-51) nearly 250 kaffirs were slaughtered overnight for disobeying the restrictions imposed on them. 84

The female slaves attended their female owners and nursed their children if necessary. The more attractive ones were engaged with selling stitch-work and pickles along the city streets. Many of them also sold liquor in the town and made cash through prostitution. The female slaves were also used by their owners as intermediaries to convey messages to their secret lovers and to gratify their sexual desires in many other ways by evading the watchful eyes of their over-jealous husbands, who kept them confined to their house walls. 85 The Portuguese gentlemen were no less guilty in this regard, and we read in a Jesuit report that there were innumerable Portuguese in India who bought droves of slaves and slept with all of them. 86

The slaves were often subjected to most cruel treatment if
they displeased their masters, and there were instances of slaves being beaten to death and buried in the backyards.\textsuperscript{37} Most slaves received little care or no care at all if they fell sick.\textsuperscript{38} The slaves could not easily run away from their cruel masters, because there was an official slave-retriever in the pay of the municipality and it was not easy to escape the vigilance of those who guarded the passages to the mainland.\textsuperscript{39} The preaching and the influence of the Catholic Church was the only solace and a source of mitigation to their sufferings.\textsuperscript{90}
NOTES


11. APO-BP, loc. cit.


13. Ibid.

14. Fonseca, op. cit., 245-6: The erection of the Church was ordered by Affonso de Albuquerque in 1513 and he was buried there when he expired on his return from Hormuz in 1515.

15. Ibid.: Affonso de Albuquerque himself had ordered forty-eight shops to be built in the vicinity of the Holy House of Mercy in order that a part of their income might be applied to the support of the Church and its Chaplain, and the remaining to the maintenance of some Eurasian orphans, as well as to remunerating
the judges of the city. Cf. Pyrard, II, 37; Comentarios de Garcia de Silva y Figueroa, I, 176 on bazarinho and fish market.

16. Fonseca, op. cit., 247; Pyrard, op. cit., II, 44.

17. Ibid., 48.

18. Ibid., 30-1; APO-CR, IV, 188-9; V, Suppl. 2: docs. 35, 119; Comentarios, I, 212: During his two and half years of stay in Goa the author attended the festival twice, once on August 15, 1515, and the second time on August 4, 1616. He reports that on the first occasion there were nearly 16,000 people of all ages attending the festival.

19. Pyrard, op. cit., 31-2; AHU: India, MS 219: According to this register of Goa revenues for the years 1621-6 the annual income of the Daugim and Narve outposts was farmed out for 1870 xerifins and the expenditure of the two garrisons amounted only to 1031-4-20 (xerifins - tangas - reis). The income of the Benasterim check-post was 1400 xerifins and the pay of the garrison was 710 xerifins. The income of the Agsy check-post was 2100 xerifins and its expenditure did not exceed 549 xerifins. The check-post of Karbelly did not have a permanent garrison and the captain was paid out of the revenues of the Agsy check-post. The excess revenue was used to pay several other Government officials.

20. HAG: MS 7738 (Acordaos da Camara, 1629-32), fls. 213v-15 gives details of the standing order issued by the viceroy Count of Linhares to the chief coastal guard of the Panjim bay; APO-CR, V, doc. 757 contains the standing order to be observed by the thanadar of the Kibandar outpost.


22. HAG: MS 7832 (Livro de termos das obras, 1654-5), fls. 9-9v: On March 24, 1654 the repairing of the drainage consisting of 13 canals was auctioned to Mathew Pires for a sum of 140 xerifins.
raffina. The terms of the contract made it clear that the clearing should be done in such a way that a person may be able to freely walk through them in an upright position. Cf. Pyrard, op. cit., II, 48.

23. Pyrard, op. cit., 55.
26. HAG: MS 7795 (Livro de Posturas), fls. 72v-73: The city regulations did not permit anyone to rear pigs or to let pigs move within the city limits or even in its suburbs.
27. APO-CR, II, doc. 51.
29. AR, I, 330, 370; Manucci, Storia do Mogor, III, 173.
30. Boxer, PSE, 133.
31. HAG: Moncoes 8, fl. 178v.
34. HAG: Moncoes 26B, fls. 408-408v.
37. AHU: Inda, Caixa 29, doc. 34 (24.viii. 1672); Fissurlencar, ACE, IV, 283-4.
39. ARSJ: Goa 33, II, fls. 500, 716.
40. HAG: Moncoes 14, fl. 47v.
41. ARSJ: Goa 34, II, fls. 406-110.
42. HAG: MS 1183 (Provisoes dos Vice-reis, n.1), fls. 167-77.
43. HAG: MS 1370 (Piaecas n.2), fl.191; MS 1371 (Piaecas n.3), fls. 16, 75v; MS 1127 (Peticoes Despachadas do Conselho da Fazenda, n.1), fl. 80v; Moncoes 32, fl. 338v.

44. APO-CR, Suppl. 2: 64-5, 174-5; The Hindu tax farmers promised to pay their guarantors the highest permissible rate of 10%. Cf. HAG: Moncoes 26B, fl. 407; Moncoes 19C, fl. 918v; Pissurleencar, ACE, III, 246; IV, 116, 119, 129-30, 419-20 contain references to impositions on Hindus during the seventeenth century. A permanent capitation tax of the Muslim Jizya type was introduced at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and it was known as Xenddi-tax: Cf. T.R. de Sousa, "Xenddi Tax: A Phase in the History of Luso-Hindu Relations in Goa, 1704-1841". Regarding the Hindu tax-farmers crossing into the mainland and asking for safe conducts to return, Cf. HAG: ACP, passim.

45. APO-CR, IV, 24-5, 45-6; HAG: MS 2785 (Despesas do Convento da Graça), fls. 130-30v.

46. HAG: MS 1127 (Peticoes Despachadas do Conselho da Fazenda), fl. 143v.

47. HAG: Moncoes 14, fls. 46-8; MS 7738 (Acordas do Senado, 1629-32), fls. 199-204.

48. HAG: MS 1127, fls. 21v-22, 49-50; MS 1128, fl. 141v.

49. HAG: Moncoes 69, fl. 158; Moncoes 81, fl. 178.

50. Pyrard, op. cit., 19, 36, 90; Linschoten, I, 260, 271; APO-CR, VI, docs. 236, 520; HAG: MS 1169 (ACP, XI), 190v; Moncoes 12A, fl. 128.


53. AHU: India, Caixa 3, doc. 19 (22.1.1615); Cf. also n. 50 supra.
54. Silva Rego, *História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente: India*, 174-85; Amano Gracias, "Os primeiros cruzamentos europeus na India", *BIVG*, n.1, 1926; Baião (ed.), *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque*, 140.


57. HAG: Moncoes 18, fl. 99 (7.x.1633): The viceroy writes to the Crown that in the beginning of the seventeenth century there were 14,000 soldiers in India, but that he could not count more than 1,500. Cf. also Fissurincoar, *AER*, II, 36; IV, 53, 62, 97; Boxer, *ESE*, 53.

58. Magalhaes Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial*, II, 77-9: While a total of 705 ships left for India in the sixteenth century, the number of ships that left for India in the seventeenth century was only 384.

59. AHU: Ms 33, fls. 43-43v; India, Caixa 11, doc. 53 (20.11.1635).


65. On reducing the number of religious houses and their inmates,

67. Livermore, A New History of Portugal, 125-7, 133-4, 164-5; Boxer, P3E, 270-4; Meilink-Roelofz, op. cit., 131.

68. Loc. cit.

69. HAG: Moncoes 6A, fl. 106; AR, I, 216.

70. Pyrard, op. cit., 201; BNM: MS 2780 (Vida de Jaques de Coutre), fl. 231v.

71. AHU: India, Caixa 8, doc. 192 (26.vi.1625).

72. APO-CR, I, P.1: 102, 106, 112, 119, 121; P.2: 44, 57, 64-5, 204-5; AHU: India, Caixa 4, doc. 138 (6.i.1617), see Caixa 6, doc. 32 (14.ii.1619); HAG: Moncoes 20, fl. 28 (1.xii.1634).

73. TdT: DRI 36, fls. 252-3.

74. Magalhaes Godinho, op. cit., II, 584; HAG: MS 1129 (Peticoes Despachadas do Conselho da Fazenda n.3), fls. 138-59; MS 1370 (Piancae, n.2), fl. 159v; AHU: India, Caixa 5, doc. 64 (1.1.1618).


77. Cf. n. 35 supra.


80. HAG: MS 2316 (Feitorias), fl. 117.
81. HAG: Moncoes 14, fls 282, 319-9v.
82. HAG: MS 1164 (ACP, V), fls. 164-5; HAG: MS 860 (Cartas de alforria), fl. 3 contains a reference to a slave of chardo caste, which indicates that even high caste natives were occasionally enslaved.

83. Mendes Luz, "Regimento da Caza da India", AJIC, VI, T.II, 145-6; HAG: Moncoes 22A, fls. 201-2; Pissurilenar, Regimentos das Fortalezas, 85 ff. It was customary to allow the high ranking ship crew of the carreira to take to Portugal a definite number of male slaves without paying customs duty, and sometimes free of freight charges as well. Cf. APO-CR, VI, 789 (23.ix.1606), 1153 (29.x.1618); Decrees were issued forbidding taking of slaves with less than 16 years of age and female slaves of any age.

85. HAG: MS 7856 (Livro dos termos das fiancas), passim: several references to slaves selling arrack in the city. Cf. Pyrard, op. cit., 52; Linschoten, I, 209-10; Mandelslo's Travels, 80; The Travels of Pietro della Valle, I, 161; Travels in India of Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, I, 151; Manucci, op. cit., III, 157 ff.
86. Silva Rego, DMP, VII, 32-8.
87. Cf. Appendix II b, j (Companion Volume).
88. Loc. cit. Cf. also APO-Ck, IV, 269-70; Wicki, DI, IV, 750, 793.
89. Cf. Appendix II c (Companion Volume).
90. HAG: MS 860, passim: The Father of the Christians attended to the welfare of the converts, including slaves. He looked into the title which their masters claimed for their captivity and fixed the terms of their indentured labour.
CHAPTER SEVEN

MUNICIPAL ORGANIZATION AND POLICIES

Establishment of City Administration

After conquering Goa Albuquerque did not delay measures aimed at consolidating his hold upon the new acquisition. The mixed marriages which he encouraged had this purpose. They were aimed at generating manpower acclimatized to India and attached simultaneously to the home country and to the colonial residence. Initially Albuquerque encouraged marriages by offering cash dowries at the cost of the public exchequer and by making grants of lands. To these attractions he soon added the offer of offices pertaining to the city administration. The Portuguese chronicler Barroa writes that before Albuquerque left Goa for Malacca in January 1512 he had organized the city administration and selected gentlemen (homena bons) with sufficient aptitude from among the married settlers to act as aldermen, market inspectors, justices of the peace, police constables and so on. This account of Barros finds confirmation in a letter of Albuquerque himself. He wrote to the King of Portugal on December 3, 1513: "The posts of city captain, head constable and factory clerk have been given to men sent by Your Majesty, but the other jobs of the city administration are entrusted to the Portuguese gentlemen married at Goa."

Although it is not possible to pinpoint the date of the establishment of the Goa municipal council with the help of the extant records, there is ample evidence to form a precise idea
of its nature and development and policies.

First and foremost, there is a charter of privileges granted by Albuquerque himself to the city officials. This is known through its copy sent to Lisbon in 1515 for royal confirmation. The initial clauses of this charter describe the structure that the municipal organization was to have, and they indicate that it was modelled largely after its metropolitan prototype. This fact is significant because it reflects the importance that Albuquerque attached to Goa. There were other municipal councils set up in the Portuguese eastern empire, but they were given constitutions of the municipal councils of Oporto or Evora. Goa city was also declared to be realenga, which meant an inalienable possession of the Portuguese Crown, and this was done years before it was made the headquarters of the Government of the Portuguese State of India.

The charter clauses determining the structure of the municipal administration state that the aldermen and justices of the peace should be elected every year and the market inspectors every month. The artisans are directed to have a body of twenty-four representatives to direct their affairs, and the House of the Twenty-Four (Casa dos Vinte Quatro) was to elect four representatives to be on the municipal board for promoting the welfare of the labouring classes. All the officials are entitled to carry red wands of office with royal coat of arms at one end and the wheel of St. Catherine's martyrdom at the other end of the wand.
The privilege clauses of the same charter determined among other things that there can be no appeal against the judgement of the market inspectors beyond the municipal board. The married settlers could not be imprisoned in public jails while in municipality office. The citizens serving municipality offices were granted some kind of privative justice. All the citizens were allowed to navigate freely and to bring foodstuffs and other goods to the city (francaia) without paying any import taxes. All the municipality offices were reserved to the Portuguese married settlers, excepting those reserved to the Crown appointees. The married settlers were exempted from any exclusive tax impositions or loan demands by the State authorities. The married settlers were free to sell, if they wished, any of their movable and immovable properties, including whatever they might have received by way of dowry from the State, provided the buyers were not Muslims or Hindus. The city captain was to swear respect to the city privileges on taking office, and he was given two votes during the proceedings of the municipal council meetings, but he was instructed also to use his rights and privileges to contribute towards smooth administration of the city.

All the above provisions of the charter granted by Afonso de Albuquerque to the citizens of the Goa municipality were confirmed by the Crown on March 2, 1518, but with a few clarifications and reservations. Thus, for instance, the citizens were not granted exemption from contributing to the works of public utility. They were not allowed also to trade freely in
prohibited goods, such as spices. The State authorities were also left with discretionary powers to deprive a citizen of his office and to confiscate his belongings, but only in such cases for which those punishments were normally inflicted in Portugal. 9

Municipal Evolution at Goa in the Sixteenth Century

Goa city developed greater administrative complexity after the transfer of the seat of Government from Cochin to Goa in 1530. The city also grew in size, in population, and in commercial traffic. This growth led to a kind of identity crisis on the part of the municipal administrators, who began facing challenges to their privileges and decisions. There was a strong central Government established now as the headquarters of the entire Portuguese State of India, which extended from East Africa to the Far East, including all the Portuguese centres of influence situated therein. The city councillors were finding many of their demands being rejected or resisted on the part of the Government authorities as preposterous and irreconcilable with the wider interests of the State. This situation reflected the conflict that was common to Europe of the mercantilist age between the municipal exclusivism of the towns and the nationalism of the developing States. 10

Until 1530 the municipal council and the city captain had been the sole representatives of the Portuguese authority to the Goan natives. An instance of the change in the situation can be presented here to illustrate the crisis of authority faced by the Goa municipal council thereafter. A Crown reply
to the municipality councillors dated March 26, 1532, contained
the following answer to some complaints of the Portuguese city-
dwellers of Goa: "You have written to me about an order issued
by Afonso Mexia and confirmed by the Chief Captain and Governor
Lopo Vas to the effect that no Portuguese city-dweller may buy
any lands or palm groves that belong to a non-Christian inhabitant
of the Goa island. Your request is that I should not object to
anyone selling what is his or to anyone buying what is sold in
this manner, provided the State receives its dues. I have no
other information than what you have written to me. I am writ­
ing to Nuno da Cunha, my Chief Captain and Governor of India, to
inform me about the motives behind the Governor's order against
which you have represented."11

As a result of this identity crisis the city council got its
powers and privileges defined with greater clarity and precision.
A revised charter of privileges was thus issued by King Sebastian
in 1559. It declared inter alia that the citizens elected to
hold any post in the city administration would have right to be
treated as grandsons of the royal family as regards the privilege
of exemption from imprisonment in public gaol. The charter re­
cognized the judicial control of the city elders over those ap­
pointed by them to any city office, but it left the aggrieved
party to seek redress through the regular channels of State judi­
ciary. The clerks of the municipality and the clerks of the
attorneys for the orphans were empowered to act as public nota­
rices in matters pertaining to their offices. The city council
could assign places or streets to the city artisans and merchants,
and it could enact the necessary market regulations. The vessels bringing goods and food supplies to the city could not be diverted by the State authorities to any other place unless it was so required by urgent needs of the empire. The city aldermen and other officials, including workers' representatives, could decide in council meetings to make grants of waste lands that were not requisitioned by the State. The city elders were also granted jurisdiction over all cases of verbal offences within the city limits.\textsuperscript{12}

After the city had obtained the confirmation of its privileges, it sought to do away with the recurring doubts regarding election procedure and functions of the city councillors and of various other subordinate officials of the city administration. This was done by sending a 12-point questionnaire to the municipal council of Lisbon.\textsuperscript{13} The answers received from Lisbon do not conform in all things with the procedure that prevailed in Goa, although the instructions received from Lisbon were enforced by a decree of the viceroy Dom Luis de Ataide "in full and without alteration".\textsuperscript{14} This same decree was confirmed in 1577, in 1582, and again in 1641.\textsuperscript{15} The Lisbon system was substantially followed in Goa, but the records of the Goa municipality help us to describe the organization and working of the municipality administration with its regional peculiarities and variations.

**Composition and Functions of the Municipal Council**

The presence of the city captain in the municipal council of Goa was one of its peculiarities. The city captain was an ex-officio member of the council with right for two votes. His pre-
sence, however, was not very much appreciated by his colleagues in the municipal council. In a letter written to the Crown in 1602 the councillors explained that the city captain was invited to join the city council in olden times when there were few citizens to administer the city and there was also the need of using the position of the city captain to uphold more effectively the privileges and rights of the citizens. In the course of time, they wrote, the presence of the city captain had become more a hindrance than a help for the good administration of the city. Two reasons were put forth to justify this complaint. Firstly, the city captain used his two votes, as a rule, to provide city jobs to his own favourites. And, secondly, he often acted as an agent of the viceroy by revealing to him matters that were discussed in the municipality chamber and thing that were written to the Crown in secrecy regarding the state administration.\(^{16}\)

In spite of the above complaints of the other councillors, the city captain continued to participate in the city administration with his rights and privileges as before. The only concession made in favour of the other councillors was a permission granted to them in 1655 by the viceroy Count of Sarzedas to effect appointments to the city offices even if the captain was not present at the meetings after a prior intimation.\(^{17}\)

The other officials that constituted the municipal council and enjoyed decision-making powers were altogether ten in number and were elected once a year. These were: Three aldermen (vereadores), two justices of the peace (juizes ordinarios), one city attorney (procurador da cidade), and four workers' representatives
The first six of the above ten officials were elected through a complicated system of balloting. General elections were conducted every three years. All citizens were summoned to the Town Hall by the secretary of the council during the last week of the last month of the year. The Crown judge of the city (corregedor da comarca or ouvidor geral) officiated over the proceedings and six electors were chosen by the majority vote of the assembly of the citizens. These six electors were generally from among the prominent citizens and they were administered the oath of the Holy Gospels. The six electors were then separated into three batches of two each and instructed to draw up three lists (pautas) of the candidates for the various city posts during the three years to come.18

The lists were collected and scrutinized by the Crown judge to ensure that none of the persons nominated for office in any given year were closely related to each other by ties of blood or interest.19 The lists were then sealed with red sealing wax by the secretary of the council and taken to the viceroy who had right to inspect them once again. Sometimes the viceroys did not just inspect them, but would even introduce their own candidates or determine which candidates should serve during each of the three years.20

The triennial election lists were kept in an election cof­fer of the municipality house. It was opened once a year on the New Year's Day or on the New Year's Eve to determine who would replace the outgoing officials at the end of the year. A small
Portuguese boy was called out at random from among the passers-by and asked to draw the names inscribed on paper slips from different bags representing different categories of the municipality offices. The new officials were then invested into office with an oath of the Holy Gospels and with a promise to safeguard the rights of the people, to attend truthfully to the service of God and of the Crown, and to observe secrecy regarding matters discussed in the municipality chamber.  

From the point of view of class domination, the city administration was a preserve and ghetto of white settlers. A royal edict of 1542 had made it very clear that "the offices of aldermen, judges, procurator, secretary, almotacels, and workers' representatives, in whom the control and the administration of the city of Goa are vested, should always be taken from among the married men and heads of households, who are Portuguese by nationality and birth and not from among those of any other nationality, birth, and quality whatsoever."  

In addition to the above qualifications, it was also required that the candidates should be old Christians and not from Jewish descent. However, in spite of these clear injunctions, the convert Jews were not always kept out of the city administration, and the offices were often retained within closed circles. There is evidence also of conflict between the fidalgos and the noblemen in the city of Goa, and the latter did not look happily at the superiority complex of the former.  

It was also determined by a municipality accord that in order to be elected alderman a candidate should have served ear-
lier as market inspector and justice of the peace, or as city attorney. This prerequisite was not applicable to the fidalgos from among whom was elected one of the three aldermen.  

Anyone elected to serve in any office of the municipality was not free to accept it or to decline the offer. The above mentioned accord of the municipality had also enacted that a citizen who refused to take up the office for which he was elected would be declared ineligible to any other office in future and would not have any say in the assembly of the citizens. He would also be condemned to pay 200 cruzados as fine and undergo two years of exile. In actual practice this severe legislation was not easily enforced. Thus, for instance, in 1602 a certain fidalgo, Dom Diogo Coutinho, elected to serve as alderman declined alleging illness. When the other councillors found out that he was coming from his distant residence in Salcete for treatment and for the Lenten services of the Church to the city, they condemned him to undergo the customary penalties. When the viceroy showed himself reluctant to execute their sentence, the councillors closed the municipality chamber, the market control room and the slaughter-house. They even threatened to lay down their offices. The viceroy did not yield to their pressure and got them to elect a new alderman.

In 1650 the municipality had requested the Crown to let one of the three aldermen continue in office for another term for maintaining some continuity in the functioning. The viceroy Count of Obidos, when consulted by the Crown on the issue, judged the step unnecessary on the grounds that there were always persons...
of experience available. A significant change in the composition of the municipal council was introduced in 1654 when a royal decree ordered that the council would thereafter have two aldermen from among fidalgos and only one nobleman. Apparently the protests of the noblemen obtained a reversion of the order in 1665.

The frequency of the meetings of the municipal council was determined by the pressure of work. The meetings were chaired by one of the three aldermen for a period of one month. The chairing alderman was known as alderman of the centre (vereador do meio). The chairing was done by rotation after the first chairman was elected by lot. One to sit at his right and to succeed him on the chair was also selected by lot.

While the chairing alderman of the month was left with an overall supervision of the municipality affairs, the other two aldermen had to attend regularly to the judicial cases brought to them by the market inspectors or by private parties. This they normally did twice a week with the assistance of the two justices of the peace. They decided the cases verbally and their decisions were final in matters regarding the violation of market regulations. In matters relating to property disputes or personal injuries, their decisions were subject to appeal to the nearest Crown judge or to the High Court.

The work of the city attorney was to defend the interests of the city corporation before the State Government and before the individual citizens. In fighting the municipality cases he was attended by a syndic. Before finalizing any contracts for
farming out rights of any revenue collection, or before announcing any changes in currency, the Government was expected to notify the city attorney and seek the opinion of the city councillors about the terms of the contracts or about any proposed innovations.\footnote{36} The city attorney had to be present at all the meetings of the municipal council and bring to the attention of the councillors whatever he deemed necessary for the city welfare.\footnote{37}

The four representatives of the workers were elected by the House of the Twenty-Four, which controlled the affairs of the artisans organised in craft guilds. After being elected they were presented in the municipality chamber by the Judge of the People, who was the head of the House of the Twenty-Four. The workers' representatives did not sit along with the other councillors, but they had a separate bench for themselves facing the three aldermen. They voted in all matters, except in the judicial cases brought before the municipality\footnote{38}. They had right to sign all the documents of the municipality, as well as the letters addressed to the Crown. The right was maintained in spite of the tendency of the other councillors to consider them as upstarts and as men of little intelligence and incapable of conducting the business with necessary secrecy.\footnote{39}

For performing a variety of the other functions of the city administration there were many subordinate officials and servants appointed by the municipal council. This fact reminds us again of the mercantilist policy of the medieval towns, which employed its burghers to control almost every possible town activity.\footnote{40} Goa municipality records refer to over thirty categories of such
services. The chief of them pertaining directly to the running of the city administration were the council secretary, the foreman of public works, the judge of the market square and the market inspectors. Whatever pertains to the market organization and administration is left to be covered at length in the next chapter. Here it will suffice to mention the functions of the other servants and their functions.

The municipality secretary acted also as its clerk and standard-bearer on the occasions when the municipality officials had to attend certain public processions and festivities. It was a salaried job, and he received extra allowances as standard-bearer. The foreman of public works had to look after the building and maintenance of the public streets, city drainage, water supply and the city walls and defences.

The other offices for which their beneficiaries did not receive any salaries, but had to be contented with perquisites, were: The city accountant and his clerk; the judges of the orphans and their clerks; the city tax-collector and his clerk; the appraiser of the houses and land property; the police constables and their clerks; the judges of the suburban villages; the treasurer, nayak and clerk of the consulado and collecta revenues; the syndic and the solicitor of the municipality; the slave-retriever; the city brokers; the watchman of the municipality house; the superintendent of city cleanliness; the teachers of suburban schools; the captains of the flotilla equipped with collecta revenue; and several other offices which are mentioned in the service grants of the municipality records.
The Finances of the Municipality

The income of the municipality was derived chiefly from the shops and lands it gave in lease, from the fines collected for violations of market regulations, and from the licenses issued to artisans, shopkeepers and other professionals to operate within the city limits. According to a report of the municipality dated 1606 the rough annual income of the municipality did not exceed 8,000 xerafins, out of which nearly 3,000 xerafins were spent on salaries and allowances of the city officials, 2,000 xerafins on a hospital for the incurables and crippled run by the municipality, and the remaining sum of 3,000 xerafins on works of public utility and on the statutory feasts of Corpus Christi and St. Catherine.

The only other report of detailed accounts of the municipality indicates that the market fines of the municipality amounted to 4,000 xerafins in 1644. A paddy field was leased to a certain Bikarya Gauda for an annual rent of 300 xerafins. These two types of revenue were applied to the payment of the salaries and perquisites of the various municipality servants and to finance the works of public utility. The income of the leased field was reserved primarily for the payment of stipend to four mukadams entrusted with the cleanliness of the four wards of the city.

The other forms of income and expenditure of the municipality as indicated in the same report of 1644 were: 1,100 xerafins from the lease of some shops and the market square, and 216 xerafins from the lease of some godowns for storing timber and of some tents in which ready-made garments were sold. This income was spent on the
hospital for the incurables, to pay the salaries of the munici­
pality watchman and clerk of the market judge, and to give
monthl alms of 10 xerafins to the friars of St. Francis. 47

The city was entrusted with the administration of 1% addi­
tional customs revenue since 1569. Half of this revenue was
spent on building and maintenance of the city defences and the
other half for building galleys. 48 In 1617 a new additional
duty on the export of precious stones was introduced. It was
known as 2% consulado tax. The revenue was spent on building
ships and maintaining crews engaged in fighting the Dutch. 49
Beside these two types of revenue administered by the municipa­
ality a third type of revenue was collected also with the help
of the municipality since 1623. This was the so-called collecta
tax on the import of foodstuffs to the city of Goa. Only the
foodstuffs brought from the neighbouring regions of Bardez and
Salcete and grown there were exempt from the payment of this tax. 50
The administration of all the above extraordinary levies was
taken up by the municipality with the understanding that it would
be able to exploit the necessary evils to its best advantage. To
this we shall return while discussing the municipality policies. 51

The regular city revenues were administered by the city
council with the help of a city treasurer, who had to submit his
accounts to the city accountant at the close of every year. He
was also required to present surety to the municipal council on
taking office. By a special privilege granted to the Goa munici­
pality its accounts were not subject to public auditing. 52 There
are occasions when the municipality expressed its displeasure in
strong terms against the interference of the State authorities into the municipality accounts keeping.\textsuperscript{53}

In spite of a well marked tendency of the Goa municipality to grab at every possible opportunity of making some money and to administer it in its own sweet way, it also has a good record of generous assistance at various moments of crisis to the State Government. In 1587 the municipality gave a loan of 10,000 xerafins to the viceroy Don Duarte de Menezes for the expeditionary force which sacked Johore.\textsuperscript{54} This loan, just like most of the later loans, was never repaid. In 1603 the municipality collected 7223 xerafins to provide foodstuffs to the fleet sent under the command of Andre Furtado to defend Achin against Dutch attack\textsuperscript{55}; eight years later the municipality gave the viceroy Dom Ruy Lourenco de Tavora a sum of 10,000 xerafins to equip a galleon for the Malacca fleet\textsuperscript{56}; in 1622 a much bigger amount of 40,000 xerafins was offered to the governor Fernao de Albuquerque for the defence of Hormuz\textsuperscript{57}; in 1650's the municipality contributed with great difficulty 10,000 xerafins on the occasion of the desperate defence of the Portuguese in Ceylon and Kanara.\textsuperscript{58} The fall of these Portuguese possessions brought to the city of Goa some hundreds of Portuguese families rendered homeless and without any means of livelihood.\textsuperscript{59} The burden of assisting these refugees in a context of rapid decline of city revenues made it impossible for the municipality to come forward with any further contributions when the very city of Goa was beginning to be threatened with invasion by the Marathas. When the Government was in need of raising about 300,000 xerafins to meet the expenses of defence against the Maratha Sambhaji, the sum
was collected by imposing various sorts of taxes on the Christian and non-Christian population of Goa and by appropriating the silver ornaments of the Convents and Churches, but there is no reference to separate contribution of the Goa municipality. The waning fortunes of the citizens are described pathetically in a letter addressed by the municipality to the Crown in December 1693. The letter requests the King to drop the scheme of transferring the capital to Marmagoa, because the citizens had begun demolishing their houses and selling their timber and furniture to find means of obtaining their regular meals for some time longer. The state of the municipality finances at the end of the seventeenth century is also reflected in a letter of the Crown to the viceroy Count of Villa Verde whereby the latter is informed that the Goa municipality could be excused from investing in the newly established Company of Commerce because of its financial bankruptcy. It is known, however, that even the General Assembly of the village communities of Bardez could invest 12,000 xeräfins in the said Company.

We could close this treatment of the finances of the municipality with reference to the salaries and other forms of remuneration to the municipality officials and servants. It was not left to the municipality officials to decide about their own salaries, and in 1695 a royal instruction ordered the municipal council to cut down all the increments it had introduced in the course of years without any special royal sanction. It is in this connexion that we come across a table of salaries and
allowances paid to the municipality officials and other subordinate officials during the seventeenth century.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Office Designation</th>
<th>Remuneration in x-raffins, tangas and reis per year.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>City captain, aldermen, and other officials (12 in all)</td>
<td>1536 - 0 - 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two judges of the orphans</td>
<td>96 - 0 - 00/each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretary of the council</td>
<td>765 - 0 - 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watchman of the house</td>
<td>411 - 0 - 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City treasurer</td>
<td>250 - 0 - 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syndic</td>
<td>150 - 0 - 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watchman of the market square and his four peons</td>
<td>203 - 3 - 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk of the market square</td>
<td>36 - 0 - 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time-keeper</td>
<td>72 - 0 - 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alms to the Friars</td>
<td>120 - 0 - 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaplain of St. Catherine's chapel</td>
<td>100 - 0 - 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City chaplain</td>
<td>78 - 0 - 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaplain of the hospital for the incurables</td>
<td>25 - 0 - 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior clerk of the records office of the municipality</td>
<td>146 - 0 - 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two clerks attending the city tax-collector</td>
<td>60 - 0 - 00/each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solicitor</td>
<td>48 - 0 - 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seven nayaks</td>
<td>336 - 0 - 00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Municipal Evolution in the Seventeenth Century

It is clear from the above that in the course of the sixteenth century the municipality of Goa had grown to its full stature with its functions and privileges well defined, though not always fully respected. Even though the Crown had rejected its suggestion for establishing in Goa a kind of parliament attended by the representatives of the various municipalities in the Portuguese eastern dominions, its supremacy was acknowledged and it was referred to as the "head of all other cities". During the seventeenth century we witness a continuous fight on the part of the municipality to preserve its over-sized image against the economic, social and governmental challenges that went counter to its interests and tended to blur its image, if not to wipe it out altogether. This conflict is best understood in the context of the medieval town policies in Europe and the mercantilist opposition that ensued. This subject has found a master exponent in Eli Heckscher (1879-1952), whose analysis of mercantilism expatiates upon the five-fold policies of the medieval European towns, namely: 1. The policy of provision, which attended to the interest of the consumers and sought to keep the town always well stocked, particularly with perishable foodgrain, in order to prevent disasters which could result from wars, blockades or bad harvests; 2. The policy of protection, which attended to the interests of the urban manufacturers and sought to suppress manufactures in the suburban regions and to prevent imports of manufactures in order to create markets for the home goods; 3. The policy of control of the city trade, commerce and as many
other activities as possible by placing its burghers as middle men; 4. The stapling policy, which forced as much traffic as possible into the city, favouring thereby the policies of provision and protection; and 5. The ethical code, which ruled out competition, or at least circumscribed it by means of guilds.67 This last feature of the medieval town policies will be discussed in the next chapter, which is devoted to the study of urban economic life with special reference to labour and market organization in the city of Goa in the seventeenth century. But the various features of the medieval European town policies can be seen already in all that has been said about the privileges and mode of functioning of the Goa municipality in the earlier part of this chapter. What follows is an unveiling of the municipal policies of the Goa municipality by analysing its response to the cases of challenges it had to meet in the course of the seventeenth century.

The married settlers of the Goa city had yielded to the imposition of various customs levies under condition that the administration of the same levies would be entrusted to them. The concession that they had extracted opened to them new avenues of employment and new channels of profiteering. Heckscher has referred to complaints registered against the electoral council of Barndernburg in 1582 regarding their profiteering in corn trade.68 The same could be said of the city elders at Goa. The viceroy Count of Linhares wrote to the King in 1631 that the municipality officials had been hoarding grain in order to make profits by exploiting the scarcity caused by drought and famine all over India.69 The records of the Goa High Court for the year 1636 also reveal that four
captains appointed by the municipality to the collecta-financed flotilla were caught smuggling part of the load of foodgrain imported from Kanara to relieve the famine threat to the city. It was precisely the privilege of appointing men of its choice as captains and crew of the collecta-financed flotilla that made the administration of the collecta revenue so coveted an activity to the municipality officials. Even after the threat of the Dutch to the Portuguese shipping was non-existent, the municipality of Goa was not eager to abolish the collecta tax, because they thought it useful to retain to help the State with its depleted exchequer to fight the new threats of the neighbouring Indian rulers. But they betrayed their real intentions when the Government decided in 1694 to take over the administration of that revenue. The municipality officials started a campaign of vilification against the Government in its correspondence with the Crown, and it did not stop crying against the inefficiency of the Government until the administration of that revenue was entrusted to them once again.

There were also social problems that assumed alarming proportions during the seventeenth century and began threatening the Portuguese colonial society at Goa. Political misfortunes and the trade decline had added to the gravity of the situation resulting from the moral degradation that was the legacy of the previous century which had seen the city at its height of prosperity. The city elders did their best to remedy the situation by establishing an asylum for the orphan girls and another for sheltering the women gone astray. Both these institutions of
charity were entrusted to the Holy House of Mercy (Santa Casa de Misericordia), which was almost a department of the municipal administration for public assistance. The House of Mercy helped the orphan girls to find husbands by offering them cash dowries and jobs to the men who were disposed to marry them. This latter form of helping reflected the typical attitude of the mercantile period when charity in the form of doling out alms was being replaced by recruiting as many hands as possible for productive activity. Even the administration of justice was made into a means of producing economic gains. The municipality fines were almost always to be paid in cash. Beggars and vagabonds who infested the city were scrutinized for the genuineness of their needs and all the able-bodied were dispatched to the galleys, in case of men, and to the Powder House, in case of females.

The irreligious bent of mind of the Portuguese settlers of Goa also strikes as compatible with the general behaviour that we have categorized as mercantilist. A monastery was established with the financial assistance of the municipality during the opening decade of the seventeenth century "to enable the daughters of the poor and respectable Portuguese settlers, who were left without means to offer decent dowries to their many daughters, to praise God through lives consecrated to virginity and evangelical perfection". This was the monastery of Santa Monica about which the municipality was complaining bitterly a few decades later when the spectre of poverty and fear of racial extinction was beginning to haunt the Portuguese married settlers.
more and more. They complained that the purpose of founding the monastery had been defeated by restricting its shelter to females of noble birth and considerable wealth, thereby making it impossible also for the Portuguese settlers to find suitable partners. 79

This dismal situation made the Portuguese settlers forget for a while their racial prejudices and request the Crown to issue a decree ordering the wealthy and high caste native Christians to offer their daughters in marriage to the Portuguese settlers. 80 When this request was treated coldly by the State authorities, the Portuguese settlers succeeded in realizing that the idea behind the local native custom prohibiting the re-marriage of widows was to absorb the wealth of those widows. They then got round the State authorities in 1684 to issue a decree ordering that native Christian widows may not be prevented from marrying Portuguese settlers. 81

There were finally the State authorities which constituted a serious obstacle to many pretentions of the city administrators and a source of continuous vexations to them. The chief cause of much bad blood between them was a frank correspondence which the municipality maintained with the Crown. The Crown had been encouraging this practice in order to keep in check the vast powers granted to the viceroys in India. The municipality councillors were required to write dutifully and without fail every year reporting the state of affairs in India and their own activities and difficulties. 82 The viceroys heartily resented these reports and mis-reports. This is evident from the fact that in 1603 the municipality wrote to the Crown that the letters sent to them by
the Crown were being intercepted by the viceroys in order to find out from the replies the nature of the complaints they might have sent to the Crown against the local State Government. The most repeated complaints were against the interference of the viceroys in the municipality elections and against the violation of the privilege of the city councillors regarding immunity against arbitrary arrest, judicial torture and imprisonment in chains.

Just as the municipality officials rarely had good things to write about the Government officials, the correspondence of the viceroys is also replete with indignant expressions against the municipality officials. Thus, for instance, the viceroy Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo wrote to the Crown in 1615 that the municipality officials were generally elected through bribery and from among men of least competence. He accused them of having petty minds and of being a source of constant headaches to the State administrators. The Count of Linhares was writing to the Crown in 1630 that the municipality correspondence with the Crown was a mixture of calumnies and things irrelevant to the welfare of the city. He requested the Crown to terminate such an evil practice by ordering that the municipality secretary be sacked from his office if he continued to indulge in such kind of letter-writing. He wrote again the following year exposing the abuses and corrupt practices of the Goa municipality and other municipal councils in Portuguese India. His diatribe ends with a suggestion to suppress the municipalities as the only remedy to save India from total collapse. There are more instances of such angry outbursts on the part of the viceroys against the municipal councillors of the Goa city.
The replies of the Crown to the viceroys and governors always counselled moderation. The viceroy Count of Linhares, who had suggested abolition of municipalities, was instructed to curb their abuses and corruption, but not to suppress them. As regards the complaints of the municipality officials and their demands, they were directed to the viceroy "who represented the Crown on the spot and would not fail to do justice to them".

Beside correspondence, also attorneys were sent by the Goa municipality to the royal court to represent their interests. This practice was also encouraged by the Crown, but the viceroys were averse to this type of representation as well, and more than once the municipality was refused permission to send such envoys to the royal court at Lisbon and Madrid.

To conclude, it may be said that the founder of the Goa municipality proved right in his forecast when he wrote to the King in November 1514: "These Indians will know that we are come to stay, because they see our men planting trees, building houses of stone and lime, and breeding sons and daughters." As Prof. C.R. Boxer has very judiciously remarked, "the very noble and always loyal Senate of the Goa city was one of the principal forces which held the ramshackle State of India together. It certainly was not a mere rubber stamp in the hands of the viceroys and governors, and it provided a strong element of continuity in a government whose head normally changed every three years."
NOTES

3. Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque, ed. A.Baiao, 133.
7. Ibid., 4-5. St. Catherine was selected as the patron-saint of the Goa city and its municipality, because the city was conquered by Albuquerque on November 25, the feast day of St. Catherine of Alexandria.
8. Ibid., 5-8, 46-47.
10. Heckscher, E. P., Mercantilism, I, 332. The period extending roughly between A.D. 1500 and 1700 has been recognized as a critical one in the economic history of the western world. It is customary to deal with these years as the mercantilist period, and probably the only comprehensive theory or framework which treats these years as a distinct state of being with its own policies and objectives is that of Eli Heckscher. To him mercantilism appeared as a system of unification, power, protectionism, monetary organization, and a conception of society including views on religion and ethics.
12. APO-CR, II, 139-44.
13. Ibid., 162-70.
15. Ibid., 171-72, 214, 250-54.
17. HAG: MS 7746 (Senado: Registo de Cartas Regias), fl. 13.
18. HAG: MS 7865 (Senado: Cartas dos Governadores e Reis de Portugal, 1676-1708), fls. 86-86v.
21. HAG: MS 7765 (Assentos da Camara, 1597-1602), fls. 145v-146v; App. II f (Companion Volume).
22. APO-CR, II, 115-16; Boxer, PST, 154.
28. HAG: MS 7765 (Assentos da Camara, 1597-1603), fls. 176-79v.
29. AHU: India, Caixa 21, doc. 19 (20.xii.1650).
32. Ibid., 261-62.
34. APO-CR, II, 74-75.
36. AHU: India, Caixa 8, doc. 121 (20.ii.1621), Caixa 28, doc. 210 (3.x.1671); HAG: MS 7745, fl. 18 (30.i.1683).
38. Ibid., 78-79.


40. Heckscher, op.cit., I, 130.

41. APO-CR, II, 206: is a list of salaries of the municipality officials in 1572.

42. APO-CR, II, 274-75.

43. Cf. infra nn. 48-50.

44. HAG: MSS 7750-57 (Registros das Cartas Patentes, 1596-1688). These service grants are useful to have an idea of the various types of services controlled by the municipality, but they rarely give details about the salaries and perquisites or about the service conditions.


46. The feast of the Body of Christ was celebrated on a Thursday, exactly three months after the feast of Easter. It was one of the two statutory feasts celebrated by the municipality with special pomp. The aldermen and other officials who did not have a salary were given fat allowances on the occasion of these feasts to make good dresses for themselves. Cf. APO-CR, II, 206; Boxer, PGE, 279.

47. AHU: India, Caixa 18, doc. 79.


49. AHU: India, Caixa 4, doc. 208 (22.xii.1617); APO-CR, II, 235-37.

50. HAG: MS 7748 (Acordas da Cámara, 1621-25), fns. 152-53v; MS 7809 (Livro de Collecta, 1623-26), fns. 10-13. The duties imposed affected the goods brought from Portugal also. Thus, coral, glassware, quicksilver, ivory, wire, etc., had to pay 5 per cent. The duty on these goods was paid by the sellers, but the duty on eatables and drinks brought from Portugal was payable by the buyers at the rate of 10 xeräfins/ wine barrel, 4 xeräfins/vinagar cask, 4 tangas/ oil pot, 1 tanga/oil bottle,
of husked rice and wheat, lentils, mungo (phaseolus mungo), urid (phaseolus radiatus), and beans; half xerafim/khandi of unhusked rice, nachini (eleusine coracana), bajri (panicum spicatum), pakal (paspalum scrobiculatum), varyo (panicum miliaceum), kulit (dolichos biflorus), til (sesamum indicum), and zanvo (panicum miliare). Tax was also imposed on animal slaughtering: 1 tanga/pig, 2 vintens/sheep, and 2 tangas/cattle head. Duties on some other items were: 6 xerafins/khandi of ghee, 4 xerafins/khandi of oil, and 1 tanga/kumba of exported salt.

51. AHU: India, Caixa 9, doc. 166 (19.xii.1626), Caixa 24, doc. 123 (19.xii.1658), Caixa 26, doc. 167 (3.i.1665).
52. APO-CR, I, P.2: 175-76.
54. APO-CR, I, P.2: 45. In 1596 the municipality was still reminding the State Government about the repayment of its loan.
55. HAG: MS 7747, fls. 7-7v; APO-CR, I, P.2: 146, 169.
56. HAG: MS 7766 (Assentos da Camara, 1609-15), fls. 74-74v.
57. HAG: MS 7748 (Assentos da Camara, 1621-25), fl. 64.
58. AHU: India, Caixa 22, doc. 13 (4.i.1653); Pissurilencar, ACE, III (1644-58), 241.
59. AHU: India, Caixa 26, doc. 44 (26.1.1664): "... so many are the married Portuguese who have arrived here from the Portuguese settlements fallen into the hands of the enemy that it is pitiable to see them moving in bands from door to door begging in order to find some means of supporting their wives and children. Besides, there are many others living with their friends and relations...." (Translation of an extract of the letter written by the municipality to the Crown). Cf. Balsemão, Os Portugueses no Oriente, II, 78: refers to c. 2600 women and children from among the Portuguese settlers of Cochin brought to Goa by the Dutch vessels after capturing that place.
60. Pissurilencar, ACE, IV (1659-95), 419-20, 428-32.
61. HAG: MS 7865 (Cartas dos Governadores e Reia de Portugal, 1676-1708), fl. 93v (1.xii.1693).
62. HAG: Moncoes 58, fls. 167 (10.i11. 1693).
64. HAG: MS 7740, fls. 57v-58.
65. APO-GR, I, P.1: 67.
66. Ibid., 79, 84-85.
68. Ibid., I, 60.
69. HAG: MS 1498 (Ordenas Regiaes, n.2), fls. 8v-9v (6.vii.1631).
70. AR, I, 470-71.
71. AHU: India, Caixa 31, doc. 41 (27.ii.1680); Caixa 37, doc. 12 (9.i11.1693), 24 (26.ix.1693), 88 (6.xii.1694); HAG: MS 7865, fls. 96v-97, 111, 113v, 117v-13.
72. Ferreira Martina, Historia da Misericordia de Goa, I, 70-378; II, 201-86: narrates the history of the two shelter-houses with the help of the original papers of those institutions preserved in the Historical Archives of Goa.
74. Heckscher, op.cit., I, 167; II, 286.
75. HAG: MS 7846 (Alvaras e provisoes de S. Magestade e dos Vice-reis, 1593-1781), fls. 7-7v
76. HAG: MS 512 (Cartas Patentes e Alvaras, n.44), fl. 32.
77. Heckscher, op.cit., II, 302.
78. HAG: MS 7747, fls. 141-44; APO-GR, I, P.1: 108, 113, 125, 130; P.2: 17, 56, 150, 190, 208.
79. HAG: MS 7786 (Senado: Diversos, 1610-1704), fls. 44v; MS 7745 (Registros das Cartas Regias, 1630-1712), fls. 11v.

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80. HAG: Ms 7745, fl.6v.

81. AR, II, 661-64; Cunha Rivara, Ensaio Historico da Língua Concanti, 255-59.

82. APO-CR, I, P.1: 100.

83. Ibid., 103-104; P.2: 116, 224. In 1608 the municipality was requesting the Crown to send a code which they could safely use in the correspondence.

84. Ibid., P.2: 25-26, 32, 51, 63, 81, 99-100, 117.

85. HAG: Moncoes 12, fls. 66v-67 (23.xii.1613); Couto, Soldado Pratico, 118.

86. HAG: Moncoes 13B, fls. 336-37 (1.1.1630).

87. Cf, supra n.69.

88. HAG: Moncoes 20, fl. 47v (4.xii.1634); AHU: India, Caixa 27, doc. 28 (23.1.1666); Caixa 28, doc. 210 (3.x.1671); Caixa 31, doc. 142 (1.x.1681).

89. AR, I, 441 (24.11.1633)


93. Boxer, PoT, 40.

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The Portuguese economy at Goa had been geared to provide
wherewithal for defending the Portuguese eastern empire and
trade and to supply for the personal tastes and the domestic
needs of the administrative bureaucracy, as well as ecclesias-
tical labourers and parasites. Without any significant local
production for exchange the economic prosperity was maintained
as long as the power of the Portuguese gunships remained unri-
vailed controller of the Asiatic trade. In the seventeenth
century we find this economic base crumbling and the city of
Goa beginning to face the grim situation of feeding a popula-
tion of consumers, whose services were paying less and less for
the habits it had developed in more prosperous times. The pre-
vailing mode of production based on slave labour and the conse-
quently low level of technology reduced the living standard to
subsistence and made the downfall of the city a logical inevi-
tability. The economic base was further undermined by the well
entrenched Catholic Church, which tried to seek field of action
in the context of diminishing success in the missionary field
by preaching about the human dignity of the slaves close at
home and demanding their freedom. With its trade disrupted
and with its slave population on a spree of rowdism, the city
of Goa in the seventeenth century was becoming more and more a
shadow of its past glory.
If the decline of the city was gradual and the breakdown was never complete, this was due to the resilience of the organizational stability it had achieved. The nature of the labour organization, which could check the wage inflation, and the nature of the controls over money and commodities, which could check profit inflation, helped the city to minimise the pressure of the waning economy.

I. Labour Organization

The expression "labour organization" is not limited here to its current popular meaning of organized labour in the context of industrial capitalism. It may be surprising, however, to note that this meaning was not altogether unaplicable to the economic situation of the Goa city in the seventeenth century. An incident which took place on October 8, 1694 certainly points to the existence of somewhat organized industrial proletariat in the State owned and managed industrial concerns. The chief revenue superintendent (vedor geral da fazenda) sent a communication to the viceroy on the above date reporting that a crowd of 500 poor artisans employed in the State shipyard was shouting outside his residence door that they had not received their wages for seven consecutive weeks.

In the gunpowder manufactory where much skilled work was not required the great majority of the workers were slaves and those condemn to forced labour. Neither of these types of labourers could express their protest in any other form than sabotage. Outbreaks of fire and explosions in the gunpowder house were not
unusual. It was because of such incidents that the general manager of that establishment proposed to the Public Revenue Council in 1689 that only negro couples should be employed in there. He was convinced that the Hindus and others condemned to forced labour were responsible for all mischief.

Going beyond the consideration of labour organization of the types just described, the present analysis proposes to delve into the structural pattern of the labour market in general. It is true that the State was one single giant customer in the labour market, but there were also many private enterprises consisting of workshops-cum-shops owned by petty independent artisans and craftsmen, who catered for the necessities and for the display tendencies of the city population.

Pattern of Demand and Supply

Beginning with the public sector we have the Government owning a large service industry for looking after the administration, defence and the spiritual welfare of the Portuguese State of India. Matricola geral was the department which maintained the service books of all the employees on the State pay-roll. The exact number of the Portuguese serving in India, particularly in the armed forces, was kept a jealously guarded secret for reasons of security. Unfortunately we do not have the records of the Registration Office, but even if these records had been available, they were likely to be misleading, because there was a permanent complaint to the Crown from the more scrupulous officials in Portuguese India that the registers contained more names of the dead.
or absentees than those actually in service.\textsuperscript{9}

In the administrative set-up the higher cadre came with appointments from Portugal, but most of the subordinate posts were filled by the Portuguese married settlers, and some by the native Christians. While the strength of the Portuguese soldiers available for service at Goa at any one time during the seventeenth century never exceeded 1,500, the administrative services could not have absorbed more than half that number.\textsuperscript{10}

The State demand for labour was chiefly for fleet-manning and for combat, particularly in the seventeenth century when there was a chronic shortage of Portuguese manpower. This shortage was remedied by drafting the Portuguese married settlers and the native people, neither of which two groups took the measures with a good cheer. Their reluctance is revealed by the fact that high-handed methods were adopted: Skilled sailors were detained for months prior to a planned expedition\textsuperscript{11}, village communities were pressurized to supply definite number of men\textsuperscript{12}, Portuguese settlers were deprived of their slaves\textsuperscript{13}, and the work in the galleys and gunpowder manufactory was introduced as a form of judicial punishment for the law-breakers and vagrants.\textsuperscript{14} It was only when all these methods failed to yield satisfactory results and when the threats of the Marathas close at home forced the Government to review the labour situation that the administration realized that wage-raising was the best attraction for labour.\textsuperscript{15}

As regards the State-owned defence industries their employment potentiality can be gauged from the nature and volume of their pro-
duction. The shipyard was a vast complex including carpentry section, rope manufactory, smithery, foundry and cooperage. Giant carracks of nearly 2,000 tons burthen, as well as a variety of smaller crafts were built and equipped there. There was a gun foundry with three large kilns and all the required apparatus for casting guns as well as for minting currency. Pyrard de Laval, who has left the fairest description of the whole complex, was impressed by the large number of workers employed there. He remarks that with the exception of the general superintendent and the heads of the various departments most of the skilled and unskilled labourers were recruited from among the natives of the locality.

The gunpowder manufactory supplied gunpowder to all the Portuguese settlements in the East and was even sending annually about 500 quintals as a ballast of the Carreira ships. In 1630 it had six grinders and could manufacture 500 lbs. of gunpowder each day. The viceroy Count of Linhares raised the production capacity to 700 lbs. in 1634. A decade later the house had acquired a new grinder and the production capacity had been further increased to 800 lbs. a day.

Before passing on to the demand for labour in the private sector something may still be said about the employment procedure in the public sector. To what has been said about the pressure methods of drafting, it may be added that those who arrived as soldiers from Portugal were generally criminals and convicts who were emptied from the gaols of Portugal.
Once they arrived in India there was nothing like an organized army to offer them necessary protection. When the summer season approached and the coastguard fleets had to begin their patrolling duties, individual fidalgos or noblemen appointed as fleet captains would recruit the men they needed and submit the lists to the Government Registration Office. For the rest of the year they were left high and dry on the shore to eke out their living, which they generally did by begging at the Convent doors, or by joining the retinue of some Portuguese bravos, or by seeking some complaisant woman (married or unmarried) who would keep them, or by seeking out and imposing themselves on any of their relatives found anywhere in the East, or by crossing the borders and taking up job with some native ruler, or by joining the ranks of the Religious Orders. Those employed in the fort garrisons were somewhat luckier because they could more easily make a living during the rainy season as well by preying upon the neighbouring villages.

Only the married settlers and the wounded soldiers were free to seek non-military occupation. However, all the posts in the administrative service and the high positions in the military service were granted by way of reward. Anyone who applied for such a post or for cash pension had to present certificates of his having served for a minimum period of eight years in the fleets. Only the jobs connected with the city administration were granted independently by the city councillors, and certain low grade posts.
of clerks, interpreters and legal solicitors were granted to the native Christians at the recommendation of the Father of Christians. Another exception was in favour of those who were willing to marry the orphan girls sent from Portugal or the orphan daughters of the noblemen who died while serving in India. The posts offered by the State as dowry to the orphan girls were all below the grade of factor and did not require confirmation of the appointment by the home Government. Also the service requirements for the males who married the orphan girls were reduced by four years.

The offices were generally granted for three-year terms. But there were some jobs, such as those of public notaries, bailiffs and chief constables, which the viceroys could grant directly in India for the period when the granting viceroy continued in office. However, almost all the higher category of jobs were sanctioned (despachados) from Portugal after the lists of candidates and their service files (consultas) were submitted through the Secretariat in India. One single office was often granted to more than one person, and a grantee had thus to wait until all those who preceded him had enjoyed the grant. The time lag could sometimes be of one generation or more, but it was permitted to the grantees to renounce the office granted in favour of someone else, or even to sell it. However, more than once the State itself took the initiative of auctioning various administrative posts and captaincies to the highest bidders. It was meant to raise funds for the war expenses, but such interference must have made the situation of the
grantees still more hopeless. One factor which probably mini-
mised the frustration was the eagerness of the wealthy Eurasian
parents to seek white partners for their nubile daughters.32

Concerning the demand for labour by the city municipality
much has been said already in the last chapter, but there were
projects of public works, such as building and repairing of
roads, drainage canals, wharfs, and such like, which surely re-
quired skill and unskilled artisan and menial labour. Just like
the recruitment of labour for the State defence industries, in
this case also the recruitment of labour must have been left to
the artisan-cum-contractor who undertook to do the job.33

In the private sector there was first and foremost the ins-
itutional demand of the Religious houses. The craze of the
various Religious Orders to outdo each other with "monumental
display" surely implied mass employment of artisans connected
with building and decorating work. The employment potentiali-
ties were further raised by the reconstruction works that had to
be undertaken due to frequent fire accidents caused by the abun-
dant use of combustible building material and the lack of fire
fighting equipment.34

The needs of the individual citizens were many and highly
diversified. They could, however, be classified under housing,
food, dress, personal care and transport. As regards housing
there were sumptuous mansions of the Portuguese settlers in the
city and also magnificent villas in the suburbs. However, al-
though the houses of natives were largely made of stone and lime,
there were residences of the natives in the close suburbs which Jesuit reports have referred to as pigsties. From the point of view of labour demand it is important for us to know that most of the building material was obtained locally: The laterite stones were quarried in the surrounding villages, the lime was manufactured out of some oyster shells in the kilns working in some other neighbouring villages, where also the roof-tiles were manufactured. The illumination of the houses was effected with torches and lamps working on coconut oil, though it was common to use wax-candles for the Church services.

The food needs were largely satisfied with imported rice and wheat. Green vegetables, coconuts and coconut oil, and fish were also important ingredients of the diet and were obtained from local suppliers. Several city dwellers had their own kitchen gardens and their own palm groves where they set their slaves to work and to grow enough for themselves and surplus for the market. Beef was consumed regularly by the inmates of the monasteries and also by the Christian city dwellers, and the cattle for slaughter was imported from the mainland. Use of pork, mutton and chicken was not uncommon, and the fowls were particularly in demand for feeding the convalescent. Fresh drinking water was supplied by slaves who brought it in earthen vessels from the Bangany spring and sold it at the road junctions of the city. As regards the eating utensils, the Portuguese had the Chinese crockery imported from Macao, while clay pottery manufactured in Bardez served the needs of the Christian natives and the non-Christian served their

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dishes in containers made of tree leaves.  

The dress habits varied between the simple and most exquisite styles. At home even the rich covered themselves with bare minimum. In case of women even this bare minimum is described by several European travellers as so transparent that it hardly covered anything. The children at home normally moved about fully naked until they were big enough to be ashamed. It was while moving outdoors that the wealthy made an ostentatious display of damask, silk, velvet garments and of jewelry. Even the lackeys who accompanied them as palanquin or parasol bearers were dressed up in gay and fanciful liveries. Those who were not so well off tried to emulate the rich, and even the bachelors who lived together in rented houses kept at least one good suit which they all shared in turn for moving outdoors. The dress of the natives was also limited to covering the essentials while at home, but outdoors men wore silk cabayas and fine turbans of silk or velvet caps. The women, both Portuguese and native did not show themselves in public, except on rare religious and social occasions. There were however the female slaves who went round the city selling different kinds of wares. They were generally good looking and well attired. Finally, the male slaves and poor natives did not have more than loin-cloth to cover themselves, and a Jesuit report likens them to "our father Adam".

The personal care of the city dwellers required the services of barbers, who were also the bleeder-surgeons of those days,
the washermen, the cobblers, the tailors, and so on. There were the pandit or quack doctors, who were very much appreciated by the Portuguese. The municipality had thirty of them permanently on its pay roll, and even the religious houses and the high civil authorities had them as their house doctors. Licenses were issued to them by the municipality for a fee of ten xerafins and with a clause that they should not induce their Christian patients to make votive offerings to Hindu temples and deities. The Portuguese who did not avail themselves of the services of these pandit and treated their illnesses with enemas, purgatives and bleedings were succumbing much more easily than those treated with native methods.

Much of the close personal attendance was the job of hordes of male and female slaves. The number of slaves indicated the wealth and social position of their owners. The male slaves were not unusually employed by their masters as instruments of their revenge, and occasionally their brute force was used to intimidate friends and strangers to give loans which would be repaid only "on the doomsday". At the close of the seventeenth century an average Portuguese household owned at least six slaves, but there were those with better means who had even thirty or forty of them.

As regards the means of transport for distant places the river navigation was the cheapest means. On the land the goods were carried on heads. However, heavy and bulky cargoes were placed on parallel bars which rested on the shoulders of four bearers. Stones, timber, and building material was generally
transported with bullock-carts. In this connection Fyrard had observed that the wheels of the carts were not metal-rimmed.\textsuperscript{52} In spite of several legislative efforts to ban the use of palanquins for the conveyance of persons, this means of transport continued in vogue all throughout the seventeenth century and even later.\textsuperscript{53} The vehicle consisted of a chair or net hanging from a bambu and having an overhead covering made of woven palm leaves. The bambu cane was placed on the shoulders of two men in front and two behind. Horse-riding was rare and no amount of legislation improved the situation.\textsuperscript{54} Most of the city people walked, but they tried as far as possible to have parasols to protect them against the Sun. The parasols were made of woven palm leaves and had an impermeable cover for the rainy season.\textsuperscript{55} These parasols were carried by persons belonging to a special class of baya or mahar class, who also carried the palanquins.

In addition to the essential needs discussed so far there were the created needs. Palm arrack distilled from palm toddy was popular among the Portuguese and the Christian natives and it was sold all over the city. Tobacco was consumed mostly by the non-Christians and they used it for smoking, sniffing and chewing. Apparently, it was no less popular among the Christians and even among the Religious. In the year 1638 Fr. Vitelleschi, the Superior General of the Jesuits, had instructed his Visitor to India to check three types of abuses prevailing among the Indian Jesuits, and one of these was the way in which they
spent freely on tobacco. Opium was supplied as part of food rations to those employed in the galleys and in the gunpowder manufactory. Gambling was also an irresistible attraction for many of the Portuguese, and there were well furnished houses in the city for this purpose. Finally, the city of Goa was no exception as far as the evil of prostitution was concerned. Female slaves were very much in demand for sexual gratification, but the Portuguese had developed preferential taste for the Hindu nautch girls. The Portuguese visited them in the neighbouring islands of Akado and Kumbarjua, because these nautch girls were not permitted to enter the city limits.

Guilds of Artisans and Craftsmen

The pattern of demand and supply in the labour market of the Goa city during the seventeenth century enables us to form some idea of the bargaining power of the labour. The picture is further perfected by analysing the organization of the guilds of artisans and craftsmen in the city.

Craft guilds and merchant guilds were not unknown to India even in ancient times. Kautilya's Arthasastra devotes one full adhikarana to the description of sreni, and by the time of the composition of the Buddhist scriptures guilds certainly existed in almost every important Indian town, and they embraced almost every trade and industry, including the thieves. Considering the fact that Goa had been an important trading centre at least
from the times of the Kadamba Jayakesi I, it is a sufficient indication that the merchant and craft guilds which flourished in the medieval Karnatak and Vijayanagar could not have been alien to Goa.61

The earliest references to the craft guilds in Goa after the Portuguese occupation are found in the Jesuit missionary reports. A report of 1545 refers to an excellent native painter who was the mukadam of all the other painters.62 Another report of 1559 says that "among the Muslims as well as the Hindus of this land there is in every kind of craft a title called mukadam, which corresponds to that of superintendent in our language; all those who practise that particular craft acknowledge in a certain way his superiority".63 We also learn from another report that in 1560 a mukadam of the silk merchants was baptized along with his three companions and that the entire street of the silk merchants was festively decorated for that occasion.64

The Portuguese at Goa introduced the pattern of guild organization that was prevailing in the Portuguese capital. Hence, it is necessary to trace briefly the history of the evolution of the guild-system in Lisbon. It was only by the end of the sixteenth century that the urban economy of Portugal gained in complexity. By that time guilds had reached high development in most of the other parts of Europe. In Portugal the discoveries had a decisive influence on the process of their growth by causing influx of artisans from rural areas and from abroad into the capital. This development forced the existing rudimentary guilds
to meet the challenge and to have a written code of behaviour. The oldest surviving written regulations are those of the guild of leather-workers. Whatever regulations most of the guilds followed were either customary or enacted by the State or municipality authorities. In 1545 King John III instructed the Lisbon municipality to look into the regulations governing various artisans, to modify them if necessary, and to give new ones to those who did not have any. That is when we find the municipality coming into picture for the first time as a recognised authority to regulate and control the guild affairs. It was in keeping with this instruction that the municipality approved the regulations for different crafts during the years 1549-64 and these were all compiled in one book entitled Livro dos Regimentos dos Oficios Mecânicos (Book of Regulations Governing the Artisans) in 1572. It was only thence onwards that the craft guilds of Lisbon received a juridical discipline to which we can now turn our attention.

Each craft guild elected two inspectors (juízes) to serve during a period of one year. It was their duty to make inspection tours of all the workshops of their craft and to check the quality of wares and their prices. They also regulated the distribution of raw materials among the craft guild members. The inspectors were assisted by an elected clerk who accompanied them during the tours and noted down their instructions. The inspectors could impose fines which were executed by the municipality appointed market inspectors (almotacéis).
Each craft guild was also organized into a confraternity having its patron saint, whose image or representation on a standard was carried by the guild members during the statutory Corpus Christi procession. This was the internal organization of the guilds controlled by two elected presidents or mordomos, who summoned the meetings of the confraternity, administered the common fund, and attended to the social welfare of the member families.

Then there were the examinors (examinadores) elected to judge the competence of an artisan who wished to open his own workshop and become an independent craft master. The job of the examinors was sometimes done by the guild inspectors or by the confraternity presidents. A candidate for master's qualification had to have undergone the prescribed period of apprenticeship (aprendizagem) and to have worked as wage-worker (obreiro) during a minimum required period. The candidate then had to produce satisfactorily his "master work" as directed by the examinors. Only then he received a passing certificate which could enable him to have his own workshop (tenda), apprentices and wage-workers.

A distinction was made between the grouping of artisans into bandeiras (standards) and oficios (crafts). While a craft was a purely professional classification, a banner designated one or more crafts having a common banner of a patron saint. This latter arrangement had religious connotation and it was also used as a base for representation of craft interests on the municipal
board. 66

We may conclude the study of the evolution of craft guilds of Lisbon with a reference to the political power wielded by the guilds. They had attained a definite position in the national politics in the year 1384. It was a year of national crisis, and the artisans of Lisbon played a decisive role in the proclamation of the Master of Avis as King John I of Portugal against the pretentions of Castille and in the midst of the hesitations of the nobility of Lisbon. It was then that the new king rewarded his plebeian supporters and proclaimed that twenty-four representatives of the workers, two of each craft would take part in the city administration. It is not known if there were only twelve professional groups in Lisbon at the time, or if only the twelve important groups were meant to represent the interests of all the others. But whatever was the situation, the workers were to sit in the company of the city gentlemen (homens bona) to administer the town affairs. 67 This intrusion was not taken well by the former elite, whose resistance must have grown in the course of years. This is suggested by several royal orders which were issued at different times in the fifteenth century confirming the privileges granted by John I to the workers: They were to continue in the municipal council and have their say in all its decisions. 68 The only development in the course of years was the restriction of the number of the workers who directly participated in the proceedings of the municipal council to four. The former body of twenty-four continued in existence, but as an
electoral body to send the four representatives (mesteres). This situation remained crystallised until 1755 when the great earthquake shook the foundations of Lisbon city and also of its guild organization. The earthquake destroyed the archives of the guilds, and the reconstruction work brought into the city waves of labourers from the rural areas and from abroad. These developments forced the guilds to reshape their organization to stand the shock.69

That the Portuguese transplanted the above described guild administration into Goa is seen from the published and archival documentation of the Goa municipality. Whatever has been said in the previous chapter about the workers' representatives and their place in the municipal organization is by itself sufficient to draw a parallel. However, more evidence can be adduced not only to confirm the parallelism, but to illustrate the peculiarities of the guilds at Goa.

The earliest extant original records of the Goa municipality date back to 1535-7, and they are regulations (posturas) for the bakers and the suppliers of some important food items and services. We get an impression that the urban economy was still very much underdeveloped.70 However, new market regulations drawn up in 1618 are very extensive and begin by saying that the earlier regulations had become obsolete and inadequate to meet a situation which had changed entirely.71 These new regulations really reveal a much higher degree of complexity, and the artisans and craftsmen covered by them include masons,
stone-cutters, tile-bakers, goldsmiths, silversmiths, jewel-cutters and polishers, wax-workers, coopers, tailors, dyers, washermen, parasol-makers, coppersmiths, shoe-makers and lime manufacturers. The registration books of the examination certificates issued to artisans and their confirmation by the municipality also point towards a high degree of specialization of crafts. We come across certificates issued to canvas-makers, tanners, rope-weavers, harness-fixers, sword-sharpeners, and many others. The proceedings of the municipality council also contain lists of the workers' representatives elected year after year. Along with their names we are also informed occasionally about the professions to which they belonged. Thus, we come across new types of artisans, such as hatters, book-binders and cutlers.  

The regulations of 1618 determine among other things that no artisan may have a shop or even exercise his craft in any other way within the city or its suburbs without obtaining license from the municipality. A fine of ten zerafins was fixed against the defaulters. It was also determined that every artisan should present surety before the municipality clerk, the goldsmiths and silversmiths should have a registered mark recorded in the books of the municipality and which they were bound to affix on any type of ornament worked by them. The masons and carpenters had to present a guarantee equivalent to one-third of the value of the work undertaken.  

The same regulations of 1618 stated that no artisan could be
examined for two different crafts, and no slave could be examined at all, but a slave could work as a wage-worker for his master.\textsuperscript{77} No artisan could refuse to attend immediately to the needs of any citizen of the category of squire (\textit{escudeiro}) and above under penalty of 2,000 \textit{reis}.

\textsuperscript{78} The goldsmiths and silversmiths were forbidden to work anywhere outside the places assigned to them in the city under penalty of 50 \textit{xerafins}.\textsuperscript{79} The washermen were warned not to lend the clothes of their clients to a third party under pain of paying a fine of 5 \textit{xerafins}. They were also required to wash the clothes twice a week during summer and once a week during winter, and not to use rough stone to beat the clothes on.\textsuperscript{80} A non-Christian tailor owning a workshop was forbidden to have a Christian partner, or even to have Christian apprentices and wage-workers.\textsuperscript{81} A shee-maker was warned never to turn a client away for want of leather or with any other excuse.\textsuperscript{82}

In order to control the quality and prices of the wares the inspectors of every craft had to make their rounds and destroy the articles which did not come up to the expected standard. Fines were also established for those who did not sell the goods for stipulated rates: 500 \textit{reis} if caught once, 1,000 \textit{reis} and suspension from office if caught a second time, and 2,000 \textit{reis} plus loss of job if caught a third time.\textsuperscript{83}

The fact that the majority of the artisans in Goa were non-Christians does not appear to have prevented the Portuguese from introducing the organization that was prevailing in Portugal, including the system of banners with patron saints. Thus, the barbers
belonged to the banner of St. George and the masons to that of St. Joseph.

On the basis of available evidence regarding the working of the guild of barbers we could imagine also the relationship between the members of the other professional guilds and their mukadams. A mukadam was elected by the guild members, but the election and the terms of their allegiance to him had to receive official sanction of the municipality. Apparently, the offices of guild mukadams, like those of the guild inspectors and their clerks, and the guild representatives to the municipal board continued to be restricted to the Portuguese. There is no reference to a non-Christian exercising any of these offices during the period of our study. According to the information available about the guild of the barbers, they agreed to abide by the orders of their mukadam in all matters of their profession and to accept his sentence in composing differences among them. The mukadam was to be assisted by four elected arbiters, and anyone who disobeyed the mukadam was liable to a fine of 10 cruzados each time for the confraternity of St. George.84

To conclude the study of the guild organization in Goa we could still mention the House of Twenty-Four similar to that of Lisbon. It was a purely electoral body representing different guilds, and its elected president known as Judge of the People (juiz do povo) acted as a link between the guilds and the State and municipality authorities. It was he who presented before the municipal board the four representatives sent to it by the House.85
Details regarding the mode and quantum of payment to the Government servants during the seventeenth century continued to be regulated substantially by a standing order or regimento drawn by Diogo Velho, the chief revenue superintendent, in 1576. A general revision of wages and salaries was effected in 1636 to meet a severe rise in the cost of living. Thereafter in the course of the seventeenth century no other general revision took place, but increments were granted to individual cases depending upon the urgency of the situation. Thus, for instance, the governor Fernao de Albuquerque raised the quarterly pay of the constables to 25 xerifes and of the gunners to 16 xerifes, and their maintenance allowance was raised to 13 tawgs per month in order to provide incentive and remedy the shortage of artillery men. Similarly in 1681 the State Council decided to check the defections of the crew of oar-vessels and high-sea vessels by raising the monthly allowance from 3 to 6 xerifes. After this reported increment it was actually noticed that men who had gone over to the English settlement of Bombay were coming back into Portuguese service.

The pay procedure was controlled by three separate departments, namely General Registration Office (matricola geral), House of Accounts (Casa dos Contos) and Factory (Feitoria). Everyone on State pay-roll had to have his name, designation,
employment order and nature of salary registered in the muster roll of the General Registration Office. Even facial marks for the purpose of identification were noted down in these registers. The House of Accounts did the auditing of accounts of the various departments and all the high-ranking officials had to submit to it their quarterly, yearly and three-yearly accounts. When any of these officers ended his term, a judicial inquiry was conducted to certify that he carried out his duties in keeping with his office regulations, and the House of Accounts had to issue a clearance certificate stating that he owed no dues to the State. If an officer was found to have effected any payments not sanctioned by the Government, he was required to make good the damage to the public exchequer at his own expense. The Factor was the official who directly or indirectly controlled all the payments and was directly responsible before the House of Accounts.

Every Portuguese settlement in the State of India had an administrative system based on division of powers. While the Captain was the military head and had an overall supervisory authority, there was a Judge to attend to the administration of justice and a Factor to keep the accounts and to pay the State employees. In the city of Goa and its immediate suburbs the payments were effected by the Factor every three months (quartel) after checking the General Register and after being satisfied with the actual service records kept by an appontador to whom every payee had to present every month the service certificate issued
by his departmental head. In the neighbouring provinces of Bardez and Saloete the muster-roll was kept by the clerk assisting the province Collector (Recebedor) and the payments were effected by the Collector. The higher authority to whom an appeal could be directed regarding the payment of salaries, or for that matter regarding any financial problems, was the Chief Revenue Superintendent (Vedor Geral da Fazenda), whose authority ranked practically next to that of the viceroy or governor.

As regards the form of payment the Portuguese followed a somewhat complicated system: The basic pay of the military and administrative rank and file was known as soldo, which varied with the social rank of the beneficiary. The equivalent of soldo when it was paid to a non-Portuguese employee bore the designation of musara. All those who received soldo or musara were also entitled to a maintenance allowance called mantimento in case of Portuguese beneficiaries, and batta in case of the natives. Mantimento and batta were calculated monthly, but while the mantimento was paid either in cash or kind, batta was always paid in kind.

The high-ranking officials, who had their offices by appointment, received their salary calculated yearly and known as ordenado. These officials were not entitled to mantimento. However, most of these officials derived other benefits: Those who did not have Government quarters were paid apósentadoria or house-rent, the least of which amounted to about a seventh of the amount paid as
salary and the highest reached even one third of the salary. The crew of the Carreira ships and some high-ranking adminis-
trative officials, such as the viceroy, the vedor, the officials of the House of Accounts, enjoyed the privilege of sending to
Portugal on their account certain partly or fully duty-free "liberty chests" and a fixed number of slaves.

In keeping with the system of Crown Patronage (padroado real) also Church servants received their pay from the Government. The
pay was ordenado or congrua when paid to the individual parish priests, but in the case of Religious Houses there were lump sums
assigned to them as ordinarias, which were calculated on the basis of their expenses for the celebration of Church worship and
the maintenance of the inmates.

In addition to these forms of payment the wage-workers, say at the royal dockyard, were paid ferias or daily wages, which
around 1607 amounted to 12,000 xeretins per year. The workers were counted twice a day by the keeper of the muster-roll and
whatever time they were found absent during the working hours was taken into account for the purpose of deducting it from their pay.
The payment was made in public if it was a small sum and in private if the amount was big. In case of the natives employed
by the State or by private individuals to take care of horses, it was regulated by the Government that they should never be paid
their monthly salary of three golden pardaus in advance, because they were used to squandering the amount with their vices, and
those who were not from the locality would often disappear without.
giving any notice. It was therefore determined that those who hailed from outside Goa should not be paid more than the budgrooks they needed for their daily maintenance and one pardau at the end of the month. But those who had their families in Goa were allowed to be paid one pardau for every ten days in advance.98

It was also a rule followed in making the payments that the earner should receive it directly in person. This rule does not appear to have been strictly enforced because Diogo do Couto, who was a witness to the administrative abuses, describes at length the prevailing practice of selling the soldos or negotiating with them in several other ways.99 There were however instances of payment being made officially to the families of those who worked far away of their homes. Thus, for instance, the families of Ganoba Rane and his 400 men from Bardez, who had gone to fight for the Portuguese in Ceylon in 1639, received an allowance paid from the revenues of the Bardez customs.100 So also it was determined by the Public Revenue Department in 1668 that the wives of the pangelias or non-Christian native sailors, who served in the high-sea fleets, should be paid an allowance of one vintem per day during the absence of their husbands.101 These instances give us a glimpse into the humanitarian aspect of the Portuguese pay-system.

The pay-system did not entirely lack a somewhat feudalistio approach in the sense that at least until the early part of the seventeenth century the Religious Orders engaged in the missionary
work in the provinces of Bardez and Salcete continued to adminis-
ter the lands that were taken away from the Hindu temples and
donated to the Church. It was not without a stiff legal fight
that the Jesuits relinquished the lands which they possessed in
Salcete in 1646. But the Religious in the rural areas as well
as in the city wielded strong control over the population and
constituted a veritable empire within an empire. This was par-
ticularly true of the Jesuits, who were known to organize popular
resistance to state impositions which affected their interests.
The Religious had a real feudal type of hold upon the villages
in which they exercised their spiritual ministries, and much more
so in the villages which were given to them as grants. They
would often take village community lands on cheap leases and then
sublet the lands for very profitable rentals. In the subur-
ban villages as well as in the city the Religious were the major
clients of the fish-sellers, but as Captain Hamilton has expres-
sed it crudely "the Church was not feeding on fish miraculously,
for the poor fishers dare not sell till the Priesthood is first
served." Another form of payment which continued in vogue during the
seventeenth century was that of granting monopoly rights to con-
duct trade "voyages". Thus, for instance, when the Jesuits repre-
sented to the Crown in 1644 that their comrades in China had not
received their pension for nearly thirty years and that these ar-
rears amounted to about 60,000 xeráfins, it was decided by the
Overseas Council in Lisbon that they could be paid one-fourth in

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that is, 15,000 xeraires in cash, and in lieu of the rest they could have a voyage to Mosambique. 107

Finally, the State payments also took the form of moradels or house-allowances to all the fidalgos serving in India. In 1682 there were 108 fidalgos receiving a total amount of 221,191 reis by way of moradels. It was decided by the Overseas Council that owing to difficulties of the exchequer the soldo and moradia should not be paid to the fidalgos at one time. 108 Of the category of moradia, but larger sums were paid by way of pensions (tenoes and comedias) to widows of good many fidalgos and to State guests. 109

The salaries and allowances paid to all who were on State pay-roll at Goa were drawn from the revenues of Goa itself. Each category of employees had its salaries and allowances consigned in definite heads of revenue. Thus, the employees of the royal hospital and of the House of Accounts were paid from the import duties on betre and foodstuffs (mantimento e betre), the officials of justice were paid from the Chancery income (renda da Chancella-ria), the ministers of the Holy Inquisition were paid from the income derived from spice imports (renda de especiaria), the Archbishop and his Chapter were paid from the quit-rents of Bardez (foros de Bardez), the income of every toll-booth supported the garrison defending it, and so on. There were comparatively few officials who had no definite types of revenue to provide for their pay. In this group were surprisingly included the viceroy, the vedor, the factor, the State treasurer, and some other impor-
tant officials, which suggests that those who controlled the moneys knew the advantages of being out of the regular system. Perhaps the fluctuating values of the various rendas in which the salaries were consignated had their repercussions which the ministers at the helm of administration did not want to affect their interests.\(^\text{110}\)

The fact that nearly three-fourths of the total income of the territory went to feed the white bureaucracy, with the second large fund absorption being done by the Church and the defence organization, there were only crumbs for the natives and their development. That was how the Portuguese colonialism was draining the land.

The mode of payment to the labour employed by private individuals depended upon mutual agreement between the employer and employee. The guilds of the workers surely played an important role in determining the mode and quantum of payment, but there are instances when the city and State authorities also interfered. The control of the city authorities is discussed at length in the next few pages. Here follow a couple of instances which illustrate State regulation on the matter: A viceregal decree had ordered in the closing years of the sixteenth century that no employee would be allowed to seek redress of any dues in courts of law without having a contract signed with his employer determining all the terms of service and remuneration.\(^\text{111}\) Another contemporary order prohibited the native Christian artisans to continue the practice of celebrating weddings for fifteen days. The decree
restricted such celebrations to a single day in order to put
an end to the abuse of the artisans who took works on contract
basis and after taking advance-money left the works pending.\textsuperscript{112}

As regards the quantum of payment it is possible to have
a clearer picture of the salaries and wages paid to the Government
employees. The highest pay receiver was the viceroy and that
amounted to 24,000 xerafins a year at the beginning of the seventeenth century and rose up to 24,465 xerafins at the end of the
same century. The next highest salary was drawn by the Archbishop
who was paid 12,000 xerafins throughout the seventeenth century.
The Chief Revenue Superintendent and the Chief Secretary ranked
third and each received nearly 2,500 xerafins. The Chief Inquisi-
tor and the Judges of the High Court were the next highest recipi-
ents with about 1500 xerafins each. Almost all the other salaries were below 500 xerafins and the least paid menial workers
received between 15 and 24 xerafins. Apparently no revisions of
salary had brought about much significant increase.\textsuperscript{113}

As regards the remuneration of the private employment the
available information is quite scarce. In term of quarterly pay-
mments in the course of the seventeenth century a barber received
five xerafins, a cobbler four xerafins, a washerman seven xera-
fin, a cook three xerafins, a pandit fifteen xerafins, a palna-
quin or parasol bearer six xerafins. It is also interesting to
know that a washerman was paid one xerafin per wash, a baker re-
ceived two xerafins to make bread of one khandi of wheat flour
given to him, and a rope-weaver worked on eight maunds of coir
PRICES OF FOODGRAINS IN THE GOA CITY DURING THE 17TH CENTURY

A. JAGIRAL AND CHAMBAHAL VARIETIES OF RICE CONSUMED BY THE BETTER OFF.
B. WHEAT CONSUMED MOSTLY BY THE WHITES.
C. BLACK RICE CONSUMED BY LOW INCOME PEOPLE.

Note: The gaps indicate lack of recorded data.
for a xerafim and three tangas. There is still another type
of payment indication: The building charges of a mason were
four xerafins per brassa (= $3 \times 10 \times 10$ spans), a painter was
paid one xerafim and 15 reis for whitewashing two rooms, a
carpenter contractor received seventy-one and half xerafins for
doing the ceiling of a chapel, a blacksmith was paid seven
xerafins for casting an iron grill, and some basket-weavers were
paid one xerafim and half for weaving some mats. These are the
limited data contained in the books of the household accounts of
the seventeenth century monasteries of Goa city.\textsuperscript{114}

It may be recalled that most of the hard menial labour was
supplied by the slaves. Female slaves earned money by selling
goods of their masters and by engaging themselves in prostitution.
Although these slaves managed to hide a part of their earnings,
they had to place all their earnings before their masters at the
end of a day or a week. The French traveller Mocquet who was
in the city during 1607-10 met there a Siamese slave who was sell­ing goods in the market, and for that work he received a measure
of rice a day and occasionally two budgrooks for buying curry
for his rice.\textsuperscript{115}

\section*{II. Market Organization}

The splendour of the city of Goa and its glories as the queen
of the Oriental marts find exhaustive description in the travelogues
of Linschoten and Pyrard who lived there long enough to observe
the details of its market organization and functioning. Linschoten
writes that "in Goa there is holden a daily assembly or meeting together, as well of the Citizens and Inhabitants, as of all Nations throughout India, and of the Countries bordering on the same, which is like the meeting upon the Bourse of Antwerpe, yet differeth much from that, for that hither in Goa there come as well Gentlemen, as Merchants and others, and there are all kinds of Indian commodities to sell, so that in a manner it is like a Faire". Pyrard is more detailed in his description of the city market, particularly with its slave commodities for sale. With his French eyes for female beauty Pyrard had found that many of the young slave girls brought from different parts of India were very attractive, and he describes in a lascivious style the possibility of buying some virgin slave girls after confirming their virginity with the help of ladies available for the purpose. He sums up his impression of the city market by saying that it was an emporium and a port of disembarkment for the whole of India.

There are some other finer details in the above travelogues that catch our attention and call for a more elaborate description of the market organization in the Goa city. The occurrence of references to specified areas for shops and workshops, the presence of merchants from different nationalities, the existence of city brokers, the practice of issuing monopoly rights for dealing in different kinds of commodities and revenues, including the collection of market fines, the fixation of prices of essential commodities, the licensing of money-exchangers to help in speeding market transactions, the existence of a baratilhe or post-sunset
market for selling stolen goods, all these point to a market organization that was very complex.

It is clear from the preceding survey of the various groups of the city population and their relative role in the city economy that neither of the two economically dominant groups had administrative control over the market. This control was in the hands of the Portuguese married settlers who very largely a big multitude of consumers, while Portuguese Jews and native Hindus controlled most of the economy as traders, merchants, tax-farmers and artisans. In such circumstances the city administrators exercised their privileged position to protect the interests of the large consumer segment of the city population, protecting the other groups only to the extent that it was unavoidable and necessary for keeping the consumers supplied with the necessities as required by the town policy of provisionism.

In its bid to control the market the municipality authorities clashed time and again with the mercantilist State policies, and sometimes also with the personal interests of the viceroys in India. Thus, for instance, the municipality was never fully allowed to meddle with the mechanism of the seaborne trade. More than once the request of the municipality to the Crown to let it have its brokers to control the Goa-based trade had been set aside. The State authorities had also refused to consider seriously the repeated complaints of the municipality against the all-absorbing business skill and capacity of
the Jewish businessmen.\textsuperscript{119} Clashes with the personal interests of the viceroys took place generally on the issue of the small denomination currency which affected the market prices. Too often in course of sixteenth and seventeenth century the viceroys and governors tried to make profits by using their own metal to issue debased currency, and since the city market had to import most of the essential commodities, price inflation was a necessary sequel to absorb the monetary debasement. The crisis was normally enhanced by the black-marketeers who waited for the opportunity to put into flow more and more fake currency, which was made easier by the rudimentary character of the minting technique. Apparently, all complaints of the municipality authorities and all the royal orders issued to meet the problem do not appear to have provided a satisfactory solution until the end of the period under consideration.\textsuperscript{120}

The municipality had developed a three-pronged market control mechanism, namely import control, production control and distribution control. This was achieved through municipality posturas incorporated into viceregal decrees and confirmed by royal orders. The municipality had its own full-fledged body of officials to implement them.

The import control was exercised with regards to essential food commodities and raw materials for the domestic production. All food items imported from anywhere had to be disembarked and taken to the enclosure of the Customs House (Terreiro de Mandovi) within six, or at the most fifteen days, after the arrival of
the grain or other material bringing vessels into the city port. Every precaution was taken to prevent forestalling, engrossing or regrating in these essential commodities. Thus, for instance, in December 1633 the city judge, Goncalo Borges Veloso, was sent to Kanara settlements to conduct inquiry into the abuses that were taking place at that end regarding the import of rice into Goa. As a result of the judicial inquiry six Portuguese, one native Christian and two non-Christian Brahmins were arrested and brought in chains to Goa for being found guilty of re-selling the grain for much higher prices. Care was also taken about convoying the grain bringing vessels right into the Goa port and no private vessels was allowed to approach them at any stage of the way in order to prevent diversion of goods. These preventive operations very carried out by a special set-up created after the introduction of Collecta duty on food imports in 1623.

The control over the import of raw materials utilized by the city artisans was also essential. It was benefiting directly the town artisans, but it enabled the consumers to have a regular supply of goods at moderate prices. The immediate benefit is evident from the fact that the cobblers and tanners themselves had taken initiative and come to an agreement with the men of the slaughter-house: The former would provide the latter with advance money that would be sufficient for them to buy cattle for one full year, and the latter in turn were obliged to sell the hide to the former at a mutually agreed rate. In order
to prevent indiscriminate imports that might lead to compe-
tition among the guild members the municipality also had
regulations enacted to the effect that no raw materials could
be imported and sold without first contacting the judge and
inspector of the guild concerned. 125

**Production control** was aimed at protecting the consumer
against adulteration of goods and fraud. The inspectors of
every guild were instructed to tour the areas within their
professional jurisdiction and to check the quality of wares
and destroy those which are found to be sub-standard. To make
this checking easier and to prevent competition among the guild
members it was required that all artisans of the same craft or
all merchants trading in similar goods should live along the
roads assigned to them by the municipality. During the seven-
ten century there was apparently a strong tendency on the
part of certain artisan elements to evade the prevailing control
by choosing to have their workshops outside the areas assigned
to their profession. 126  As to the standard quality of wares it
was either established in the *posturas* or in the clauses of
the licenses issued to the artisans. Thus, for instance, we
come across details regarding the measurements which various
roof-tiles had to have. 127 Incidentally, these tile manufactu-
rers were not working in the city but in the suburban villages
and in the neighbouring province of Bardez. Hence, the produc-
tion control extended even outside the city premises.

Finally, the **distribution control** was carried out through
price-fixation, and through checks on weights and measures, at least in case of essential commodities. Thus, for instance, as soon as foodgrains and oils were disembarked and taken to the enclosure of the Customs House, any importer who did not have thirty khandis or more to show had the price fixed by the judge of the market (juiz do terreiro), whose clerk issued the price-tags with date of issue on them to be placed on the containers of grain or other materials for sale. These price-tags were valid for two months in case of grain and for one month only in case of ghee, butter and oil. Attention was also paid in a special way to the supply of beef and fish. There was a house with weights and scales where one could have the commodities purchased re-weighed. The beef prices were regulated taking into account the representations of the meat-cutters regarding the difficulties of obtaining cattle from the mainland. As regards fish it was determined in the municipality posturas that there should not be more than one middleman between the fish-killers and the consumers. Anyone caught selling fish to another middleman was liable to a fine of ten xerafins the first time and twenty xerafins the second time. If caught a third time the culprit was to lose the job and be whipped for three hours with the fish stringed round the neck at a public square. Apparently this posture enacted in 1618 had not solved the problems connected with the fish supply. There were licensed fish-vendors who were exploiting their monopoly rights by disposing the greater part and the best part of their fish straight from their residences.
from the benefit of the Convents and their well-wishers. The
remaining fish they would salt and dry without caring to send
any fresh fish to the market. In order to put an end to this
severe inconvenience cause to the general public the municipa-
liety determined in 1664 that there should not be any more licensed
fish vendors. 132

In order to exercise the multiple controls described above
the municipality had three types of officials, namely almocacela, jurados and zeladores. Two almocacelas or market inspectors were
appointed by the municipal board every two months, and their
duties were to inspect the foodstuffs brought into the town for
sale; to see that they were sold at the market price where this
was fixed; to ensure that the vendors used standard weights and
measures; and to ensure that the artisans and journeymen did not
charge more for their labour than they were authorized by the mu-
nicipal and guild regulations. 133 The almocacelas were helped in
the task of inspection by four sworn-accusers (jurados) who is-
sued violation-chits to the culprits and collected surety from
them if they feared that the culprits might run away. Once a week
those charged by the sworn-accusers were brought by the latter
to the market control room where the almocacelas judged the cases
and fined the violators if necessary. The cash collected by way
of fines was submitted to the city attorney. A sworn-accuser was
given one-third of the fines as his remuneration. Over and above
the sworn-accusers and the almocacelas there were two zeladores
or general superintendents elected once a year to check whether
Whenever the right of collecting the market fines was farmed out (renda do verde), as it was done during most of the seventeenth century, the farmer could arrest the violators of market regulations and produce them before the almotacelas in the market control room (cazinha). In case an almotacel was not available the tax-farmer could take the prisoner to the State prison known as sala das bragas where he could keep the arrested party for not more than twenty-four hours without producing him before the competent authorities. In order to curb the tendency of the tax-farmers to accuse people without sufficient reason it was determined in the municipality posturas that no close relative of the tax-farmer could be allowed to act as his clerk or sworn-accuser. If the almotacelas suspected the character of a sworn-accuser they could order the tax-farmer or his sworn-accuser to produce two other witnesses, which had to be either Portuguese or native Christians.
NOTES

1. Falcão, *Livro em que se contém toda a fazenda*, 78 ff.; HAG: MS 5068 (*Regimento de Ordenados*); APC-BP, T. IV, Vol. II, P. 1: 224 ff.; HAG: *Monomes 46A*, f1s. 113-7; *Monomes 54*, f1s. 24-39; *Monomes 55B*, f1s. 468-81v: It is clear from these lists of State expenditure at various times during the seventeenth century that almost all the income was spent on administrative bureaucracy, ecclesiastics, and on military expeditions.

2. Aragão, *DOHM*, III, 576-7: The only meagre exports of Goa were coconuts, areca and salt. No items which constituted the mainstay of the Portuguese Asiatic trade were obtained locally. Cf. AHU: India, Caixa 5, doc. 32 (14.11.1619): contains a suggestion made by the royal attorney in India, Pedro Alvares Pereira, to the effect that the people of Goa should be encouraged to grow pepper to provide cargo at least for one ship of the *Carrera* every year. There is no evidence to prove that this suggestion was ever taken up.

3. Walbank, *The Decline of the Roman Empire in the West*: presents a theory of decline which resembles very much to the situation that obtained in Goa.


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10. Pissurlencar, *ACE*, II, 158; III, 12, 185; IV, 53, 62, 121. In 1660's the number of the Portuguese soldiers at Goa was barely reaching 600.

11. HAG: MS 1369 (*Fiancas*, n.1), f. 165v, 165, 166v, 175; MS 1371 (*Fiancas*, n.2), f. 146v, 148, 149v, 154-4v; Pissurlencar, *ACE*, I, 129.

12. Appendix I h (Companion Volume), l. 90. Cf. Also Appendix I k (Companion Volume), ll. 44-66.


21. AHU: *India*, *Caixa* 17, doc. 89 (29.xii.1644).

22. AHU: MS 33, f. 43-43v; *Caixa* 11, doc. 53 (20.11.1635).


25. HAG: MS 7746 (*Senado: Cartas Regias*), f. 37v; Appendix I k (Companion Volume), ll. 91-100, 133-40.


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27. APO-CR, V, 911; VI, 1171; Wicki, O Livro do Pai dos Cristãos, 77-8.
29. Ibid., 545; AHU: India, Caixa 23, doc. 25 (13.11.1655).
30. APO-CR, VI, 998, 1121; AR, I, 24, 30-1; II, 609-10, 573, 582.
31. APO-CR, VI, 1059-60; AHU: India, Caixa 4, doc. 147 (20.11.1617); Pissurleuca, AOE, III, 251.
33. HAG: MSS 7832, 7856, 7852; passim.
34. There were half a dozen of Religious Orders (Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, Carmelites, Theatines), each having more than one sumptuous edifice in the city. Cf. The Travels of Pietro della Valle, I, 155-6; Mandelslo's Travels, 62-71; Hamilton, A New Account of the East Indies, I, 143: "I have stood on a little Hill near the City, and have counted about eighty Churches, Convents and Monasteries within View." Cf. Saldanha, Historia de Goa, II, 60, 64, 84, 132: are several references to fire accidents in the Religious houses.
35. Wicki, DI, VIII, 316. It is also interesting to note that in the small and dirty houses there lived 15 to 20 natives. It gives an idea of the household members in the native inhabited areas of the city.
36. Pyrard, op. cit., 47-8; Falcão, Livro, 82 ff., passim.
37. Pyrard, op. cit., 28; HAG: MS 7795 (Livro de Rosturas), fl. 45.
38. HAG: MS 7757 (Senado: Registos das Cartas), fls. 37-8.


43. Wheeler, op. cit., 204; Fryer, op. cit., 27.

44. Pyrard, II, 100; Fryer, op. cit., 22; Boxer, op. cit., 300.

45. Wheeler, op. cit., 179; APO-CR, IV, 267; Mandelslo's Travels, 81; Pyrard, II, 52.


47. Linschoten, I, 230; Viriato de Albuquerque, O Senado de Goa, 423-5; Wicki, O Livro do Pai dos Cristãos, 190-1; Pissur-lecar, Agentes da Diplomacia Portuguesa, 52.

48. HAG: MS 7696 (Senado: Registros Gerais, 1609-23), f1s. 47v-8, 119v; APP: Sert. Orig. 231, f1s. 231 ff.

49. Comentarios de Garcia de Silva y Figueroa, II, 487.


51. Sen (ed.), Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri, 188.

52. Pyrard, II, 48.

53. AHU: India, Caixa 31, doc. 93 (13.1.1681); HAG: Moncoes 52, f1s. 25v ff.

54. AR, II, 627-30, 651-2.

55. Pyrard, II, 50, 72.


57. Falcao, Livro, 86, 91; HAG: Moncoes 85, fl. 59v.


60. Basham, The Wonder that was India, 219; Kosambi, The Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India in Historical Outline, 196.


62. Wicki, DI, I, 86.

63. Wicki, DI, IV, 324.

64. Ibid., 686.

65. Langhans, As Corporaçoes dos Oficios Mecânicos, I, xiii-xxi.

66. Ibid., xvii-xviii, xxi, xlvi-xlvii.

67. Ibid., lxiii.

68. Ibid., lxvii-1xviii.

69. Ibid., lxxiii-1xxiv.

70. HAG: MS. 7737 (Acordãos e Aasentos da Camara de Goa).

71. HAG: MS 7795 (Livro de Posturas, 1808-1832), fl. 2. It is a 19th century copy.

72. HAG: MS 7750-7 (Cartas Patentes), 7696-7704 (Registos Gerais), 7738-40, 7747-8, 7765-6, 7786-7 (Acordãos e Aasentos do Senado).

73. HAG: MS 7795, fl. 28v.

74. Ibid., f. 49-50.

75. Ibid., fl. 20.

76. Ibid., fl. 16v.

77. Ibid., fls. 16v-17.

78. Loc. cit.

79. Ibid., fl. 22.
80. HAG: MS 7795 (Livro de Posturas), fl. 57.
81. Ibid., 55-55v; APO-CR, V, 1525.
82. HAG: MS 7795, fl. 65.
83. Ibid., fl. 65v.
84. Appendix II m (Companion Volume).
85. Appendix II o (Companion Volume).
87. HAG: MS 3068 (Regimento de Ordenados, 1626), fl. 22. Rather than raising the existing salaries, the purpose of the new Regimento was to cut down the general expenditure.
88. APO-CR, VI, 1235.
89. HAG: Moncoes 46A, fl. 505.
90. Pissurlencar, op. cit., 140-1, 151-2; APO-CR, V, 1325 ff., 1181 ff., provide details regarding the functioning of the Registration Office and of the House of Accounts respectively.
91. HAG: Moncoes 52, fls. 49-52: a detailed description of the powers of a Chief Revenue Comptroller in the Portuguese State of India during the seventeenth century.
93. HAG: MS 3068, fl. 72; Cf. supra n.1.
94. HAG: MS 2358 (Alvaras e Cartas Regias, 1610-45), fl. 299; Moncoes 22A, fls. 201-3; Cf. supra n.1.
95. Cf. supra n.1; Boxer, op. cit., 230-50.
96. Falcao, op. cit., 90.
97. Pyrard, II, 36.

100. HAG: ACF, V, ffs. 66-7.


102. HAG: ACF, VI, ffs. 201-2.

103. AHU: *Caixa* 21, doc. 119 (22.xii.1651); TdT: DRI, 55, fl. 50; Appendix I d (Companion Volume).

104. *Broteria* collection: Box n. 7 contains photocopies of 17 folios of MS containing complaints of the inhabitants of the Assolna village against their Jesuit overlords.

105. Appendix I d (Companion Volume), ll. 111-29.


107. AHU: *Caixa* 13, doc. 1(1.i.1638); *Caixa* 16, doc. 99 (14. iii.1644).

108. AHU: *Caixa* 31, doc. 179 (25.i.1682).


110. Loc. cit.


112. Ibid., 659-60.

113. Cf. supra n. 1.

114. HAG: MSS 1202, 2088, 2740, 2785, 4397, 4395-6, 7876, 7878, 7880 (Papeis dos Conventos Extintos).


119. APO-CR, I, P.1: 102, 106, 112, 119, 121; P.2: 44, 57, 64-5, 204-5; AHU: India, Caixa 4, doc. 138 (6.1.1617); Caixa 6, doc. 32 (14.11.1619); HAG: Monção 20, fl. 28.

120. Aragão, Descrição Geral e Histórica das Moedas, III, 515-6; 576-7.

121. HAG: MS 7795 (Livro de Posturas), fl. 5v; MS. 7846 (Registo dos Alvarás e Provisões), fls. 82v-4.

122. HAG: MS 7758 (Senado: Termos de Assentos e Juramentos), fl. 231.

123. HAG: MS 7738 (Acórdãos da Câmara, 1629-32), fls. 213v-5.

124. HAG: MS 7701 (Registos Gerais, 1648-57), fl. 58v.

125. HAG: MS 7795 (Livro de Posturas), fl. 58v.

126. HAG: MS 7846 (Alvarás e Provisões de Sua Magestade e dos Vicerais), fls. 37-38v; MS 7745 (Registos das Cartas Regias, 1630-1710), fl.5v.

127. HAG: MS 7786 (Câmara: Despacho, 1610-1704), 67-67v.

128. HAG: MS 7795 (Livro de Posturas), fls. 3v-4.


130. HAG: MS 7695 (Senado: Registos Gerais, 1570-92), fl. 266; MS 7738 (Acórdãos da Câmara, 1629-32), fls. 342-3; MS 7739 (Acórdãos da Câmara, 1655-63), fl. 270; MS 7757 (Senado: Registos Gerais, 1680-88), fl. 38.

131. HAG: MS 7795 (Livro de Posturas), fl. 81.

132. Appendix II k (Companion Volume).

133. Boxer, PST, 7.

134. HAG: MS 7701 (Senado: Registos Gerais, 1648-57), fls. 50-1v.

135. HAG: MS 7836 (Senado: Livro de Termos, 1650-88), fls. 224-5.

136. HAG: MS 7795 (Livro de Posturas), fls. 31-2v.