

CHAPTER - I.

CHAUL BEFORE 1520 A.D.

The town of Chaul is situated in Maharashtra, which is divided into three divisions viz. Konkan, *ghat mathas* or the table land and the *desh* or the plain region. This monograph deals with the town which is in the Konkan. The Konkan region lies between the *ghats* and the sea, along the coastal belt which stretches from Daman in the north to Vengurla in the South. It consists of three geological compositions namely the coastal belt, the hilly region and the middle strip. The region of Konkan becomes hilly towards the eastern direction of the coast, and the *ghats* sloping towards the same side separate the coastal belt from the *desh*. The middle strip links the coastal belt with the *ghats* which was¹ thickly forested during medieval times. The coastal strip of Konkan is irregularly marked by the curving bays creating numerous natural ports.

Chaul is one of them and it enjoys natural protection on three sides: the main stream of river Kundalika in the south, the small tributaries of the same river in the east, and the Arabian sea in the west.² Facing the port and running across the mouth of the river is a hill extending

1. H.K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi, (eds.), *History of Medieval Deccan*, (Hyderabad, 1973), Vol. I, p. 18.

2. The port is situated on the mouth of the river Kundalika which originates from the Sahadri ranges in Bhore taluka of Maharashtra and flows in south-west direction. This river debouches into the Arabian sea approximately half kilometre from the port in the Western direction.

from the bank of the river to the sea. Big ships could enter the port through this river (as the depth of water) during the seventeenth century, was recorded to have been between fourteen and twenty fathoms or 25.2 to 36.0 meters. At present the port is choked with the deposition of the sand, and is suitable only for small vessels as the depth of water is hardly nine meters. Like some of the port-towns in western India the port of Chaul was away from the town proper towards the south-east direction, approximately two leagues or nine kilometres. The land route connected the port and town from the northern side while the ferry route minimized the distance.

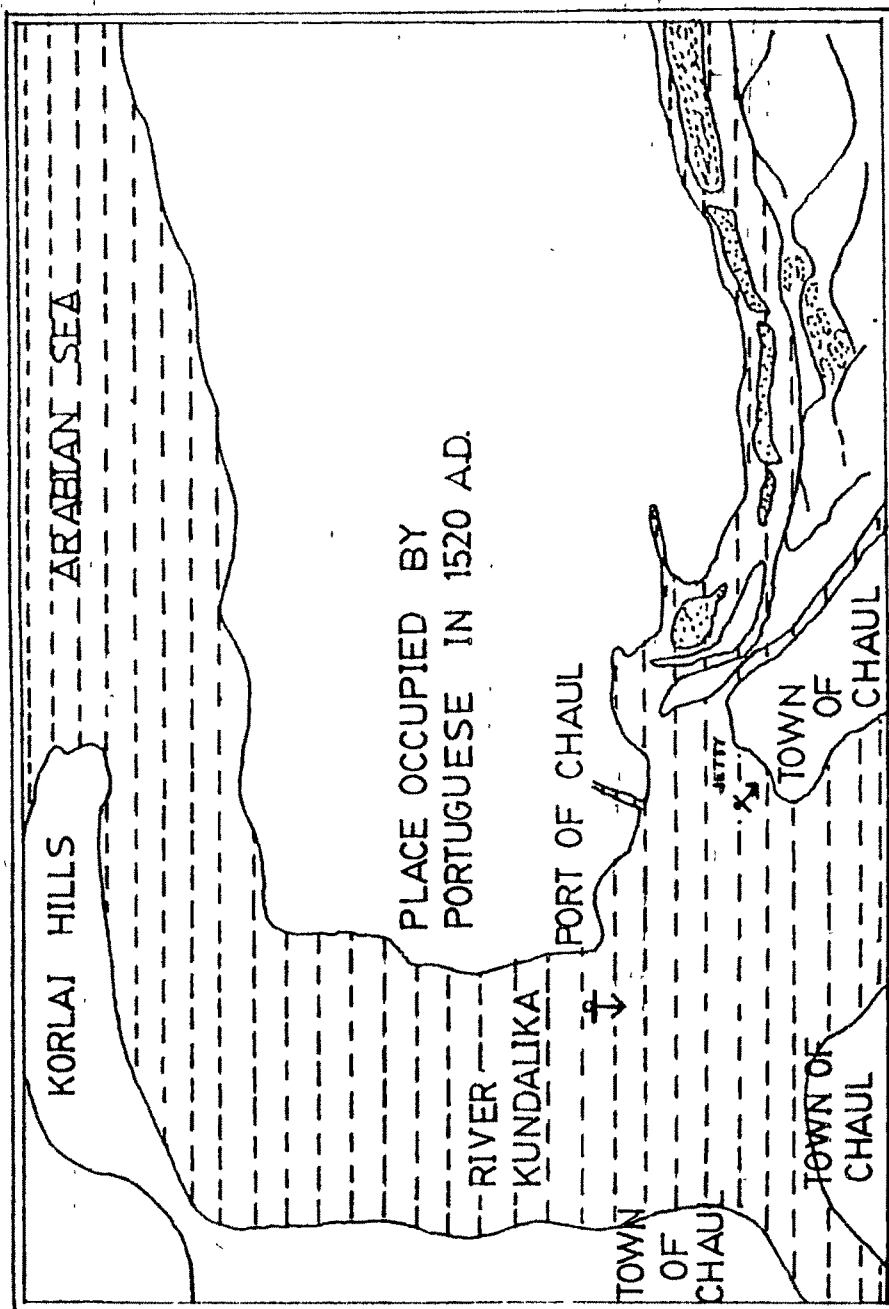
During the ancient times, the town of Chaul was known as Champavati which in due course attained its Prakrit form as Chamuli. In the *Periplus of Erythraean Sea*, that anonymous traveller called it Simylla and the Arabs knew it as Saimur.

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3. *Biblioteca da Ajuda*, (henceforth *B A*), mss. 44-IX-11, fls. 290-291. The height of this hill is about three hundred feet. During the last decade of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese occupied the fort at hill top which was under the Nizamshahis. This fort known as *Morro de chaul* or defender of Chaul, played a significant role in protecting the port-town of Chaul from naval attacks. See, S.N. Sen, (ed.), *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, (New Delhi, 1949), p. 116.
 4. Thomas Best's account in *Hakluyts Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes*, Ed. by Samuel Purchas, (Glasgow, 1905), vol. X, p. 133.
 5. Ludovico di Varthema, *The Itinerary of Ludovico di varthem of Bolgna 1500-1508*, Ed. by R.C. Temple, (London, 1922), p. 7.
 6. Prior to the occupation of the port by the Portuguese, the land route was much in use. And when the Portuguese constructed their town at the northern side of the port, the ferry route came to use by the merchants to transport the goods to this town. *Chaul Adhikari Daftar*, (henceforth *C A D*), letter no. 38.
 7. Cited by Julio Goncalves, *Seis fortalezas e feitorias da India*, (Lisbon, 1949), p. 13.

It is still difficult to ascertain when and how the place began to be identified as Chaul. The Europeans used the corrupt forms of it, such as Cevul or Chivil, in their travelogues.⁸ This town was known as Chaul when the Portuguese appeared in the Indian Ocean towards the closing years of the fifteenth century. In the sixteenth century, it was named after Murtaza Nizamshah, the Sultan of Ahmadnagar, and hence was known as Murtazabad which was reverted to its original name by the Marathas in the last quarter of the seventeenth century.⁹ It is situated in 18.33'N and 70.59'E in the modern Alibaug taluka of Raigarh district of Maharashtra.

This town was developed at the foot of a hill towards north-east direction of the port, on the far side of the river. It was the most convenient place, and was directly linked with the surrounding rural enclaves. It was well fortified town and had magnificent buildings of the merchants and other wealthy urbanites,¹⁰ while the houses of other residents were middle sized with thatched roofing.¹¹ Today, it is difficult to identify the exact location of this town.¹² But it is certain

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8. Varthema, p. cit p. 7: Also see Athanasius Nikitin's account in R.H. Major, (ed.), *India in the Fifteenth Century* (Delhi, 1974), p. 8.
 9. During the regime of Nizamshahi, the name Murtzabad and its earlier name 'Chaul' were used simultaneously in the official records. This town passed into Shivaji's hand only after 1670 and from then name Chaul was referred to this town.
 10. Zakariya Al-Kazwini's account in H.M. Elliot and John Dowson, (eds.), *The History of India as told by its own Historians* (London, 1877), vol. I, p. 97.
 11. Duarte Barbosa, *The Book of Durarte Barbosa-An Account of the Countries Boarding on the Indian Ocean and their Inhabitants* Ed. By M.L. Dames, (London, 1918), Vol. I, p. 159.
 12. See Map no. 01.01 for its location.



01.01

BASED ON THE 16TH CENTURY DOCUMENTS AND MAPS

that the town was not developed adjoining the port, as it is clearly shown in the maps prepared by the Portuguese cartographers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. To find out its location during the period under review, a survey was conducted with the help of the literary sources. Shaikh Abu Ishak who compiled his travelogue in the tenth century, informed that there was a *Jami Masjid* in the town. The ruins of this edifice still exist in the north-east side of the port, close to the beautiful Islamic structure of *Hamamkhana*. Another traveller of the same century also mentioned the existence of Jain *derasar* in the town. Both these places are at the north-east side of the port. When the Portuguese occupied the place adjoining the port, the land route linking town with the port turned out to be useless to the merchants. They began to transport the goods

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13. *Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo*, (henceforth *A N T T*), *Coleção de São Lourenço*, Mss. Vol. XV, Título (7), fls. 207v-213; *Biblioteca Publica e Aquivo Distrial de Evora*, (henceforth *B P A D E*), Mss. CXV/2.1.
 14. Also see Ibn Haukal's *Ashak-L-Bilad*. For both the sources, see Elliot and Dowson, *Op. cit*, Vol. I, pp. 27 and 38.
 15. A gorgeous structure of *Hamamkhana* can be seen even today, in better condition. A domed chamber, its square plan reduced by short angles, plays to the form of an irregular octagon, from the larger sides of which to north and south, project a low deep arched recess. At the south-east angle projects a small chamber containing a little plung bath. The domed central chamber is now open to sky, in its extreme centre, a previous roofing feature would appear to be missing.
 16. Elliot and Dowson, *Op. cit*, Vol. I, p. 97; Though the source does not indicate the exact location of the *derasar*, ruins of the same are traced. Moreover, the inscription that is being worshiped in the present *derasar*, was unearthed from one of the orchards of the north-east side of the port.

by the small ships from the port to jetty of the town.¹⁷ Thus, it is safe to conclude that the town of Chaul was developed on the other side of the river, towards north-east direction of the port.

POLITICAL CONDITION.

The Konkan strip was under the political sway of the ruler of Thane Konkan, when Ala-ud-din Khalji led an imperial army to Devgiri in 1294, and brought the kingdom of Yadavas under his control.¹⁸ However one of the sons of Ramdev Yadav of Devgiri marched towards Chaul by 1295. The town of Mahim was declared as a capital for the Yadavas, though their rule remained short lived. The Yadavas of Mahim were soon defeated by Nagarshah II-the descendent of ruler of Thane Konkan in 1332, and established his control over the territories from Thane to Chaul.¹⁹ At the same time, the Khalji dynasty was replaced by the Tughluqs, and the Sultan Muhammad-bin-Tughluq brought the kingdom of Thane Konkan under his control by 1348 and Nika Malik was appointed as a Governor to look after the administration of this area.²⁰

Tughluq's rule in Deccan witnessed various insurrections and rebellions, and to cope with the situation, Muhammad-bin-

17. The ruins of the jetty are traced at the north-east side of the fort, now branches of river are submerged at the hinterland on account of land deposition. The seventeenth century document speaks about the existence of jetty at the same side. See *C A D*, letter no. 38.

18. A.R.Kulrarni, "Medieval Chaul," paper presented to the *IV International Seminar on Indo-Portuguese History*, at Lisbon in 1985.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.*

Tughluq had made Devgiri as his capital. But the power of Tughluqs in Deccan was soon threatened by the Hindu Kingdoms of Warangal and Vijaynagar. Moreover, the nobles raised the standard of rebellion, and elected Ismael Afghan as their leader. On his inability to drive the Tughluqs away from Deccan, he bestowed the leadership on Zafar Khan, who in 1347 ascended the throne by adopting the title of Ala-ud-din²¹ Husan Bahamani.

Nika Malik-the Tughluq's Governor of Konkan, on the other hand, had supported Lahurshah-a descendent of Nagarshah in 1348 to come to power of Thane Konkan, but his rule was last for a brief period of nine years. By 1357 this kingdom²² including the town of Chaul was entrusted to the Nayats²³. By 1358, Chaul was annexed to the Bahamani kingdom. Under the Bahamani rule, this town was put under the charge of a *havaladar*, who was assisted by *majumdar* or record keeper and *mushrif* or *nighvan* or superintendent. The *havaladar* was head of both civil and military administration, while *qazi* looked after judicial matters. The *sethmahajan* represented and protected the interests of the merchants in *majlis*, and²⁴ settled the quarrels concerning the *peth*. In 1490, Ahmad Nizamshah founded independent principality of the Nizamshahi of Ahmadnagar, and under the process of expansion of his²⁵ kingdom, Chaul was brought under his control. It remained

21. Sherwani and Joshi, *Op.cit*, Vol. I. p. 55.

22. Kulkarni *Loc.cit*.

23. Sherwani and Joshi, *Op-cit*, Vol. I, p. 152.

24. V.T.Gune, *The Judicial Administration of the Marathas*, (Poona, 1953), p. 16; A.H. Siddiqui, "Administration of justice under the Bahamanis", *Proceedings of Deccan History Congress*, 1955, pp. 180-190.

25. Sherwani and Joshi, *Op-cit*, Vol. I. pp 227-229, 233.

under Nizamshahi, when the Portuguese appeared in the Indian Ocean towards the end of fifteenth century.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITION.

Chaul was considered to be a busy and renowned trading centre throughout Asia.²⁶ It was due to its central location on the sea route between Gujarat and the Malabar coast, and also due to fact that one could easily sail from there to the ports of Red Sea. Apparently it became an important transitory trading place where the merchants from all parts of Asia conveyed and engaged in dealing with several commodities. Spices of various types, coconuts, drugs, palm-sugar, wax and emery reached Chaul from the ports on the Malabar coast.²⁷ Horses from Arabia and Persia were brought to Chaul,²⁸ and were then sent to the interior parts of Deccan. Various types of cloths were brought from Gujarat. The grains such as rice, millet, gingelly as well as fine muslin were produced in Deccan, and then taken to the ports on the Malabar coast.²⁹ Similarly; spices, textiles and other merchandise were sent from this port to Hormuz, Aden & Jedda. Chaul was merchants' settlement where a few of them settled permanently while others visited the town in connection of trade during the months of December and March.³⁰

26. Tome pires, *The Suma Oriental of Tome pires*, Ed. by A. Cortesao, (London, 1944), vol. I, pp. 55-54.

27. Bardosa, *Op. cit*, Vol. I, pp. 159-161.

28. Chaul and Dabhol were two emporia for horses even before the arrival of the Portuguese in Indian Ocean. Joao de Barros, *Decada*, III, Parte II, pp. 70-71; Nikhitin, *Op. cit*, passim.

29. Barbosa, *Op. cit*, Vol. I, pp. 119.

30. *Ibid*.

Trade and ecology gave impetus to the development of various industries, and the surrounding rural enclaves provided the necessary manpower. Konkarn region contained large belt of forests with a variety of trees, most important being the teak wood.³¹ The timber is much used in ship-building because of its durability as it does not shrink or corrode. Ship-building was one of the crafts that prevailed in Chaul, but carpenters did not have enough business to do. And so, human labour was cheap in that town. It required little time and lesser money at Chaul as compared to the malabar coast to get a ship built. And that was why the Portuguese³² insisted on getting ships built in Chaul. Another industry was that of textiles. Cotton was brought to Chaul from the interior parts of Deccan, and silk from Persia as well as China. But textiles produced in the town were of inferior quality,³³ and were consumed within Deccan. The concentration of the palm groves in and around the town provided the source of living to the few urbanites who distilled wine from its juice. Wine was either sold in the town or to the sailors visiting the port.³⁴ Various oil seeds were brought

31. Konkarn teak is considered to be next to the Malabar teak. Cf. *Imperial Gazetter-provincial Series: Bombay Presidency*, (Bombay, 1909), Vol. II, p. 119.

32. *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque*, (henceforth *Cartas*), Ed. by R. A. de Bulh  o Pato, (Lisboa, 1903), Vol. III, pp. 99-101.

33. Barbosa, *Op. cit*, Vol. I, pp. 159-161; Varthema, *Op. cit*, p. 47. The Nayats, the local muslims were prominent in weaving and spinning and must have helped in developing textile industry in Chaul. It is to be noted that they ruled the town for some years during second half of the fourteenth century. See Kulkarni, *Loc. cit*.

34. *Cartas*, Vol. I, p. 240 and Vol. V, pp. 20-21.

from the surrounding rural enclaves to the town, and oil³⁵ mills were run by the community called *Saniwar Telli*. Copper and other metals were made available to the artisans, at the market of the town, who manufactured and³⁶ sold the household utensils. There must have been various other industries in Chaul, but information is not yet available.

Society in Chaul was composed of the various ethnical groups. Masudi, the tenth century traveller informs that there were ten thousand Arabs in the town who were natives of³⁷ Siraf, Oman, Bagdad and Basara. Trade between India and Red³⁸ Sea via Chaul was dominated by the Arabs. Besides, there were parsis, jews, Armenians, Chinese, Jains and Hindus at³⁹ chaul. The banking business during the bahamani times was in the hands of the Hindu *Khatris* who migrated from the⁴⁰ north and settled in that trading center.

35. The Beni-Israels in the medieval Deccan society were known as the *saniwar Talli* because they followed the occupation were oil-mongers. Being said to be the descendents of the lost of ten tribes of jewish stocks, *Sabbath* was observed by them on every Saturday, obviously they kept the shop closed on that day. And that is why they were know as *Saniwar Telli* or the oil-monger (*Telli*) who kept his shop closed on Saturday (*Saniwar*).

36. Barbosa, *Op. cit*, Vol. I. pp. 159-161.

37. Quoted by Gerson da Cunha, "History and Antiquities of chaul", *Journal of Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, No XXXIII, Vol. XII, 1879; Also see R.H. Eaton, *Sufis in Bijapur 1300-1700: Roles of Sufis in Medieval India*, (New Jersey, 1978), p. 13.

38. Barros, *Decada III*, Paarte II, pp. 73-75; A. da Silva Rego, (ed.), *Documentos sobre os Portugueses em Mossambique 1497-1840*, (Lisboa, 1942), Vol. I, pp 235-237.

39. Elliot and Dowson, *Op. cit*, vol. I, pp. 27, 38, 97 and Vol. II, p. 85.

40. *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 85

The urban social life clearly demarked the position of the urbanites on the basis of the appropriation of the wealth. The upper class was comprised of the merchants, *watandars* and the government officials who lived in the palatial buildings and wore attractive as well as expensive costumes.⁴¹ The hereditary rights and privileges were enjoyed by both the *watandars* and *nagarsheth*. The *nagarsheth* was the head man of the business community. The artisans of the town had to pay every year half a *larim* (a silver coin) to the *nagarsheth*. The merchants also paid some amount to him as fees for the services rendered to them. Besides collecting his rights from the professionals, he also enjoyed a number of other privileges. He was given *shela* (scarf) at marriage in any family, a *larim* on the arrival of a male child in the family, feast and a *larim* every year from each house of the town. The person who disobeyed him or became unmindful of his rights, was punished by the town authorities.⁴²

The *adhikaris* were the *watandars* of Chaul who also enjoyed certain privileges. For instance, if a person was convicted of adultery, the convict had to offer the scarf to the *adhikari*, in addition to the customary fine to the Government.⁴³ In the society caste system was in operation. The Hindus did not prefer to share their food with people of

41. Nikitin, *Op.cit.* p.8; Varthema, *Op.cit.* P.7.

42. In 1599, the *nagarsheth* of Chaul, Dharmaji Gambirrao Shete, had pleaded to the Nizamshah that his ancestors were enjoying a number of privilegees since antiquity and these haks(right) should be continued undisturbed. See *C A D*, letter no.16.

43. *Ibid*, Introduction; Also see Kulkarni, *Loc.cit.*

other religion, and not even with other caste fellows. If a person who found to be guilty by taking the food with the members of prohibited community, the scarf was given by the convict to the *adhikari*, besides the prescribed penalty to the *gotasabha* (caste council).⁴⁴ The bulk of Hindus in society were confined to their religious and cultural barriers which did not promote the intercaste marriages,⁴⁵ while it was common among those who settled in the town from the diverse land⁴⁶.

The early sixteenth century sources in Portuguese inform us that the human labour was cheap in Chaul.⁴⁷ It was perhaps that the people from countryside must have been migrated to the town in search of the work. And they must have got engaged in the manual work in the various industries. Trade also provided the job opportunities to them in loading and unloading the cargos or weighing the merchandise. But the scope of jobs ~~was~~ always remained limited since trading and business had their peak only for a certain period in a year.

I. ARRIVAL OF THE PORTUGUESE IN INDIA.

The attempt made by the Portuguese in discovering the sea route to India was mainly to procure the oriental commodities, particularly various types of spices directly from the Asian markets. The spice trade between India and Europe was conducted via Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. The merchants exported spices either directly from the Malabar

44. *Ibid.*

45. Nikitin. *Op.cit*, *passim*.

46. Ibn Muhala's account cited by da Cunha, *Op.cit.*

47. *Cartas*, Vol. III, pp. 99-101.

coast or through the ports on western coast of India, to the ports on Red Sea and then spices reached Europe through Alexandria and Venice.⁴⁸ In this situation the Portuguese appeared in the Indian Ocean, and expected that they could enter into close alliance with the supposed Christian rulers of the East, and make use of them to establish commercial contacts, in order to get spices and other commodities from the Orient.

But to their utmost surprise, the king of Calicut was not a Christian as they had presumed. They too had wrong notion concerning the trading methods with India as they thought that they could conduct trade in exchange of the commodities, but it was not possible since trade in India was carried out through money.⁴⁹ Thus, their earlier assumption was found to be baseless, and they in fact had nothing to offer either in superiority of commodities, money or shipping. Hence they decided to have control over Asian trade by means of the arms-the superiority of naval armament.⁵⁰ And they

48. Normally the traders from Persian Gulf dealt chiefly in silks rather than the spices, while the merchants from Red Sea region were engaged in the spice trade with India and South East Asian Region. See B.W.Diff and G.D. Winus, *Foundation of the Portuguese Empire 1415-1580*, (Oxford, 1977), p. 203.

49. In 1501. João de Nova-the Portuguese factor at Malbar coast faced great difficulties in collecting the necessary cargo through the exchange of the commodities. See k.S. Mathew. "Portuguese in the indian Ocean during 16th and 17th centuries; A Study of the Portuguese System of Cartazes and Trade in the Indian Ocean", *Temil Civilization*, vol.II, No, III.

50. Recently some works on early European expansion in India appeared that shows the sucess of the Portuguese in the initial stage was due to the superiority of naval armament. See A.J.Qaisar, *Indian Respons to European Technology and Culture*, (New Delhi, 1980), Chapter I; and P.J.Marshall, "Western Arms in Maritime Asia in the Early Phase of Expansion", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol.XIV, No.I, February, 1980.

knew how to make use of it, if they were to gain control over the situation.

The Portuguese under Vasco da Gama landed at Calicut in 1498, and were given a grand reception and permission to trade by the Zamorin who promised them every possible assistance.⁵¹ On 29 August of the same year, Vasco da Gama sailed for Portugal with a letter from the Zamorin in which assurance was given to the king of Portugal that favourable trade atmosphere would be created to them in Calicut.⁵² Being assured by the Zamorin of Calicut, Pedro Alvares Cabral reached Calicut in 1500, and opened the factory there.⁵³ But as a matter of strong dominance of the Arab merchants on spice trade, the Portuguese found it was difficult to carry on the trade. So the complaints were made to the Zamorin. After obtaining permission from him, Pedro Alvares Cabral had undertaken mission to search the ships of Muslims carrying spices, and captured some of them. This act caused sudden outbreak of anti-Portuguese feelings, and as a result, the Portuguese factor along with fifty men were killed and a factory was razed to the ground.⁵⁴

The news of this disaster reached Lisbon. Then the preparation was made in Portugal to fight down the

51. K.S.Mathew, *Portuguese Trade with India in the Sixteenth Century*, (New Delhi, 1983). p.43.

52. *Ibid*, p.43.

53. *Ibid*.p.44.King Dom Manuel I of Portugal sent a letter to the Zamorin of Calicut informing his desire of opening the factory at Calicut. See *Cartas*, Vol.III, pp.85-88.

54. Mathew, *Op.cit*, p.44.

merchants' dominance on the Indian ports. The well-equipped fleet of twenty five ships under the command of Vasco da Gama reached Calicut in 1502, and he sent a message to the Zamorin of Calicut demanding immediate expulsion of the muslim merchants from the latter's port. But Zamorin did not pay any attention to it, and replied that his port would remain open to all the merchants as usual.

He further denied the possibility to extend special favour to the Portuguese by forcing the merchants to evacuate the port or prohibiting them from trade.⁵⁶ Therefore, Vasco da Gama declared war against the ships of that region, except of those belonging to the kingdoms of Cochin, Cannanore and Quilon with whom the Portuguese were already in the friendly terms. And to protect the ships of those kingdoms, and to insist on the rulers to accept the sovereignty of the Portuguese, the system of cartazes or passport of safe navigation was introduced in 1502.⁵⁷ And to make the control more effective, the Portuguese fleets started patrolling and guarding the western coast of India.⁵⁸

55. When this fleet was being prepared, Doutor Pietro Pasqualigo- an emissary from the Republic of Venice was in Lisbon. He remarks that, "...If this voyage from Lisbon to calicut continues as it begun, there will be a shortage of spices for the Venetian galleys, and their merchants will be like baby without milk and nourishment. And in this, I clearly see the ruins of the city of Venice..." Donald Weistein, Ambassador from Venice; Pietro Pasqualigo in Lisbon, 1501, (Uni. of Minnestota Press, 1960). p. 30.

56. Mathew, "Portugare in the Indian ocean".

57. Gaspar Correa, *Lendas da India*, (Coimbra, 1922). Bk. I. p. 298.

58. M.N. Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat-The Response to the Portuguese in the Sixteenth Century*, (Delhi, 1976), pp. 44-45.

II. NAVAL CONFRONTATION IN CHAUL.

Having exercised control over the trade at Malabar coast, the Portuguese had turned their attention to stop the flow of spices reaching Red Sea through the ports on the Konkan and Gujarat coast of India.⁵⁹ It is to be noted that spices from India at the dawn of the fifteenth century reached Europe through Beirut, Cairo and Alexandria. These centers were under the authority of the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt who appropriated good amount of the revenue through the customs duty on these articles.⁶⁰ And when the Portuguese made attempt to exercise control over trade and the trade routes linking India and Red Sea, the revenue of the Mamluk Sultans was much affected.⁶¹ On the other hand, the Venetians and other Europeans who were trading with the Arabs in Red Sea warned the Sultan that they would withdraw their trade if nothing positive was done in this respect.⁶² The Sultan determined to form a combined league with the Indian rulers in order to drive the Portuguese out from the Indian Ocean.

59. The *regimento* or royal decree was issued to the Captain General Dom Francisco da Almeida in 1505 informing him that, "...You shall advise them (i.e. rulers of Chaul and Dabhol) that no spices are to reach from their lands or place to any other place whence it may reach Mecca. If you see these articles in their ships you can seize them. It would be up to you to decide whether the agreement should be discarded. And in this fashion, you shall enter into an agreement with other kings if they be Moors (i.e. the Muslims) who demand this of you. Likewise no spices should reach their lands for Aden, Hormuz or other places of the straits...", Antonio da Silva Rego, (ed.) *Documentos sobre os Portugueses em Mossambique e na Africa Central 1497-1840*, (Lisboa, 1942), Vol. I, pp. 235-237.
60. R.S. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, (Patna, 1979), pp. 115-116.
61. Mathew, *Op.cit*, p. 38.
62. In 1502, the Venetians could not procure sufficient spices from Beirut and Alexandria, and in 1504 they returned to Venice without any spices. See Mathew *Op.cit*, p. 35.

The Venetians supplied artillery, carpenters and caulkers to the Sultan of Egypt who had brought the wood to Cairo, and constructed the fleet ready to attack the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean.⁶³ The Egyptian fleet under the command of Mir Hussan sailed from Cairo on 15 February 1507, and reached Diu on 20 September of the same year.⁶⁴ On the Indian side, Malik Ayaz who was a Governor of Diu had commanded the fleet of Sultan Mahmud Shah Begda of Gujarat.⁶⁵ The combined fleet appeared at Chaul in the month of January 1509, and challenged the Portuguese armada which was under the command of Dom Lourenço da Almeida. In this battle the Portuguese were defeated. They incurred heavy loss and lost one hundred and fifty soldiers, while hundred and twenty four were wounded. Their commander, Dom Lourenço da Almeida was killed. The victorious fleet of Afro-Asian front made wounded soldiers of the Portuguese side as the prisoners and left them in the town of Chaul where they were looked after with great care and consideration.⁶⁶ On receiving the news of the Portuguese defeat at Chaul, Dom Francisco da Almeida left Cannanore for Diu with nineteen ships as well as one thousand and two hundred soldiers in February 1509.⁶⁷ The Portuguese defeated the combined fleet at Diu and forced the

63. *Ibid*, p.36; Also see Whieway. *Op.cit*,p.116.

64. Whiteway, *Op.cit*,p.116.

65. Barros, *Decada II*, Parte I, p 180. Longworth Dames, "Portuguese and Turks in the Indian Ocean in the sixteenth century," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, Part I, 1921.

66. Whiteway, *Op.Cit*,p.118.

67. Mathew, *Op.Cit*,p.40.

Sultan of Gujarat to give stipulated war indemnity to the king of Portugal. On his way to Cochin, he also forced the Nizamshah of Ahmadnagar who was one of the powers of Afro-Asian front, to enter into friendly alliance with the Portuguese and to free the Portuguese prisoners.⁶⁸

III. FOUNDATION OF THE PORTUGUESE FACTORY AT CHAUL.

The battle between the Afro-Asian front and the Portuguese helped the latter to enter into an agreement with the Sultan Ahmad Nizamshah of Ahmadnagar, under whose jurisdiction was the port town of Chaul at that time. The Portuguese had insisted Ahmad Nizamshah on paying thirty thousand *cruzados* as war indemnity and twelve thousand *cruzados* as the annual tribute to the king of Portugal. But the Sultan denied to pay such amount as it would be difficult for him since he too incurred heavy loss on account of the battle.⁶⁹ Finally both the parties ~~came~~⁷⁰ to terms and a treaty was signed between them on 1509. In accordance with the treaty, the Portuguese had obtained permission to start the factory at Chaul. The Sultan Ahmad Nizamshah became tributary to the king of Portugal, and agreed to pay two thousand *cruzados* annually by way of tribute. The Portuguese also agreed that the protection would be given by them to the Sultan Ahmad

68. F.C.Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, (London, 1966), Vol. I, p.141.

69. Fernao Lopes de Castanheda. *Historia do descobrimentos e Conquista da India pelos Portuguezes*, (Coimbra, 1924). Bk. II. Chapter XCVII.

70. *Ibid*; Also see Barros, *Decada III*, Parte II. pp.69-71.

Nizamshah or his son against any attacks from any of his neighbours. The Sultan Ahmad Nizamshah agreed to the proposal that no customs duty would be levied upon the commodities brought to Chaul by the Portuguese.

Thus, with the agreement between them, the first Portuguese factory was established in 1509 outside the Malabar coast. It was put into operation chiefly to purchase textiles from the region of Gujarat and in supplying rice, vegetables, wheat, wine and other such items to the ships of the armads⁷¹ that guarded the western coast of India. Besides these, it was an important commercial organization which was engaged in purchasing, selling and storing the articles of royal trade.⁷²

The *feitor* or factor was the head of the factory and he was conducting trade independently^{en} and was assisted by the writer,⁷³ interpreter and other officials for the necessary services. The first factor appointed at Chaul was João Fernandes who⁷⁴ was succeeded by Fernão Lemos. The tenure of the factor was three years Francisco Carnivell served as factor at Chaul⁷⁵ between 1511 and 1513, and was transferred to Gao. The factor held a responsible position in the in the factory and arranged the sales of the articles of royal trade and also purchased the commodities which were to be exported. He

71. *Cartas*, Vol. p. 240.

72. *Cartas*, Vol. I. pp. 79-80, 189-198, 273-274; Vol. III, pp. 69, 100, 325; Vol. V. pp. 181-182.

73. *Ibid*, Vol. III, p. 21.

74. Barros, *Decada* III, Parte II, p. 70.

75. *Cartas*, Vol. VI, pp. 480, 53-54; and Vol. I, pp. 382-383.

also received the annual tribute from the Sultan of Ahmadnagar, on behalf of the king of Portugal.⁷⁶ When the permission was obtained to construct the fortress, Dom Garcia da Silva was appointed as the first captain of Chaul in 1520.⁷⁷ Then the Factory was put under the over all charge of the Captain. The Captain was the head of both the civil and military administration while the duty of the factor was to look after the royal trade and revenue administration. The factor was responsible to the central authority and not to the Captain in fiscal and commercial matters.⁷⁸

IV. PORTUGUESE TRADE WITH CHAUL: 1509-1520

Here an attempt is made to study the Portuguese trade with Chaul in two phases, i.e from 1509 to 1513 and from 1513 to 1520. In the first phase, an effort is made to show how the continuity in trade was maintained despite the establishment of the Portuguese factory at Chaul. And in the second phase, it would be seen how the Portuguese policies in trade helped them in acquiring the land for the foundation of their town adjoining the port of Chaul.

FIRST PHASE: 1509-1513

During the first decade of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese had established the factories at Cannanore, Cochin, Calicut and Quilon on the Malabar coast.⁷⁹ And with

76. *Ibid*, Vol. VI, pp. 423-424.

77. *Arquivo da Casa da Cadaval, Livro II, fl. II. no. 58.*

78. *A N T T, Livros das Monções, Mss. no. 29, fls. 25-25v.*

79. Mathew, *Op. cit*, pp. 44, 71-77.

the establishment of the factory at Chaul, the Portuguese trade began with Deccan and Gujarat. Pepper and other spices, copper, quicksilver as well as vermillion were brought to the factory of Chaul from the Malabar coast.⁸⁰ Instead of purchasing the spices from the Malabar coast^a, the merchants began to acquire^c the same from the Portuguese at Chaul, and took the spices alongwith other commodities to the ports on Red Sea. Obviously spices reached Europe from there. However in 1510, the Portuguese factor at Cannanore complained that despite their attempts, pepper and other spices were reaching the ports on Red Sea. The only remedy suggested was to take measures so as to stop sending pepper and other spices to Chaul.⁸¹ But the Portuguese found it was difficult since they needed textiles from Gujarat for their trade with the Malabar coast and Malacca, and the factory at Chaul could supply textiles to them only in exchange of spices.⁸² Secondly, the inadequacy of the financial resources of Portugal was one of the reasons why coastal trade was encouraged, and therefore the spices had to be sold at Chaul in order to generate the necessary finance.⁸³

In 1512 the Portuguese granted *cartazes* or passport to the ships that conducted trade between Chaul and Honavar.⁸⁴ In the same year, one ship sailed from Bhatkal to Chaul, and from there to Hormuz.⁸⁵ In 1513, two ships loaded with

80. *Cartas*, Vol.III,p.325; Barbosa, *Op.cit*, Vol.I,pp.159-161.

81. *Cartas*, Vol. III,p.325.

82. *Ibid*, Vol.I,pp.29-55 and vol.III,p.100.

83. *Ibid*, Vol.I,pp.29-55.

84. *Ibid*.

85. *Ibid*.

textiles from Cambay, horses from Hormuz and seed pearls left Chaul for Honavar, and in the same year four or five ships loaded with the spices from Kanara and Malabar regions reached Chaul ⁸⁶. Again in the same year, spices, copper and silk worth sixteen thousand *pardaos* were sold at Chaul ⁸⁷ and Cambay. The following table shows the prices of various commodities that were disposed off at the factory of Chaul.

86. *Ibid*, pp.163-171.

87. *Ibid*, pp.122-132 and 189-198.

T A B L E (01-02)

(PRICES OF COMMODITIES BETWEEN 1509 AND 1513).

no.	commodity	weight and measurement	price
1.	Calys (?)	quintal	10 <i>cruzados</i> .
2.	Calicos	<i>corja</i> *	10 <i>pardaos</i> .
3.	Cardamon	quintal	10 <i>cruzados</i> .
4.	Copper	-do-	21 -do-
5.	Guylla (Malaca drug)	-do-	10 -do-
6.	Ivory	-do-	10 -do-
7.	Muslin	<i>corja</i> *	10 -do-
8.	Pepper	quintal	10 -do-
9.	White velvet	Each	07 -do-

Sources: *Cartas*, III, pp. 99-101; Barbosa, I, p. 162.* *corja* or *corge* consisted of 20 pieces

The pepper in Cochin was available at 2.67 *cruzados* per quintal in 1510 and it was sold by the Portuguese at Chaul⁸⁸ at the rate of ten *cruzados* per quintal. Hence the profit appropriated by them was approximately more than three times that of the actual purchasing price. Looking to the available information, one could easily understand that neither the presence of the Portuguese nor their trade in Chaul brought considerable change in the economy of the town which remained transitory centre of trade.

SECOND PHASE : 1513-1520

Affonso de Albuquerque became the Governor of the Portuguese possessions in the East in the year 1509, and in the follow-⁸⁹ing year, he captured Goa without much difficulties. He was highly impressed by its strategic location and fertile surroundings so much so that thought of elevating Goa as the capital city for their Eastern possessions. He decided to concentrate the horse trade there, so as to develop the town of Goa as an important center of trade, and by doing so, he also pointed out a new method of strengthening their⁹⁰ foot-holds in India.

88. *Ibid*, Vol. III, pp. 317, 319 and Vol. VI, p. 379.

89. J.V. Serrão, (ed.), *Comentarios de Afonso de Albuquerque*, (Lisboa, 1973), Tomo II, Parte III, Cap. LVL; A.B. de Braganca Pereira, *Arquivo Portugues Oriental* (henceforth *A P O-B P*), (Bastora, 1937), Tomo IV, Vol. I, Parte I, pp. 402-406; Joseph Barros, "Local Collaborators in Acquisition by Albuquerque" paper presented to the *III International Seminar on Indo-Portuguese History*, Goa, 1983, By the end of January 1510, Affonso de Albuquerque had collected one thousand and two hundred soldiers and a fleet of twenty vessels, and declared his desire to capture Hormuz. But he attacked Goa. He faced minor resistance, from Adilshah of Bijapur under whose jurisdiction Goa was at that time. By 1512, it came under the Portuguese rule and remained with them till 1961.

90. *A P O-B P*, Tomo IV, Vol. I, Parte I, pp. 385-387.

Horses were one of the profitable items of trade and were brought to the ports on the Gujarat and Deccan coast from Arabia and Persia. And to get them, the merchants brought spices from the Malabar coast. So, Affonso de Albuquerque thought that by forcing to disembark the horses only at the port of Goa, merchants would bring spices and other commodities and it would help in developing Goa as a center of trade. Secondly, the Portuguese could be able to collect a good sum by way of taxes which would help them in maintaining their military and commercial enterprises. And lastly, by disembarking horses at Goa, Affonso de Albuquerque thought of that it would help them to have influential position in this sub-continent since the rulers would always be at their mercy so as to get horses of better quality.⁹¹

As noted earlier that from the very beginning the Portuguese war ships, collectively known as *armadas*, were guarding the Indian Ocean in order to exercise monopoly control over the Asian trade and to protect the merchant marine against pirates.⁹² In 1513, Affonso de Albuquerque had instructed the Captain General of the *armadas* that all ships coming from the ports on Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, loaded with horses, should be directed or brought to the port of Goa and would not be allowed to drift to any other ports in India⁹³ under any circumstances.

91. *Cartas*, Vol. I, pp.199-243.

92. *Ibid*, pp.181-198.

93. Barros, *Decada III*, Parte II, pp.70-73.

The Portuguese found that there was not a profitable market for their copper in the Malabar coast, with which they expected to purchase the spices. But, Malabar eagerly sought for the Gujarati textiles.⁹⁴ Fortunately for the Portuguese, Gujarat proved to be a good and profitable market for copper, as its annual requirement being about forty thousand quintals during the first quarter of the sixteenth century.⁹⁵ Moreover, the spices from the Malabar coast too could be disposed off profitably at Cambay.⁹⁶ So, the Portuguese factory at Chaul, from 1509 onwards, was busy engaging in supplying copper and spices to the Gujarati merchants and in purchasing varieties of textiles from the surrounding regions.⁹⁷

Considering the prospective advantages in the trade at Gujarat, Affonso de Albuquerque had persuaded its Sultan to give them permission to start their factory at Diu and the immunities in the payment of customs duties at the ports of

94. The King of Portugal had faced difficulties in raising sufficient finance to promote his trade with the East, So, he invited the Italian financiers. But, neither Portugal nor her Italian allies could provide sufficient cash or copper that would be exported to India in order to raise finance there. However, in 1504 the treaty was signed between the King of Portugal and the German business houses who agreed to provide both copper and cash. This copper was then sent to India, so there was a need of profitable market. See, Joy Thomas, "The Indian Pepper and German Copper in the Indo-Portuguese Trade in the Sixteenth Century," *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1981, pp. 318-325; Mathew, *op.cit*, chapter V.

95. *Cartas*, Vol. I, p. 240.

96. *Ibid*, pp. 79-80, 273-274 and Vol. III, p. 69.

97. Barbosa. *Op.cit*, Vol. I, pp. 159-161.

Cambay and Diu. On the other hand, the Sultan of Gujarat also thought that the Portuguese presence at his ports would help his exchequer and friendship with the Portuguese would protect trade of the merchants of Gujrat. So, the latter accepted the proposal made by Affonso de Albuquerque in 1513, on the conditions laid down by the the Portuguese. Thus in 1513 the Portuguese had established their factory at Diu.⁹⁸ In the same year, the Portuguese had shipped spices that were stored at the factory of Chaul, to Cambay. Thus, from that year onwards, they started sending spices and copper to Gujarat and purchasing textiles.⁹⁹ In the following years, they experienced that they could sell copper worth of one lakh *cruzados* within a day in Cambay and also spices.¹⁰⁰

Thus, three factors emerged during the second phase. First, the policy in concentrating horse trade at Goa which proved dangerous not only to the trade at Chaul but also to all the ports of India so much so that not even ten per cent of trade was left with them, as it was observed by Tome Pires.¹⁰¹ Before the Portuguese control on the horse trade, same was carried at Chaul. Hence other merchandise were brought to Chaul in order to purchase horses from there. But, when the port of Goa became the only center for disembarkment of horses, obviously the merchants began to concentrate their trade at Goa rather than Chaul.

98. *Cartas*, Vol. I. p. 240.

99. *Ibid*, Vol. I. pp. 99-101, 267-268, 272-274, 329; Vol. II. p. 128; Vol. III, pp. 84, 385, 392, 402; Vol. IV, p. 271; Barros, II, II, VIII; *As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo*, Vol. IV, pp. 213-221.

100. *Cartas*, Vol. III, p. 100.

101. *Suma Oriental of Tome pries*, Vole. I, p. pp. 53-58.

When the Portugese obtained permission to start their factory at Diu and immunities in their trade with Gujarat, the merchandise such as copper and spices were found in abundance in that region. Naturally, the merchants of Gujarat had shifted their trade from Chaul and those who were interested in getting horses, used to go to Goa. Tome Pires, the Portuguese traveller who happened to visit Chaul some times after the year 1513, stated that the port of Chaul which was renowned and famous throughout Asia earlier was on the verge of decline.¹⁰²

And lastly, the port of Chaul emerged as a clandestine place for spices. The system adopted by the Portuguese was responsible for this. The low price of pepper and other spices offered by the Portuguese at the Malabar coast was one of the reasons why the merchants took spices in the small ships to Chaul.¹⁰³ However, pepper and other spices continued to reach Chaul and to get them, the merchants from the Red Sea regions frequently visited Chaul with Copper.¹⁰⁴ Therefore in 1518, the *regimento* or the Royal Ordinance was issued to the Portuguese factor at Chaul thereby instructing him to divert all the ships to Goa.¹⁰⁵ But, it had no effect whatsoever as we know that spices reached Chaul even in the year 1520.¹⁰⁶

102. *Ibid.*

103. Mathew, *Op. cit.*, pp. 98-100.

104. *Cartas*, Vole. III. p. 100.

105. *Historical Archives of Goa*, (henceforth *H A G*), Mss. 3027, fl. 92w.

106. *Cartas*, Vol. VII, pp. 172-186.

To sum up, the physiography of the surrounding region played a vital role in the growth of this town. The Konkan strip is irregularly marked by the curving bays hence creating the natural ports like Chaul. This town could have been developed adjoining the port but it would have been arrested its physical expansion as the port is surrounded by water on three sides. At the north-east side of the port where the town was actually raised on comparatively flat land, was not far from the port and the countryside. The surrounding rural enclaves were supplying the essential food grains, vegetable etc. to the town and were consumed by the urbanites or taken as provision by the visiting ships.

It was developed because of the support, security and concessions extended by the political powers without restraining the activities of the merchants. And that was why the merchants from Arabia, Persia, Armenia, China and of many other places came and settled at Chaul, and carried out their trade particularly with the Malabar coast, Gujarat and the ports on the Red Sea. Due to their endeavour in trade, Chaul became a transitory port-town and was considered to be a busy center of trade. Deccan did not produce horses of better breed and always looked for the supply from Arabia and Persia. Trade of horse required merchandise such as textiles or spices that were brought to Chaul from Gujarat and the Malabar coast respectively. This also gave impetus to the growth of Chaul since it is situated at the middle point between the Malabar coast and Gujarat, and was quite convenient for the Persian Gulf traffic.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century the Portuguese appeared in the Indian Ocean with a clear object^{ive} to procure the spices directly from the Asian markets. They had nothing to offer in order to carry on trade in a peaceful manner, so they turned towards achiev^eing their objectives by means of naval superiority. Their attempts in restraining the spice traffic through existing trade routes had caused discontentment among the Venetians the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt, the Sultan of Gujarat of Calicut and the Nizamshah of Ahmadnagar who formed a league against the Portuguese. They challenged the Portuguese supremacy in Indian Ocean but were finally routed out. The outcome of the same proved advantageous to the Portuguese who made the Nizamshah as their tributary, and obtain^ded a place to start their factory at Chaul. With the foundation of their factory at Chaul in 1509, it became a center of the Portuguese trade for obtaining textiles from Gujarat by supplying spices of the Malabar coast and copper from Europe. The merchants visited Chaul particularly with horses, textiles and spices. Chaul continued to enjoy its earlier status as transitory trading place.

By 1512 Goa was brought under the control of Portuguese by Affonso de Albuquerque, and for the development of the town of Goa, he followed a policy of diverting the horse trade there. Chaul, which was one of the emporia, had witnessed sudden decline in its trade. The merchants who brought horses from Arabia and Persia were forced to disembark them at the

town of Goa where they made their purchases of textiles or the spices. In the same year, the Portuguese had opened their factory at Diu which started to deal with textiles, copper and spices. The concentration of the horse trade at the town of Goa and supply of spices as well as copper to Gujarat by the Portuguese were the factors responsible for the decline of trade at Chaul.

After 1513, Chaul emerged as *rendezvous* for the merchants: copper from the ports on the Red Sea and spices from the Malabar coast were brought to Chaul. The Portuguese factor at Chaul had no means to stop their transaction. He had no political control over the port of Chaul, and if at all he informed the *armadas* to restrain the traffic, there would be less chance of success since trade under the merchants was conducted in small ships which often travelled along the coast, while the big ships of the *armadas* had to sail deep in the sea. Hence, the Portuguese wanted to have control over the port so as to restrain the clandestine activities of the merchants. In 1520, they obtained permission from the Nizamshah of Ahmadnagar to erect their fortress adjoining the port and in due course, this fortress got transformed into the fortified town of Chaul. The subsequent chapters will deal with the socio-economic condition of the town of Chaul, which was under the Portuguese control during the period under our study.