

C H A P T E R -II

URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND SOCIETY

Revdanda-the modern name of the Portuguese town of Chaul, is a place of palm and betel nut plantation, with a few remnants of the Portuguese settlement scattered all round. Some houses are in the fortress but there is no trace of those buildings of the by-gone ages, though the ruins of some public edifices of gorgeous dimensions are still extant. The walls around the place are more or less intact to enable us to understand the physical area of the town proper and its suburb during the period under review. This is the medieval Portuguese town of Chaul which emerged towards the middle of sixteenth century and gradually declined after the seventeenth century. In this chapter an attempt is made to unfold the physical features of this town and its society during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

I. ACQUISITION OF THE SITE

In the last chapter, we have seen how the Portuguese factory came to be established at Chaul in 1509. The same factory was transformed into a fortress and later into a town. Here an effort is made to examine the sequences leading towards the cession of the place for erecting a fortress.

POLITICAL REASONS

Burhan-the minor son of Ahmad Nizamshah of Ahmednagar ascended the throne of Ahmadnagar in 1510 at the age of seven, and soon landed into political turmoil. On the home front, he faced the threat of dethronement in favour of his

brother, but he was able to subvert the attempts and then he forced the conspirators to take shelter in the Sultanate of Berar. The relationship between Ahmadnagar and Berar took a belligerent turn on the issue of the town called Pathri. This town was occupied by Burhan Nizamshah in 1518. Under the instigation and help from the Sultan Adilshah of Bijapur, the Sultan of Berar had managed to bring back the town of a Pathri under his control. But soon it was recaptured by Burhan Nizamshah. However, the Sultanates of Berar and Khandesh formed an alliance against Ahmednagar, and after being defeated by the latter, they appealed to the Sultan of Gujarat for help. On other hand, Burhan Nizamshah could not check the ever-growing influence of his rival, the Sultan Adilshah, who never missed an opportunity to stir up trouble against Sultanate of Ahmadnagar. Thus towards the end of second decade of the sixteenth century, Burhan Nizamshah was threatened by an attack from the power of Gujarat and to protect the interests of Ahmadnagar and that led him to enter¹ into an alliance with the Portuguese.

ECONOMIC REASONS.

The Portuguese chronicler Barros has stated that, "...without suffering there would be no world, and without horses any war..." In more concrete terms, this meant there would be less opposition to the Portuguese from the Indian rulers if the supply of horses was brought under control.² As

1. Sherwani and Joshi, *Op.cit*, Vol. I, pp. 234-236.

2. Barros had written that, "... se na~o houvesse soffrimento, na~o houvera ja mundo; se na~o houvesse cavallos, na~o houvera guerra..." Barros, *Decada III*, Parte II, p. 71.

discussed earlier, the horse trade had been removed from the ports on the west-coast of India and concentrated at the town of Goa by the Portuguese. This became possible due to the Portuguese system of the ³armadas. We have also argued in the last chapter that the enforcement of this policy had an immediate impact on the trade at Chaul particularly with the Persian Gulf. Horses were diverted to the town of Goa which in fact was surrounded by the territories of Bijapur. If horses were to be taken to the kingdom of Ahmadnagar from Goa, there would be the risk of seizure by Adilshah who was at loggerheads with Nizamshah of Ahmadnagar. ⁴ Therefore, it was beneficial to get horses right in the port of his dominion, hence Burhan Nizamshah granted permission to the Portuguese ^{to} erect the fortress at the port of Chaul. In return the only condition he insisted upon was he would be allowed ⁵ to import three hundred horses every year.

FOUNDATION OF THE FORTRESS.

In 1520, Fernão Coelho, the Portuguese factor at Chaul, had negotiated with Burhan Nizamshah of Ahmadnagar and obtained permission to construct a fortress at the port. ⁶ Governor Diogo Lopes de Sequeira agreed to the term dictated by Burhan Nizamshah, and the work of fortification began on the side of the port-about half a league towards the south-west of the town. ⁷ The Portuguese had faced little opposition

3. See Chapter no IV.

4. Barros, *Decada* III, Parte II, p.69.

5. *Ibid*, p.72.

6. *Ibid*, pp.69-70.

7. *Ibid*; *B.Mus*, Collection Egerton, Mss.1646, fl.13.

while constructing the fortress. Shaikh Mahmud who was a prominent person of Chaul intimated secretly to Malik Ayaz the Governor of Diu about the fortress being constructed by the Portuguese.⁸ Since the erection of this fort appeared prejudicial to the interests of the Sultanate of Gujarat, Malik Ayaz appeared at the port of Chaul with more than fifty vessels and sunk a large Portuguese ship carrying rich cargo from Hormuz. He and Aga Mahmud the commander of the fleet of Gujarat successfully continued to blockade the entrance to the port for nearly three weeks.⁹ One of the members of the confederacy against the Portuguese, Raja Bharjiu-the chief of Balgana marched towards the port to prevent the Portuguese from constructing the fortress.¹⁰ Having been attacked from land and sea, the Portuguese at Chaul were at a bad situation initially. But, soon they had received reinforcements from Hormuz, Cannanore and Goa, and eventually were able to defeat both the forces of Gujarat and Balgana. Thus, the attempt ^{to} ~~at~~ undermine the Portuguese settlement at the port of Chaul was paralysed.¹¹ Henceforth the construction work was carried out without hindrance and it was completed before the year 1523.¹² After a lapse of five years, Malik Ayaz made yet another attempt to oust the Portuguese from Chaul, but in vain.¹³

8. Barros, *Decada III*, Parte II, pp.74-81.

9. *Ibid*.

10. Sherwani and Joshi, *Op.cit*, Vol.I, p.237.

11. Barros, *Decada III*, Parte II, pp.74-81; da Cunha, *Op.cit*.

12. *A N T T*, *Mss Corpo Chronologico*, Parte I, Maço 29, doc.86.

13. da Cunha, *Op.cit*.

Some of the researchers are of the opinion that cession of the port of Chaul to the Portuguese made the position of Burhan Nizamshah stronger against the impending dangers from Gujarat and Bijapur.¹⁴ But the economic reason for the acquisition of the port by the Portuguese seems more or at least convincing. Once the Portuguese shifted horse trade from the ports on west-coast India, Nizamshah was deprived of procuring this vital commodity at the port of Chaul. It was one of the important reasons why Burhan Nizamshah interested in bringing the Portuguese at the port of Chaul was to get a steady supply of horses every year. On the other hand, the Portuguese also wanted the port of Chaul as their settlement. Affonso de Albuquerque from the very beginning emphasised that the Portuguese dependence on its navy alone would weaken their existence in the Orient, and advised that they should possess ports of strategic importance and make them their settlement.¹⁵ As we have examined in the last chapter the port of Chaul had emerged as a clandestine resort for spice-copper traffic between India and the Red Sea region and to control it, the Portuguese needed a base at Chaul.

II. GROWTH OF THE URBAN SETTLEMENT.

Towards the end of first decade of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese obtained permission to start a *feitoria* or factory at the port of Chaul. The factory was a commercial organization under a few officials whose duty was to take care of the Crown's trade. The factory engaged in purchasing

14. Radhey Shyam in Sherwani and Joshi, *Op.cit*, Vol.I, p.236.

15. Danvers, *Op.cit*, Vol.I, p.261.

and selling merchandise during the trading months, and functioned under the immunities granted by the Sultan of Ahmednager, such as exemption from paying the customs duty. By 1516, a part the factory was constructed, and the officials began to reside there with their families.¹⁶ The permanent presence of the Portuguese at Chaul appears to have been caused certain unpleasant events which resulted in the murder of some Portuguese.¹⁷ In order to extend protection to the settlers as well as for reasons mentioned earlier, the Portuguese decided to transform the settlement into a fortress. A place was acquired to erect the *fortaleza* or fortress,¹⁸ and the construction work was completed before 1523.

Thus at the beginning of the third decade of the sixteenth century, the factory was transformed into a fortress, and a garrison was stationed under the command of the Captain.¹⁹ The factory then began to function under the protection of armed soldiers. The *armadas* stopped at the port to take fresh water, wine, vegetable and essential food grains.²⁰

The soldiers on board could then retire to the place and be replaced by others. Because of the limited strength of manpower at the port, the Portuguese were unable to carry on the loading and unloading of the cargos, and other works. Hence, the co-operation from the local people was

16. *Cartas*, Vol. pp, 140-141.

17. Barros, *Decada* III, Parte II, p. 69; da Cunha, *Op. cit.*

18. A N T T, Mss. Corpo Chornologico, Parte I, Maço 29, doc. 86.

19. Dom Garcia da Silva was appointed as the first Captain of Chaul. Arquivo da Casa da Cadaval, Livro II. fl. 11, no. 58.

20. *Carrtas*, Vol. I, p. 20.

sought. The port was scarcely inhabited, and people who resided there, looked upon the Europeans with fear and curiosity.²¹ Once the Portuguese soldiers walked around the fortress with arms in their hands, the curiosity turned into panic. The fortress and its occupants who were considered outsiders by the inhabitants who were frightened by their presence on their ancestral land. However, in order to come to terms with surroundings and to attract as well as to employ the poor town-dwellers to the labourious jobs, the Portuguese began distributing rice to them free of cost on every Saturday for a week's maintenance, from 1523 onwards. This was²² deemed an act of charity and not remuneration for services. It is to be noted that during this period, only those soldiers were permitted to reside at Chaul who normally received their salaries. Not a single *casado* or married²³ Portuguese had made Chaul as the place of his residence, and until the third decade of the sixteenth century, Chaul continued to remain the fortress or a place restricted to military settlement.

The next phase in the growth of Chaul may be said to have begun with the fourth decade of the sixteenth century when *casados* or married Portuguese started inhabiting the place, and settled around the fortress. The area occupied by them was known as a *bandel* or the ward wherein the Portuguese resided in India. This area was under the

21. Nikitin, Op.cit, p.8.

22. Antonio da Silva Rego, (ed.), Documentação para História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente, (Lisboa, 1948), Vol. II, p.9.

23. As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo, Vol. V, p.96.

possession of Nizamshahs of Ahmadnagar. The Portuguese residents of this area were not allowed to engage in the sea borne trade. They were subjected to pay the taxes to the Nizamshahs, and were prohibited from conducting trade with the part of the Chaul which was still under Nizamshahs. After 1542, the Portuguese managed to eliminate the right of Nizamshah over the *bandel*, and began to collect taxes from the residents of this area. Thus, with the beginning of the fifth decade of the sixteenth century, land adjoining the port of Chaul was brought under the control of the Portuguese.

During this period, the Portuguese began to encourage more and more married Portuguese to settle in Chaul. The *bandel* started expanding towards the northern side of the fortress when this area was considerably occupied by married Portuguese, the *camara* or Municipal Council was set-up in Chaul. This occurred between 1542 and 1544. From 1545 onwards married Portuguese living at Chaul were allowed to participate in the sea borne trade. Around this time, a

24. Rodrigo Jose de Lima Felner, (ed.), *Subsidios para a Historia da India Portuguesa*, (Lisboa, 1868), p. 116.

25. *Ibid*, pp. 117-120, 123-124. Burhan Nizamashah with the help of the Portuguese had seized the fortresses of Sanki and Karnala at the frontier of Gujarat. A treaty was concluded between them, by which Nizamshah agreed to pay five thousand gold *pardaos* to the Portuguese every year for their help. It was also decided that if the payment would not be made, the Portuguese would realise that by way of collecting taxes from the *bandel*. Nizamshah was unable to pay the amount, hence Portuguese began to collect taxes, and subsequently brought them under their control.

26. In present chapter, I have discussed separately the societal growth of Chaul, focusing on how various colonial policies were responsible for the same.

27. *A N T T*, Mss. *Collecção são Lourenço*, vol. III, fls. 21-23v.

28. *Ibid*.

number of monasteries and churches were established to cater to the religious needs²⁹ of the settlers. Thus, with the establishment of the Municipal Council and religious institutions, the *bandel* was transformed into *cidade* or a town³⁰ towards the middle of the sixteenth century. This town was known as *Chaul de baixo* or Lower Chaul but generally mentioned in the Portuguese records as *cidade de Chaul* or town of Chaul. With the emergence of the above town, the ancient town of Chaul came to be designated as *Chaul de cima* or Upper Chaul. The latter remaining in the possession of the Nizamshahi Kings till the year 1625 A.D.³¹ There after it passed into the hands of the Mughuls for sometime, and brought under the possession of the Marathas only after 1670 A.D.³² However, Lower Chaul remained under the control of the Portuguese throughout the period under review.

III. SIEGE OF CHAUL AND ITS IMPACT

We have seen earlier how Chaul emerged as a Portuguese settlement towards the middle of the sixteenth century, Houses, monasteries, churches, shops etc. were constructed in the town, and the settlers carried on various professions. But

29. E.R.Hull, *Bombay-Mission History with Special Study of the Padroado Question*, (Bombay, 1927), Vol. I, p. 7.

30. Francisco de Andrade, a learned Portuguese scholar of the sixteenth century has defined Chaul as a town. To him it should be called as a town because it was developed with in fortified walls having suburb. monasteries and churches, above and all the non-cultivating nature of its residents. B A, Mss. 46-IX-II, *Comentarios da vitoria de Chaul*, fls. 289-351v, particularly fl. 297.

31. Radhey Shyam, *The kingdom of Ahmadnagar*, (Varanasi, 1966), p. 333.

32. Kulkarni, *Loc. cit.*

soon after, the town was razed to the ground partially atleast if not entirely, on account of the war between the Portuguese and Nizamshah carried out right in the town itself.

CAUSES OF THE SIEGE OF 1570-1571.

The relationship between the Portuguese and Burhan Nizamshah³³ of Ahmadnagar was always cordial. In 1553, Burhan Nizamshah³⁴ died, and was succeeded by his son Husain Nizamshah. The Portuguese were not quite sure of having friendly terms with this new king, so they decided to make their position stronger by constructing a fortress at the hill top of Korlai that would provide the defence to their town of Chaul against naval attacks.³⁵ The proposal of the same was made to the Sultan Husain Nizamshah but he regarded it as an insult, and imprisoned the Portuguese ambassador. He sent an army under the command of Farthad Khan and Rumi Khan with the instructions to build a fortress at the hill top of Korlai and not to show any hostility towards the Portuguese captain at the fort or town. This act was alarming to the Portuguese captain of Chaul, Garcia Rodrigues de Tavora, who informed the Vicetory in Goa. On his request, the Viceroy arrived at Chaul with a fleet consisting of four thousand Portuguese troops, including the natives. The Portuguese had prevented the progress of the construction work but they had to agree to the Nizamshah's proposal that the construction

33. Burhan Nizamshah used to employ the portuguse in his services. One Simão peres, a Portuguese renegade held the office of the minister in the court of Ahmadnagar and was one of the generals of the army. da Cunha, *Op.cit*, p.92.

34. Radhey Shyam, *Op.cit*, p.92.

35. da Cunha, *Op.cit*.

of the fort would be stopped and Korlai would remain as it was before.³⁶ Thus the Nizamshah's attempt to fortify his own hill was subverted by the Portuguese and so the former was waiting for an opportunity to subdue the Portuguese influence in Deccan. When the rulers of Bijapur and Calicut proposed to form an alliance against the Portuguese, the Nizamshah of Ahmadnagar willingly joined them.

SIEGE OF CHAUL BY NIZAMSHAH

The allies planned to assault the Portuguese possession in India simultaneously.³⁷ In accordance with the plan, the Nizamshah was supposed to attack Chaul, the Adilshah of Bijapur on Goa and the Zamorin of Calicut on the Portuguese possessions in the Malabar region.³⁸ But the Portuguese came to know about the alliance through their network of spies, perhaps few months before the impending siege.³⁹

Therefore the captain had enough time to make the preparation for the defence. First he cut a diagonal line from the southeast to the *casa da misericordia* or house of mercy and extended upto the monastery of St. Dominic, so as to enclose the defence only to this triangle.⁴⁰ He started increasing the height and thickness of the bastions to

36. *Ibid*, pp. 94-95.

37. *Ibid*.

38. Sherwani and Joshi, *Op.cit*, Vol. I, pp. 249-250.

39. *A N T T*, *Mss. Corpo Chronologico*, Parte I, Maço 109, doc. 75.

40. The narration on the siege of Chaul is based on the following sources. Antonio de Castilho, *Commentario de cerco de Goa e Chaul*, (Lisboa, 1573), parte II; da Cunha, *Op.cit*; Manuel de Faria y Souza, *Asia Portuguesa*, (Porto, 1945), Vol. IV, pp. 70-82.

defend atleast from the three sides. The houses which were strongly built and situated on the roads, leading towards the northern direction were converted into the strongholds with garrison, arms and ammunition. These houses were belonged to certain residents of town. For instance, the house of Nuno Alvares Pereira was situated in front of the house of mercy. Opposite to it, another house of Nuno Velho was located. The house of Dom Goncalo de Menezes was situated at the western side in front of the monastery of st. Domnic. While the house of Heitor de Sampayo was at the eastern side, near to the chapel. Some of the houses of unknown settlers were on the roads linking the church of st. Sebastion also turned strongholds with garrison and sufficient ammunition. Soon after the preparation was over, the Captain gathered the children, women, sick and old settlers, and sent them to the nearest Portuguese pockets.⁴¹ He also kept the warships in the *barra grande* so as to defend the impending naval attacks on the town by the allies. Before the month of November 1570, the strength of the army stationed at Chaul was nearly three hundred soliders which was increased by further reinforcemnt. Dom Mascarenhas reached Chaul with six hundred soldiers and nine war/ships. Another aid reached Chaul under the command of Luis de Menezes Barche and Rui Gonçaves with two hundred solidrs and some shipload of ammunition. In short the army deployed in Chaul was numbered one thousand and two hundred, in addition to the residents who joined them.

41. Castilho, *Op. cit*, p. 32.

On the other side, the army of Nizamshahi marched towards Chaul under Farhad Khan, and was numbered eight thousand of cavalry and besieged the town on 30 November 1570. By the second week of December, Farhad Khan received thirty pieces of the batteries which were positioned, and began to bombard the town. He also made an attempt to attack upon the town but this time it proved unsuccessful, so he retreated to the camp and waited for the arrival of Sultan. An army consisting of one lakh soldiers and some more batteries reached Chaul under the command of the Sultan Murtaza Nizamshah. The strength of the cavalry reached almost thirty five hundred.⁴² There were elephants also in the army. In the first week of January 1571, artillery of Nizamshah was positioned on the *morro de Chaul* (at the hill of Korlai) so to obstruct the Portuguese naval traffic and supplies, and to bombard the Portuguese ships.

This siege was lasted for nearly nine months during which there were day to day combats everywhere. And guns of Nizamshah never stopped firing the town so as the Portuguese's guns retaliated everytime. The strategic position taken by the Portuguese troops within the town had proved disastrous to the forces of Nizamshah. The houses which were turned into the strongholds had played significant role in resisting the attacks of Nizamshah. The house of Nuno Alvares Pereira was besieged by the Nizamshah for nearly forty two days with five thousand soldiers, while defenders were forty

42. *Ibid*, p. 29v-30v

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and reinforced by twenty more. Similarly the house of Nuno Velho was besieged for thirty days but it never surrendered

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to Nizamshah. On the other side the forces of Nizamshah had occupied the monastery of st. Francis and fired the entire street leading to the monastery of st. Dominic which was put under the defence of Alexandre de Souza and Gonçalo

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Menezes. Having occupied the monastery of st. Francis, the Nizamshah turned his attention to subvert the strongholds that were spread up to the house of mercy. But this attempt had cost him dearly. Nine hundred soldiers of Nizamshah were killed in the process and he lost the possession of the monastery of st. Francis which was strategically important. On the other hand, Farhad Khan made an attempt towards peace but he was blamed by Nizamshah of being bribed by the

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Portuguese. At the same time, Nizamshah succeeded in occupying the houses of Nuno Alvares Pereira and Gonçalo de Menezes, and the monastery of st. Dominic. Having possessed such strategic places, the Nizamshah gave the signal to his army on 29 of June 1571 to attack the Portuguese. During this attack, the Nizamshah had lost nearly three thousand soldiers whereas very few soldiers were killed on the Portuguese side. By end of the same month, the Nizamshah had lost nearly

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twelve thousand soldiers, and many more were wounded. Having

43. da Cunha, *Op. cit.*, p. 101.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

45. Castilho, *Op. cit.*, pp. 25v-28 and 32-35.

46. Burhan and Ferishta, the two Persian chroniclers have condemned the officials of Nizamshah for receiving bribes and crates of Portuguese wine for making the siege ineffective. Quoted by Sherwani and Joshi, *Op. cit.*, p. 333.

47. Castilho, *Op. cit.*, p. 47v.

contemplated such a loss without any success, the Nizamshah decided to end the war with the Portuguese, and a peace treaty was concluded between them on 24 July 1571.⁴⁸

IMPACTS OF THE SIEGE ON CHAUL.

The unavailing attempts of Nizamshah had caused great destruction to the newly developed town. The most adverse impact of the siege was on the residents. Their houses were set on fire by the Nizamshah with a view to subvert further resistance during the siege.⁴⁹ While those houses which were survived from the fire, were either razed to the ground on account of the constant bombarding or damaged to the stage of impairment. Before the siege, the thick concentration of palm groves was in and around the town which was providing source of income to the residents, who made wine out of its juice, and used the wood for various other purposes.⁵⁰ Quite likely the destruction of the orchards was over whelming. They were burnt down or destroyed due to the plans put into operation by both the powers either to protect or attack the town.⁵¹ The monasteries which were made into the strongholds also witnessed the damages so as the roads, chapels and the fortwalls.⁵² Trade and commerce—the principal occupation of the residents was also considerably affected and so was the socio-cultural life of the town. The Nizamshah agreed to compensate the physical damages but it did not cover the socio-sentimental loss of the urbanites since no power

48. *B. Mus.*, Mss. no. 28433, fls. 175v-175v.

49. Castilho, *Op. cit.*, pp. 38v-39, 41, 43v-44.

50. Cesar Fedrick's account in Purchas. *Op. cit.* Vol. X. p. 92.

51. Castilho, *Op. cit.*, pp. 29-29v, 31, 38-38v.

52. Jose Wicki, (ed.) *Documenta Indica*, (Rome, 1976), Vol. X. p. 3.

could able to compensates the human lives. This siege proved eye-opener for the Portuguese, who then seriously contemplated to fortify the town from all sides. they started reconstructing the town with strong fortification, and from time to time began to spend money for its renovation. As a result the minor assaults that followed did not cause much harm to the socio-physical aspects of the town proper of Portuguese Chaul during the period under review.

IV. PORTUGUESE TOWN OF CHAUL-PHYSICAL CONTEXT.

The fortification of the town was completed in 1577. Father João dos Santos who visited Chaul in 1597 has described the town as strong enough to combat any attacks.⁵⁵ Similar view was also expressed by Francisco de Pyrard de Laval who called on the town during the first decade of the seventh century.⁵⁶ But a certain Portuguese official who had substantial knowledge on defence, after his visit to Chaul in 1599, submitted his report on the possibilities of further renovations.⁵⁷ But the suggestions took many years to be implemented and it was only in 1625 the State Council of

53. *A N T T*, Mss. *Corpo Chronologico*, Parte I, Maço 29, doc. 86; *B. Mus*, Mss. no. 28433, fls. 175v-176v.

54. See an inscription published by da Cunha. *Op. Cit.*

55. P. S. S. Pissurlenkar, (ed.), *Regimentos das fortalezas da India*. (Bastora, 1951), pp. 511-512.

56. Francisco Pyrard de Laval, *Viagem das Francisco Pyrard de Laval*, Ed. by A. de Magalho Basto, (Porto, 1944), Vol. II, p. 193.

57. *B. Mus*, Mss. no. 28432, fl. 1; After the war of 1591, the fortification was carried out with little attention and care, while the war of 1624 made some damages to the suburb of Chaul and not to the fortification of the town. *B A*, Mss. 46-XI-II, fls. 296v; *A H U*, India Cx. 8, doc. 43A and *A N T T*, Mss. *Livro das Monções* no. 20, fl. 25.

Lisbon proposed that the plans of fortification should be prepared in Lisbon and works should be carried out under the supervision of an expert Architect and Engineers.⁵⁸ According to the plan, the town was renovated and work was completed before the year 1633.⁵⁹ Not only the fort walls were reconstructed but also the internal planning of the town was reorganised. The renovation of the fort walls was inevitable and was carried out with intervals, but no major change is observed to have taken place in the seventeenth century.⁶⁰ The expenditure incurred for such works was realised from the taxes imposed on the merchants and the tax-farmers. The administration was left in the hands of the Jesuits who sometimes conducted trade with Mossambique in order to raise the necessary funds.

FORTIFICATION.

The defence of the town was based on the principal of the fort having bulwarks which abutted in a semicircular outline from the walls. There were seven bulwarks around the town and four redoubts at the corners of the fortress.⁶¹ Towards the eastern side, one bulwark at the middle and two bulwarks in the northern side were built between the corners. The

58. *A H U*, Mss. India Cx. 9, doc. 66.

59. *Ibid*, India Cx. 9, doc. 85.

60. *A N T T*, Mss. *Livro das Monções* no. 38, fl. 139; *A H U*, Mss. India Cx. 27, doc. 75; *H A G*, Mss 1247, fl. 18v; *A H U*, Mss, India Cx. 17, doc. 173 and doc. 40.

61. Seven bastions are mentioned in the proceedings of the state Council of Lisbon, see *A H U*, Mss. India Cx. 10, doc. 85. but the numbers are varied in subsequent centuries. In the eighteenth century when Chaul was handed over to the Marathas, there were thirteen bastions, see *B N L*, Mss. 456, fls. 37-37v. And when Gerson da Cunha carried out his survey on the antiquities of Chaul, he recorded eleven bastions only, which can be seen even today. da Cunha, *Op-cit*.

planning of such additional bastions between the north and eastern end was obviously to obstruct the direct attacks from the land side. Antonio Baccaro has informed that there were nine bulwarks to the fortress during the seventeenth century. Perhaps he must have counted two *atalhas* which were erected at the southern end, along, both the sides of *porta do*⁶² *mar* or sea gate. They were named after st. Pedro and served to prevent direct attack on the sea gate from the western direction. All these bastions were dedicated to the saints and named after them, the only exception was st. Cruz or Holy Cross which was situated at the middle of the eastern fortification of the town.

Towards the southern corner, the bastion called st. Domnic is situated, which served to keep watch on the incoming ships⁶³ to the *barra de Chaul*. The bastion in the northwestern corners was known as st. Francis, and its height was⁶⁴ increased after 1633. The artilleries were mounted there to⁶⁵ guard the notheast end of the town. Next to it, on the eastern side, the bastion called st. Dinis is located where the cannons were kept to protect the entrance to the town through the land gate. Between these bastions and approximately at the middle is a secret way whcih would take⁶⁶ one out of the town somewhere in the northern direction. It

62. *B N L*, Mss. 140, fl. 133.

63. *Ibid*.

64. *A H U*, Mss India Cx. 10, doc. 85.

65. *B N L*, Mss 140, fl. 133.

66. The length of this way is approximately fifteen *braças* or ninety feet and the entrance at both the end were guarded round the clock. *A H U*, Mss, India Cx. 10 doc. 85.

served dual purposes. During the siege, it helped to attack the enemy from rear and to bring the supplies into the town. Next to it is the bastion of st. Paulo, a few yards towards the eastern side and perhaps the only bastion where no guards were kept during the peace time. At the northeast corner, the bastion of st. Tiago is situated, and its height⁶⁷ was increased after 1633. It was erected on such a strategic point so as to defend the attacks which could be made possible by the semicircular form. Below this bastion, two warehouses are situated in which the arms and ammunition⁶⁸ were stored during the seventeenth century. Further south from this point, another bastion called st. Cruz is situated. And at the southeast corner, the bastion of st. Caterina or st. Philip is located, which served to keep a watch on the *barra pequena* as well as on the port.

There was more danger from the land side, hence the height of the bastions facing the hinterland is more than those⁶⁹ situated on the river or sea side. All these bastions were interlinked so that the defence position could be shifted quickly. The black dressed basalt stone was used as the basic constructing material, and lime and lead were used as the⁷⁰ main ingredients for cementing purposes.

67. *A H U*, Mss. India Cx. 10, doc. 85.

68. *Ibid.*

69. The height of the bastions (excluding the parapets) at the land side was between 4.5 and 5.0 *braças* (approximately 27 to 30 feet) and at the water side it was 3.5 *braças* (Approximately 18 feet). See *B N L*. Mss. 140, fl. 133. At present little variation is observed due to the deposition of the sand.

70. *B A*, Mss. 46-IX-II. fls. 298-298v.

AREA AND GATES.

The area occupied by the town is approximately six hundred meter by four hundred and fifty metre.⁷¹ Like the other fortified towns on the western coast of India, this town too had two gateways.⁷² The gate at the land side was known as the *porta dos cascos* or gate of the residents, while the other one at the river side was known as *porta do mar* or sea gate.⁷³ Entry into the town through these gates was proscribed during night.⁷⁴ But such rules were never followed hard and fast. The gates were permitted to remain throughout the night if the residents desired so for some specific reasons but more guards were posted into service and strict vigilance was observed.⁷⁵ The custom houses were located at both the gates.⁷⁶

ROADS AND SQUARES:

The disposition of main and sub-arterial roads was done by the criss-cross pattern, thereby achieving the sectors and squares in the town.⁷⁷ The pattern of the roads had been

71. It is in the shape of parallelogram of 2.7 square kilometers.

72. *A P O-B P*, IV, II, I, pp. 196-197.

73. Each gateway consists of interior doors. The land gate is "L" shape with an exterior opening. The entrance at both the exterior and interior are arched door gaps. It is spacious especially in the middle to avoid congestion of any traffic. The flooring of the land gate was done with stone paving.

74. Pissurlekar, *Regimentos...*, pp. 511-512.

75. *A H U*, Mss. India Cx. 10, doc. 85.

76. *H A G*, Mss. no. 3034, fls. 109v-111v; *H A G*, Mss. 1370, fl. 107; Also see *A N T T*, Mss. *Livro das Monções* no. 38, fl. 139v.

77. The description on the physical feature of town is based on the sketch prepared by Pedro Barrate de Resende. It is an unorthodox attempt made by him to help visualize the seventeenth century Chaul. For the identification of most of the roads, the work of Antonio Castilho is used.

derived in a such way that from any corners of the fortified town, one could be able to reach the sea gate. The main and sub-arterial roads formed the trapezoidal shape between southwest-northwest corners in west and sea gate in the eastern side. Within it four sub-streets perpendicular to each other, crossed the main arterial road at the right angles, and terminated at the road parallel to the fortified walls in the north and western sides of the town. The diagonal road known as *Rua da nossa senhora de Luz* linked the northwest corner with the sea gate.⁷⁸ Towards the southern side and parallel to the main road, there was a sub-arterial road called *Rua do st. Domingo* which connected the southwest corner with the sea gate.⁷⁹ One among the four sub-streets in trapezoidal formation was known as the *Rua do st. Francisco* which was parallel to the fortified wall at the western side and connected the monastery of st. Francis with st. Dominic.⁸⁰ In front of the *porta dos casados*, between the premises of the Jesuit College and the House of Mercy; an arch with an image of st. Francis Xavier at the middle was installed on the road during the fourth decade of the seventeenth century.⁸¹ A number of sub-streets in rectangular form existed but none of them had created any town square between the sea gate and the *porta dos casados*, at the eastern block of the town. A road from northwest to northeast extended upto the southeast corner, and was built parallel to the walls, and it served mainly for the rapid movement of the troops during the war.

78. *H A G*, Mss. 1370, fl. 107.

79. *Castilho, Op, cit.* p. 28.

80. *Ibid*, p. 27v.

81. *A N T T*, Mss. *livro das Monções*, no. 38, fls. 138v-140v.

The placement of streets particularly on the main road helped in achieving squares in town since four sub-arterial streets parallel to each other crossed the main road at the right angles. Hence four dominant squares were formed only on the road called *Rua da nossa senhora de Luz*, and not on any other streets of the town. Two dominant religious institutions namely the monastery of st. Francis and the House of Mercy were located at the different squares, former at the last and the latter at the middle.

HOUSES, SHOPS AND MARKET.

The sketch by pedro Barrate de Resende shows that the houses were built close to each others, practically wall to wall. These dwelling units were quadrangular in shape with one common courtyard in the middle.⁸² The placing of the courtyard in the middle did serve to store the merchandise, a place for sharing common socio-cultural activities and the playground for the children. The entrance of each and every house was facing on the road or the sub-street. Uniformity in the elevation of these dwelling units was maintained. The houses were constructed with dressed basalt stones with pitched roofing of tiles called the *telhas de Portuguese*.⁸³

82. The feature of the dwelling houses was very common in the Portuguese India, which can be seen even today in the best preserved area called Mala in the city of Panjim, Goa. Such typical pattern was also followed by the Spanish in America during the medieval times. The phenomenon of the dwelling units was common in the middle ages in Europe. See Lyle McAlister, *Spain and Portugal in the New World*, (Oxford, 1984), Chapter III.

83. H A G, MSS. 7754, fls. 37v, 106; H A G, MSS. 7752, fls. 190, 204v; Also see *Diario de 3 conde de Linhares*, Ed. by Ataíde e Melo, Vol. I, p. 46. The *telhas de Portuguezes* or Portuguese tiles were more or less similar to the Mangluri tiles of the present day.

Lime was the principal ingredient for cementing the stones while wood was used for doors and windows.⁸⁴ After the fourth decade of the seventeenth century, an order was issued prohibiting the construction of houses close to the fortified walls.⁸⁵ The rooms facing the roads of few houses were transformed into shops.⁸⁶ Straight from the sea gate and little further towards the north, there was *campo pequeno* or small plaza which served as market place where⁸⁷ dealings of wholesale merchandise took place. Along with the sea gate towards eastern end there was the earlier⁸⁸ fortress and it was used as the Captain's residence.

CHURCHES CONVENTS AND PUBLIC EDIFICES

Out of the six ecclesiastical institutions, one each were placed at every corner of the town and two were situated in the middle towards northern side. The church and convent of st. Dominic was at the southwest, and st. Barbara was at the northwest corner of the town.⁸⁹ The latter is known locally as *saat khani* or seven storied building which was built for the Franciscan order. At the northern side and between the bastions of st. Dinis and st. Paulo, the church of the Augustians was situated which was known as our Lady of

84. *B N L*, Mss. 140, fl. 133v; *A H U*, Mss. India Cx. 10, doc. 85; *H A G*, Mss. 1171, fl. 108.

85. *A H U*, Mss. India Cx. 10, doc. 85.

86. *B A*, Mss. 46-IX-II, fls. 297-297v; *H A G*, Mss. 624, fls. 26v-27; *H A G*, Mss. 2320, fl. 18v. The Portuguese term for shop is *tendas*.

87. *H A G*, Mss. 1376, fls. 47v-48.

88. *A H U*, Mss. India cx. 10, doc. 85.

89. Hull, *Op. cit.* p. 7; *Documentação para a Historia das Missões do Padrado Portugese do Oriente*, Vol. III, pp. 389-395; Paulo de Trinidade. *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, Ed. by Fr. Felix Lopes, (Lisboa, 1967), Vol. II, p. 193.

90 Grace. Next to it and in the same direction, the Jesuits church and convent⁹¹ were located. At the northern corner of the town, another church dedicated to st. Paulo and st. Peter was situated.⁹² The *Matriz* or the cathedral was situated at the southeast corner of the town a few yards from the sea gate on the road linking the church of st. Dominic, a small chapel was erected and named after st. Francis Xavier, who stayed in the town for a few days. The House of Mercy was located at the middle of the town at the square formed on the road calle *Rua da nossa senhora de Luz*.

Towards the northern side of the *Matriz*, there was the premises of the local jail.⁹³ It was annexed to the fort wall upto the bastion of st. Cruz. At present only twenty one chambers of the jail can be identified. The hospital⁹⁴ of the town was completely destroyed during the siege of 1570-1571. And a new building for the same was erected in the year 1625.⁹⁵ It is difficult to ascertain the exact location of the hospital, court and the office of the Municipal Council. They were perhaps situated some where on the middle square, near the House of Mercy.

90. Hull, *Op. cit.*, p. 7; *Documentação pera Historia das Missoes do Padroado Portugueso do Oriente*, Vol. XI, pp. 155-156; da Cunha, *Op. cit.*

91. Hull, *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

92. *Ibid*; da Cunha, *Op. cit.*

93. B A. Mss. 49-IV-50, fl. 50v.

94. A N T T, Mss, *Livro das Monções* no. 18, fls 125 and no. 19, fl. 13v.

95. *Ibid*, no. 21, fl. 4.

SUBURB OF THE TOWN

Outside the fortress and towards the northern side, a subuarb⁹⁶ of the town was developed. A few residents of the town were in possession of the *challes* or chawls and the orchards in this area.⁹⁷ The houses of the weavers were also situated in this area.⁹⁸ There was a church dedicated to st. Sebastian. This church was situated at the middle of the suburb, on the straight road linking *porta dos casados*. Behind this church and a little further towards the north^ern direction, the fishermen had their houses around the place known as the *bazar dos paixos* or fish market.⁹⁹ This area was under the political and revenue jurisdiction of the authority of town of Chaul.

WATER AND SNITATION FACILITES.

The information regarding these aspects are not yet traced into detail. Pedro Barrate de Resende has shown some wells in the town.¹⁰⁰ They were located in a few courtyards of the dwelling units, squares and plazas. The urbanites used the water from these wells since water of Kundalika was salty.¹⁰¹ At present there are wells in square forms and are dated back to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As far as the sanitation facilities are concerned, our sources do not provide any information.

96. *B P A D E*, Mss. CIII/2.19.

97. Antonio Boccaro, *Decada 13 da Historia da India*, (Lisboa, 1876), Vol. I, p. 19.

98. *H A G*, Mss. 1129, fls. 122v-129.

99. *B P A D E*, Mss. CIII/2.19.

100. *Ibid.*

101. *B N L*, Mss. 140, fls. 133 ff.

V. SOCIETAL GROWTH AND OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE.

The societal growth of Chaul was possible due to various policies followed by the Portuguese during the period of our study. Initially the inter-racial marriage policy was introduced, and the Intra-racial aspect was also added to it as far as the over-seas Portuguese population was concerned. Hence an attempt is made to understand the marriage policy since it was one of the factors responsible to the growth of Chaul as a Portuguese settlement. Not only the Portuguese families made Chaul as the place of their residences but also families of different ethnical stocks settled in the town.

It was due to the Portuguese policies of trade and taxation. An attempt is also made here to understand the professions carried on by these urbanites during the period under review.

PROCESSES OF THE SOCIETAL GROWTH OF CHAUL.

Affonso de Albuquerque insisted that the Portuguese men should marry the local women in the Orient. Leaving apart the biological aspect of this idea, he desired to create an impression on the minds of the locals that Portuguese were not only interested in trade but also loved their country, and ready to coalesce with the existing socio-cultural pattern of India. Once Goa became the Portuguese territory, he selected good looking women with fair complexion and

102. In 1514, he wrote a letter to the King of Portugal that
"....The people of India see we love their country as our men planting trees, constructing houses getting married and be getting children..." Cartas, Vol. I, p. 3388.

asked his men to marry them. It is reported that in the first decade of the sixteenth century, there were four hundred and fifty men married to the women in India, and those couples were settled in Goa or other Portuguese pockets, and were offered financial and material help from the state. There-
 103
 after this scheme attracted the attention of the Portuguese men in India, and induced them to marry the local women and to settle in the Portuguese pockets as it would provide a wider scope for a comfortable life as compared to their
 104
 mother land.

On the other hand, the inter-racial marriage policy of Affonso de Albuquerque had created some opposition by one or another reason, among the officials in India. Antonio Real, a high official in Cochin, who wrote a letter to the king in such a manner that encouragement to the scheme would
 105
 stop. On receiving such letter, the king ordered that the
 106
 scheme to be suspended. Affonso de Albuquerque died in

103. *Ibid*, pp. 27, 63. Albuquerque informed the King that no force was employed on the men women. And once they married, ~~they married~~, they were not allowed to leave the place without ~~one~~ permission. This helped the societal growth of the Portuguese pockets with Luso-Indian population.

104. *Cartas*, Vol. I, p. 63.

105. Antonio Real had wrote a letter on 15th December 1512, 1512, in which he made the complaints that. "...Your Highness is to be blamed for everything that is happening here, because Sometimes we all think that you are ordering him (Albuquerque) to do everything he does Believe me, the married men here are not those that Your Highness would wish to be married. They are men of low birth who have married their slaves in Highness...
 "Quoted by A. da Silva Rego, Portuguese colonization in the sixteenth century: A study of the royal ordinance (*Regimentos*), (Johannesburg, 1959), p. 38.

106. *Ibid*, p. 39.

1515, and by that time king Emmanuel of Portugal came to know about that was happening in India. One among the instructions given by the king to the new Governor Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, was to follow the plan of Affonso de Albuquerque. By the end of the third decade of the sixteenth century, the number of the *casados* or the Portuguese married men reached to hundred and sixty in Cochin, fifty in Cannanore and more than five hundred in Goa.

It is reported that during the same decade, not a every single *casado* settled in Chaul. We have seen earlier that the Portuguese had brought the land at the port of Chaul under their possession only in the fourth decade of the sixteenth century. The King of Portugal has made clear in one of his ordinances that the land possessed by the Portuguese authorities in India should be distributed free of cost among the married Portuguese who wished to settle in India. Evidently, such practice was also followed at Chaul. In the letter dated 1545, the King of Portugal insisted on the Governor Dom João de Castro that plots of land should be given free of cost to the married Portuguese and measures should be taken to make Chaul inhabited.

107. *Ibid*, p. 53.

108. *As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo*, Vol. V, pp. 89-104.

109. *Ibid*, p. 96.

110. The plots of land which were given to the married Portuguese could not be sold exchanged or given away without permission. Anyone violating this charter would forfeit his plot which would return automatically to the Crown. In cases where the owners died without legal inheritors, the lands would also revert to the Crown for redistribution. See, A. da Silva Rego, "*Portuguese Colonization*.... p. 57.

111. *A N T T*, Mss. *Colleccão de São Lourenço*, Vol. III, fls, 217-217v, 241

Governor had promised Alvareans who was *casado* of Goa that a plot of land would be given to him a Chaul, and instructed the Captain of the place that the rights of this person would be honoured on his arrival to Chaul. The selection of this person was done with an intention to develop the ship building industry at Chaul since he was master in the art of carpentry. Another plot of land was given to Baltesar Fernandes by the same Governor.¹¹² Similarly a plot of land was allotted to Francisco Pimenta by Governor Martim Affonso de Souza (1542-1545).¹¹³ The Portuguese authorities at Chaul were helping the married Portuguese with constructing materials for their houses and workshops, and by 1554 the process of allotting the plots of land was completed.¹¹⁴ Thus, the inter-racial marriage policy helped in developing Chaul as a Portuguese settlement towards the mid sixteenth century.

The spirit of Renaissance in the sixteenth century Europe stimulated the Portuguese women to accept the challenges of the risky sea-voyages to India, a land fascinated them by its fabulous wealth.¹¹⁵ These women began to emigrate to India

112. *Subsidios para a historia da India*, p.125.

113. *Ibid*; Francisco Pimenta sold this plot to joao Correa against the royal ordinance, hence that particular plot was retaken by the authority. Later it was allotted to Antonio Fernandes who was a judge of the orphans, but due to his inability to construct a house this plot passed finally into hands of the Municipal Council of Chaul.

114. *Ibid*, p.126.

115. The economic backwardness of Portugal was the main reason the emigration of males to the overseas colonies, and that caused an acute shortage of men for marriages in Portugal. However the King of Portugal had established two recluse houses in the mid sixteenth century, one at Lisbon and another at Oporto and began to organise officially the emigration of women to India. See L.A. Rodrigues, "Portuguese Feminine Emigration for Colonization of India," *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. L VIII, part I-III, 1980, pp. 53-62.

where they preferred to marry the Portuguese men and obviously such couples must have settled at Chaul after the mid-sixteenth century.¹¹⁶ On the other hand, a number of overseas Portuguese were either killed in the war or died in the orient, leaving their families at the mercy of the Crown. However, it was decided in 1583 that those who were in the services of the Crown should marry the orphan girls.¹¹⁷ Similarly, the Portuguese boys had also married the Portuguese girls, and such families began to settle down in the town of Chaul.¹¹⁸ It is reported that the two hundred Portuguese families were at Chaul during the first half of the seventeenth century.¹¹⁹

Trade and taxation policies followed by the Portuguese towards Chaul helped in attracting the merchants of different ethnical groups to come and settle in the town. After 1545 the residents of Chaul were permitted to carry on the sea borne trade.¹²⁰ Once this particular facility was

116. German Corriea. *Historia Colonizãõ Portuguesa na India*, (Bastora, 1921), Vol. I. p. 55.

117. *H A G*, Mss. 7846, fl. 25. In such a way Cosmo Ribero was married to Luisa Barros, a daughter of Alvaro de Barros who died in the services of the Crown, and was a *casado* of Goa. *A H U*, Mss. India Cx. II, doc. 70.

118. *B N L*, Mss. 140, fl. 133v.

120. In 1557, Fr. Goncalvis happened to meet very rich and honourable person at Chaul who migrated to that place from Goa. *B A*, Mss 49-IV-50 fl. 514. Manuel de Costa settled in Chaul from china in 1609. *H A G*, Mss. 1369, fl. 1. Siddy Madeing(?) migrated to Chaul from Persia. *Documenta Indica* Vol. II, p. 96. In 1666, the merchants of the port of Danda settled at Chaul so as to avail the facilities of trade with Mascat. *H A G*, Mss. 1166, fl. 21v. Similarly Dominagos Teixeira de Macedo, Luis Ribeiro, Anthonio pereira, Luis Teixeira, Francisco Goncalo and many other have came from Portugal to settle at Chaul, and were engaged in conducting trade. *H A G*, Mss. 1369, fl. 27; *A H U*, Mss. India Cx. 8, doc. 55. We also find the Armenian and Jew merchants settled at Chaul, *H A G*, Mss. 624, fl. 9v.

extended to Chaul, more families migrated to the town, and¹²¹ carried trade between Afro-Asian ports. To attract more merchants to Chaul, the Crown granted various concessions in the taxes from very beginning. Until 1634 the residents of Chaul were exempted from paying the customs duty at the port¹²² of their settlement. While the merchants who visited Chaul had to pay at the rate of 5% *ad valorem*, which was subsequently increased to 8% *ad valorem* after the year the¹²³ year 1634. And to avail this facility, not only the merchants from other towns but also from the neighbouring town of Upper Chaul began to settle in the Portuguese town¹²⁴ of Chaul. Moreover the King of Portugal granted immunities from paying the taxes called *corretagem* and *pesodaria* to the residents of Chaul while non-residents were deprived from¹²⁵ having such concessions. As a result Chaul has developed

121. *A N T T*, Mss. *Collecção de São Lourenço*, Vol. III, fls. 62-62 v, 196-196v and 225-225v.

122. *H A G*, Mss. *Livro das Monções* no. 19D, fls. 1196v-1203. Through this royal ordinance the authorities started to collect the customs duty from the residents of Chaul for the first time.

123. *Ibid*; *H A G*, Mss. 624, fl. 9v. After 1634, the rate of the customs duty was kept low compared to the town of Upper Chaul where it was at the rate of 8.5% *ad valorem*. *C A D*, latter no. 21.

124. The officers of Upper Chaul informed the court of Nizamshah that merchants left their town and settled in the Portuguese town of Chaul because there they did not have to pay the customs duty since such facility was extended to the residents of that town. However, to stop the migration, the Nizamshah had reduced the rate, which was re-introduced in the town of Chaul in 1610. *C A D*, latter NO 21. But such measure did not produce any result and the migration was continued even after. In 1634 the Portuguese granted permission to the merchants of Upper Chaul to settle in their town. *H A G*, *Livro das Monções* no. 19d, fl. 1236.

125. The King of Portugal granted such facilities to the residents of Chaul but they were deprived from enjoying such privileges by the Habsburgs of Spain after 1589. *A N T T*, Mss. *Collecção de São Lourenço*, Vol. III, fls. 196-196v; *H A G*, Mss. 624, fl. 26.

as a cosmopolitan town on the western coast of India.

Chual also attracted the attention of the Portuguese officials in India who preferred to settle in this town, after retirement from the active service of the King.¹²⁷ The landless labourers and small landowners of the

surrounding Nizamshahi areas ~~were~~ⁿ also migrated to Chaul so ^{as} to get better employment opportunities for themselves.¹²⁸ The weaver community settled outside the fortified walls of the town, obviously to get the raw materials and to market the textiles.¹²⁹

Thus the processes of the societal growth of Chaul were the result of the policies followed by the Portuguese, and the socio-economic conditions of the surrounding areas. In the fourth decade of the seventeenth century, there were fifty families of the native christians apart from two hundred families of the Portuguese, and every family had at least one slave.¹³⁰ It gave two hundred and fifty houses of christians in

126. See Appendix I given at the end of this chapter.

127. For instance, Antonio pinto who was the captain General of the armada settled at Chaul after his retirement.

H A G, Mss. 1369, fls. 19v-20. And Rui Dias da Cunha, the Comptroller of Finance settled in Chaul, after his withdrawal from the service. *H A G*, Mss 1169, fl. 136 and *A N T T* Mss. *Livro das Monções* no. 60, fl. 306.

128. *C A D*, Letter no 20 dated 31 January 1607.

129. *H A G*, Mss. 1129, fls. 122v-123v and *B N L*, Mss. 140, fl. 136. Unlike the weavers of the Coreomandal coast, the weavers of the western India were concentrated mostly in or outside the market place Chaul was not an exception to the phenomenon. Refer John Irwin, "Social relations in the textile trade of 17th century, *Indian Studies-past and present*, Vol. I, no. 2, pp. 380-384.

130. *B N L*, Mss. 140, fl. 133v.

Chaul. Our sources does not indicate how many families of other ethnical groups were at Chaul. Apart from them, there were the soldiers, officials and ecclesiastics resided at the town during the period under review.

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE.

The urban society was divided loosely into two sections, the non-productive and productive classes. The non-productive sector of society was composed of the merchants, brokers, shroffs, shop-keepers, medical and legal practitioners, ecclesiastical persons and government servants, etc. while the productive sector of the society comprised the artisans and labourers.

A Merchants, Brokers and Shroffs.

As discussed earlier the king of Portugal granted permission to the residents of Chaul only after 1545, to carry on the sea-borne trade. However it shall be interesting to study how a married Portuguese of Chaul accumulated the capital, and followed the mercantile profession. In the initial stage they acted as the middlemen between the Portuguese officials and visiting merchants, because of their contacts in factory. For instance, certain João Fernandes—the married Portuguese of Chaul had managed to get horses from the Portuguese officials at the rate of six hundred *pardaos*, and sold them to certain Khoja Nizam-ud-din of Upper Chaul for nine hundred *pardaos* and thus appropriated three hundred *pardaos* as profit on each and every horse. ¹³¹ Similarly certain

131. *As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo*, Vol. X, pp. 294-301.

married Portuguese of Goa settled in Chaul acted as a middleman between the Portuguese and the merchants in the transaction of textiles.¹³² Thus, through this way the capital was accumulated and once facility to trade was given, it was employed for conducting trade.

By 1550 several Hindu and Muslim merchants migrated to Chaul from the surrounding areas.¹³³ Similarly, Armenian and Jewish merchants settled at Chaul.¹³⁴ Some of them were ship owners as well.¹³⁵ But majority of them did not possess vessels of their own. Once the merchants accepted the Portuguese dominion they were left in possession of their liberty and property, and were protected by the king of Portugal, at least in theory.¹³⁶ But many a time, the merchants were discriminated by the local officials who misappropriated and misused their power and authority^h for self-indulgence. They did not allow the merchants to purchase the commodities, until the ship for their private trade was getting filled up.¹³⁷ They forced the merchants to carry their merchandise for private trade in the ship destined for some other place and did not pay the charges of freight.¹³⁸ The afflicted behaviour reached to the extreme and even force was employed to rob the merchants.¹³⁹ In such cases, the merchants were pleading to the higher authorities, even to king of Portugal

132. B A, Mss. 49-IV-50, fls. 49-54.

133. A N T T, Mss. *Collecção de São Lourenço*, Vol. III, fls. 217-217v.

134. H A G, Mss. 624. fl.

135. H A G, Mss. 1369, fls. 84-85, 146 and 1371. fls. 146-146v.

136. A N T T, Mss. *Corpo Chronologico*, Parte I, Parte I, Maço 56, doc. 107 and parte XV, Maço 76, doc. 104; *Documentos remittidos da India*, Vol. pp.

137. A N T T, Mss. *Livro das Monções* no. 28, fl. 326.

138. *Documentos Remittidos da India* Vol. II, p. 41.

139. H A G, Mss. 1422. fl. 18.

and got these officials punished. But it seems that the punishments never had any enduring results, or otherwise such malpractices would not have continued to happen in the town of Chaul throughout^h period under review.

Among the merchants, the Hindu business community of Chaul was well-organised, and dominated the trade. It is reported that they were so much united that they did not lower the prices of the textiles in Mossambique despite the request of the officials there.¹⁴⁰ Sometimes, they offered loans to the State whenever money was required by the Portuguese in India.¹⁴¹ They had their own guild, and merchant *mahajan* was known as the *capitão dos baneas* or Head of *Vanias*. During the second half of the seventeenth century, Raichandra Shah¹⁴² was the merchant *mahajan* of Chaul.

The Portuguese were unable to establish direct contacts with the weavers of Gujrat, and they needed textiles for their trade with Mossambique and Malabar coast. Similarly, they needed tobacco. And both these items were supplied to them by the *procuradors* or suppliers. During the first half of the seventeenth century, Mohandas Kashidas and Krisha Kallene(?) were the prominent merchants of the town who supplied both textiles and tobacco to the Portuguese factory¹⁴³ at Chaul. A few of the residents were engaged in business of estate brokerage along with other professions. In the

140. *Documenta Indica*, Vol. VIII, p. 734.

141. *H A G*, Mss. 1248, fl. 42.

142. *H A G*, Mss. 1169, fl. 43v.

143. *H A G*, Mss. 1422, fl. 65v and 2316, fl. 140 also see 7746, fl. 121.

first half of the seventeenth century, Dona Boa Ventura was
 144
 as a estate broker in the town.

The *sarrafs* or money changers were also in the town and they were authorised to exchange gold and silver coins to the conians used at Chaul, and a certain amount was collected by them as commission. 145 They also issued the *hundis* or bills of exchange. In the second half of the seventeenth century, a Richandra shah-the merchant mahajan was also a prominent sarraf in town. In 1661, the Portuguese transmitted money to Mombasa through the *hundi* issued by him, and he charged 146 3% from both the remitter and receiver.

This sector of society was accumulating capital through trade, supply of the commodities and money lending. Same individual must have been indulging in all the spheres at the same time, as we know that a Richandra shah was a merchant as well as sarraf at Chaul. And they must have been engaged in tax farming also, since as the tax-farmer was expected to pay the royal treasury a fixed part of the amount, in advance for which the particular tax was farmed out.

B, Shop-keepers.

Some of the residents were owing *tenda* or shops in the town
 147
 of Chaul. There were separate shops for grain, textiles wine and so on. Only authorized shop-keeper was allowed to sell

 144. H A G, Mss. *Livro das Monções* no. 19D, fl. 1235v.

145. H A G, Mss. 624, fls. 5-5v.

146. H A G, Mss. 1168, fl. 55.

147. H A G, Mss. 624, fl. 6.

hang, opium and shikakai. During the second half of the seventeenth century, owner of one of the apothecary shop was
 148
 Antonio pereira.

C. Medical and Legal Practitioners.

Both these professions were followed by the learned persons of the town. Any one who desired to practice as a surgeon or as a physician in the town, had to seek permission from the physician General who had resided in Goa. Necessary permission was given to the candidate only after examining his knowledge in the field of medical science. In the second half of the seventeenth century, Raimal Gujarathi and Balaji
 149
 Pandit were the physicians in the town of Chaul. And
 150
 Marcos Jorge was a surgeon of Chaul. Both physicians and surgeons were also giving their services to the hospital of the town.

There were solicitors and public notaries in the town of Chaul. Antonio Martins was a procurador or solicitor, and pleaded the case of his clients against the local officials
 151
 of Chaul to the higher authorities in Lisbon. The job of the taballião publico or public notary was to make the affidavits for the residents whenever it was necessary. He
 152
 charged twenty reis as his fees for each affidavit. Between the last quarter of the sixteenth and the first quarter of

 148. H A G, Mss. 1172, fl. 245.

149. H A G, Mss. 7751, fl. 254 and 7750, fl. 171.

150. H A G, Mss. 7750, fl. 93.

151. B N L, Mss. Pombalina 108, fl. 50v.

152. H A G, Mss. 1129, fl. 128; A H U, Mss. India cx. 23, doc. 77;
 H A G, Mss. 656, fl. 48.

the seventeenth centuries, Antonio Barboza and Gaspar Rosado
¹⁵³
 served as public notaries at Chaul. During the first
 half of the seventeenth century, João pinto Ribeiro was a
¹⁵⁴
 public notary in the town.

D. Artisans and Labourers.

Towards the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the
 weaver community settled in the suburb of Chaul, outside
 the fortified town at the north-east corner. Textile
 production was carried out under the master-weaver who
 employed several weavers under him, and was also undertaken
¹⁵⁵
 by weavers who worked independently. The *superintendente*
dos tessalões or master-weaver supplied raw materials and
 equipments to the weavers, and production was carried out in
¹⁵⁶
 his premises. more details are not available. Some of the
 weavers carried out their trade on their own capital and
¹⁵⁷
 marketed their products directly.

So far as the ship-building industry was concerned, the
 Portuguese advanced the money to the master-carpenter who
 carried out the works through other carpenters, employed by
¹⁵⁸
 him. He belonged to the same profession. There were other
 artisans, such as the black-smiths, cobblers, potters, hat-
¹⁵⁹
 makers and many others. The urban labourers were engaged

153. *H A G*, Mss. 1371, fls. 13v-14 and *B. Mus. Mss* Add. 28461, fl. 265v.

154. *H A G*, Mss. 656, fl. 280.

155. For the emergence of master-weavers in south India. Refers, Vijaya Ramashwamy, "The Genesis and historical role of the master weavers in south Indian textile production," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 294- 325.

156. *H A G*, Mss. 1129, fls. 122v-128.

157. *H A G*, Mss. 1129, fl. 122v.

158. *A H U*, Mss. India Cx. 7, ; *H A G*, Mss. 969, fl. 119 and 1420, fl. 174.

159. *A C E*, Vol. II, p. 417.

in the manual works in the orchards owned by religious establishments and certain urbanites, and also in the houses of wealthy men and so on.¹⁶⁰

Apart from the non-productive and productive sectors of the society, there were ecclesiastical persons, soldiers and the officials appointed by the State. Among the various religious orders, the Jesuits were quite influential in the town, and were given responsibilities regarding the upkeep of the fortification and in educating the children.¹⁶¹ The military persons were in the town to extend protection to the urbanites and to safe-guard the interests of the State.

VI. URBAN SOCIAL LIFE IN THE TOWN

The society may be broadly divided into two sections, the christians and non-christians. The former section of the society was patronised by the state. As discussed earlier, the marriage between the Portuguese men and Indian women were promoted in India, and the offsprings of such couples were then known as the *mestiços*. The children of the Portuguese men and women born in India were then called as the *castiços*.¹⁶² The posts in the administrative set-ups of the town were exclusively held by the christians of Chaul. Moreover, the State often solicited this section of society by providing sources of income so as to support

160. A H U, Mss. India Cx. 8, doc. 43A.

161. A R S J, Mss. India Cx. 9 I fl. 225 and Goa 33 I, fls. 26v, 117; *Documenta Indica*, Vol. 1, p. 657.

162. J. H. V. Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen Van Linschoten to the East Indies*, Ed. by A. C. Burnell, London, 1885, Vol. I, pp. 183-184.

them. The *tenças* or ammunities were ^{to}granted to the widows for ¹⁶³their living, and for the marriages of their daughters.

On the other hand, the non-christians were permitted to follow their religion but certain restrictions were imposed on their religious life. They were forbidden to celebrate their festivals in public. Their marriages were solely confined to be performed in the houses which remain closed ¹⁶⁴during the ceremonies. The orphan children of non-christians were baptized and were put under the guardianship of the christian urbanites even against wishes of the relatives of ¹⁶⁵these children. Each and every couples of the non-christians had to pay certain amount to the authority for following ¹⁶⁶their ancestral religion. But complete freedom was given to them so far as the funerals were concerned, and separate ¹⁶⁷cemetries were allotted outside the town.

The property owned by the urbanites both christians and non-christians, was disposed off according to the testaments of the deceased persons. One Vania of Chaul died in 1600 and left thirty *pardaos* for all the christian priests of the town, and four thousand *pardaos* to the birds' hospital of ¹⁶⁸Cambay. Antonio de Perira left some money for the House

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163. Part of the income of certain tax was given to such needy urbanites, and it was known as *tença*. *A H U*, Mss. 281, fl. 397v; *A H U*, Mss. India Cx. 6, doc. 64, Cx. II, doc. 10 and Cx. 4 doc 2; *A N T T*, Mss. *Livro das Monções* no. 25, fl. 292, no. 21, fl. 217 and no. 27, fl. 262; *B A*, Mss. 51-VIII-7, fl. 31; *H A G*, Mss. 1370, fl. 26.
164. *H A G*, Mss. 1427, fl. 17v and 1247, fl. 36; *A H U*, Mss. 212, fl. 97v; *H A G*, Mss. *Livro das Monções* no. 28 B, fl. 419; Also refer, Linchoten, *Op. cit.*, Vol. I. pp. 181-182.
165. *H A G*, Mss. 7446, fls. 136-136v and 1247, fls. 36-36v.
166. *H A G*, Mss. 1247, fl. 24.
167. *H A G*, Mss. 1129, fl. 124v.
168. *B. Mus.* Mss. Add. 28461, fl. 265v and *B A*, Mss. 49-IV-50, fl. 51. Similarly one Vania had donated six thousand cruzados to the hospital of Chaul, Administered by the Jesuits. *Documenta Indica*, VII p. 24.

of Mercy at Chaul while Joseph Pinto Fonteiro left some
¹⁶⁹
amount for the House of Mercy at Goa. The Portuguese
authorities took every possible steps to respect the wishes
of the deceased person and at times money was transferred
to Portugal and were given to the nominees of the
¹⁷⁰
testaments. On the other hand, the property of the heirless
person was allotted to the House of Mercy, to be distributed
¹⁷¹
among the urban poor. The town authority helped the
urbanites to get back their inheritance, in case of forcible
¹⁷²
acquisition by others.

The section of married Portuguese of the society was leading
a luxurious way of life and kept itself away from all manual
¹⁷³
labour. The Portuguese man, sceptical by nature, never
allowed his wife or daughter to be seen by the stranger and
¹⁷⁴
not even by his friends. On the contrary, he kept one or
¹⁷⁵
more women with whom he had extra-marital relationships.
Similarly the Portuguese woman also engaged in the act of
adultery, possibly when her husband was away from home. There

169. *A H U*, Mss. India Cx. 8, doc. 55.

170. *Ibid.* For instance, Luis Rebeiro had nominated his sister, Dona Catherina da sá, and Antonio de Pereira left the amount for his sisters, namely Maria da Cunha, Izabel da Cunha and Viçencia Pereira. All the heirs were then living in Portugal.

171. *H A G*, Mss. 1129, fl. 79; *A R S J*, Mss. Goa 33 I, fl. 118; *Documenta Indica*, Vol. XVI, p. 735. For instance, the property of Santa Sangvi was deposited in the house of mercy.

172. *H A G*, Mss. 1427, fl. 27.

173. *B N L*, Mss. 140, fl. 133v

174. To understand the code of social values with respect to this section of society, information supplied by Linschoten is used since similar views were expressed by Pyrard. See, Linschoten, *Op. cit.*, Vol. I. pp. 208-209.

175. *As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo*, Vol. III. p. 282.

were a few cases in which the wife used to call her friend when her husband was very much at home, and some herbal concoction was given to her husband to put him in sound sleep.¹⁷⁶ The people were generally non-vegetarians. Rice was their principal diet, in addition to it, they used to consume *frango* or fried chicken, fish, beef etc.¹⁷⁷ The feelings of the insecurity was stronger in their minds, so they stood behind the state, and supported it in the form of finance and materials against the State enemies.¹⁷⁸ They were God-fearing people and often paid respects to the priest and honestly confessed^s the sins committed by them.¹⁷⁹

The priests, in addition to the religious services, used to solve the problems between husband and wife.¹⁸⁰ They were also engaged in educating the children of urbanites. A class room was attached to the Jesuits college where teaching of the doctrines of the Christianity, philosophy, mathematics, latin and Portuguese language was conducted.¹⁸¹ Only in the second half of the seventeenth century, the State permitted children of the non-Christians to go to the schools run by the respective linguistic groups, the medium of instruction being the concerned language.¹⁸²

176. Lischoten, *Op.cit.* Vol. I, pp. 209-210.

177. *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, Vol. II, p. 196; *Documenta Indica*, Vol. X, p. 7.

178. German Correia, *Op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 55; A H U, Mss. India, Cx. 23, doc. 77

179. *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, Vol. II, pp. 201-205.

180. A R S J, Mss. Goa 33 I, fl. 76v.

181. A R S J, Mss. Goa 33 I, fls. 27, 76v; *Documenta Indica*, Vol. XI, p. 27, and Vol. XV, p. 657.

182. H A G, Mss. 1247. fl. 36.

Two institutions were in Chaul, dealt chiefly with the welfare of the people. The House of Mercy received twelve thousand *xerafins* yearly from the state and sometimes even some additional grant.¹⁸³ Moverover, it received a large sum of donations. This institution helped the urban poor by providing food and financial helps. The urbanites received the medical aids at the hospital where food was given free of cost to the poor.¹⁸⁴ On the special occasions, local musicians entertained the urbanites with their art. Similarly, the local artists staged dramas. The medium of expression was of course Portuguese.¹⁸⁵ There was a ^{an} gambling house earlier, but it was closed down in 1546. And thereafter, the urbanites played gambling on betting the persons who played the game called *batao*.¹⁸⁶

Thus, against the political and economic advantages he had received from the Portuguese, the Nizamshah of Ahmednagar relinquished the port of Chaul to the latter. Inter-racial and intra-racial marriage policies followed by the Portuguese in India helped in developing Chaul as a town for their settlement. When facilities in trade and immunities in taxation were granted to the residents, the merchants of

183. *H A G*, Mss. 4460, fls. 156v-157 and 1129, fls. 217-218;

184. *A N T T*, Mss. *Livro das Monções* no. 18, fl. 125; no. 19, fls. 13v-14 and no. 21, fl. 14; *H A G*, Mss. 7746, fl. 120v and 1172, fl. 245.

185. *A N T T*, Mss. *Livro das Monções* no. 49, fls. 170-173.

186. *Subsidios para a Historia da India Portuguesa*, p. 123. The game called *batao* was being played between two persons. Both of them used to push each other by employing force of the shoulders, holding one leg by one hand at the back side of the body. While other hand kept holding the elbow of another hand in the same position. *B A*, Mss. 51-VIII-52, fl. 15v.

different ethnical groups got attracted to this town and they started indulging in the sea-borne trade. The Portuguese system of farming out various taxes to the highest-bidders helped the urbanites following mercantile professions to accumulate capital, and it was employed in conducting trade. In the seventeenth century, most of the taxes were farmed out by the Hindus, who virtually dominated trade of Chaul. A report of 1671 informs that there were very few Portuguese merchants in the town of Chaul.¹⁸⁷ Quite likely it was difficult to the Portuguese settlers of Chaul to carry on trade for want of sufficient capital and knowledge of the local languages. Moreover they must have failed to establish business contacts with the producers of textiles and tobacco, the major items of trade at Chaul.

On the other hand, despite the restrictions on the religious life and discriminations by the local officials, the Hindu merchants continued to live in Chaul^{au}, and co~~n~~ducted trading ventures so long as the protection and privileges were extended to them by the State of Portuguese India. The religious discrimination followed by the Portuguese towards the non-christian sector of the society was with a view to seclude them from the privileged section of society, and to create the feeling of religious insecurity among them, and also to insist on the new converts to remain conscientious to the christian faith. But, both christians and non-

187. A H U, Mss. India Cx. 28, doc. 203.

christian sectors of the society always joined their hands against the vexatious attitudes of the local officials towards the resident merchants. Even elite of town had sheltered the interests of the *vanias* and often protected their rights of enjoying liberty in trade. The society as whole remained harmonious during the period of our study.

APPENDIX I

 List of the Urbaintes of Chaul and occupations-1st half

 Seventeenth Century

sr.	name	occupation	remark	source
1.	Manuel de Azevedo	merchant	owner of ship	HAG, 1369, fls, 84-85.
2.	Luis penheiro de Menezes	merchant	-	Ind. Cx. 17, do
3.	Germon(?) Shah	merchant	-	HAG, 1169, fl. 74
4.	Mohandas Gokuldas	merchant	-	HAG, 1422, fl. 27.
5.	Richandra Shah	merchant	merchant Mhajan	HAG. 1169, fl. 43v.
6.	Khanoji das	merchant	-	HAG, 1129, fl. 79.
7.	Krishna	merchant	textile supplie	HAG, 7746, fl. 117
8.	Duarte Lobo	merchant	-	HAG, 1371, fl. 31v.
9.	Vitaldas Revadas	merchant	-	HAG, 1424, fl. 27.
10.	Luis Teixeira	merchant	-	HAG, 1369, fl. 91.
11.	Luis da Costa	merchant	-	HAG, 1369, fls. 17v.
12.	João pimental	merchant	owner of ship	HAG, 1371, fl. 146v
13.	Antonio Mello de Sampaio	merchant	-	HAG, 1370. fl. 92.
14.	Francisco de Mello	merchant	-	HAG, 1372, fl. 96v
15.	Estevão Leilão	merchant	-	HAG, 1369, fl. 91v
16.	Inocenio Cabral de Macedo	merchant	owner of ship	HAG, 1369. fls. 91-91v.
17.	Francisco de Costa,	merchant	owner of ship	HAG, 369, fl. 146
18.	Andrade Francisco	merchant	-	HAG, 1369, fls. 91v-20.
19.	Francisco Carveiro	merchant	-	HAG, 1369, fl. 197-197v.
20.	Francisco Colação	merchant	-	HAG, 1369, fls. 77v-78.
21.	Rui Preto	merchant	-	BNL. Pomb. 108 fl. 50.
22.	Alvaro Francisco de Arvio.	merchant	-	HAG, 1424, fl.
23.	Jeronimo de Azevedo	merchant	-	HAG, 1369, fl.
24.	Mohandas Kassidas	merchant	textile supplier	HAG, 2316, fl.
25.	João Dias Gomes	merchant		HAG, 1370, fl. 67v.
26.	Shanta Sanvi	merchant	-	HAG, 1129, fl. 79v.
27.	Ramdas Gujarathi	mrechant	-	HAG, 1172, fl. 131v.

28.	Baji Narshingh	merchant	-	HAG, 1172, fl.
29.	Vimaldas Banea	tax-farmer	-	HAG, 1170, fls. 13v-14.
30.	Krishna Dalvi	tax-farmer	-	Ibid.
31.	Shantidas	tax-farmer	-	Ibid.
32.	Vassa Sinai	tax-farmer	-	HAG, 1170, fls 182v-183.
33.	Rama Sinai	tax-farmer	-	Ibid.
34.	Berthem Saches	tax-farmer	-	HAG. 1370, FL. 107.
35.	Rama Dalvi	tax-farmer	-	Ibid, fl. 90.
36.	Ganesh Dalvi	tax-farmer	-	Ibid, fl. 39.
37.	Rajandh Sinai	tax-farmer	-	Ibid.
38.	Madhav Sinai	tax-farmer	-	Ibid.
39.	Thomas Borralho	tax-farmer	-	HAG, 1160, fls 206-206v.
40.	Virpal Rajpal	tax-farmer	-	HAG, 656, fl. 2
41.	Gosavi Prabhu	tax-farmer	-	HAG, 1371, fls, 13v-14.
42.	Bhikh Bhandari	tax-farmer	-	Ibid.
43.	Valgi Ardar(?)	tax-farmer	-	Ibid.
44.	Surji Ramaji	tax-farmer	-	Ibid.
45.	Luis Bragmane	tax-farmer	-	HAG, 2316, fl.
46.	Joseph de Azevedo, Souto Maior.	tax-farmer	-	HAG, 1371, fl. 197.
48.	Laugi Doshi	tax-farmer	-	Ibid.
49.	philip de Rangel	tax-farmer	-	HAG, 656, fls. 46 ff.
50.	Lakhan Dalvi	tax-farmer	-	Ibid, fls. 102
50.	Domingos Roiz	tax-farmer	-	Ibid, fls. 175
51.	Virpal. Bangasmali	tax-farmer	-	HAG, 2316, fl.
52.	Narsindas ganesh	tax-farmer	-	HAG, 1370, fl.
53.	Raghunath Singai	tax-farmer	-	Ibid.
54.	Trimbakji Prabhu	tax-farmer	-	Ibid.
55.	Ganesh Dalvi	tax-farmer	-	Ibid.
56.	Madhav Sinai	tax-farmer	-	Ibid.
57.	Antonio Barboza Abreau	public notary	-	HAG, 1371, fls 13v-14.
58.	João Pinto Ribeiro	public notary	-	HAG, 656, fl. 280.
59.	Gaspar Rosado	public notary	-	B, Mus, Add. Mss 28461, fl. 265v
60.	Diogo Dias Lobo	solicitor	-	HAG, 1371, fl. 31v.
61.	Antonio Martins	solicitor	-	BNL, pomb. Mss 108, fls. 50-1
62.	Bakshi	broker	-	ANTT-LM 47. fl. 129.
63.	Dona Boa Ventura	estate broker	-	HAG-LM 19D, fl. 1235v.
64.	Raimal Gujarathi	physician	-	HAG, 7751, fl. 254.
65.	Balaji Pandit	physician	-	Ibid. 7750, fl. 171.
66.	Marcos Jorge	surgeon	-	Ibid, fl. 93,
67.	Antonio pereira	chemist	-	Ibid, 1172, fl. 245.
68.	Nana Sinai	artisan	-	ACE II, pp. 413-418.

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69.	Ratnaji	artisan	weaver	HAG, 1129, fl. 125.
70.	Vithoji	artisan	weaver	Ibid, fl. 125v.
71.	Bagaji	artisan	weaver	Ibid, fl. 123.
72.	Vissa Mata(?)	artisan	weaver	Ibid, fl. 122v.
73.	Kanaji das	artisan	weaver	Ibid, fl. 79.
			merchant	
74.	Rupaji	artisan	weaver	Ibid, fls. 126-7.
75.	Damaji	artisan	weaver	Ibid.
76.	Mukundji	artisan	weaver	Ibid, fl. 126
77.	Sanjaji	artisan	weaver	Ibid.
78.	Golpell(?)	artisan	weaver	Ibid, fl. 126v.
79.	Banaji	artisan	weaver	Ibid, fl. 126.
80.	Jorge Henrique	?	owner of Chawl at suburb of Chaul.	Decada 13, p. 18.
81.	Luis Ribeixo	?	-	AHU, Ind. Cx. 8. doc. 55.
82.	Francisco Goncalvo	?	-	Ibid.
83.	Antonio Pereira	?	-	Ibid.
84.	Joseph Pinto Fontero	?	-	Ibid.
85.	Francisco Caminho	?	-	HAG, 1369, fls. 84-85.