

**PORTUGUESE TRADE AND URBANIZATION IN
MARITIME GUJARAT, 1500- 1800**

*Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
for the award of the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY*

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Declaration

I, Sohinee Basak hereby declare that the thesis entitled “**PORTUGUESE TRADE AND URBANIZATION IN MARITIME GUJARAT, 1500- 1800**” submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY** of this University is a bonafide work and has not been submitted previously for any degree to this or any other university.

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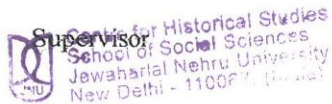
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Certificate

We recommend that the thesis may be placed before the examiner for evaluation.

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Content

List of Maps.....	6
Acknowledgement.....	7
Chapter 1.....	9
<u>I.Situating the Historiography.....</u>	12
<u>II. Chapterization.....</u>	27
<u>III. Methodology and Sources.....</u>	33
Chapter II.....	35
Gujarat on the Eve of Portuguese Arrival.....	35
<u>I.Trade and Commodity Movements.....</u>	40
<u>II.Trade Routes and Satellite Markets.....</u>	45
<u>III.Trading Society.....</u>	53
<u>IV.Urbanization.....</u>	59
<u>Conclusion.....</u>	83
Chapter III.....	86
Portuguese and the Trade Circuits of Gujarat.....	86
<u>I. Trade Routes.....</u>	88
<u>II. Internal Trading network of Diu and Daman.....</u>	102
<u>III. Money Transaction and Revenue.....</u>	109
<u>IV. Revenue.....</u>	113
<u>V. Change of Portuguese Policies: The Doldrums and the Revival of Trade.....</u>	119
<u>Conclusion.....</u>	139
Chapter IV.....	141
Portuguese and the Gujarati Urban Society.....	141
<u>I.Composition of Diu and Daman’s Society.....</u>	142
<u>II.Indigenous Population.....</u>	143
<u>III. Portuguese Population.....</u>	150
<u>IV. Slaves and Slavery.....</u>	156

<u>V. Division of Labour and Occupation</u>	157
<u>VI. Occupational Groups and Guilds: The Indigenous Organisational System</u>	166
<u>VII. Merchants Linkages</u>	170
<u>VIII. Response and Relationship of the Gujaratis and the Portuguese</u>	174
<u>Conclusion</u>	184
Chapter V	186
Portuguese and the Local Polity of Coastal Gujarat	186
<u>I.The Local Polity of Gujarat</u>	187
<u>II. Gujarat under the Mughals</u>	190
<u>III. Portuguese and the Gujarati Polity</u>	197
<u>IV. Marathas and the Portuguese</u>	211
<u>V.Portuguese and other Europeans</u>	218
<u>VI.Political Shift and the Portuguese Revival of Trade</u>	222
<u>VII.Merchants and State</u>	226
<u>Conclusion</u>	230
Chapter VI	232
Meanings of Urbanization: Diu and Daman	232
<u>I. Gujarat and Urbanization</u>	237
<u>II. Nature of the Portuguese Urbanization Process</u>	239
<u>III.Portuguese Model of Urbanization in Gujarat: Diu and Daman</u>	246
<u>IV.Urban Administration</u>	250
<u>V.Spatial Process</u>	259
<u>VI.Indigenous Population and Urban Industry</u>	270
<u>VII. Societal Process</u>	280
<u>VIII.Seventeenth Century Changes</u>	286
<u>Conclusion</u>	288
Chapter VII	290
Conclusion	290
Glossary	300
Bibliography	302

Primary Source..... 302
Secondary Source..... 307

List of Maps

	Pages
Gujarat as Known by the Arabs	35
Centres of Production of Diu	43
The Route of Vasco da Gama	83
India, Through the Eyes of the Portuguese	87
Asia in 1630	106
India in 1760	211
The Parganas of Daman	247

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Chapter 1

Introduction

With its strategic location and a very entrepreneurial people, Gujarat has been one of the most important commercial destinations for various groups of merchants of Indian as well as foreign origin. On the one hand, the trade circuits from the Persian Gulf and Red Sea used to converge at one or another port of Gujarat, into which on the other hand the trade routes from Gangetic valley or from the southern branch of silk route and central Asian world also used to merge. Because of the geophysical position as being the hub of long distance trade both by land route and sea route, Gujarat experienced economic stimulation of unprecedented nature by the turn of early modern period. The Portuguese immediately after their entry in India realized that hold over Indian Ocean trade could effectively be imposed only by controlling the flow of cargo through the ports of Gujarat. This led to the establishment of Portuguese fortified mercantile settlements in key strategic locations like Diu and Daman and minor enclaves all along the coast of Gujarat. By locating their settlements at the opening part of the major trade routes into the sea from Gangetic plains and Deccan, the Portuguese managed to maintain control over the commodity circuits around coastal Gujarat and cargo movements to West Asia. Through their strategic enclaves in Gujarat the Portuguese virtually operated as sentinels with a vast and intricate control system of patrolling armada and fighting forces. The Portuguese eventually used their enclaves for procuring commodities needed for their African and West Asian trade from the neighbouring production centres and incorporated the mercantile expertise and skills of local merchants to get connected with both the local and intra-Asian markets. In this process, several streams of commodity used to converge in the ports of Gujarat, particularly Diu and Daman and the returns from this trade formed the material base for the urbanization processes of these enclaves.

The central purpose of my research is to look into the meanings of trade that the Portuguese organized through the Gujarati ports of Diu and Daman and also to trace the nuanced ways by which the Portuguese developed urban centres in these commercial pockets through trade returns. It also examines on the one hand the role that these two towns played in shaping and sustaining the early colonial power –cum- commercial

edifice of the Lusitanians in the Indian Ocean. On the other hand it looks into the impact that the trade and urbanization of the Portuguese exerted on the larger economy and society of Gujarat. The theme will be discussed within the ambit of larger historical process of European expansion and the interaction of early colonial powers with the regional societies and economies. It will also look into the meanings of economic stimulation caused by the Portuguese trade in Gujarat.

Aspects of economic growth in early modern India have been perceived differently by different historians, social scientists and economic historians. Karl Marx opined that the chief characteristic feature of the Asiatic Mode of Production was its resistance to change of any kind and absence of internal contradictions, the existence of village commune, absence of private property and communal ownership and unity among agriculture and handicrafts.¹ Max Weber on the other hand, viewed that the difference in the economic development of Europe and Asia (obviously India in particular) was its caste system, traditionalism and lack of discipline.² Morris D. Morris questioned the notion of negative impact of the Indian value system and pointed out that the development of India's cotton textile industry could be attributed to the indigenous initiatives of Indian entrepreneurs.³ With the arrival of the Europeans in the Indian Ocean trading network, the history of the region experienced modifications and changes. A. Palat, Keneth Barr, James Matson and Nesar Ahmad opined that there was rise and decline of 'South Asian world economy' between the years 1600-1750. The South Asia was incorporated into the European or the capitalist world economy in the second half of the 18th century. Immanuel Wallerstein opines that the 16th century saw the beginning of world economy. Indian Ocean regions were brought under the world economy and capital accumulation was affected by market oriented activities bringing profit and appropriation of labour surplus, which declined by

¹ Irfan Habib, *Essays in Indian History: Towards a Marxist Perception*, Tulika, New Delhi, 1995, p. 32-34; Ashutosh Kumar, "Marx And Engels On India", *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 53, No. 4 (Oct. - Dec. 1992)

² Max Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, translated and edited H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, Routledge and Kegan Paul Pvt. Ltd., London, 1982, p. 413-414

³ Ghulam A. Nadri, *Eighteenth Century Gujarat: The Dynamics of its Political Economy, 1750-1800*, Brill, Leiden, 2009, p. 4

the 17th century. Wallerstein believed in the presence of the two distinct economies, the European World economy and the Asian World economy. The Euro-Asian trade and the presence of the European companies in the Indian Ocean did not help to bridge the gap between the two. Sanjay Subrahmanyam though did not deny the presence of Asian world economy, have refuted this argument and had pointed out that the 16th century witnessed a 'limited expansion' in the Euro- Asian trade and the 17th century saw greater growth.⁴ K.N Chaudhuri opined that the capitalist principles were present and strongly underpinned long distance trade and economic production for non local markets.⁵ For Van Leur the early Asian trade was dominated by the pedlars who went along with his goods over the caravan routes and sea routes. Financiers usually were either members of the ruling aristocracy or merchants close to the aristocracy.⁶ Meilink- Roelofsz, found the term "peddler" insufficient to describe Asian commercial operations that included merchants of great wealth, stable partnerships, sophisticated and efficient credit instrument and extensive capital resources.⁷

W.H. Moreland had opined that the Asian trade did not depend on the Europeans, though the latter played an important role.⁸ Economic historians like P.J. Marshall argue that the economic activity in India was much more robust and deep rooted than it was supposed to be. The Mughals, the successor states and the early British all did their best to maximize their wealth through taxation, though the political disruptions had important

⁴ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "World Economies and South Asia, 1600-1750" A Skeptical Note", *Review (Fernand Braudel Centre)*, Vol.12, No.1 (Winter 1989), p. 143

⁵ KN Chaudhuri, *Asia Before Europe: Economy and Civilization of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of islam to 1750*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990, p. 384

⁶ J.C. Van Leur, *Indonesian Trade and Society: Essays in Asian Social and Economic History*, W Van Hoeve Ltd, Hague, 1955, pp. 214-219; W. F. Wertheim, "Early Asian Trade: An Appreciation of J. C. van Leur", *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Feb., 1954), pp. 167-173

⁷ M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofsz, *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630*, The Hague, 1962, pp. 119-20

⁸ W.H. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb: A Study in Indian Economic History*, Oriental Books, New Delhi, 1972

economic effects in Gujarat, Punjab and Rajasthan.⁹ Irfan Habib is of the view that rather than being the self sufficient republic, as conceived by Marx, the Indian village community was a mechanism of subsidiary exploitation of the lower strata of the peasantry and the village labourers by the upper strata. The ruling class and perhaps the *zamindars* as well, found this system quite convenient, since by permitting an unequal distribution of the revenue burden, they ensured its fuller collection.¹⁰

The meanings of economic growth in early modern India, which has been the central theme of these debates, will be analyzed afresh by analyzing the nature of Portuguese trade and aspects of urbanization caused by them in Gujarat during the period between 1500 and 1800.

I.Situating the Historiography

The historical literature on Indian Ocean trade and maritime history of India has been multi-layered echoing the varied ideological orientations of the scholars, the thematic interests they had as well as the nature of the source materials they had made use of. The British historians R.S. Whiteway and F.C. Danvers often saw the barbaric actions of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean. Though they gave a detailed description of the Indian Ocean under the Portuguese, the negative virtues of the Portuguese as compared to the British was widely studied. C.R.Boxer in his *Portuguese India in the Mid Seventeenth Century* looks more into the commercial activities of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean and neglects the arena of the political and social role which the Portuguese played in India. According to Boxer the Portuguese influence was more widely spread than Portuguese power.¹¹ But he underlines the importance of the relationship which the Portuguese officials had with the local traders particularly the Hindus and the Jains who

⁹ P.J. Marshall, ed. *The Eighteenth century in Indian History: Evolution or Revolution*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2005, p. 13

¹⁰ Irfan Habib, "Colonialization of the Indian Economy, 1757 – 1900", *Social Scientist*, Vol. 3, No. 8 (Mar., 1975), p. 24

¹¹ C.R.Boxer, *Portuguese India in the Mid Seventeenth Century*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1980, p. 18

helped them to earn profits in the respect of trade and also the political sphere. Though Boxer discusses in detail about the economic activities of the *Estado da India*, nevertheless he calls the company to be driven by their militant and religious zeal.

A significant strand in the historiographical tradition related to Gujarat and its maritime trade revolved around the discussions on the need for India's power assertion in the Indian Ocean against the background of nationalist movement. To this category one may include the works of the early writers like R.K.Mookherji,¹² Ballard,¹³ O.K. Nambiar and K.M Panikar. R. K. Mookherji in his work titled *Indian Shipping: A History of Sea borne Trade and Maritime activity of the Indians from the Earliest Times* and first published in 1912 shows the central role of the sea going Indians including the Gujaratis in shaping the fate of Indian Ocean and the coastal India. The intention of the author was to show that India had a very rich and continuous maritime tradition and sea-faring activities, which actually got crippled with the entry of the Europeans. This genre of historiography glorifying the maritime cultural traditions of ancient India was followed also by the nationalist historians like K.M. Panikkar¹⁴ and O.K. Nambiar, as well,¹⁵ who examined the historical developments in the Indian Ocean to provide inspiration for the ongoing struggles against western dominance. K.M. Panikkar in his short book titled *India and the Indian Ocean* emphasizes India's past role in naval and maritime matters and highlights the naval battles where Indian forces did fairly well. According to him the battles that the Portuguese fought at Cochin in 1503 and at Diu in 1509 were the two most significant events in Indian history that changed their course. These wars exposed the military weakness of the Indians against the European powers, which eventually gave them the opportunity to build up a naval empire and with the control of Diu the

¹² R.K.Mookherji, *Indian Shipping: A History of Sea borne Trade and maritime activity of the Indians from the Earliest Times*, 1912

¹³ G. A. Ballard, *Rulers of the Indian Ocean*, London, 1927

¹⁴ K.M.Panikkar, *India and the Indian Ocean: An Essay on the Influence of Sea Power on Indian History*, London, 1951

¹⁵ O.K.Nambiar, *The Kunjalis, The Admirals of Calicut*, Delhi, 1963

supremacy passed into the hands of the Portuguese, without any decisive battles and this eventually opened up India's maritime doors to the Europeans.

By 1980s a large bulk of historical literature on Indian Ocean began to appear looking more into the economic and social processes of various coastal parts of India. The works of Ashin Das Gupta, M.N.Pearson, Satish Chandra, Sinnappah Arasaratnam, Kenneth McPherson, B.Arunachalam, Om Prakash, K.S.Mathew, K.N.Chaudhuri, and others, introduced a new historiographical tradition in the study of Indian Ocean societies, in which study of coastal society and trade of various regions and zones of the Indian Ocean formed the central aspects of historical analysis.¹⁶ For them the study of the economy and society of coastal Gujarat formed only a smaller component of their larger analysis of the historical processes in this maritime space as conditioned and responded by the challenges raised from the European expansion.

Historians like W.H. Moreland viewed maritime trade as an extraneous action without any impact on inland. From the 1970s the maritime historians became interested in the provenance and the destination of trade goods, the social composition of groups engaged in trade and the production of trade goods, the taxation systems. Authors like M.N.Pearson had shown that though Indian Ocean was diversified in many respects yet the Indian Ocean community was connected with each other, be it through trade or by religious or cultural exchanges.¹⁷ They tried to view the larger connectivity and unity of the Indian Ocean, despite its rich diversities and multiple facets.

¹⁶ Ashin Das Gupta and M.N.Pearson, *India and the Indian Ocean*, New Delhi, 1987; Satish Chandra, *The Indian Ocean Explorations in History, Commerce and Politics*, New Delhi, 1987; K.S.Mathew, *Studies in Maritime History*, Pondicherry, 1990; Idem, *Mariners, Merchants and Oceans: Studies in Maritime History*, Delhi, 1995; Kenneth McPherson, *The Indian Ocean: A History of People and the Sea*, Delhi, 1993; Sinnappah Arasaratnam, *Maritime India in the Seventeenth Century*, Delhi, 1994; Om Prakash, *Precious Metals and Commerce: The Dutch East India Company in the Indian Ocean Trade*, Aldershot, 1994; K.N.Chaudhuri, *Asia before Europe : Economy and Civilization of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750*, Cambridge, 1990; Sinnappah Arasaratnam, *Maritime India in the Seventeenth Century*, Delhi, 1994

¹⁷ M.N.Pearson, "Introduction I : The state of the subject", *India and Indian Ocean trade:1500-1800*, edited M.N.Pearson and Ashin Das Gupta, New Delhi, 1999

In 1970s economy and society of coastal Gujarat became the focal theme of three major historians, causing a new historiographical tradition to evolve. They are Ashin Das Gupta,¹⁸ M.N. Pearson,¹⁹ and K.S. Mathew,²⁰ whose works focused mainly on coastal Gujarat and discussed issues of its urbanization and trade. Unlike the earlier European historians of Portugal and the Netherlands, who maintained a Eurocentric perception while studying Indian history, the new historiographical tradition as represented in their works began to use various sources from European archives to make an Indo-centric study of the region. The path-breaking work of Ashin Das Gupta on *Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat, c. 1700-1750* argues that ‘without going out of India one cannot explain India’ and hence he traces the mercantile links of the traders of Surat that extended to the markets of Saffavid Persia, to the terrains of the Ottomans in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, besides the Mughal markets. He makes a detailed study on the history of Surat, its growth and also the factors which led to its decline, besides giving valuable information about its merchants and trading groups. Regarding the relationship between the merchants and the state in Surat, he commented that the state neither exerted itself much to protect it nor made their life impossible. Though there are instances where the Mughal officials had become instruments of terror and there was an unflinching attempt by the official to extract what money was available by using whatever force they could apply.²¹ There were no guilds at Surat although powerful social groups when in control of a particular occupation like brokerage could and did regulate the manner and method of trade. He looks into the decline of Surat against the general background of the dwindling market stimulus and commercial crisis following the crisis in the Mughal, Ottoman and Saffavid empires, which in turn helped the English to take advantage of the situation and to strengthen their hold over the Indian trade.

¹⁸ Ashin Das Gupta, *Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat, c. 1700-1750*, Wiesbaden, 1979

¹⁹ M.N.Pearson, *Merchants and rulers in Gujarat: The Response to the Portuguese in the Sixteenth century*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Private Limited, New Delhi, 1976

²⁰ K.S.Mathew, *Portuguese and the Sultanate of Gujarat(1500-1573)*, Delhi, 1986

²¹ Ashin Das Gupta, *Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat, c. 1700-1750*, Manohar, Delhi, 1994, p.152

Pearson in his *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat*²² presents Indian merchants as being exposed to insular attitude of the Mughals to the world of the maritime trade. The Mughal power according to him lacked any serious inclination for policing the seas or to ensure freedom of navigation. The inherent implication is that the Indian merchants had to negotiate with Europeans at sea. Pearson recognizes the fundamental importance of a stable and powerful state providing long distance trade both over land and sea borne with a supportive political structure in terms of infrastructural facilities. Deviating from the usual course of writing the political history, he had discussed in details the population and the social structure of Gujarat in *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat*. He points out the heterogeneous character of the population which consisted of people from different races, caste and creed. The state did not interfere much with the activities of the merchants and the general population. Before coming of the Portuguese the Gujarati merchants conducted their trade without any interference. Though in most part of Asia the Portuguese were not able to have their foothold, in Gujarat they achieved success, the reason was the non interference of the state. The Gujarati merchants also did not take part in any decision making of their state and they accustomed themselves with the working of the state. Though this view is also echoed by Surendra Gopal²³ it is not wholly supported as Farhat Hasan. To Farhat Hasan the merchants and the urban population did play an important role in the decision making of the state so much so that the writings of *Mirat-i- Ahmadi* shows that the traders of Cambay had actually welcomed Akbar and supported his conquest of Gujarat.²⁴ They only protested if their interests were hurt.

S. Arasaratnam opines that the Mughal state and its political elites had an orientation towards maritime mercantile activity. He suggests that in the Indian subcontinent commerce was looked upon as an area of activity intricately linked to state's concerns. Talking about the role of Indian merchants he says that there was a strong degree of

²² M.N.Pearson, *Merchants and rulers in Gujarat: The Response to the Portuguese in the Sixteenth century*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Private Limited, New Delhi, 1976

²³ Surendra Gopal, *Commerce and Crafts in Gujarat in 16th and 17th centuries: A Study in the Impact of Europeans on Pre-capitalist Economy*, People's Publication, New Delhi, 1975, P.241

²⁴ Farhat Hasan, *State and Locality in Mughal India: Power Relations in Western India, c.1572-1730*, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, 2006.

collaboration between political elites and merchants which provided a new found clout and much needed support to mercantile groups. The increase in the importance of the trade in the state affairs gave more powers to the merchants groups too.

The historical evidences to study the history of Gujarat are ample. M.S. Commissariat in his *History of Gujarat*²⁵ had taken the pain to look into the detailed study of Gujarat from the ancient times. He looks mainly into the political and dynastic history of Gujarat. Though he discusses the social and architectural monuments of the time it is mainly a chronological history of the period. Ruby Maloni²⁶ while studying the commercial growth of India during the 16th century noted that Gujarat and Gujarati merchants played a very important role in shaping its economic fate. Their active participation not only led to the development of a cosmopolitan character for the region with merchants from Iran, Afghanistan and other places residing there, but also helped it in the growth of the modernized system of trade and commerce. The banking sector developed on very scientific and systematic lines with the progress in industrial sector. With the growth of various industries like banking, textile and the cottage industries, division of labour emerged which increased the skills and specialization of the labour force. Ruby Maloni is of the view that the development of these kinds of economy led to the growth of capitalistic mode of production which further increased with the increase in the active participation of the Europeans in the Gujarat trade. The sea ports developed to be primate nodal markets which offered a wide variety of services and goods to residents or visiting merchants.²⁷ The Europeans did not bring any new technique in the purchasing markets of Surat, Hugli or Mocha and other Asian commercial centres. Indian markets were not dominated by the European trade, on the other hand, the competition among the European companies, only made them less influential.²⁸ The Europeans had to adapt

²⁵ M.S.Commissariat, *A History of Gujarat-Including a Survey of its Chief Architectural Monuments and Inscriptions*, vol.1, Longmans, Green and Company Limited, Bombay, 1938.

²⁶Ruby Maloni, *European Merchant Capital and Indian Economy: A Historical Reconstruction based on Surat Factory Records 1630-1668*, Manohar,1992

²⁷ibid., p. 10

²⁸ Ibid., p. 48

themselves to the existing commercial and economic structure.²⁹ But she also pointed out that the Gujarati merchants often used to “bent with the wind” and accepted European passes to continue their trade even though their profits were reduced, this also showed the remarkable vitality of the Indian business system and its capacity to respond to the opportunities and challenges of the 17th century.³⁰

Surendra Gopal commented that the participation of the Europeans in the internal trade of Gujarat from the beginning of the 17th century led to the extension and strengthening of trading ties between the cities and the adjoining villages, between different towns of Gujarat and other parts of India. According to him the greatest change in the character of overland trade of Gujarat occurred because of the arrival of the Dutch and the East India Companies. These two companies were more organized and material better equipped, so they were able to incorporate the hinterlands into the production process. With the arrival of the Europeans in India the resources of the coastal areas turned out to be not sufficient for meeting up their demands. This led to the expansion of inland markets till Sindh, Rajasthan, and Delhi-Agra region. Surat became the entrepot of this growing overland trade and transit trade. The growth of this trade not only benefitted the Europeans but also widened the scope of activities of some of the indigenous groups traditionally engaged in this realm. Many links were formed between the local capital and foreign merchants. The local merchants had a vested interest in the perpetuation of the overland trade of the foreigners. Thus they did not take any effective measures against the foreign traders but became collaborators and *compradors* which in the long run was a factor in stultifying their intrinsic capacity to develop as capitalists. Therefore, inspite of the benefits reaped by the top layer of the business community, the local economy could not be said to be a gainer.³¹ Though Gopal’s argument converged with that of Maloni in the sense that the development of trade helped in the development of other sectors he opposed to the fact that the capitalism grew along with it. He opined that politically, economically and

²⁹ *ibid*, p. 49

³⁰ *ibid*, p. 58

³¹ Surendra Gopal, *Commerce and Crafts in Gujarat in 16th and 17th centuries: A Study in the Impact of Europeans on Pre-capitalist Economy*, People’s Publication, New Delhi, 1975,p. 135

socially capitalism could not grow in Gujarat in that period as the odds against such a transformation were heavy.³²

Balkrishna Govind Gokhale highlights the urbanization process of Surat and points out that though the European accounts describe Surat as a conglomeration of diverse communities living alongside each other, Surat did develop “genuine community of its own”.³³ O.P. Singh looked into the aspects of production and labour processes in Surat and pointed out that the Indian weaving industry adopted themselves to the new requirements of Europe. There was a sharp competition between the European companies for the Indian commodities. Had there been only one buyer and the market ran on monopolistic lines the Indian sellers would lose. The rivalry was beneficial to the Indian industries.³⁴ He also argues that there were sharp contrasts in the standard of living of the rich as well as poor classes and that in the city of Surat merchants like Virji Vora lived with the peasants and artisans who were suffering from dire poverty.

Farhat Hasan looks into the meanings of political authority in Gujarat under the Mughal rule. He holds the view that the state of Gujarat was based on the hierarchical relations with the local power holders, relations which were in turn predicted on the co-sharing of sovereignty.³⁵ But the paradox was that the state of Gujarat also declined because of this sharing of power between the sultan and the local powers. This process started in the reign of Bahadur Shah, when he took the help of the local powers ignoring the decisive effect of it in the future. With the weakening of the central authority, the powers of these local gentries increased to a large extent. These local units were not antithetical to the Sultan but co-existed with its deriving both legitimacy and ritual power.³⁶ Even these

³² *ibid.*, p.244

³³ Balkrishna Govind Gokhale, *Surat In Seventeenth Century: A study in Urban History of Pre-modern India*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1978, p.47.

³⁴ O.P.S.ingh, *Surat and its Trade in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century*, University of Delhi, Delhi, 1976, p.204

³⁵ Farhat Hasan, *State and Locality in Mughal India: Power Relations in Western India, c.1572-1730*, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, 2006, p.20

³⁶ *ibid.*, p.20

local gentries invited Akbar and the Mirzas to attack Gujarat and take the official charge of the sultanate. Thus the first phase of the conquest of Gujarat by the Mughals was not based on their military strength but relations of the Mughals with the local power. No conquest was possible without the support of the religious leaders, petty merchants, local gentry, tribal lineage groups and the urban dwellers. Akbar, after the conquest of the Gujarat, not only had to fight the opposition of the Mirzas but also these people whom he tried to win over not by force alone but also through rewards and privileges.

Shireen Moosvi in her recent book *People, Taxation and Trade in Mughal India*³⁷ sets aside a section to trace the maritime traditions of Gujarat. She examines the development and growth of the ship building industry of the Mughals in coastal Gujarat and describes how the Mughals were often apprehensive about the plunder that was often carried out by the Portuguese in the coasts of Gujarat. It was not possible to come out from the Gulf of Cambay evading the Portuguese, as they were controlling the Gujarat shipping from their two strong points at Diu and Daman on each side of Gujarat. The victims were often hajj pilgrims, which augmented the concerns of the Mughals. So they tried to develop an alternative port at Sind. She also traces the economic relationship between the ports of Gujarat and their hinterlands and examines the processes by which the economic gravity shifted from Cambay to Surat.

J.B.P. More³⁸ in his article “West European and Mughal Interaction During the Reign of Aurangzeb” studies the relationship between the Mughals and the Portuguese. He gives immense credit to Aurangzeb for promoting the commercial interests of the Indian merchants which led to the increase of the Indian merchants’ role in the maritime navigation and trade. The Indian merchants had taken full advantage of the presence of Europeans in Surat in the 17th century. He rejected the theory that the presence of the Europeans had weakened the Asian maritime enterprise. Supporting the views of Sinnappah Arasaratnam and P.J. Marshall, in the context of Mughal India, More pointed

³⁷ Shireen Moosvi, *People, Taxation and Trade in Mughal India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2008

³⁸ J.B.P. More, “West European and Mughal Interaction During the Reign of Aurangzeb”

out that Aurangzeb and his policies towards international maritime trade and towards the west Europeans in particular led to the phenomenal rise in Indian trading and shipping.

Jorges Flores in his article *Distant Wonders: The Strange and the Marvelous between Mughal India and Habsburg Iberia in the Early Seventeenth Century* makes a very interesting study about the cultural connections between the Portuguese and the Mughals. It talks about the cultural fusions that took place in the Portuguese and the Mughals through three case studies and points out how the image of the Mughals often changed in the European documentations to suit diverse political agendas, religious discourses, editorial markets and popular audiences. In his article *The Sea and the World of Mustaddi: A Profile of Port Officials from Mughal Gujarat (1600-1650)*³⁹ also points out that the equation between the relationship of the Mughals and the Portuguese underwent massive change during the reign of Jahangir. When Jahangir ascended the throne, the Mughals had already realized the importance of the new commercial and political challenges that were posed by the Portuguese and thus the post of the port official gathered immense importance from this time onwards.⁴⁰ Through the case studies of Muqarrab Khan and Mir Musa, the author traces the importance attached to the position of port official of Surat, as they were known for their multifaceted skills of being an interlocutor, power brokers with knowledge and interest in maritime trade and commerce and combined government and trade in their careers.⁴¹

Sanjay Subrahmanyam pointed out that with the opening of a sea route from Europe to India via Cape in 1498 there began a new orientation in the flow of commodities from the Indian Ocean. In the initial phase of trade revolving around Lisbon –Cochin or Lisbon-Goa, the ports of East Africa supplying gold for the purchase of spices of Malabar were made to become integral economic units of this commercial axis. However, the gold from Monomotapa and Mozambique was obtained principally with the help of textiles taken

³⁹ Jorge Flores, “The Sea and the World of Mustaddi: A Profile of Port Officials from Mughal Gujarat (1600-1650)”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Volume 21, Issue 01, Cambridge, January 2011

⁴⁰ *ibid*, p. 58

⁴¹ *ibid*, p. 69

from Gujarat, which made the Portuguese focus considerably on its various ports for the purpose of procuring cargo.⁴² In his writings⁴³, he argues that the Mughal conquest of Gujarat by the Mughals in 1573 undoubtedly contributed to the quickening of the relations between the Mughal state and the Portuguese *Estado da India*. The Portuguese feared that the conquest would catastrophically affect their trading activities at Chaul, Surat, Cambay and Diu and drain custom collections from Diu, Daman and Bassien. For him Gujarat ports were developed as platforms for larger Mughal-Portuguese interactions for bolstering Mughal plans to safeguard their hajj pilgrims and the Portuguese plans for their missionary activities.⁴⁴ The hajj pilgrimage of Gulbadan Begum to Mecca through Gujarat port was facilitated in the way the Jesuit missionaries were facilitated to move to Fatehpur Sikri from Goa through the Gujarati port. He argues that Gujarat became the place where their interests got clashed. He also pointed out the importance of the Gujarati *baniyas* at the close of 15th century on the eve of Portuguese arrival who were found in the ports of Burma, Melaka, Bengal and also in Konkan and Malabar ports.⁴⁵ In the 16th century, during the naval supremacy of the Portuguese, the Gujarati *baniyas* were able to evade the controlling measures of the Portuguese. Jean Aubin pointed out that there are indications that import from Diu by merchants based in Hijaz had become more important than those from the Calicut in the first decade of the 16th century, and this could be attributed to the *cartazes* issued by the Portuguese.⁴⁶

⁴² Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire In Asia 1500-1700: A Political and Economic History*, Longman, London, 1993, p.61

⁴³ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "A Matter of Alignment: Mughal Gujarat and the Iberian world In the Transition of 1580-81", *Mare Liberum*, Numero 9, Julho 1995, Esc. 3 500, pp.461-462

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p. 462

⁴⁵ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Of Imarat and Tijarat: Asian Merchants and State Power in Western Indian Ocean: 1400 to 1750", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (Oct. 1995), p. 764

⁴⁶ Jean Aubin, "Merchants in Red Sea and the Persian Gulf at the Turn of the 15th and 16th century" in *Indian Merchants and Businessmen in the Indian Ocean and the China Sea*, ed. Denys Lombard and Jean Aubin, Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 83

Ghulam A. Nadri⁴⁷ opines that throughout the history the state in Gujarat was dependent on merchants and bankers. He tries to understand the relation from the perspectives of the local company and its actors and the ways these circumscribed the role of the state in the 18th century in his book *Eighteenth Century Gujarat: The Dynamics of its Political Economy, 1750-1800*. He tries to trace the strengths and weaknesses of merchant communities and the ways in which their interactions with the state hindered or smoothed the latter's penetration into the economic spheres of the region. According to Nadri, certain characteristics of the political economy of Gujarat as the multiple centres of power, unique political system representing shared sovereignty as well as the culture of resistance to political authorities, led to non dominant state structure in Gujarat. The distinct nature of Gujarat economy constrained the states from the unrestrained use of force and convinced them of the usefulness of extracting resources through negotiations and sharing privileges with the bankers and merchants who possessed power and resources.⁴⁸ Even during the heydays of the Mughals, the Mughal governors of Gujarat were forced to negotiate with the merchants and bankers who rendered crucial financial services. He opines that the banyas of Gujarat were mostly inland merchants with strong commercial networks stretching into the subcontinent. These networks linked through hierarchical chain, were organized quite often through kin and kith, and gave the merchants access to various production centres. For the European Companies, as well as large-scale traders such as Abdul Ghafur and his family, the Chalebis and many other substantial merchants of Surat, the services of the *bania* brokers were indispensable.⁴⁹

Lakshmi Subrahmanian studying the relationship between the Mughals and the Portuguese pointed out that the Mughal conquest of Gujarat in 1573 and the attention that the Mughal emperors bestowed on the trade and pilgrim traffic of Surat made possible the integration of coastal Gujarat into the imperial grid. Although the Mughals were not

⁴⁷ Ghulam A. Nadri, *Eighteenth Century Gujarat: The Dynamics of its Political Economy, 1750-1800*, Brill, Leiden, 2009

⁴⁸ *ibid*, p. 10

⁴⁹ Ghulam A. Nadri, "The Maritime Merchants of Surat: A Long Term Perspective", *Journal for the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 50, No. 2/3, Spatial and Temporal Continuities of Merchant Networks in South Asia and the Indian Ocean (2007), p. 246

enthusiastic about Surat's participation in the overseas trade, nevertheless, the responsibility of keeping the merchants of Surat safe was not neglected.⁵⁰ The implications of the decline of Mughal power in Gujarat inversely affected the merchants of Surat, as it isolated the merchants of Gujarat from the rest of the communication and transport lines of the country. The merchants themselves also played a very important role in the maritime activities of the region. The navigational skills and knowledge of the seafaring communities of Gujarat made them an integral part of the indigenous as well as the European trading groups.⁵¹ The *baniyas* of Surat also extended their valuable support and cooperation to the English East India Company and assisted them in their political and trading schemes.⁵²

On the contrary Michelguglielmo Torri in his article "Mughal Nobles, Indian Merchants and the Beginning of British Conquest in Western India: The Case of Surat 1756-1759" points out the importance of the influential indigenous groups and propounds the theory that although some merchants did play a very important role during the last years of Surat as an independent state in the mid 18th century, the merchants as a body were totally incapable of governing their own destinies. He further points out that it was the influential members of the Mughal aristocracy rather than the merchants, who helped the English to establish their power in Surat.⁵³

Holden Furber is of the view that in the first half of the 18th century as of certain earlier periods the growth of European activity in the trade within the Asian seas is not made at the expense of the non-European commanded or owned ships, though the interests were often interwoven as the ships comprised Indian men and goods along with European interests. He points out the reason why the English defeated the other European

⁵⁰ Lakshmi Subrahmanian, *Indigenous Capital and Imperial Expansion: Bombay, Surat and West Coast*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1996, p. 29

⁵¹ Lakshmi Subrahmanian, *Medieval Seafarers of India*, Roli Books Pvt. Limited, Delhi, 2005

⁵² Lakshmi Subrahmanian, *Indigenous Capital and Imperial Expansion: Bombay, Surat and West Coast*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1996, p. 32

⁵³ Michelguglielmo Torri, "Mughal Nobles, Indian Merchants and the Beginning of British Conquest in Western India: The Case of Surat 1756-1759", *Modern Asian Studies* 25, 2 (1991), Cambridge University Press, p. 259

companies in India and says that it was because of its active participation in country trade and by the mid 18th century, Portuguese were overtaken by the English.⁵⁴ The Portuguese were not able to recover from the attacks of the Marathas and by 1750 only 10,000 rupees of trading capabilities were under the Portuguese protection at Surat.

R.J. Barendse,⁵⁵ in *Arabian Seas: The Indian Ocean World of the Seventeenth Century* points out that the trade from Mozambique to Gujarat and Sindh were often bound by the common thread of Arabian Sea. The trade of the sea was mostly dominated by the Muslim merchants and the Islamic kings mostly ruled the shoreline, but there was never an Islamic dominance over the trade. Trade in the greater Indian Ocean was, until the late 16th century, organised through a system of interlocking circuits of trade, centralised in entrepots from Kilwa to Canton. In the 17th century this was increasingly replaced by the direct links between ports throughout Asia. Although indigenous ship-owners profited, the biggest beneficiaries were the VOC and the English private merchants engaged in “country trade” within the Indian Ocean. This country trade emerged as a dangerous competitor for the indigenous merchants dealing with the same goods and sailing the same routes in the Arabian seas as Indian vessels.⁵⁶

One of the earliest works that deal with the Portuguese settlements of Diu and Daman is K.S.Mathew’s *Portuguese and the Sultanate of Gujarat (1500-1573)*.⁵⁷ He examines the socio-economic processes of Diu and Daman in the early decades of the sixteenth century vis-à-vis the Muzaffarid rulers of Gujarat. Mathew had tried to study the Portuguese history based on the analysis of the three contemporary Portuguese writers viz., Castandeha’s *Historia do descobrimento e conquista da India pelos Portugueses*, Barros’s *Decadas da Asia: dos feitos Qui os Portuguese fizer am no descobrimento e*

⁵⁴ Holden Furber, *Private Fortunes and Company Profits in the Indian Ocean Trade in the 18th century*, ed. Rosane Rocher, Variorum, 1991, p. XI, 2

⁵⁵ R.J. Barendse, *Arabian Seas: The Indian Ocean World of the Seventeenth Century*, Vision Books New Delhi, 2002

⁵⁶ *ibid*, p. 8

⁵⁷ K.S.Mathew, *Portuguese and the Sultanate of Gujarat(1500-1573)*, Mittal Publications, Delhi, 1986

conquista dos mares e terras do Oriente and Diogo Do Cuoto's *Decadas do Cuoto*. Mathew had divided the urbanization process of Diu into two parts. The first one took place under the governorship of Jalal Khan when he laid the foundation of the town on the occasion of the victory he won over the Chinese junks which came to Diu from Cochin where they had a factory.⁵⁸ But the urbanization process of the town reached its peak under the capable governorship of Malik Ayaz. He understood the importance of the strategic location of Diu and also that of the international trade and with his visions he developed Diu as an urban centre and invited merchants even the Portuguese to participate in its trade. He shows how Malik Ayaz, the governor of the Muzaffarids at Diu, promoted and initiated its external trade and its urbanization process in the attempt to develop it as a rival to Surat and Champaneer, which were held by Malik Gopi, another Muzaffarid noble. He also looks into the meanings of the initial phase of Portuguese interactions with Diu and the extensive coastal Gujarat. The Portuguese, on their occupation of Diu by mid 1530s, appropriated its extensive trade network and built there an urban unit on the model of a European city, which they used for resource mobilization from Gujarat.

Pius Malekandathil⁵⁹ in his recent work highlights the networks that the banias of Diu developed for conducting trade with Mozambique and Zambesi valley, from where they used to bring Monomotapan gold and ivory in large volume in return for Gujarati textiles. He also speaks of the large flow of Indian commercial capital to east Africa through the corporate company of the Mahajans called *Companhia de Comercio dos Mazanes*, established in 1686. For about 100 years through this company of the banias of Diu used to take textiles worth 6,00, 000 *cruzados* to Moçambican, from where gold, ivory and slaves worth the value of 2000,000 *cruzados* were taken back annually to Diu.

In general the existing historiography studies the political and economic scenario of contemporary Gujarat. Though a lot of historical works have been produced on the

⁵⁸ *ibid*, p. 26

⁵⁹ Pius Malekandathil, "Portuguese and the Changing Meanings of Oceanic Circulations between Coastal Western India and the African Markets, 1500-1800", in *Journal of Indian Ocean Studies*, vol.18, No.2, August 2010, pp.206-223

relationship and impact of English East India Company and Gujarat, there is a lacuna in the study of Portuguese trading activities in Gujarat and their impact on its urbanization processes, particularly along the coast. In order to fill in this lacuna I have taken up this study entitled *Portuguese Trade and Urbanization in Maritime Gujarat, 1500- 1800*.

II. Chapterization

This research study has been done in five chapters, besides an introduction and a conclusion.

The first being the introductory chapter tries to situate the theme within the context of existing historiography and states the basic objectives of the research study.

The second chapter proposes to dwell upon the nature of trading activities along the coastal Gujarat prior to the arrival of the Portuguese. On the one hand the southern tip of the trade route going to Central Asia used to intersect at the maritime trade centres of Gujarat, where another route extending up to Gangetic valley also found a meeting ground. Through these arteries of trade indigo, textiles and a variety of other cargo used to flow from inland production centres to the ports of Gujarat, including Cambay, Daman etc., from where textiles in large bulk were taken further to East Africa to procure ivory, slaves and gold or to South east Asia to obtain sophisticated spices like nutmeg, cloves and mace. Meanwhile, a flourishing trade in coinage metal existed between western and southeast Asia. On one hand the Venetian *zecchino*, with the Mamluk *Ashrafis*, the Ottoman *sultanis* and the dinars of Aden dominated the imports into south west India. At the same time, Gujarat's trade with the Persian Gulf port of Hormuz, western India and Bengal made available a considerable volume of silver in its principal ports.

On the eve of Portuguese conquest of Gujarat, Cambay was the most important trading and urban centre of the region. Contemporary writers often used to equate Cambay with Gujarat, which shows the importance which this region had. Cambay was the outlet for the flourishing trade of Anhilwad Patan. Apart from Cambay, other important centres of trade were Broach, with its baftas being traded worldwide, and Rander, Surat, Diu and Ahmedabad. This chapter also explores the early beginnings of the town of Diu that

happened in the fifteenth century under Jalal Khan. The latter laid the foundation of the town to mark the victory that he won over the Chinese junks which came to Diu from Cochin where they had a factory. However it was developed as a mercantile town by the Muzaffarid governor Malik Ayaz. He understood the importance of the strategic location of Diu in the international trade and made the commerce of the region converge in Diu. The evolving city was eventually fortified by Malik Ayaz as to make it safe from the attacks of pirates and external attacks. In fact Malik Ayaz, originally a Russian Christian, who was captured and sold in the slave market of Constantinople by the Ottomans was bought by a merchant of Constantinople and taken along with his cargo to Gujarat, where he was presented as a gift to the sultan. Seeing his skills in archery, sultan Muhammad Begada of Gujarat deployed him for waging many of his wars since 1484. Later he was freed from the status of a slave and made the governor of Junagadh (Sorath) and Diu. In that capacity he organized a big fighting force, consisting of one lakh horses, one hundred elephants, a number of cannons, cannoneers, musketeers and archers, and very often Turks formed an important segment of his fighting force.

The third chapter entitled “Portuguese and the Trade Circuits of Gujarat” proposes to look into the meanings of trade in coastal Gujarat. The Portuguese, who established their headquarters in Goa, realised that Diu was the ‘key to Indian Ocean trade’. In Gujarat, Diu and Daman were directly under the Portuguese control and Surat, Broach and Cambay were under the Mughal Empire from 1570s onwards. While the Portuguese traded with Surat, Broach and Cambay effectively, they were not established by force within the Gulf of Cambay. The Gulf ports had a flourishing relationship with the Arabia, Africa and Strait of Malacca and also acted as a starting point of the Mecca pilgrims. The Gulf of Cambay at that time had no direct shipping connectivity with Europe. The Portuguese acted as a connecting point between Europe and Gujarat, as they loaded their Cambay goods on their homeward fleet at Goa. The cargoes included large quantities of piece-goods, indigo and various other articles for foreign markets, besides wheat and other provisions.

The Portuguese dominated its shipping from their fortified posts at Daman and Diu, which proved to be effective. As Cambay was situated on the shallow water, the big ships

had to embark and disembark at the deeper ports like Diu and Gogai, moreover, Daman was situated at the gateway to the land, thus enabling the Portuguese to keep control of both land and the sea to a certain extent.

Though the Portuguese power never intended to bring any structural changes within the existing India Ocean network, they definitely brought in certain modification in the existing form of trade by introducing the concept of monopoly trade, factory system and centralized bureaucracy. Diu with its natural harbour became one of their important centres of trade in the western part of Indian Ocean. The attempts of the Portuguese to monopolize trade by making it compulsory for all the ships to go to Diu to take *cartazes* or passes required to trade in the region, furthermore helped in the acceleration of the trade of this port. This accelerated the growth of exchange of commodities and thus led to further growth of Diu. Because of the huge returns reaching this port, the post of captain of Diu was worth five times than that of Goa. In the beginning of the 17th century, the contribution of the Arabian Sea to the world trade mainly centered on bullion, gold, pearls, diamonds, pepper and to some extent silk. The Portuguese share of export trade was certainly large. The major maritime outlets for Gujarati textiles in the 17th century were Diu, Daman and Surat.

By the second half of the 16th century, an overall change in the Portuguese commercial strategy helped a further revival of Gujarati external sea trade. The Portuguese became more and more liberal in allowing Indian ships to cross the seas with merchandise although they imposed heavy monetary conditions for these privileges. These measures had to be improvised because of the deteriorating economic conditions of the Portuguese. The flow of the wealth from the east did not mean economic growth, but only increased the power and wealth of a particular section of the society. As a result of the continuous wars and because of the high level of corruption, the Portuguese treasury in India was empty. The Portuguese tried to overcome the fiscal crisis by resorting to customs collection rather than actual trade. Gujarati goods were carried mostly in the Portuguese vessels under the protection of the Portuguese *cartazes*. But with the decline of the Portuguese naval superiority, because of the recurring attacks of the Dutch and the English, the merchants though still had to take the *cartazes*, were not given the required

protection by the Portuguese, which also led to the movement of the Indian merchants to take the protection of the Dutch and the English. The merchants' loss of one route was compensated by the opening of new avenues with the Dutch and English. There was a revival of trade from Gujarat under the Portuguese in the end 18th century. The decline of the direct trade routes between Asia and Lisbon was compensated with the development of the opium trade. The chapter discusses the trade routes and the changing character of the Portuguese *Estado da India* from 16th century to that of 18th century.

The fourth chapter highlights the way the Portuguese contributed to the reformulation of the Gujarati urban society. In the main stronghold of the Portuguese in Gujarat, Diu and Daman, the Portuguese wanted to create a predominantly Lusitanized society, consisting mostly of the Portuguese and their descendants, besides their mercantile collaborators. Among the collaborators the Parsis and Hindu banias of Diu and the Muslim merchants of Daman formed a formidable socio-economic group. The existence of the Juma Masjid in the heart of Diu, the number of temples belonging to various sects of Hindus and the *havelis* and the *wadas* within the walled town bear witness to the aspects of multiculturalism that evolved in Diu, which actually sustained the longevity of its international commerce. The existence of such mixed population against the background of their animosity towards Muslims elsewhere is pointer to the predominance of the commercially-motivated cultural character of this town. It was trade that helped to bind all the people from different religions under the same umbrella. In the initial years, the Portuguese followed strict policy of conversion of the residents in their settlements. But in the case of Diu, the Portuguese followed a policy of religious tolerance. In the treaty through which Bahadur Shah of Gujarat possessed Diu in 1534-35, a clause was mentioned that there would be no proselytizing, especially from among the Muslims. According to a report of Fr Valignano in 1580, though there were many Hindus in Diu no efforts were made to convert them. Nevertheless the number of Catholics increased. Since the Portuguese could not conduct trade alone from the seventeenth onwards, because of the frequent attacks on their navigational lines by the Dutch and the English, the enterprising mercantile group of the banias was to be incorporated for sustenance of their commerce and political activities, which in turn necessitated the introduction of a

policy of tolerance and accommodation. The co-operation of the banias with the Portuguese not only in Indian coast but also in the African markets earned for them their freedom of worship. The Portuguese attempts to compensate for their failure to attract large numbers of European settlers led an increase in their reliance upon the Eurasian and indigenous Christians who became surprisingly mobile on the routes between Portuguese enclaves. These enclaves, unlike the previous merchant settlements around the Indian Ocean, they were part of a new sprawling political entity and represented commercial organisations.

Chapter five examines the nature of local polity in maritime Gujarat and highlights the type of modifications and accommodation that happened at local levels of polity following Portuguese entry. The polity of Gujarat was not centralised but was based on a system of co-sharing between the rulers and the chieftains or the *zamindars*. After the Mughals came to power in Gujarat in 1573, the power sharing was institutionalized. The difficult terrains of the region along with the powerful *zamindars* and the chieftains, formed the main reasons for this co-sharing of power in the region. Mughal hegemony was accompanied by economic prosperity and a growth in foreign trade which benefitted both indigenous and European participants. Mughals brought stability and connected Gujarat with the North Indian hinterland. By the mid 1570s a loose arrangement had been reached to manage the external affairs of Gujarat. When Akbar, captured Gujarat, it had a large implication for the Mughal state, as a continental state it got its maritime opening with the world. As a result, Gujarat and especially the port of Surat, became the central and gradually these developments transformed the imperial family and ruling elite into artful maritime merchants. Initially, private Portuguese traders at Surat or Cambay were able to carry on their commerce with Goa and Cochin and the *Estado da India* continued to collect revenues from ships that were obliged to put in at Diu. The Mughals for their part, were placated by giving of *cartazes* for their vessels destined for the Red Sea carrying *hajjis*. There is seen a change in the Mughal policy towards the Portuguese and the overseas trade from the time of Jahangir onwards. The most important point of tension between the Mughals and the Portuguese was the pilgrimage of hajj, as Surat became the embarkation point of the journey.

The effects of European- European relations were contradictory. On one hand because of the massive increase in both demographics and power, it became increasingly important for British, French and Dutch- the other Europeans - to see the Portuguese in Surat and Mocha as semi-Asian. On the other hand while trying to maintain the facade of cordial relations toward the Arabs and Indians, ties between the British on the one, the Portuguese, and the Dutch on the other hand had soured. Anglo- Portuguese relations extended a new place with the signing of Goa Accord in 1635 which signalled the cessation of hostilities and a phase of mutual assistance. The English gained from the situation by increasing their profits on the carrying out of trade. The English were constantly suspicious of the Dutch and kept them under complete surveillance not only in India, but also in West Asia and Southeast Asia. The capture of the Surat by the English in 1759, gave the English the commanding power over the west coast of India. The chapter also looks into the way how the various economic actors restricted the power of the rulers.

The fifth chapter proposes to deal with the various meanings that got attached with the urbanization process in the Portuguese towns of Diu and Daman in Gujarat. The Portuguese well knew that the control that they wanted to exercise over the rich trade of Gujarat through Diu and Daman could be implemented mainly through a social process, by creating supportive social groups and economic partners in the cities and by economically empowering them with concessions and privileges for carrying out the agenda that the former had in their mind. Various Lusitanian structures and institutions were made to come up in quick succession as to make the physicality of the towns appear to correspond to the inner dynamics and logic that they wanted to inscribe onto urban space. But the basic nature of both the towns was very much different. Diu, was hub of coastal trade and the population of the city was mainly the merchants, traders and brokers, while Daman was more concerned with agriculture and defence of the fortress. At Daman it was mostly, subsistence and strategic matters, which dominated social life, influenced policies and laid down politics. Concomitant to the enlargement of fortification the evolving city space was inscribed with new meanings and logic through intense spatial and construction processes.

The Portuguese in their attempts to construct Lusiatnian cities in Diu and Daman transplanted many of their urban institutions and welfare programmes to this town. The Portuguese tried to intervene in the societal and cultural processes of Diu and Daman by introducing an educational system translated from Iberian peninsula. The Portuguese were the first to incorporate the Indian medicines in their medical practices and there were enough evidences to show that the Portuguese hospital used to have gardens attached to it and in this place many Indian herbs were also grown. Schools were opened in the premises of their churches to teach the basics of Christian faith, besides elementary mathematics, logic and language. These institutions formed mechanisms to produce and sustain a supportive social base in these towns in a way that would meet the requirements of the early colonial state.

In the concluding chapter, the major findings of the research will be summarized.

III. Methodology and Sources

The methodology followed is deductive and analytic. The data collected from different repositories will be analyzed with the help of the field work. The sources is collected chiefly from the University library of JNU along with the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, National Archives New Delhi, State Archives of Goa, Fontainhas, Goa, Xavier Centre for Historical Research, Alto Porvorim, Goa, Vidya Jyoti Library, New Delhi and Library of Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi.

The accounts of Duarte Barbosa, Tome Pires, Jan Van Huyghen Linschoten, Pyrard de Laval, Peter Mundy, Abbe Carre, Hamilton, Jacques de Coutre, Pietro della Valle, etc., are the most important translated works, which throw immense light on the early history of Portuguese in Gujarat. These travelogues provide information supplementing the details obtained from Portuguese documents. The English Factory Records also give important insight into the maritime trade and also about the political scenario of the time. The various records of the Jesuits and the *O Tombo de Damao and O Tombo de Diu* also serve as important source materials. Among the Persian sources, “*Mirat-i-Sikandari*” and “*Mirat-i-Ahmadi*” are the most important sources. Mention should also be made about

the Mughal sources like “Ain-i-Akbari” and also “Lekhapaddhati: Documents of State and Everyday Life from Ancient and Early Medieval Gujarat: 9th to 15th century”, which serves as alternative source of information to corroborate the evidences.

Chapter II

Gujarat on the Eve of Portuguese Arrival

The history of commercial traffic in Indian Ocean goes back to a very remote past and networks of trade covering different centres of production and manufacturing have been found all along the littoral of maritime India. Because of the strategic importance of its geo-physical location in the mid way between the West Asia and South East Asia, India always held a prime economic position in the process of long-distance commodity movements. The subcontinent had immense economic potential and capacity to put on the market a wide range of tradable goods at highly competitive prices. These included both food items such as rice, sugar and oil as well as raw materials such as cotton and indigo. While the bulk of this trade was coastal, the hinterland ensuring regular supply of cargo needed for the overseas trade led to the emergence of several hubs of regional trade in the vicinity of principal maritime centres of exchange.¹ According to the writings of Strabo, Arrian or other ancient writers, the Indian vessels imported, from Egypt and other places, woollen-cloth, brass, lead, tin, glass ware, coral, wrought silver, gold and silver bullion and several kinds of wine. And they exported spices, diamonds, sapphires, pearls and other gems, cotton, silk, pepper and perfumes. Dr. Robertson observes that the details of Arrian's account of the articles exported from India are confirmed by a Roman Law, in which the Indian commodities subject to payment of duties were enumerated. The diamonds, sapphires, rubies of India have always been held in high esteem.²

The subject of capital formation in pre-European Indian Ocean is a widely debated theme. K.N. Chaudhuri is of the opinion that the capital formation was indeed present in the pre-industrial West Asia, India and China, however, the difference with the contemporary European scenario was that the Asian merchants could not turn their

¹Om Prakash, *Bullion for Goods, European and Indian Merchants in the Indian Ocean Trade, 1500-1800*, New Delhi: Manohar, 2004, pp.9-10

²James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs: Selected from a series of Familiar Letters written During the 17th century Residence in India*, Gian Publishing House, Delhi, 1988, Vol.1, p .245

investments into spheres of public interest protected by law as was done by the Italian and Genoan merchants.³ There was an absence of institutionalisation of the public credits into marketable assets. Economists and Historians like Dietmar Rothermund had opined that there was some capital formation through trade, in terms of well construction and tanks for irrigation, but there was lack of reusable capital that would lead to concentration of the ownership through production.⁴ The maritime trade of the Indian Ocean created a strong sense of unity.⁵

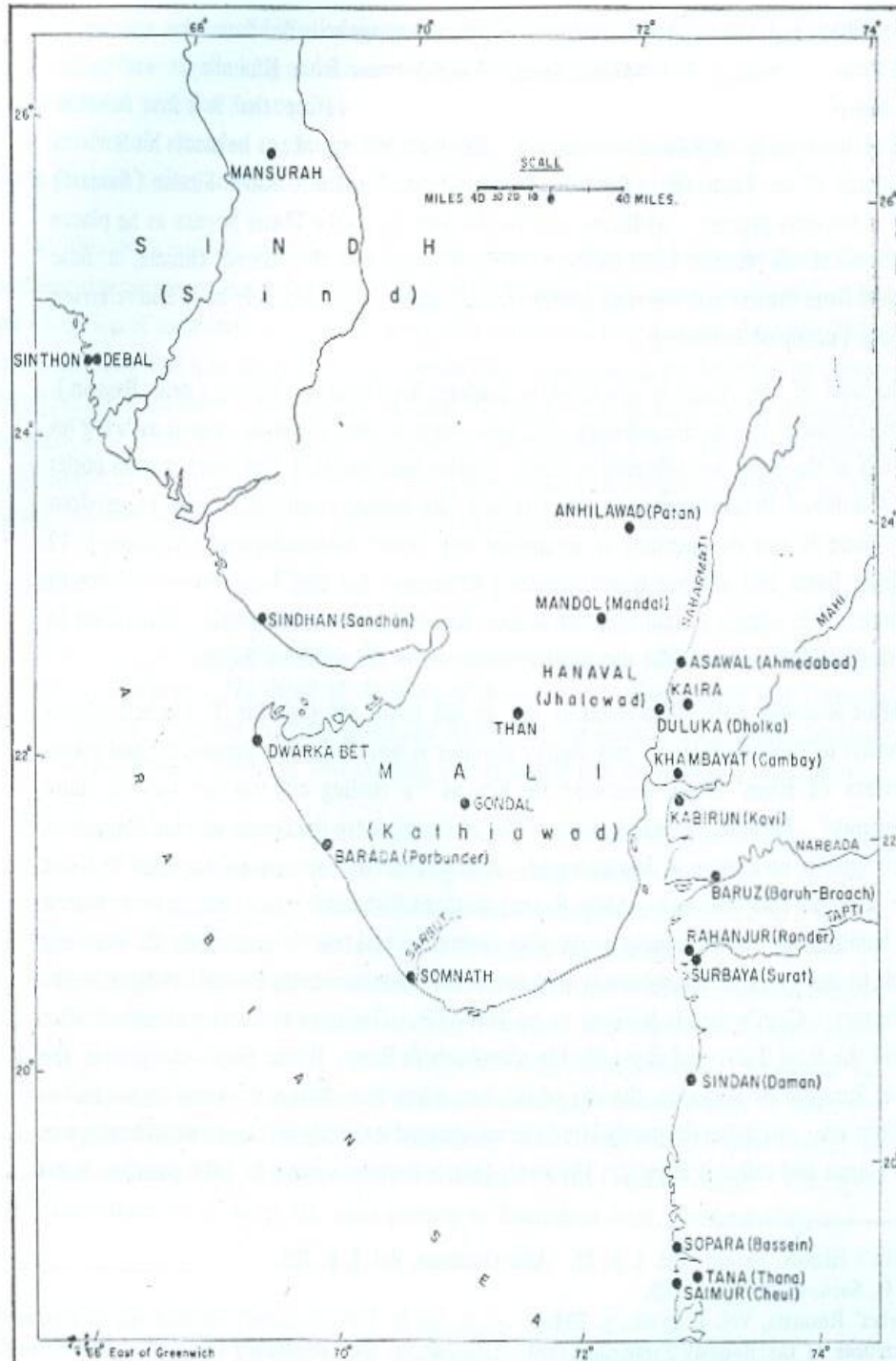
The economic base of the commodity network emanating from India actually remained in the availability of large quantities of manufactured goods, the most important among which was the textile of various kinds. Of these textile goods, those stemming from Gujarat occupied a very important position. There had been a large demand for Gujarati and Coromandel textiles in Indonesia, Malaya, Thailand and Burma as well as in the markets of the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and east Africa. India also exported agricultural and mineral products to her neighboring countries. In return, India imported fine spices like cloves, nutmeg and mace from Indonesia and horses from West Asia, precious stones like rubies and metals etc. The most important non precious metal imported by India was tin from Malaya. Precious metal like silver was imported in large quantity from west Asia.⁶

³ K.N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilization in the Indian Ocean: an Economic History from Rise of Islam to 1750*, Cambridge University Press, 1985, p. 209

⁴ Dietmar Rothermund, *An Economic History of India: From Pre- Colonial Times to 1991*, Routledge, London, 2002, p.1

⁵ K.N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilization in the Indian Ocean: an Economic History from Rise of Islam to 1750*, Cambridge University Press, 1985, p. 21

⁶ V.A.Janaki, *The Commerce of Cambay from the Earliest Period to the 19th century*, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Geography Series No. 10, Baroda, 1980,p.18; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Precious Money Flows and Prices in Western and Southern Asia, 1500-1700:Some Comparative and Conjunctural Aspects", in *Money and the Market in India 1100-1700*, ed. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1994, pp.192-193



Gujarat As Known by the Arabs

Gujarat played a key role in this Asian trade. From the time of Chalukyas to the recent past, Gujarat turned out to be the most important trading junction of western India. It was a gateway to the western world and also lay in the route of west to eastern trade route, i.e., starting from Europe to the South East Asian islands. This role was further strengthened in the course of the fifteenth century, which witnessed the fragmentation of Asian trade into well defined segments. Increasingly, the participation of the Arab merchants in Indian Ocean trade became confined to the trade between West Asia and west coast of India. The Indian merchants played a very important role in the trading activities of Red Sea- Persian Gulf regions and the Bay of Bengal littoral extending up to Malacca. While there was no clear demarcation of the autonomous areas of operation, there was a considerable amount of interdependence and interaction between the commercial networks of Indian merchants and overseas traders and also with the different trading powers. Concomitantly the banking and credit system eventually got well developed in the region. Behind India's success in this growing trading network, were the well developed agricultural sector, an organized market sector, intensification of division of labour, a well developed monetary and credit structure⁷, the well responsive trading community and also her strategic position, in the middle of the Indian Ocean trading network. It is worth noting that most of the leading centres of trade soon became pockets of accumulation of considerable wealth, which in turn facilitated them to emerge as centres with immense power concentration. In this process the Gujarati merchants evolved as an economic group with substantial mercantile capital and the ports of Gujarat an economic geography that allowed the experience of early commercial capitalism to enter India along with the flow of bulk commodities. In Gujarat, purely internal forces used to work towards market intensification, accumulation of merchant capital, monetization, and guild system of the artisans and in the growth of the urban centres and urban craft system.⁸

⁷ Ruby Maloni, *European Merchant Capital and the Indian Economy: A Historical Reconstruction based on Surat Factory Records 1630-1668*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1992, p. 6

⁸ Ruby Maloni, "European Merchant capital and Indian Economy", in *Europeans in Seventeenth Century Gujarat: Presence and Response*, *Social Scientist*, Vol.36, No. 3/4, March- April, 2008, p.64

Moreover, the natural reserve of the region was also very high. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* informs that almost all kinds of food grains grew in abundance in the country. Millet and paddy was the staple food of the region. The production of great amount of millet also helped the people not only to feed themselves but also the cattle and the horses. Apart from food grains a great amount of fruits were also grown in that region. As *Mirat* puts it there are innumerable fruit bearing trees in Gujarat like that of mangoes and *khirni*, water melon and common pear and other common fruits⁹. Between the nearly 100 koss stretch of Baroda to Patan, fruit vegetation of different kinds were found, including cucumbers and *nashpati* of good qualities, with melons of different kinds. The soil after the rainy season became moist and verdant and in the winter the crops derives their moisture from the dew. The soil of the place is very fertile and firm. Grapes were produced twice a year and the cotton plants grew like willows and plane trees.¹⁰

Apart from these, there were different kinds of odoriferous herbs, fruits and vegetables grown in this region. Abbe Carre, writing in the second half of seventeenth century mentions that more or less every house of the Portuguese in Gujarat had a garden and an orchard along with it. So great was the natural resources of the country that more or else all kinds of spices and food grains were being exported to various marts of Asia and food items were imported very rarely and the road through the countryside was full of shady trees and of great natural beauty.¹¹

Anil, otherwise called Indigo, which was found only in the region was an important agro-product that was exported on large scale to the marts of Europe and Asia. It is a herb that grows like rosemary, and comes up from seed; when gathered it is dried, then steeped and dried again several times until it becomes blue. "It is greatly prized as a dye, and is one of the best commodities of the Indies."¹² It was being exported in large quantities by the

⁹*Medieval Gujarat-Its Political and Statistical History*, based on Mohammad Ali Khan's "Mirat-i-Ahmadi", translated by James Bird, Academic Books Corporation, New Delhi, 1980, p.11

¹⁰ *ibid*, p. 103

¹¹*The Travels of Abbe Carre In India and in the Near East:1672 to 1674*, trans. Lady Fawcett, ed. Charles Fawcett, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1990, p. 129

¹² Pyrard of Laval, *op. cit.* ,vol.2, Part 2, p. 359

Gujarati merchants and was considered to be an important item of trade of the region. The biodiversity of the place was very high and this was instrumental in initiating and encouraging a great amount of trade in the region.

I.Trade and Commodity Movements

The manufacturing industry of Gujarat was also very well developed. *Mirat* claims that the famous *Sirohi* swords and arrows in arms are best made here and are used by the Mughals and the Iranians as well.¹³ The textile manufacturing industry of Gujarat was very well known even during the time of the English.¹⁴ The woven and the dried textiles of Gujarat were exported to Iran, Arabia, Abyssinia, Turkey and Europe.¹⁵

In the middle of the 10th century, Abu Zaid mentions that pearls were held in great esteem in Jurz, probably in Rajasthan and emeralds were imported from Egypt.¹⁶ The Yaman like signet stones, rosary beads, cups, knife handles daggers and other objects made out of agate stone of different colours, bracelets and other articles of ivory manufactured in Khambhayat(Cambay) are being exported by the merchants in large volume to other countries.¹⁷ Jewish Genizza papers refer to the thriving trade of the Jews in Gujarat, particularly in Kambayat (Cambay).¹⁸ Duarte Barbosa also describes about the variety of ivory works carried out in Gujarat, particularly in the manufacturing of bracelets, sword hilts, dice, chessmen and chessboards, ivory bed-heads, beads of various kinds and

¹³ *Medieval Gujarat-Its Political and Statistical History*, based on Mohammad Ali Khan's "Mirat-i-Ahmadi", translated by James Bird, Academic Books Corporation, New Delhi, 1980, p. 104

¹⁴ *ibid*, p. 104

¹⁵ *ibid*, p. 104

¹⁶ V.A.Janaki, *Gujarat as Arabs Knew it: A Study in Historical Geography*, Maharaja Sayajirao University Baroda, 1969, p. 69

¹⁷ V.A.Janaki, *The Commerce of Cambay from the Earliest Period to the 19th century*, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Geography Series No. 10, Baroda, 1980, p. 16

¹⁸ S.D.Goitein, *Letter of Medieval Jewish Traders*, Princeton, 1973, pp.63-4; Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India: Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, New Delhi, 2010, p.25

colour, carnelians etc.¹⁹ Ibn Khurdadhbih refers to the nature of trade in Gujarat and writes that from west the merchants brought, fur, eunuchs, slave girls and boys, skins and swords and from east they brought musk, aloes, camphor, cinnamon, and other spices.²⁰

Another important manufacturing sector of Gujarat was salt. Salt beds were being prepared at many places where water is closed up in ditches dug nearby. It was prepared in the form of sand grains at Khambhayat. A large amount of revenue was being earned by the rulers from the sale of salt to other regions like Malwa. Paper was also manufactured in Gujarat and Ahmad claimed in *Mirat* that the paper produced in Gujarat could be compared to that of the paper produced in Daulatabad and Kashmir. But he agrees that though the paper made in Gujarat cannot be compared in its whiteness with others, the sand grains of the regions get in to its leaven and come out of it at the time of rubbing with shell leaving invisible holes in it.²¹ The most important manufacturing item of Gujarat was cotton textiles. Marco Polo gave a detailed description of the thriving textile industry of Gujarat. He documented that cotton was produced from a tree, which was six yards in height and the cotton was of twenty years of age.²² But the cotton taken from those trees were only used for quilting. Duarte Barbosa who visited Cambay before 1517, described the amazing manufacturing industry of cotton fabrics, silk and velvets, variations of satin taffetas, gilded leather, silken mattresses produced in Gujarat.²³

Skins of goats, buffaloes, wild oxen, rhinoceroses formed another major stream of cargo taken to Arabian countries for trade. Coverlets for beds, made of red and blue leather

¹⁹ibid, p. 28

²⁰ V.A.Janaki, *Gujarat as Arabs Knew it : A Study in Historical Geography*, Maharaja Sayajirao University Baroda, 1969, p. 9

²¹ *Medieval Gujarat-Its Political and Statistical History*, based on Mohammad Ali Khan's "Mirat-i-Ahmadi", translated by James Bird, Academic Books Corporation, New Delhi, 1980, p. 105

²² Marco Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo: The Venetian*, translated and ed. Henry Yule and Henri Cordier, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Limited, New Delhi, 1993(Indian Edition), pp. 393- 394

²³ V.A.Janaki, *The Commerce of Cambay from the Earliest Period to the 19th century*, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Geography Series No. 10, Baroda, 1980, p. 28

were also taken for trade. They were extremely delicate and soft, and stitched with gold and silver thread. Cushions also, ornamented with gold wire in the form of birds and beasts were manufactured in Gujarat and were very expensive. Gujarat was also very well known in the contemporary world for its embroidery work.²⁴ The trade list given by the Arab traders in the *Manual of Traders* of the 9th century lists precious stones like diamonds, pearls, turquoise, carnelian, onyx, coral as highly traded items, followed by various scents such as musk, amber, camphor and sandalwood. Spices like cloves, pepper, ginger and cinnamon were very important items of exchange. They also mention woollen items and furs, paper and metals like iron, copper, lead and tin.²⁵

Items of necessity and daily products also formed a part of the commercial transactions. Ibn Hawkal mentions that mangoes, coconuts, lemons and rice were produced in abundance and taken for trade.²⁶ Marco Polo refers to a great amount of ginger, pepper and indigo, being found in Gujarat in the late thirteenth century.²⁷ A considerable measure of honey was made though there were no date palms in Famhal, Sindan, Saimur and Cambay. He further mentions that the land between Cambay and Saimur (Chaul) lies under heavy cultivation.²⁸ The region between Debal (Dabhol) and Kutch and from Kutch to Somnath and Patan was rich in producing gum, myrrh and balm. Malwa sugar was also exported in great quantities in ships from Gujarat coast, to a number of places, national and international. At the end of 11th century, the trade of Gujarat had been described as brisk. Rashid-ud-din's account (1300) refers to Gujarat as a large country with important centres like Cambay, Somnath, Konkan and Thane.²⁹ This description of Gujarat seems to

²⁴ *The Travels of Marco Polo, The Venetian*, translated by John Masefield, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2003, pp.384-385

²⁵ V.A. Janaki *Gujarat as Arabs Knew it : A Study in Historical Geography*, Maharaja Sayajirao University Baroda, 1969, p. 23

²⁶ Ibn Hawkal, 'Ashkalu-l Bilad', in *The History of India as Told by its Own Historians*, Elliot and Dawson, vol.1, Allahabad, 1972, p. 38

²⁷ Marco Polo, *The Travels of Marco Polo, The Venetian*, translated by John Masefield, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2003 ,p. 384

²⁸ *ibid*, p. 384

²⁹ Rashid ud Din, *Jami 'u-t Tawarikh*, in *The History of India as Told by its Own Historians*, Elliot and Dawson, vol.1, Allahabad, 1972, p. 67

be a bit misinterpretation of the geography equating it with almost the entire western coastal region.

Before the entry of the Portuguese into the trading world of Indian Ocean, there was a flourishing trade in coinage metal happening between western and southern Asia. The Venetian *zecchino*, with the Egyptian and Ottoman sultanis and the dinars of Aden dominated the imports into south west India.³⁰ At the same time, the trade from the Persian Gulf port of Hormuz to Gujarat, western India and Bengal brought abundant silver in these regions.³¹ Hormuz used to pay for her imports mostly through horses. In 1516-17, exports to India were about thousand horses per year, which had doubled by mid sixteenth century.³² Gujarat was the major trading partner of Hormuz and as Jean Aubin had pointed out, to cover her deficit, and to equilibrate her payments, Hormuz used to send India large quantity of coins, particularly silver.³³

The **banking and credit system of India** was relatively well developed in Gujarat, because of the convergence of international trade in its ports. In a document in “*Lekhapaddhati*”³⁴ dated 1231, it is revealed that in the post 10th century, in Western India, loans could be secured after pledging land, house and chattel.³⁵ Al Idrisi refers to the prevalence of coercion in the recovery of loans, when he points out that the creditors in Gujarat drew a circular line around the debtor and the debtor could not leave the trap without meeting all the demands of the creditor.³⁶ In one of the mortgage deed dated 30th

³⁰ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, “Precious Money Flows and Prices in Western and Southern Asia, 1500-1700:Some Comparative and Conjunctural Aspects”, in *Money and the Market in India 1100-1700*, ed. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1994, p.190

³¹ *ibid*, p. 191

³² *ibid*, p. 191

³³*ibid*, p. 191

³⁴ *Lekhapaddhati: Documents of State and everyday life from ancient and early medieval Gujarat: 9th to 15th century*” ed. Pushpa Prasad, Oxford University Press, 2007

³⁵ *ibid*, pp. 18, 23

³⁶ Al Idrisi, ‘*Nuzhatu-l Mushtak*’, in *The History of India As told by its own Historians*, by H.M.Elliot and John Dowson, Low Price Publications, Delhi, 1990, p. 88

April, 1230, a deed was signed between the creditor, a merchant named Khetak and a cultivator, in which the latter received 200 *drammas*, in exchange of east facing double storied house. It was covered with tiles with a open face on all sides and a courtyard with boundaries. If the creditor failed to return the money on time, the house would be permanently taken over by the debtor.³⁷ Another deed made the debtor and the signatories of the deed responsible for the repairs of a mortgage, in case of its damage from any natural calamities or by the act of king.³⁸

The bankers or the *sarrafs* transmitted money through their own *hundis* and also financed commerce, particularly long distance trade and international commerce.³⁹ The *hundis* indicated easy availability of money and a highly developed financial system. So brisk was the use of these bills that in Ahmedabad market, merchants transacted almost exclusively through the medium of this commercial paper. In handicrafts market the development of merchant capital had brought artisans under the control through forms of the putting out or *dadni* system. Both cash advance and giving out of the raw material were established practices in this economic system.⁴⁰

The stability of the currency system of the region gave fillip to the trade and commercial activities. In the 12th and 13th centuries Chalukya silver alloy coins-*bporuth dramas* or later *visalapriya* and *bhimapriya dramas* were found in large quantities in Malwa, Sind, Rajasthan, Maharastra and even Afghanistan.⁴¹ Its presence in large quantities in central and western India, is evidence of Gujarat's commercial relations with those regions. After the Turkic invasion of Gujarat, the Delhi *tanka* was introduced. This was replaced by

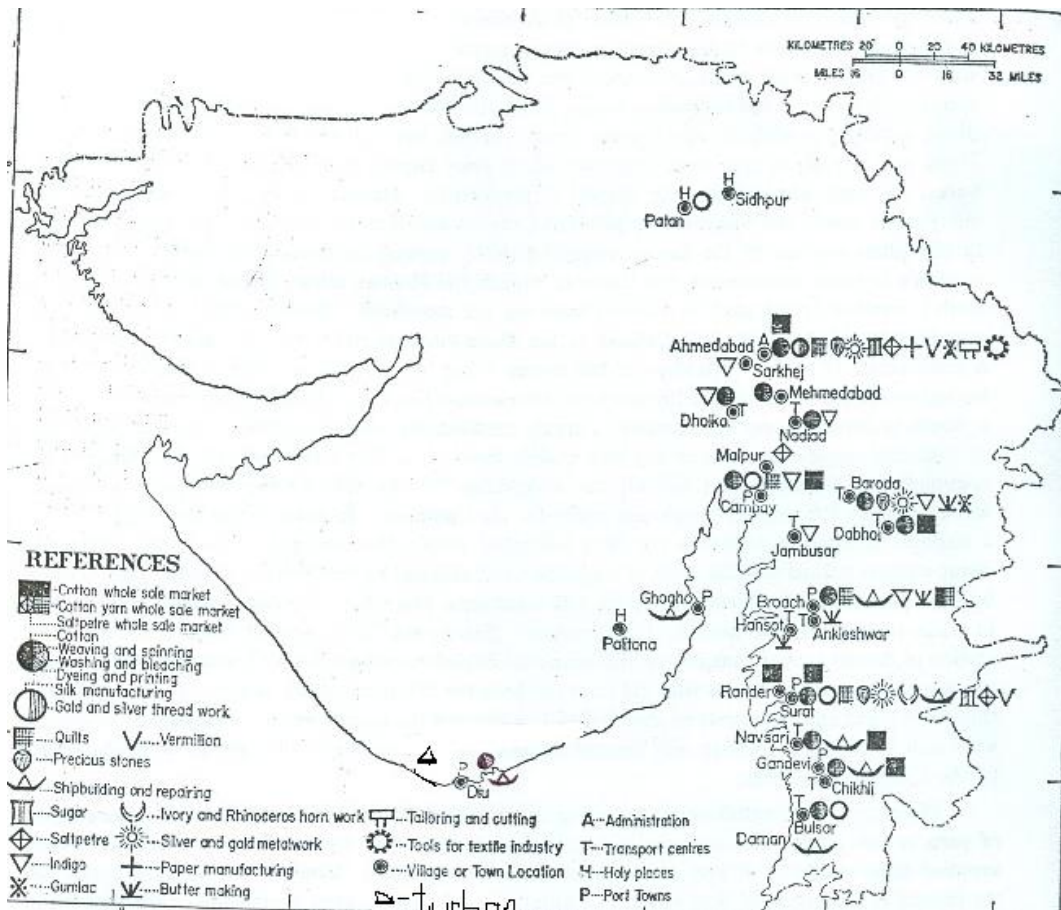
³⁷ Lekhapaddhati, op. cit., p. 155

³⁸ *ibid*, p. 154

³⁹ Ruby Maloni, *European Merchant Capital and the Indian Economy: A Historical Reconstruction based on Surat Factory Records 1630-1668*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1992, p. 6

⁴⁰ Ruby Maloni, "European Merchant Capital and Indian Economy", *Europeans in Seventeenth Century Gujarat: Presence and Response, Social Scientist*, Vol.36, No. 3/4, March- April, 2008, pp. 6-7

⁴¹ Samira Sheikh, *Forging a Region: Sultans, Traders and Pilgrims in Gujarat, 1200-1500*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2010, pp. 90-91



Centres of Production of Diu

Gujarati currency of *mahmudi*, which became the most widely accepted and stable currency of the region from 15th century.

II. Trade Routes and Satellite Markets

Ibn Khurdadhbih who came to India as early as 9th century AD, wrote that the merchants from west used to travel to east both by land and by sea. The Jews who took part in this trade, embarked from the country of the Franks on the Occidental Sea to Farama (near the ruins of ancient Peluse, Egypt). From Farama, in 5 days, covering a distance of 20

parasangs(60miles) they reached Quzulum, the Northern end of the Red Sea. There they embarked on the Oriental Sea, as the Red Sea was known as and embarked on journeys towards Hijaz, Jedda, proceeded to Sindh, India and then to China. According to him the Russians also took part in this trade. They sailed down from Volga to Astrkahan, from where they entered the Caspian Sea to Iranian port of Bandar Shah and Baghdad.⁴² The travellers then entered the Arabian Sea trading network and anchored in India, through the ports of Gujarat. The coastline along Gujarat was very much disturbed by the piracy which was very much prevalent in that region. They used to seize commodities from the travelling merchant ships and would make them to drink sea water so that they would vomit all the jewels which the merchants used to engulf from the fear of the pirates.⁴³

The land routes for the Asian trading network started from far off Spain, it travelled to Egypt. Then they travelled to Ramlah, Damascus, Kufa, Baghdad, Basra, Ahwaz, Fariz and Kirman. An alternative land route was from Germany or Armenia, across the country of the Slavsto, the city of Khazars, then it crossed the sea of Jurzan(Caspian) and Transoxiana to land of Toghuzghuz. The route was bifurcated here, one went to Khurasan to China, i.e., across Central Asia to China and the other went to Sindh, Kutch, Gujarat and western India.⁴⁴ Al Idrisi says that the people of Anhilawad had many horses and camel, using which merchandise was transported. Commodities from Anhilawad were carried upon bullock wagons. The region between Debal(Dabhol) and Cambay was desert land where the Medhs used to graze their cattle.⁴⁵

India continued to flourish as a major trading destination by the end of the fifteenth century. The emergence of Malacca as the entrepot with Indian, Chinese and Javanese meeting there to exchange their wares, coincided with the convergence of Arab and

⁴² V.A. Janaki, *Gujarat As the Arabs Knew it : A Study in historical geography*, Maharaja Sayajirao University Baroda, 1969, p. 9

⁴³*The Travels of Marco Polo, The Venetian*, translated by John Masefield, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2003, pp.383-387

⁴⁴ V.A. Janaki, *Gujarat As the Arabs Knew it: : A Study in historical geography*, Maharaja Sayajirao University Baroda, 1969, p. 9

⁴⁵ *ibid*, p. 34

Persian merchants, who used to journey to Cambay to take ships to Malacca. Direct shipping between Malacca and Red Sea is also known. Though Indian ships were not sturdy enough to withstand the typhoons of the China Sea, nor adequately armed to deal with the Wako pirates, Indian textiles, clothed both rich and poor in South East Asia, and Indian vessels went regularly at Pidie in north Sumatra and almost certainly at the neighbouring port of Pase. In western Sumatra, Gujarat ships visited four small seaport principalities of Priaman, Tiku, Baros and Singkel. The ships from Cambay frequented the ports of Sumatra with merchandise from Cambay, such as coral, quicksilver, rosewater and dried fish from Maldives. Cambay merchants went to Timor and exported iron axes, knives, cutlasses, swords, cloths, copper, quicksilver, vermilion, tin, lead and Cambay beads and imported sandalwood, honey, wax, slaves and pepper⁴⁶. In fact the trade of Gujarat ports to south and east Asia was a traditional trade continued since the time immemorial.

A significant strand of Gujarati trade extended to Maldives, Ceylon, Burma, Siam and the countries of the Malaysian and Indonesian Archipelagos and China. Gujarati merchants reached as far as Japan long before the Europeans did. Pyrard de Laval says that trade also took place between the merchants of Gujarat and those of the Maldives.⁴⁷ Tortoise shells from Maldives were much valued in Gujarat especially Cambay where they made bracelets with it for women and cabinets inlaid with silver for the elite classes. Cambay even enjoyed a very significant trading relationship with Ceylon from where came the pearls, elephants, topaz, cats eyes, glass, rubies, cinnamon and pepper. Calmucho or Colombo was the chief port of Ceylon, to which each year ships went from Cambay carrying cloth, saffron, coral, quicksilver and cinnabar. Ceylon had precious stones in plenty and Cambay got much of its precious stones.⁴⁸ Cambay also carried on trade with Pegu and, as Barbosa informs, every year merchants from Cambay visited Pegu with

⁴⁶ V.A.Janaki, *The Commerce of Cambay from the Earliest Period to the 19th century*, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Geography Series No. 10, Baroda, 1980, p.36

⁴⁷ *ibid*, p. 33

⁴⁸ *ibid*, p. 35

abundance of printed Cambay cloth, both cotton and silk.⁴⁹ They also carried with them opium, coral threaded cloth, vermillion, quick silver, rosewater and some Cambay drugs. These merchants returned to Cambay with lac, mace, cloves and many goods from China brought to Pegu from Malacca. With the rest of the money they brought abundance of musk and rubies which came from Ava.⁵⁰

On the western front, Indian trade flowed along two established maritime channels, one through Red Sea, Cairo and Alexandria and the other through the Persian Gulf up through Basra and Baghdad. Indian merchants during this period brought their wares to the different markets in the Red Sea and Persian Gulf regions. It was through this conveyor belt that Indian goods were transshipped to the European markets.⁵¹ Besides this long ranged network, Indian commodities were sold in regional markets which included the towns of Hijaz and Yemen, ports like Suakin, Massowa and Zeila on the African coast of the Red Sea and the towns of the Hadramaut coast like Shihr, Kish and Zofar. Rings like those of Yemen, necklaces and cups with handles for knives and daggers were manufactured at Cambay from carnelian of different colours along with a variety of objects made of ivory and they were distributed all through the Indian Ocean region in return for a wide variety of overseas cargo⁵². Indian vessels used to regularly frequent the south Arabian ports, and by the 15th century Indian *bantias* had started settling down there on a considerable scale. On the other hand, Indian vessels used to take cargo regularly to Hormuz and Muscat and the Gujaratis had their own settlements in Persian Gulf region as much as they did in the Red Sea. The trade of the Gulf was much more of a transit nature, aimed at the towns of Mesopotamia and beyond.⁵³ The trade with the Red Sea ports continued longer than that with the East African and Persian Gulf ports where with the

⁴⁹ *ibid*, p. 35

⁵⁰ *ibid*, p.35

⁵¹ Ashin Das Gupta, *Merchants of Maritime India:1500-1800*, Varorium, 1994, p. 411

⁵² *Medieval Gujarat-Its Political and Statistical History*, based on Mohammad Ali Khan's "Mirat-i-Ahmadi", translated by James Bird, Academic Books Corporation, New Delhi, 1980, p. 104

⁵³ Ashin Das Gupta, *Merchants of Maritime India:1500-1800*, Varorium, 1994, p. 412

discovery of the Cape route by the Portuguese in 1498 and their efforts in gaining monopoly of trade in the Eastern waters they harassed Gujarati and Arab ships. Gujarati merchants had allied with Turkey to facilitate trade with Red Sea ports. Another group of ports with which Cambay had close trade contacts were those on the coast of East Africa. The Cambay merchants traded with Sofala, Mombasa, Malindi, Kilwa, Mogadishu, Zanzibar and Mafia. By land they reached as far as Cape Town where the Arabs and Hindus from Gujarat had trading settlements.⁵⁴

Besides the intra-Asian trade, Cambay also took part in the coastal trade of India. Production and distribution of a variety of goods in India was realized through a process of inter-penetration of subsistence and commercialized sectors. As the bulk of the population lived in the villages and their needs for goods and services were satisfied through production for consumption and a network for reciprocal obligations, exchange accounted for a relatively small proportion of economic activity. Yet exchange of goods at virtually every level and sphere of economic life, was impressive in its magnitude and complexity. The dominance of subsistence-oriented production was modified by surpluses and deficits necessitating multi-tiered and multi-faceted commercial activity.⁵⁵ Gujarat had trading relations with other parts of India, like that of Malabar, Bengal and Coromandel. Moreover, the location of Gujarat made its ports the natural outlets for the large land locked area of Indo-Gangetic plain and Malwa. As the location of Gujarat was also favourable for trade with West Asia, many Eastern production centres also dispatched their products to the Gujarati marts rather than to Bengal. Gujarat mostly produced the commercial crops like cotton, indigo and vegetable dyes and consequently it used to face a deficit in the production of food grains which it used to cover up by way of trade with the surplus producing areas of Malwa and Indo-Gangetic plains. Products from Rajasthan and Delhi were found in the markets of Cambay. Geographically Gujarat was also favourably placed in respect with the Deccan plateau. The Burhanpur-Khandesh route and the coastal route made Gujarat accessible to the Deccan. During the rule of

⁵⁴ *ibid*, p. 60

⁵⁵ Tapan Raychaudhuri, 'Inland Trade' in *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, ed. by Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib, Vol1, Cambridge University Press, 1982, p.325

Muhammad Begada, the commerce of Cambay and Gujarat as a whole flourished because of the peace and encouragement extended by the Sultan. He supported the merchants and traders and ensured the prevalence of peace and stability in the country which led to the growth of commercial activities.⁵⁶ But the crisis in the political scenario often disrupted the inter-regional trade in India. But although the political disturbances came between Gujarat and its natural hinterland which extended from Multan to Far Eastern regions and in the Deccan Plateau area, the trade emanating from the ports of Gujarat thrived. Cambay also had trading relations with the chief commercial hubs of Gujarat like Patan, Ahmedabad and Champaneer.⁵⁷ The agate industry in Cambay was sustained mainly by stones of Rajpipla, Bad Kotra, Tankaria and Ranpur, Onyx from Jabbalpur; Cereals were exported from Ajmer, Malwas, the Central India Plateau, Bastar and Deccan. Silk came to Cambay from Bengal, China and Kabul. Sugar came from Bengal and Diamond from Deccan. Also the indigo came from Ahmedabad and Agra and textile from areas around Ahmedabad and Deccan. The Gujarati traders frequented the Malabar Coast in the pre-Portuguese period, especially the port of Calicut for obtaining pepper and ginger. They had their settlements in Cannanore, Cochin and Calicut. But the greatest of them was found in Calicut. The Gujaratis were involved in trade in almost all the ports of India. They could be compared with the Italian merchants in the matter of trade and they had established their factories in Calicut.⁵⁸

Not only Cambay used to carry on trade with national and international markets, but also had a well developed and flourishing local marketing network. There were a number of markets which were set up in and around the region and the importance of commerce could well be understood from the importance the market place is to derive from them. There were different types of markets in Gujarat. The main feature of the bazaar was that all sorts of goods and commodities such as cloth, grain, food-stuffs, drugs, sweets,

⁵⁶ *Mirat-i- Ahmadi: A Persian History of Gujarat*, trans. M.F. Lokhandwala, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1965, pp. 46-49

⁵⁷ V.A.Janaki, *The Commerce of Cambay from the Earliest Period to the 19th century*, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Geography Series No. 10, Baroda, 1980, p.41

⁵⁸ K.S. Mathew, *Portuguese and the Sultanate of Gujarat(1500-1573)*, Mittal Publications, Delhi, 1986, p.12

medicine, tobacco, fruits, vegetables toys etc. were sold mostly in retail; very rarely were these items sold in wholesale in bazaars. The *bazaar-i-khas* was confined to the streets of cities. The *ganj* was the grain market whereas the *katra* was a market attached to the house of the nobleman or within the walls. At Katraparcha in Ahmadabad, yarn, hides and different kinds of drugs imported from Surat were sold. The Mandi, according to the *Mirat*, was a place where commodities from different markets were bought and sold. Mandi could often refer to a market where commodities of a particular craft were sold. In Mandi the goods were sold in wholesale and not in retail. The *daribapan* meant a street, stall or market where betel leaves were sold.⁵⁹ According to *Mirat*, at Ahmadabad, the *daribapan* constituted a *mahal* and its annual income was 1,14,000 *dams*.⁶⁰ Moreover, the *nakhas* was a daily market where elephants, horses, camels, cows, buffaloes, oxen, hen, pigeons as well as slaves were sold in wholesale or retail.⁶¹ *Mirat* records that the rulers and officials had to buy horses from these *nakhas*. There were also certain lanes, which sold cups, plates and utensils made of brass. These markets were called *kasadariba* and the streets selling spices and herbs were known as *anjisadariba*.⁶² Beside these permanent markets there were many temporary markets called *peth*, which were held at fixed places for a given duration. It was an assemblage of petty banias and local manufacturers who gathered from adjoining towns and country and where various commodities like food items, oil, butter, clothes, thread, cotton, indigo and other necessary products were sold. In these *peths*, the sale and purchase of cattle such as camel, horses and bullocks were also done. At Ahmadabad, the *peths* and the *nakhas* used to take place together.⁶³ However, there was a striking absence of regular shops. In Cambay the shops selling expensive items were in a single street guarded by gates. In Ahmedabad the layout indicated there were no planned market, as *Mirat* claims it was decided in the time of the

⁵⁹M.P. Singh, *Town, Market, Mint and Port in the Mughal Empire: 1556-1707*, Adam Publishing and Distributors, New Delhi, 1985, p. 144

⁶⁰*Medieval Gujarat-Its Political and Statistical History*, based on Mohammad Ali Khan's "Mirat-i-Ahmadi", translated by James Bird, Academic Books Corporation, New Delhi, 1980, p. 18

⁶¹ Peter Mundy, *op.cit.*, Vol.2, p. 189

⁶² M.P. Singh, *op.cit.*, p. 144

⁶³ *ibid*, pp.138-146

Gujarat Sultans to hold a bazaar from the Bhadra Gate to the Three Gates on Friday, as it was a holiday.⁶⁴ As Bernier has mentioned the expensive products were kept in the warehouses and when noble wanted to purchase they contacted the merchants. Except fruits and vegetables, the display of expensive and precious items was rare. The prevalence of mob and robbers in the urban areas is one of the reasons for the absence of shops displaying the sellable products. This also portrays the weak urban law and order in Gujarat.

The local polity of Gujarat was based on allegiance of several local chieftains, zamindars and the desais, which often led to lack of a uniform tax system of the region. More than the land revenue the taxes on trade formed a major share of the revenue for the Chalukyas. Taxation of trade, octroi, pilgrim taxes and tribute from subsidiary chieftains continued to be the main source of income.⁶⁵ Road cess or *dana* were implemented on the caravans or the merchants transporting goods from one point to another and a certificate was issued so that the merchants and the traders were not harassed to pay extra cesses.⁶⁶ The sales tax is often calculated at the rate of *dana sambandha* or ten cent of the cost.⁶⁷ The market tax contract signed between the *Pancakula* and the merchant, generally of 12 months, was paid in three installments and if any natural calamity occurred and the payment was delayed, mostly those days were not accounted for, but if the payment is delayed for some other reasons, those days were charges.⁶⁸ A deed related to duty by the incharge of the custom house named *dana mandapika patra vidhi*, instructs the officers of the *mandavi* or the custom house for maritime goods, in charge of pathakiya or the collector of road tax, pratarika (gate keeper) and uparahindiya or tax inspectors were

⁶⁴ V. S Pramar, *A Social History of Indian Architecture*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2005, p. 39

⁶⁵ Samira Sheikh, *State and Society in Gujarat, c. 1200-1500: The Making of a Region*, Doctoral Thesis, Wolfson College, Oxford University, 2003, p.

⁶⁶ Lekhapaddhati, op.cit., pp. 85-86

⁶⁷ *ibid*, p. 84

⁶⁸ *ibid*, p. 191

involved in the collection of taxes.⁶⁹ The export and import tax were charged from the foreign merchants. Apart from legal taxes collection of local taxes were prohibited.

III.Trading Society

The Arab writers of the 7th and 8th century often used to refer to India as the land of enemies, since most of the Indian territories were mostly ruled by the Hindu rulers.⁷⁰ They disliked their fruits, climate and also the robbers who were very much present in the trade routes. However, in their interactions with India, they were struck by the toleration shown by the Indian rulers and the people towards Islam, even though most of them were Hindus. According to *Jagaducarita*, a Jain merchant of 12th century, renovated a local mosque of the Isma'ili community of Kachachh.⁷¹ Rashidu-din⁷² describes Gujarat as a large country along the sea shore. It is said that Gujarat comprised 80,000, flourishing villages and cities and hamlets. The inhabitants were wealthy and affluent.⁷³ The economic prosperity of Gujarat attracted traders and merchants from various parts of the world to settle in Gujarat. These foreign merchants in Cambay administered their own affairs and dealt with representatives of the regional governments and often adopted the indigenous ways of life.⁷⁴

Ibn Khurdadhbih claimed that during his visit to India in the 9th century A.D., there were 42 religious sects in India among which some believed in Islamic religion. Religious affiliations of this region were more or less pragmatic and often changed or modified

⁶⁹ *ibid*, p. 181

⁷⁰ V.A.Janaki, *Gujarat as Arabs Knew it: A Study in Historical Geography*, Maharaja Sayajirao University Baroda, 1969, p. 71

⁷¹ Samira Sheikh, *State and Society in Gujarat, c. 1200-1500: The Making of a Region*, Doctoral Thesis, Wolfson College, Oxford University, 2003, p. 54

⁷² Rashid ud Din, *op.cit.*, p. 67

⁷³ *ibid*, p. 67

⁷⁴ Samira Sheikh, *Forging a Region: Sultans, Traders and Pilgrims in Gujarat, 1200-1500*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2010, p. 88

according to the circumstances.⁷⁵ He divided the Hindus into seven classes with *thakurs* as the highest class from which the ruler was chosen. They were followed by the Brahmins who did not take liquor and they were followed by the *kshatriyas*. The next position was held by the husbandmen, *vaisyas* and the last two classes belonged to the *menials*. The merchant community was quite large.⁷⁶ From the 8th century, there was a significant rise in merchants and merchant pastoralists, with the rise of Gujarat as the trading hub.⁷⁷ There was a significant migration of Brahmins. In Gujarat who found patronage among the local chieftains who were eager to legitimize their sovereignty. Some of them were also patronized by the Gujarat Sultans and some by the merchant groups and the traders.

According to *Mirat* there were 84 castes or sub castes of Hindu merchants along with the Muslims at Ahmadabad. The Indian shipping was dominated by Gujarati Muslim merchants and the finances as well as the banking sector used to be in the hands of the Hindus. The Muslim traders also formed a very important part of the Gujarati mercantile community. By the 13th century, there was conversion to Islam of many of the coastal fishing and shipbuilding communities.⁷⁸ The Muslim traders generally the Bohras and the Khojas left the country for trade more willingly than others. They used to have their own ships and their crews were the most able and experienced pilots of the Indian Ocean trading world.⁷⁹ Khojas and Bohras were the most important local converts to Islam in Gujarat. The Khojas belonged to the Isma'ili sect and the latter was divided into Shias and Sunnis. While the Sunnis engaged in agriculture the Shiaite Bohra population participated in commerce. Before conversion, the Bohras of Surat and Kheda districts of

⁷⁵ Samira Sheikh, *State and Society in Gujarat, c. 1200-1500: The Making of a Region*, Doctoral Thesis, Wolfson College, Oxford University, 2003, p. 120

⁷⁶ V.A.Janaki, *Gujarat as Arabs Knew it: A Study in Historical Geography*, Maharaja Sayajirao University Baroda, 1969, pp. 71-72

⁷⁷ Samira Sheikh, *Forging a Region: Sultans, Traders and Pilgrims in Gujarat, 1200-1500*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2010, p. 54

⁷⁸ *Ibid* , p. 88

⁷⁹ Om Prakash, "The Indian Maritime Merchant, 1500-1800", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, vol. 47, No. 3, Brill, 2004, p. 441

Gujarat often belonged to the lower caste of Hindus.⁸⁰ The initial Ismai'ilis in western India was ethnic Arab or Persian merchant settlers. The Isma'ili missionaries spread their influence among the peasant, trading and maritime communities of the coast of Kachchh and Saurashtra. Some of them belonged to the militarized peasant communities from the north-west India and later became assimilated in the Rajput ruling system. For the first generation converts, the conversion did not necessarily mean change in the lifestyle of the converts. The Hindu customs were observed by the Muslim converts in all spheres of life and the Bohras, Khojas and Memons were mostly governed by the Hindu Customary Law.⁸¹ The growth of the Bohras and the Khojas were independent of each other. The Isma'ili Bohras were divided into factions, namely, Da'udis, Sulaimanis, 'Alias, Nagoshias, Hiptias. The differences between these branches mostly concern the allegiance to the various leaders.⁸²

Al Idrisi mentions that the Indians were inclined towards justice and their actions never depart from it. Their good faith, honesty and fidelity to their engagements were well known and this attracts people from other places to come here and indulge in commerce thus bringing prosperity to the Indians.⁸³ Other Arab writers echoing his opinion mentioned that there was no danger to life and property in Gujarat and people from various castes and creed lived amicably in Gujarat. The Jain merchants of the 11th to 13th century were taught by their preachers to follow truthful and peaceful means of earning a decent livelihood and pursuit of profit.⁸⁴ Suleiman in his *Relations of Voyages of the Arabs and the Persians in India and China* describes the people of Gujarat as Buddhists and believer of rebirth. The rulers did not view wars to be the only way of conquests,⁸⁵

⁸⁰ Sh. T. Lokhandwalla, "The Bohras a Muslim Community of Gujarat", *Studia Islamica*, No.3(1955), p.119

⁸¹ *ibid*, p. 119

⁸² *ibid*, p. 121

⁸³ Al Idrisi, 'Nuzhatu-l Mushtak', *The History of India As told by its own Historians*, by H.M. Elliot and John Dowson, Low Price Publications, Delhi, 1990, p. 88

⁸⁴ V.K.Jain, *Trade and Traders in Western India-1000-1300*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publication, New Delhi, 1990, p. 224

⁸⁵ V.A.Janaki, *Gujarat as Arabs Knew it: A Study in Historical Geography*, Maharaja Sayajirao University Baroda, 1969, p. 15

which is suggestive of the dominant peaceful atmosphere promoted by them and that facilitated the intensification of trade in this region. Rashidu- Din in *Ja'miut Tawarikh*, written mainly out of Al Beruni's writings, claimed that the people were idolaters and Somnath, named after the idol of the place, was a very important pilgrimage centre for the Hindus.⁸⁶

The extensive commercial activities of Gujarat led to the rise of different types of traders, big as well as small. The big merchants lived in town and were assisted by the merchants of the rural areas, who used to procure and disburse commodities from rural to urban areas. The *Kathakosaprakarana* (AD1051) informs us of various types of traders such as those involved in the business of ghee and oil, vegetables, fruits, curds, cereals, scents and perfumes, jewellery etc. Hemchandra refers to grain dealers as *pedaio* and jewellers as *vedio*.⁸⁷ The wine sellers, were known by nine different types of names and the maritime traders were called *samyatrikah* and *potavanik*.⁸⁸ The banjaras used to accompany soldiers on the march and provided them with the necessary commodities. The *nemika-vanik* or the salt merchants and the *tailikas* or oilmen formed an important section of the mercantile community. *Lekhapaddhati* mentions two categories of traders *vahamanavinajara* or the merchant who moves with a caravan and *vacchivittasra* or the foreign merchants.⁸⁹ The merchants were often given the right to collect the taxes and revenue on the behalf of the king. According to a document given at *Lekhapaddhati* for the year of 802, a *uttara* or an agreement was signed between Somasimha, a merchant and the *dandanayaka* of Latapalli, according to which the merchant was given four villages for the next year. From the income that should be realized from these villages 20,000 *tankas* should be paid to the royal household and 400 tanks should be paid on auspicious occasions, 216 *tankas* for the reward of Pancakula, 50 tankas for miscellaneous expenses. Thus the merchant had to pay 20,666 tankas. This had to be paid

⁸⁶ *Rashi-ud-din from Al Beruni*, in "The History of India as Told by its Own Historians", Elliot and Dawson, vol.1, Allahabad, 1972, p. 67

⁸⁷ V.K. Jain, op. cit, p. 217

⁸⁸ *ibid*, p. 217

⁸⁹ *Lekhapaddhati*, pp 53-55

in three instalments, the first instalment being 7666 should be paid each year at the end of *Kartika* (month approx September or October), the second instalment of 6500 *tankas* should be paid at the end of *Magh* (around the English month of January) and the third instalment of 6500 *tankas* at the end of *Chaitra*.⁹⁰

The *sresthi* and the *sarthavaha* were two most important pillars of the commercial activities. The former procured the local goods and also supplied the liquid capital on interest to the merchants while the later exchanged the goods. The merchants often hired people to assist them in their commercial activities like helping in writing the deeds of sale, purchase, mortgage, bills of exchange and other works.⁹¹ Thus with the development of trade and commerce there grew division of labour within the mercantile community. The prosperous commerce also attracted considerable number of people to migrate to Gujarat. Moreover, many of the important clans of Gujarat had a long tradition and history of migration retaining their professional flexibility and certain adaptability in their economic and social life.

The merchants and traders often had *samgha* which worked as association or corporation. In few contemporary texts of 11th and 12th century, the term *sreni* is often associated with the organization of people who follow the same profession. The term *naigamas* refers to the association of caravan merchants or merchants engaged in foreign trade. The term *mandalam* or *mamdalika* refers to association of traders. These associations often helped in generating cash for the traders in return of interests.

The political history of Gujarat had a very close relationship with that of the religious development of the region. The religious ethos and principals of the Hinduism, Islam and Jainism deeply impacted the polity of the region. Hemchandra Suri wrote in *Trisasthisalaka Purusa* and *Yoga Sutra* that Kumarpala had established 1440 Jain temple and stopped taking taxes from the Jain dwellers in the country, amounting to 32 lacs.⁹² From the 13th century, religion and pilgrimage played an important role in the region.

⁹⁰ *ibid*, pp. 78-79

⁹¹ Vi.K. Jain, *op.cit.*, p. 223

⁹² Prabandhachintamani, chapter 4, p. 156

As Samira Sheikh had put forward from 9th to 13th century, when the Ismaili preachers had established footholds in the region, the political contour of North India was changing in itself, as pastoralist chieftains were replaced and Delhi came under the Delhi Sultans.⁹³ The austere Jains used to spend lavishly on the religion. The Jains rose in influence and wealth under the Chalukya rule and this led to the growth of elaborate Jain shrines in Gujarat and mostly in Kathiawar, the hub of seaborne trade. The Hindu pilgrim sites attracted annual pilgrims, who brought along with them trade and urbanization. The Somnatha temple of Gujarat attracted pilgrimage from 9th century and by 15th century a new circuit of popular devotional pilgrimage started developing around the Bahucaraji temple. The rise of Vaisnavism in the region saw the growth of new Vaisnavist sites of Dwarka, Dakor and Samalji. From the 15th century a group of shrines related to the Muslim pirs became popular. The Chalukyans in the 12th and the 13th centuries followed Saiva religious observance and extended patronage to Saiva monastic institutions and gave land grants to monasteries. The Chalukyans also patronized the temples and monasteries. These were mostly frequented by both the Hindu and Muslim pastoralists and the occupational groups.⁹⁴ The Muslim pir, Baba Ghor became one of the pioneers of the agate mining industry of the region and his *dargah* became a flourishing site of the 14th century. The shrines of ghazis, holy warriors from invading Muslim armies became sites of healing and attracted large number of pilgrims. Thus by the end of the 15th century a complex web of local and trans regional tombs and shrines developed in Gujarat, which often became the hub of trade and exchange of commodities. The pilgrims brought in with them commerce and business and these often became the sites of large regional festivals or periodic markets.⁹⁵ The pilgrim sites were often found in a rich natural resource area. It is often seen that the Jain, Saivite, Nath, Vaisnava and Sufi saints and followers established settlements on or near a hill, and the Abu hills were considered a sacred. This also shows the connections between the religion and the commodity

⁹³ Samira Sheikh, *Forging a Region: Sultans, Traders and Pilgrims in Gujarat, 1200-1500*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2010

⁹⁴ Ibid

⁹⁵ Samira Sheikh, *Forging a Region: Sultans, Traders and Pilgrims in Gujarat, 1200-1500*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2010, p. 159

market in the 13th and 14th century Gujarat. According to Samira Sheikh, the economic prosperity of Gujarat in the 15th century resulted in a complex religious bazaar. The economic patrons from the rulers to the merchants often utilized religion, either to enhance their social or political power or to gain support.⁹⁶ So were the desecrations of the religious places which mostly had a political motivation behind it, more than religious.⁹⁷ After the consolidation of power by the Gujarat Sultan, vandalism and destruction of places of worship were not recorded.

IV. Urbanization

Gujarat is a highly fertile region. From 10th century onwards, the forests were cleared to expand agriculture and settlement. Throughout the 15th century Trade gave a massive impetus to the growth of towns, ports and other urban centres. The ambitious Gujaratis facilitated it further. But Gujarat towns had very few buildings designed for commercial use. There are barely any remains of markets, warehouses, courts, or other institutional buildings related to civic and military uses.⁹⁸ The contemporary texts often mention the presence of *sarais* for travellers and substantial residences for amirs and merchants, but negligible mentions of shops or civic buildings. As commerce was heavily dependent upon the personal patronage of the rulers and their courtiers who were very mobile, traders often travelled with them. Transactions were usually carried out in domestic spaces: traders carried their wares to the residences of their patrons. Most large houses had *diwankhanus* for public audiences and other public activities. Public markets were mostly temporary structures where merchants and hawkers set up their shops.⁹⁹ One of the plausible reason for absence of any institutional buildings was that they were not built

⁹⁶ Ibid, p. 174

⁹⁷ Richard Eaton, "Temple Desecration and Indo-Muslim States," *In Essays on Islam and Indian History*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 108

⁹⁸ Samira Sheikh, *State and Society in Gujarat, c. 1200-1500: The Making of a Region*, Doctoral Thesis, Wolfson College, Oxford University, 2003, p. 87

⁹⁹ Ibid, p. 87

by stones but with mud, brick or timber which had been destroyed with time.¹⁰⁰ Another reason for the absence of any institutional buildings could be the nature of the spending of the Gujarati people. They often spent lavishly on the construction of religious places and not for building commercial places. Thus most of the relics are somehow related to religion.

According to V.S. Pramar, pastoralism determined the layout of Saurashtrian settlements. Some of the settlements comprised of series of enclosures laid out in a straight line, each enclosure containing a dwelling of reeds, timber and thatch and a space for animals. The dry climate of Saurashtra permitted stabling of animals in the open. Each enclosure was rectangular in shape with dwelling to one of the longer sides and the opposite side forming a large open place where animals were stabled. This entire space had a single entrance.¹⁰¹ A typical Saurashtrian town was composed of absolutely straight lines, a phenomenon not very common in Indian towns of the contemporary period.¹⁰² The houses are rectangular in plan, turned at right angles to the entrance and the remaining space before the house is left free. Each house had its own wall for enclosure along with a gate. The cities were mostly fortified which led to the vertical growth of the urban centres. Saurashtra was divided into numerous petty feudal kingdoms each at war with one another. This led to the fortification of urban centres which maintained a military garrison, and a chief.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ V.S. Pramar, *A Social History of Indian Architecture*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2005, p. 83

¹⁰¹ Ibid, p. 22

¹⁰² Ibid, p. 23

¹⁰³ Ibid, p. 25



Indian Architecture, before coming of the Portuguese

In Gujarat, timber framing was used, with brick walls, in such a manner that the woodwork held the walls together as a kind of horizontal and vertical bracing. This technique was used in West Asia.¹⁰⁴ Gujarat lacked good structural timber, thus superior teak was imported by sea for the purpose. The availability of timber in the centres of maritime trade led to the growth of urban centres.¹⁰⁵ The *Mir'at-i-Ahmadi* bears out the fact that teak was used for the ceilings and pillars of houses. Important buildings were covered with lime and quarried from near Idar. This was used in stucco work; for the walls or terraces of buildings; for fine edifices, pleasure houses and mausoleums. In the construction works of the mausoleums of the Muslim saints, the temples of the Hindus, and other public works like canals, reservoirs and wells lime was widely used. The wells as discussed before were mostly constructed on the trading sites and were built by merchants and traders. The constructions of wells were mostly based on land grants and had evolved due to economic reasons than religious. As Samira Sheikh had termed the 'water architecture' and pointed it to be different from the religious architecture. A substantial number of women donors are associated with the construction of wells and stepwells and religious sites, showing the importance associated with women in the trading society.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p. 87

¹⁰⁵ Samira Sheikh, *State and Society in Gujarat, c. 1200-1500: The Making of a Region*, Doctoral Thesis, Wolfson College, Oxford University, 2003, p. 86

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, pp. 78-80



The steps wells of Ahmedabad

The discussion on urbanization cannot be completed without a brisk description of the important pre-Portuguese centres of trade in Gujarat: specially Ahmedabad and Cambay. Cambay was one of the most famous sea ports of Gujarat of the contemporary period and Ahmedabad was a new trading centre, flourishing and developing under the royal patronage of the Muzzafarids and because of its strategic geo-physical location. One of the most important difference between Ahmedabad and Cambay was that, the latter was not affected by the internal political instabilities and turmoil of the region as much as the inland areas. The coast was never more than nominally subject to hinterland power, irrespective of the power bearers. From 10th century onwards, most of the coastal ports were self administered.¹⁰⁷

Cambay written differently as Kambayat or Kimbaya was one of the most wealthy sea-ports of India. By the tenth century the Arab traders found Cambay a flourishing town under the control of the Chalukyas. Al Masudi who visited Cambay in AD 913- 914 was impressed with the Indian fleet of Gujarat and found that the shores of the Gulf of Cambay was covered with towns and villages and praised the emeralds of Cambay which then had a good market at Mecca.¹⁰⁸ When Al Beruni visited India, Cambay had become the chief port of the Solanki dynasty.¹⁰⁹ By the first half of the 12th century, Siddharaj Solanki had been controlling the trade routes leading to the Gujarat plain.¹¹⁰ The writings of Al-Idrisi documented that a large number of ships entered the Gulf of Cambay and a large number of Arab and Persian merchants used to reside in the city. They had their own mosques and were treated kindly by the king. He claims that the Arab traders were harassed by Jats, Mehds, Rajputs, Barias and Kurks who operated as far as Socotra but

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, p. 34

¹⁰⁸ Arasaratnam Sinnappah and Ray Aniruddha, *Masulipatnam and Cambay: A History of Two port Towns 1500- 1800*, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1994, p.120; V.A. Janaki, *Gujarat As the Arabs Knew it: : A Study in Historical Geography*, Maharaja Sayajirao University Baroda, 1969, p. 45-46

¹⁰⁹ V.A. Janaki, *The Commerce of Cambay from the Earliest Period to the 19th century*, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Geography Series No. 10, Baroda, 1980, p.14

¹¹⁰ Ibid, p. 14

there was peace in Cambay.¹¹¹ The ruler Sidhraj Solanki paid great attention to the welfare of the Arab merchants and the allowed them to build mosques in his kingdom.¹¹² The trade of Cambay increased with the prosperity of the Solanki kingdom. Al- Beruni who saw Cambay during the reign of Bhim Dev mentions that it was the chief port of the Gujarat kingdom and its markets were supplied with cotton and ginger grown in the surrounding region. Abdullah Wassaf called Cambay as a populous town with the people abounding in wealth and luxuries. Cambay, according to him, had a trade in horses with Persian isles, Bahrain and Hormuz. During the reign of Atabak Abu Bakr 10,000 horses worth 22,00,000 *dinars* were imported to Cambay and ports of Malabar. These sums were paid out of the funds of Hindu temples and from taxes attached to the temples.¹¹³

Marco Polo¹¹⁴ described the city as one of the most important manufacturing centers for commodities like sandals and sleeping mats embroidered with gold and silver. Great quantities of indigo were manufactured and there was abundance of cotton cloth, as well as of cotton in the wool. Dresses made from skin were exported and in return Cambay used to receive gold, silver, copper and *tutty*.¹¹⁵ One of the most important factors for the commercial development of Cambay was its prosperous hinterland. “The country in the vicinity of Cambay is fertile and pleasant, abounding with wheat and different grain, many acres were sown in carrots and other vegetables and extending fields of cotton, crinda and various shrubs for extracting lamp oil, which is much used.

¹¹¹ibid, p. 15

¹¹²Ibid, p.15

¹¹³ Abdullah Wassaf’s “Tazjiyat-ul-Amsar”, in *The History of India as Told by its Own Historians*, Elliot and Dawson, vol.1-8, Allahabad, 1972, Vol. III , pp.31-33

¹¹⁴*The Travels of Marco Polo, The Venetian*, translated by John Masefield, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2003, p.386

¹¹⁵ *Tutty* is a mineral made from zinc or antimony, found in the eastern part of Persia. It was used in the making of collyrium, used by women of Hindusthan.



The Ruler of Cambay: As Illustrated by Varthema

Gujarat is naturally one of the most fruitful provinces in India...¹¹⁶ Fruits like mangoes and tamarinds grew spontaneously and there were also few pomegranates, grapes and limes.¹¹⁷ Tome Pires describes Cambay as a region which was abundant in all kinds of wheat, barley, millet, vegetables, fruits and also a country with a large animal resource consisting of horses, elephants and different kinds of birds.¹¹⁸ Carnelians, agates, and the beautifully variegated stones improperly called mocha stones, formed a valuable part of the trade. They were found in the Rajpiplee Hills and were cut and polished in Cambay.¹¹⁹ Kumarpala Charita of Kumarapal, who succeeded, Siddhraj Solanki, mentions that Anhilwad Patan grew in wealth steadily and its export- import duties amounted to 100,000 *tankas* a day.¹²⁰ Cambay was the major outlet of this wealthy export centre. Cambay was not only commercially developed on the eve of the Portuguese arrival but was also militarily well-equipped with horsemen with other warlike devices. It also had many caparisoned horses and beautifully curved weapons like daggers, swords lances and armours. Not only Indians but also Arabs, Persians, Turks, Khorasans and people from many other races were employed under them.¹²¹ Between the trade of Hormuz and Cambay, Hormuz exported horses, dates, silver, gold and silk and Cambay re-exported the Malaccan goods along with rice.¹²²

From Cambay the North Indian pilgrims to Mecca boarded their ships, a distinction which was later taken over by Surat during the time of Akbar. Not only did Indian

¹¹⁶James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs: Selected from a series of Familiar Letters written During the 17th century Residence in India*, Gian Publishing House, Delhi, 1988, Vol2, p.19

¹¹⁷ *ibid*, p.19

¹¹⁸ *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires: An Account of the East, From the Red Sea to China, Written in Malacca and India in 1512-1515 and the book of Francisco Rodrigues*, edited by Armando Cortesao, Vol1, Asian Educational Services, new Delhi, 2005, p.33

¹¹⁹ V.A. Janaki, *The Commerce of Cambay from the Earliest Period to the 19th century*, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Geography Series No. 10, Baroda, 1980, p. 27

¹²⁰ V.A. Janaki, *Gujarat As the Arabs Knew it: A Study in historical geography*, Maharaja Sayajirao University Baroda, 1969, p. 40

¹²¹ *ibid*, p. 41

¹²² Tome Pires, *op.cit.*, p. 48

pilgrims used to start their journey from Cambay, but also the pilgrims from the South East Asia, used to go to Mecca through the port of Cambay, thus re-loading the goods required for the journey. This gave an immense importance to Cambay and also helped in the growth of its economy.¹²³ But later this prestigious position was taken over by Surat under the Mughals. Eventually Cambay faced decline due to the problem of heavy siltation at its mouth as large ships were unable to enter the port city and had to transship their goods from subsidiary ports like Gogha. This was a major reason for the decline of Cambay and rise of other port cities like Surat and Diu.¹²⁴ However Cambay on the eve of Portuguese arrival continued to remain as one of the most important port towns, a prestige which she lost to Diu later when the Portuguese occupied the latter.

Another important trading centre of the time was Ahmedabad that got developed in the old trading site of Asaval.¹²⁵ Asaval had been widely discussed by mostly all the Arab travelers. Al Beruni was the first to mention about Asaval.¹²⁶ Al-Idrisi mentions that it was a city with good trade and with a considerable population.¹²⁷ The city's importance was based also on its strategic location. Under the Solanki dynasty it was a notable town on the important trade route from Anhilwad Patan to Cambay. It was known as Asapalli and was the capital of the Bhillam principality during Karna's rule(1064-1094).¹²⁸ Karnavati, the new city built by him was a significant centre of Jainism. The famous Jain Saint Devasuri resided and preached here and it is said that Kumudachandra visited the saint here. The city also had grown as an educational centre and a great cultural centre.

¹²³ Arasaratnam Sinnappah and Ray Aniruddha, *Masulipatnam and Cambay: A History of Two port Towns 1500- 1800*, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1994, p.120; V.A. Janaki, *Gujarat As the Arabs Knew it: : A Study in Historical Geography*, Maharaja Sayajirao University, Baroda, 1969, p. 126

¹²⁴ Kenneth Mc Pherson, *The Indian Ocean: A History of People and Sea*, in *Maritime India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2004, p. 19

¹²⁵ V.A. Janaki, *Gujarat As the Arabs Knew it: A Study in historical geography*, Maharaja Sayajirao University Baroda, 1969, p.41

¹²⁶ *ibid*, p. 41

¹²⁷ *ibid*, p. 41

¹²⁸ *ibid*, p. 42

But the Arab writers of the 11th and 12th centuries, however, saw the town only as a trading town on the route to Cambay and even though Karnavati was founded as a new town by this time, the contemporary writers still called it as Asawal and not Karnavati.¹²⁹

Ahmedabad was founded in 1411A.D. by Sultan Ahmed Shah of Gujarat, on a site close to the much older trading centre of Asaval or Karnavati. The establishment of Ahmadabad as the capital was begun by the building of the Bhadra citadel in 1411. This was soon followed by the royal palace and the Jami' mosque. The city was built in a planned way. Ahmad Shah diverted the course of the Hathmati to the Sabar, to increase the water supply to the city. Separate quarters were built for different kinds of artisans and traders. He encouraged weavers, craftsmen and merchants to settle in the city. Religious grantees were given yearly stipends and arrangements were made for the recipients of rent-free lands.¹³⁰

He wanted to replace the old Hindu capital of Anhilvad Patan.¹³¹ He encouraged the merchants, weavers and skilled craftsmen to come to Ahmedabad and made it a flourishing commercial and industrial city. For a hundred year it grew in wealth and splendor, then for sixty years it declined due to the decay of the Gujarati Muzzafarid dynasty and also due to the Portuguese interference in its trade. However, by 1572 it became a part of the Mughal Empire.¹³²

¹²⁹ *ibid*, p. 42

¹³⁰ Samira Sheikh, *State and Society in Gujarat, c. 1200-1500: The Making of a Region*, Doctoral Thesis, Wolfson College, Oxford University, 2003, p. 74

¹³¹ Kenneth L. Gillion, *Ahmedabad*, University of California Press, Los Angeles, 1968, p. 14

¹³² *ibid*, pp 15-16



A Mosque in Gujara

Ahmedabad has always been a wealthy city. It had a textile centre and its products were transported through the port of Cambay to the Persian Gulf and Arabian ports, Southeast Asia and other parts of India. Fine velvet, silk and gold and silver brocades reached the markets of West Asia and Europe. Coarse, brightly dyed Ahmedabad cottons were worn in Africa and Southeast Asia.¹³³ Mandelslo remarked that the foreign bills of exchange could be procured in Ahmedabad since the *baniyas* had correspondents in places as far as Constantinople.¹³⁴ In praise of Ahmedabad's wealth Forbes wrote, "the greatest variety of rich gold and silver , flowered silks and satins, called *kimcake* and *allichars* were manufactured at Ahmadabad, together with silk and cotton goods of almost every description; the trade of indigo was very great; it had the best workmen in steel, gold ivory, enamel and inlaid matter of pearl...it was also celebrated for excellent paper and lackered ware in cabinets, boxes, ornaments..."¹³⁵ The strategic geographical position of Ahmedabad also helped in its growth as an important trading centre. Sarkhej near Ahmadabad was well known for its indigo manufacture and it was valuable and its reeds were sent to Persia for use as arrows.¹³⁶ The old walled city of Ahmedabad was in the cross roads, commanding the caravan routes to Rajasthan and Delhi in the north, Malwa to the east, Sind with its port Tatta in the west and ports of Cambay, Surat and Broach in the south. The Sabarmati river was not navigable and its trade was mostly carried overland.¹³⁷ The contemporary text of *Kumarapalacarita* noted that Anahilapur had many temples and colleges, 84 Chaoks or squares, eighty four bazaars with mint for gold and silver coins. Each class had its separate residential areas or mohallas which was mostly according their profession. Around 18 varna resided in the city with separate markets.¹³⁸

¹³³ *ibid*, p. 15

¹³⁴ M.S.Commissariat(ed.), *Mandeslo's Travels in Western India(1638-1639)*,Asian Education Services, New Delhi, 1995, p.28

¹³⁵ James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs: Selected from a series of Familiar Letters written During the 17th century Residence in India*, Gian Publishing House, Delhi, 1988 ,vol.2, , p.202

¹³⁶V.A. Janaki, *The Commerce of Cambay from the Earliest Period to the 19th century*, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Geography Series No. 10, Baroda, 1980, p.15

¹³⁷ Kenneth L. Gillion, *Ahmedabad* ,University of California Press, Los Angeles, 1968, p.14

¹³⁸ V.S. Pramar, *op.cit.*, p. 43



An example of Gujarati Architecture

Firishtah wrote, “it is hardly necessary to add that this, on the whole, was the most handsome city of Hindoostan and perhaps the world.¹³⁹ Most of the houses were built of brick and mortar and were tiled. Caesar Frederick thought that it was very well made and was astonished with the amount of trade happening with Cambay.¹⁴⁰ Visitors were amazed by the beauty of city. It witnessed the combination of three cultures of Hindu, Muslim and Jain. The mosques and tombs were unpretentious in size but with rich detail; delicate tracery and ornamented minarets make them most distinctive and more Indian in feeling than Muslim architecture elsewhere in India. Pillars were taken from old Hindu buildings of Anhilvad Patan and Hindu and Jain craftsmen were employed.¹⁴¹ Perhaps it was not without significance that the Muslim architecture of Ahmedabad consisted of banyan trees strangling the palm. The official posts and the weavers were generally Muslims but the Hindu population consisted of mostly the financiers and traders, except the Bohras who traded in silk and piece goods. The wealth of the city was controlled mostly by the Hindu population.¹⁴²

The residential area of Ahmedabad had both two very different system of planning one belonging to the Muslims and the other to the Hindus and the Jains. Each aristocratic Muslim noble had a small residential sector known as *pura*. In the centre of the *pura* was the residence of the noble surrounded by the simple houses of his retainers, soldiers, artisans, service class, petty traders and a local mosque.¹⁴³ Ferishta had mentioned the presence of 360 *mohallas* in Ahmedabad, each with a wall surrounding it. The puras were

¹³⁹ Mahommed Kasim Firishtah, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India, A Persian History* trans. John Briggs, New Delhi, 1981, vol.4, p.14

¹⁴⁰ James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs: Selected from a series of Familiar Letters written During the 17th century Residence in India*, Gian Publishing House, Delhi, 1988, Vol. 3, p.86

¹⁴¹ Kenneth L. Gillion, op.cit, p. 16

¹⁴² Ibid, pp.16-17

¹⁴³ V.S. Pramar, op. cit, p. 32

separated from each other by waste lands or streets, a stark difference from the European buildings which were constructed along a single avenue.¹⁴⁴

The Gujarat Sultans contributed greatly to the architectural development of not only Ahmedabad but also Sarkhej. Gujarat Sultan Muhammad Shah erected a mausoleum and a memorial mosque in the memory of Shaikh Ahmed Khattri, which was completed after his death in 1451. Sarkhej was considered as the place of retreat for the Gujarat Sultans and also as an imperial necropolis. The Sultans often patronised the construction of palaces, gardens, pavilions and an artificial lake.¹⁴⁵

Champaneer, situated south-east from Ahmedabad, came under the Gujarat after its capture of the fort from the Hindu chief Jaysingh Patai Rawal in 1484. It took approximately around twenty-three years to build the fort and on its completion to have been occupied for little more than an equal period, after which it was deserted. The relics of the finely carved buildings stand as evidences of the Muhammad Beghada's brief days of power. Champaneer was planned with a walled citadel containing the palace as its focal point, while around this was grouped the outer city, the latter apparently covering a very large area.¹⁴⁶ The walls of the citadel of Champaneer, with its bastions and well-proportioned gateways, and one or two civic buildings such as the Mandir or Custom House and quarters for the guard, still remain. But the majority of the monuments which have survived are mosques and tombs. Most striking of all the buildings is the Jami Masjid. Although of appreciable dimensions it is not excessively large, covering only about three quarters of the area of the Jami Masjid at Ahmedabad. Contained within a rectangle of 270 feet by 180 feet, rather less than half of this space is occupied by the sanctuary, while the courtyard is surrounded by a range of arched cloisters.¹⁴⁷ A noticeable feature of the exterior is the rich treatment of its outer walls. In addition to the three imposing entrance pavilions, one projecting from the centre of each of the north,

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 32

¹⁴⁵ Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Islamic Period)*, D.B. Taraporevala and Company Private Limited, Bombay, 1956, p. 52.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 56

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 56

south, and east walls and the series of beautifully moulded buttresses on the western wall, there are at close intervals around the entire structure and its enclosure, traceried openings of a singularly attractive design. The sanctuary facade is of the enclosed kind, containing five pointed archways with two slender minarets on each side of the larger central opening, the plastic ornamentation of these tall towers being confined to their buttress-like bases as the five stages above are left comparatively unadorned. As a whole, this frontal screen is simply, almost economically treated, the plainness of its wall surfaces being relieved mainly by the addition of three of those prominent oriel windows which give such charm to the buildings of Gujarat, whether Jain, Hindu, or Islamic, one of these being placed above the central archway, and one on each side of the minarets. Through the central archway one enters the sanctuary, a pillared hall measuring 270 feet across and 130 feet deep, and containing 176 pillars with the nave in three stories rising from the middle bay and a mezzanine gallery for the *zenana* at the northern end. The amirs, wajirs, merchants and other professionals had lofty residential places.¹⁴⁸ The Sultan also built inns and *sarais* for the travellers.¹⁴⁹



Nagina Masjid, Champaneer

¹⁴⁸ Mirat, op.cit., p. 49

¹⁴⁹ *ibid*, p. 49

One of the most important developing port towns on the eve of Portuguese arrival was Diu. The city was a highly commercialized town of Gujarat in 16th century and the credit for its growth as a major port of west coast of India goes to Malik Ayaz. Through his diplomacy, political foresightedness and economic zeal Malik Ayaz was able to make Diu one of the most important port town of Gujarat. Convinced by his efficiency the Sultan of Gujarat had given him the responsibility of the town, which at that time was a jungle. While studying the nature of urbanization of Diu, K.S. Mathew analyzes it in two parts. The first phase was under Jalal Khan who laid the foundation of the town of Diu on the occasion of the victory he won over the Chinese junks which came to Diu from Cochin where they had a factory.¹⁵⁰ But the urbanization process of the town took a decisive turn under the capable governorship of Malik Ayaz. He understood the importance of the strategic location of Diu and also that of the international trade happening with Gujarat. Malik Ayaz tried to attract foreign trade to Diu by inviting foreign merchants, including the Portuguese, to participate in its trade. Barbosa called the governor of Diu, Malik Ayaz, as a strong industrious man with very strong artillery which was renewed on a regular basis. He also had many rowing galleys, which were well designed and well equipped; gunners were always present near the harbour.¹⁵¹ A lot of textiles were taken from Diu during this period to East Africa for fetching ivory, gold and slaves. In 1519, which marked the initial years of Portuguese controlled trade, the Indian textile item called *bertangi*, whose price was 100 *pardaos* at Diu was sold at 1800 in Sofala, while *macaceres* purchased at Diu for 100 *pardaos* was sold at 840 in Sofala. while the varieties of *cotonias* and *teadas* (both purchased at 100 *pardaos* in Diu) were sold at 1100 each in Sofala.¹⁵² Under his rule Diu prospered greatly from small town and around 1500 it started to displace Cambay as the great transshipment centre and mart of Gujarat. Malik Ayaz, the governor of the Muzaffarids at Diu, promoted and initiated its

¹⁵⁰ K.S.Mathew, *Portuguese and the Sultanate of Gujarat*, Mittal Publications, Delhi, 1985, p. 26

¹⁵¹ *ibid*, p. 27

¹⁵² Pius Malekandathil, "Portuguese and the Changing Meanings of Oceanic Circulations between Coastal Western India and the African Markets, 1500-1800", in *Journal of Indian Ocean Studies*, vol.18, No.2, August 2010, New Delhi, 2010, p. 8

external trade and its urbanization process in the attempt to develop it as a rival to Surat and Champaneer, which were held by Malik Gopi, another Muzaffarid noble.¹⁵³

He offered security to the ships and the traders visiting the port. With the increase in trade he created custom houses in Diu and Goghla which helped in generation of huge amount of custom duties, that ultimately went to strengthen the hands of Malik Ayaz. He had several villages near Diu and Champaneer, some of which were given by the sultans for maintenance of his horses and soldiers. His rights extended up to Bhet in Okhamandal including Mangrol, Kodinar and Dwarka and even collected cash from the Krishna temple of Dwarka.¹⁵⁴ He himself was a great trader and he used his money, earned through trading, to maintain a lavish proto court, to fortify Diu, to establish a strong fleet for its defense and to maintain his influence at the sultan's court by heavy bribing and present giving.¹⁵⁵ He also built a tower in the sea on an underwater rock and from it drew a massive iron chain across the mouth of the harbour so as to prevent the Portuguese ships from entering. He also constructed a substantial bridge over the creek which then ran into the island.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³ Jean Aubin, "Albuquerque et les Negociations de Cambaye", *Mare Luso Indicum*, Vol.1,1971, p. 9

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, p. 151-152

¹⁵⁵ M.N.Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat, The Response to the Portuguese In The 16th century*" Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Private Ltd., New Delhi, p.68

¹⁵⁶ M.S.Commissariat, *A History of Gujarat, Including a survey of its Chief Architectural Monuments and Inscriptions*, Longmans Green & Co. Ltd., Bombay, 1938, vol.1, p.214

Urban Structures of Gujarat, 1200-1500

	Stepwells, wells, tanks	Jaina temples, images	Hindu temples	Mosques/ tombs	Civic architecture
1200-1209	1				
1210-1219		1	1	1	
1220-1229		1	1		
1230-1239		1	2		
1240-1249			1		
1250-1259					
1260-1269		1	2	1	
1270-1279		2	1		
1280-1289				1	
1290-1299		2	2	1	
1300-1309		1	3	1	1
1310-1319	2	1		3	
1320-1329	2			6	
1330-1339	1	1		4	1
1340-1349	1	2		2	1
1350-1359				2	
1360-1369				7	
1370-1379			1	4	
1380-1389	5		2	13	
1390-1399	2	1	2	3	1
1400-1409	3		1	3	4
1410-1419	4		2	8	
1420-1429		1		9	
1430-1439				9	
1440-1449	2		1	6	
1450-1459	1	2		7	3
1460-1469	6	1		8	1
1470-1479	1	2	1	7	
1480-1489	4		1	6	2
1490-1499	4			6	1
1500-1509				5	
Total	49	20	24	123	15

He developed a strong naval force and also army to safeguard the interests of the merchants. He made Diu the first naval and merchant port of Arabian Sea. In 1521, during the confrontation of the Gujarat sultan with the Rajputs, Malik Ayaz was sent by the sultan as he was considered to be the most powerful governors. According to the anonymous Portuguese author of the *Lembranças das Cousas da India em 1525* this battle showcased the military as well as financial strength of Malik Ayaz. It was said that out of his magnanimity, he sent daily food even to the soldiers of the enemy camp for several days. Daily expenses of his camp amounted to 40,000 *fedas*. There were 20,000 men to fight on horse and some of them belonged to the Sultan of Gujarat, in addition to 15,000 infantry. He also gives a large list of gunners, archers, camels, bullocks, large number of workers to construct roads and other necessary requirements. Though the account is inaccurate in several places, the importance does not subside as the writer though not a native, had given a great account of Malik Ayaz.¹⁵⁷ The day when the Portuguese attacked Diu with 10 naval ships in 1524, each armed with two smaller guns and large bombs, the army of Malik Ayaz was 3760 men, with 1850 cavaliers, 1360 lascars and 4 special body of Khorasani, Gujarati, Sindhi, Farooqi and Rumi fighters.¹⁵⁸ He is said to have never imposed any undue taxes and ensured compliance with rules relating to the safety of sea farers and their cargoes. Despite all the success which he enjoyed, he never demanded for an independent state or autonomy and always accepted the overlordship of the Gujarat Sultanate. The Portuguese leadership was dissatisfied with him as he stood as a protector of Diu and it hampered their interests in the region.¹⁵⁹ During the last thirteen years, Diu survived two attacks by the Portuguese. At that point of time the Portuguese were invincible at sea. Albuquerque had commented that Malik Ayaz was neither a suave courtier nor a person more skillful in deception.¹⁶⁰ Ayaz was a very ambitious and world class leader who a year before he died tried to prevent the

¹⁵⁷ K.S.Mathew, *Portuguese and the Sultanate of Gujarat*, Mittal Publications, Delhi, 1985, pp. 148-149

¹⁵⁸ Jean Aubin, "Albuquerque et les Negociations de Cambaye", *Mare Luso Indicum*, Vol.1,1971, p.7

¹⁵⁹ *ibid*, p. 12

¹⁶⁰ *ibid*, p. 8

Portuguese from building a base at Chaul, which is located near Diu.¹⁶¹ He thought that his control over Diu could be well-maintained only by keeping the Portuguese as far away as possible from his base ; however the equations changed very soon and Malik Ayaz fell from the favour of the sultan , who later was compelled to hand over Diu to the Portuguese by mid-1530s.

Besides these port-cities and towns of Gujarat, there were many small and important cities along the coastal Gujarat. A town of relative significance was Reynel (modern Rander). As Duarte Barbosa had noted that ‘it was a very pleasant and wealthy place for the Moorish inhabitants, who used to conduct...trade in their own ships with Malacca, Benguala, Camarasym and Pegu’ also with Martaban and Sumatra in different sorts of spices and drugs and silks in great abundance, musk, benzoin, porcelain and many other wares. The inhabitants had their own vessels to carry on the trade. The city was rich and was accustomed to trade with Mecca and Tenassarim. Barbosa went as far as saying that the objects from Malacca and China were best available there¹⁶². The most important reason for the development of Rander was its location on the northern side of the Tapti and being near to Surat. This also became the reason of its decline, as Antonio da Silveria, who sailed up the Tapti, destroyed both Surat and Rander in 1530, an attack from which the city could never recover.¹⁶³

Surat, a coastal port city, was inhabited by the most enterprising trading community of Gujarat. A large amount of trade used to take place between Surat and several overseas markets and with Malabar. But it evolved as a port-town of great economic significance only with its conquest by Akbar in 1573. Situated at the bank of the river Tapti, Surat came into focus around 10th century under the Chalukyan kingdom.¹⁶⁴ But the trade of

¹⁶¹ K.S.Mathew, *Portuguese and the Sultanate of Gujarat*, Mittal Publications, Delhi, 1985, p. 36

¹⁶² *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, tr. Mansel Longworth Dames, Vol.1, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 145-148

¹⁶³ M.S.Commissariat, *A History of Gujarat, Including a survey of its Chief Architectural Monuments and Inscriptions*, Longmans Green & Co. Ltd., Bombay, 1938, vol.1, p. 265

¹⁶⁴ V.A. Janaki, *Some Aspect of the Historical Geography of Surat*, Geography Research Paper Series No.7, Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, 1974, p.26

Surat came to be of some significance during the time between 10th and 12th centuries. Some of the Arab travellers of 10th century mention it as Surbaya and Ghori attacked it in 1194.¹⁶⁵ The development of Surat as a port for the international trade depended very much on the political situation of the region, as it was situated very much near to the much more developed port of Cambay. The Gujarat kingdom of the later Solanki period developed it as an additional port to Cambay to draw the resources of the Deccan. But this trade seems to have been subsidiary to that of Cambay.¹⁶⁶ When Mohammad Begada included Tapti valley in his powerful Gujarat kingdom, Surat got considerable amount of economic stimulation in the early part of the 16th century.¹⁶⁷ Surat had shared the profits of the east west trade along with the other Gujarat ports at least during the period of the Gujarat sultans. Although Cambay was the most important port of Gujarat, yet Surat always maintained its position as a supplementary economic door of Gujarat. Surat often lost to Cambay, which always continued to be the main port of the Ahmedabad kingdom. But the decline of Rander proved to a blessing for Surat, as the enterprising population of Surat was able to rebuild the commercial edifice of Surat, unlike Rander which was lost to oblivion.¹⁶⁸ By the time the Mughals conquered Gujarat in 1573 it was the most important outlet for the vast hinterland of North India and northern Deccan. Apart from the political reason behind its rise, its manufacturing industry was also one of the most important factors contributing to its growth. The soil in and around Surat was very fertile which lead to high productivity of crops and raw materials for its industries.¹⁶⁹ The leather industry of Surat was also well known because of the skilled workers of the region. Surat was well known manufacturer of coarse and coloured cottons and wool. The cottons were dyed in Surat with different colour stripes and flowers. Both the coarse and fine wool were manufactured in Surat. Brocade making and embroidery, for which the

¹⁶⁵ *ibid*,p. 26

¹⁶⁶ *ibid*, p. 11

¹⁶⁷ *ibid*, p. 29

¹⁶⁸ *ibid*, p. 28

¹⁶⁹ James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs: Selected from a series of Familiar Letters written During the 17th century Residence in India*, Gian Publishing House, Delhi, Vol.1, 1988, p. 252

town is even now noted and the products were famed world wide and the products were exported to Africa and Arabia. The intricate patterns of gold and silver thread were carefully done by master craftsmen with skill in wood work and the availability of wood in the neighbourhood led to the rise of cart making industry in Surat. The bullock carts of Surat were famous for their durability. The wood workers also produced wood dolls and idols. The industries and trade of Surat used to earn for the Gujarat sultan a large amount of revenue.¹⁷⁰

Broach was another important port town, which was both a major trading centre and at the same time it was an important textile-manufacturing centre with specialization in fine baftas and other cotton goods. Also they developed bleaching and dyeing in cotton textiles, which further helped to increase the trade in textile materials. The town depended on the best known baftas and its weaving industry. Broach exported clothes to Mocha, Mozambique and the South Java.¹⁷¹

About the beginning of the Christian era, Broach had monopolized all export and import trade of North and Central India, a detailed treatment of which is found in the “Periplus”, where it was mentioned as Barygaza.¹⁷² The maritime activity of Broach continued unabated and Hiun Tsiang, in 640 A.D. wrote that the sole profit of the people of Broach comes from the sea.¹⁷³ This glory continued till the early medieval period and under the Rajput rulers from Anhilwara, Broach continued to flourish.¹⁷⁴ Al Idrisi writing in 1178-88, described it as a large and beautiful city, well built in bricks and plaster. Its people were rich and engaged in trade, enterprising in speculation and distant expeditions.¹⁷⁵ *Ain*

¹⁷⁰ *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, trans. Mansel Longworth Dames, Vol1, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1989 p. 149

¹⁷¹ Fransico Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, tr. W.H. Moreland and P. Geyl, Idarah-i Adabiyat-i Delli, Delhi, 1972, p.43

¹⁷² *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, tr. Wilfred H. Schoff, New Delhi, 1974, pp. 39-40.

¹⁷³ V.A. Janaki, *Gujarat As the Arabs Knew it: A Study in historical geography*, Maharaja Sayajirao University Baroda, 1969, p. 45

¹⁷⁴ *ibid*, p.45

¹⁷⁵ Al Idrisi, ‘Nuzhatu-l Mushtak’, in *The History of India As told by its own Historians*, by H.M.Elliot and John Dowson, Vol.1, Low Price Publications, Delhi, 1990, p. 87

describes Broach as a maritime town of first rate importance. Considering the fact that the walls of the city were built by stones and the area was deficient in stone, this activity must have been very expensive, indicating the wealth of the people. The importance of Broach is also evident from the fact that when Sultan Mohammed Khalji of Malwa, invaded Gujarat in 1451 and tried to persuade the Governor of Broach, Malik Sidi Marjan to surrender the fort to him on promise of favours, adding that he would bring out the leading merchants dwelling there, he could double his favours.

The growth of Broach depended to a great extent on its ideal geo-physical location and nearness to the sea, which increased its commercial prospects for centuries. Moreover, climatically and production-wise it used to hold a very important position. It was a major producer of cotton yarn and indigo as well as wheat, grains, cotton and butter. The production was mostly aimed for export. Broach being the passage for all the merchants to Ahmedabad, Cambay, Baroda and Agra was always full of merchants who invested great sum of money for the linen manufacture. The population of Broach consisted of merchants, brokers, store keepers, grain sellers and exchanger of money, carpenters, blacksmiths, artisans and many more people who were somehow related to its trade.

Conclusion

The exact timing of the emergence of the Gujaratis as the principal Indian trading group in the Indian Ocean cannot be conclusively determined nor can we say with precision which community or segment of Gujarati merchants turned out to be the leading economic players in the trading endeavours; however, one thing is ascertained that the Gujarati merchants on the eve of the Portuguese entry in India formed one of the leading entrepreneurial segments in the Indian Ocean. They were also found to be settling down in the Persian Gulf and Red Sea regions and also in the South eastern Asia. The Gujaratis formed the most powerful community in Malacca. The community consisted of both Hindu and Muslim traders. The Gujarati community in Malacca was specialized in trade with West Asia and with Egypt. Through their trading posts of Aden and Hormuz, they sent drugs, spices and precious woods and received opium, rose water, woollen cloth and

dyes.¹⁷⁶ One of the most important factors of Gujarati trade was that the basis of its overseas trade was Gujarat's own products, unlike that of Goa, Malacca, Hormuz or Aden. The sea trade stimulated secondary sector production in a remarkable way. Though the custom duties did not directly provide enormous revenue to the Gujarat Sultan, it no doubt initiated a major overall stimulation for the economy.¹⁷⁷

The foregoing discussion shows that the extensive coastline of Gujarat has long been providing several outlets for the rich hinterland of North and Central India to interact with several overseas markets. The Muzzaffarid rulers made maximum use of the trading activities of Cambay and other ports of Gujarat to generate enough resources to sustain their power in the region. The various maritime trading centres operated in a mutually linked network with Cambay at the top of the port-hierarchy with Surat, Ahmedabad, Diu and Broach as satellite and feeding trade centres. The chief beneficiaries of the trade happening in these trading centres were the Muzzaffarid rulers of Gujarat, who in turn appointed enterprising merchants and economic players as governors of Diu and Surat respectively. Those enterprising merchants and entrepreneurs like Malik Ayaz and Malik Gopi, who were capable of converting commercial returns into political assets and power-exercising devices sustaining the power base of the former, gave vibrancy to Diu and Surat in the early part of the sixteenth century.

¹⁷⁶ Luis Filipe F.R. Thomaz, "Maleka and Its Merchant Communities at the turn of the 16th Century", in *Indian Merchants and Businessmen in the Indian Ocean and the China Sea*, ed. Denys Lombard and Jean Aubin, Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 28-29

¹⁷⁷ M.N.Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, 1976, p. 24



The Route of Vasco da Gama

Chapter III

Portuguese and the Trade Circuits of Gujarat

The Portuguese, who established their headquarters in Goa, realised that Diu was the ‘key to Indian Ocean trade’.¹ The maritime state of Gujarat in western India had to frequently confront the naval power of the Portuguese ever since the latter had started blocking the bulk trade via Red Sea and Egypt and tried to monopolize trade in the Indian Ocean. The Portuguese could not destroy the existing trade network nor did they seriously alter the pattern. However, the intervention of the Portuguese in the commerce of the littoral of Arabian Sea had its negative impact particularly on the commercial interests of the Arabs and al-Karimis, who eventually were scattered to different parts of the Indian Ocean. The Mappilas of Malabar and the Gujaratis started replacing the al-Karimis and the Arabs. In the new turn of developments the role of Cambay as an entrepot was enhanced at the expense of Calicut, which had been the target of attack of the Portuguese in the initial years of their commercial expansion because of its decisive role in mobilizing resources for the Red-Sea -Venice trade.

The Portuguese dominated its shipping from their fortified posts at Daman and Diu, which proved to be effective.² As Cambay was situated on the shallow water, the big ships had to embark and disembark at the deeper ports like Diu and Gogai, moreover, Daman was situated at the gateway to the land, thus enabling the Portuguese to keep control of both land and the sea to a certain extent.³

¹ K.S. Mathew, “Khwaja Safar, The Merchant Governor of Surat and Indo- Portuguese Trade in the Early 16th Century”, *Vice- Almirante A. Teixeira Da Mota In Memoriam*, Vol. 1, Lisbon, 1987, P.321

² Ibid, p. 204-205

³ Ibid, p. 205



Arrival of the Portuguese at Calicut, 1498

While the Portuguese traded with Surat, Broach and Cambay effectively, they could not establish themselves well within the Gulf of Cambay. The Gulf of Cambay at that time had no direct shipping connectivity with Europe. The Portuguese acted as a connecting point between Europe and Gujarat, as they loaded their Cambay goods on their homeward fleet at Goa. The cargoes included large quantities of piece-goods, indigo and various other articles for foreign markets, besides wheat and other provisions.⁴

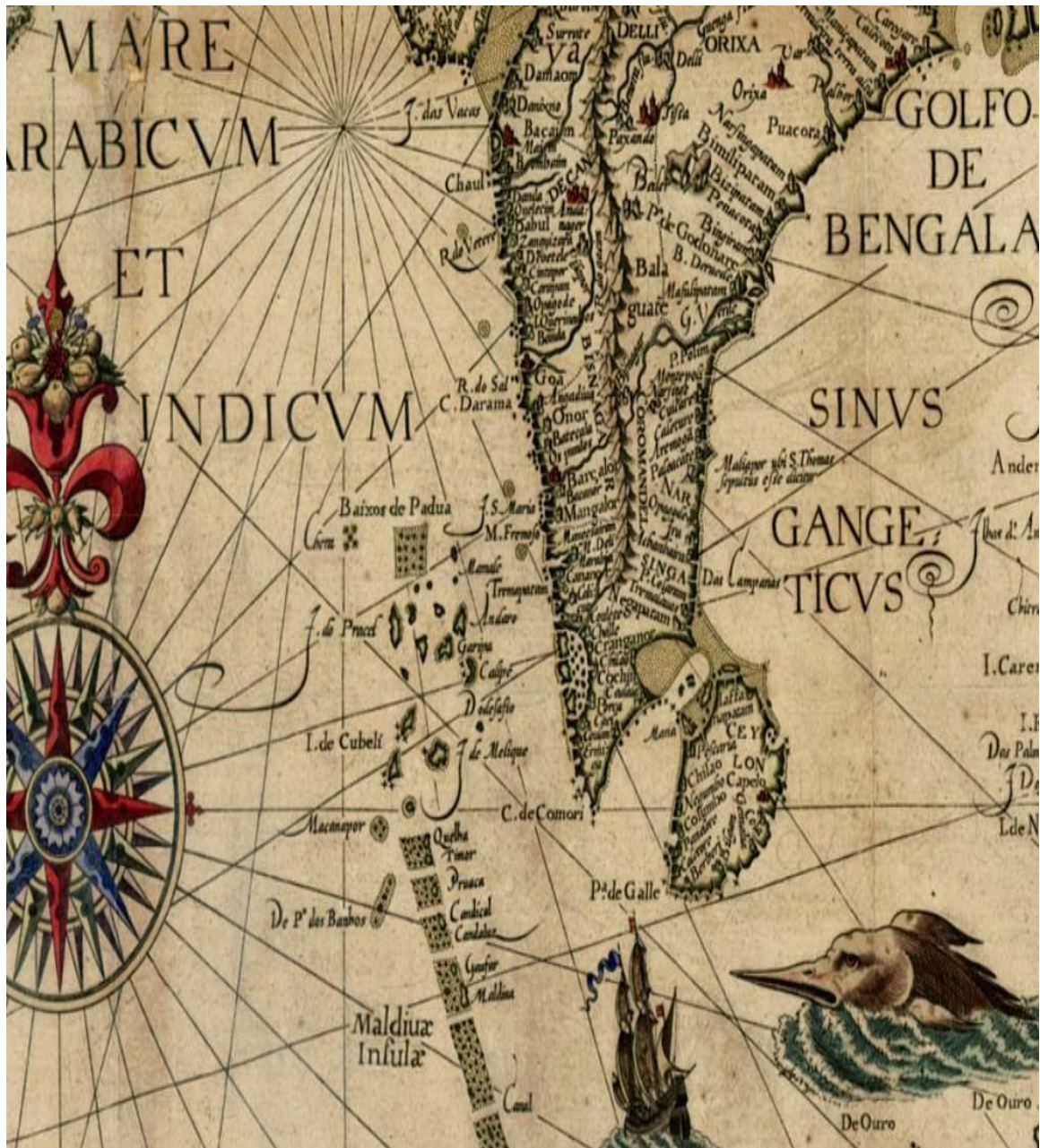
I. Trade Routes

In the beginning of the 16th and 17th centuries, the contribution of the Arabian Sea to the world trade mainly centred on bullion, gold, pearls, diamonds, pepper and to some extent silk.⁵ The Portuguese share of export trade was certainly large. The external trade of Diu and Daman had two main links: one connected with China and South East Asian countries and the other connected with the ports of the West Asia and East Africa. It is evident from Diogo do Couto and other contemporary Portuguese sources, that Cambay, Surat, and other Gujarati ports were directly concerned with the trade with Aceh and the Red Sea, with or without the Portuguese *cartazes* which they were supposed to carry. The part played by the Gujaratis in the maritime trade of Malacca before 1511 is well-known, and there are numerous if scattered references to their presence in Aceh during the period with which we are concerned.⁶ Various kinds of silk like camlets, manufactured in Gujarat were exported from Diu to Persia and Arabia. Carpets and tapestry were produced in Diu and were exchanged for several sorts of commodities. Coral, copper, quick-silver, vermilion, lead, alum, rosewater, madder and saffron were imported to Diu from Aden and Mecca. Voyages from *Diu* to Meca carried out in Muslim ships or *naos* of

⁴ W.H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar : An Economic Study*, Low Price Publication, Delhi, 1990, p. 206

⁵ R.J. Barendse, *The Indian Ocean World of the Seventeenth Century*, M.E. Sharpe, 2002, p. 8

⁶ C.R. Boxer, "A Note on Portuguese Reactions to the Revival of the Red Sea Spice Trade and the Rise of Atjeh, 1540-1600", *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, Vol. 10, No. 3, International Trade and Politics in Southeast Asia 1500-1800 (Dec., 1969), p. 427



India, Through the Eyes of the Portuguese

500 to 1000 khandis. These *naos* carried chiefly textiles of all sorts, especially from Cambay, They carried black Canequis, linen, cotton, they also took *cawry* by other name called *buzio* and all sorts of spices as pepper, cloves, cardamom, nutmeg, cinnamon, etc.

They chiefly brought back gold coins called *Venezianos* which were equal to 1200 reis each, much coral; many camlet of different colours, quicksilver, vermilion, silver in form of *patacas* or biscuits.⁷ Finer quality of opium was imported from Aden as the opium that grew in Diu was inferior in quality. Great volumes of gold and silver, both in form of coins and ingot were also brought to this town from the Arabian ports. Diu, also had great trading relations with Hormuz, Sheher and Barbara and with the East African ports of Melinde and Mombasa. In 1531, purchased 1,300 *mans* of rosewater of Aden from Diu. It shows the large volume of import-trade happening at Diu.⁸ Earlier Malik Ayaz used to re-export a large volume of commodities imported from overseas markets fetching huge profits to his treasury. Portuguese estimated Ayaz earned Rs.3,20,000.⁹ After paying taxes to the sultan of Gujarat, Malik Ayaz used to earn a profit of 160,000 *cruzados* every year, with a major portion coming from Diu. Of the total income of the Gujarat Sultanate, 5% came from maritime trade.

Horses appeared to have been originally brought from the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf areas with which Diu had active trade contacts.¹⁰ Horses were also brought to Diu from Muscat. These were the Arabian horses which were in high demand as warrior horses. The Portuguese demanded forty two *pardaos* per horse from Hormuz and Sind, which were taken to Diu.¹¹ Also ships from Diu carried products from Cambay like works of sequins to Hormuz.¹² Private Portuguese traders from Diu were active in the trade with Gulf and Hormuz for a long period of time. The custom duties and its horse trade made it quite a profitable centre for the Portuguese. Muscat's meagre revenue used to reach Diu,

⁷ Agnelo Paulo Fernandes, *Portuguese and the Mughals (1627-1707)*, Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Bombay, 1986, p. 272

⁸ *Ibid*, p.57

⁹ M.N. Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers In Gujarat, The Response to the Portuguese In The 16th century*, University of California Press, New Delhi, 1976, p. 68

¹⁰ Surendra Gopal, *Commerce and Crafts in Gujarat in 16th and 17th centuries: A Study in the Impact of Europeans on Pre-capitalist Economy*, People's Publishing House, New Delhi, p. 1975, p. 77

¹¹ K.S. Mathew, *Portuguese Trade with India in the 16th Century*, Manohar, Delhi, 1983, P. 59

¹² *The English Factories in India(1618-1621)*, ed. William Foster, Oxford, 1923, p. 223

partly in bullion, partly in horses, dates and fruits to Diu and Chaul. Because of the tensions in the waters, Portuguese administration used to send yearly two to three frigates to escorts the ships of traders to Sind and Diu.¹³ However, Muscat's customs mainly depended on the trade between Basra and West Coast of India. With the loss of Muscat in 1622 the Portuguese shipping to Gulf was reduced to a considerable number. However, the link to the Gulf was of a considerable proportion, as it was its only Asian source of silver.¹⁴ The merchants of Diu still occasionally sent ships to Kung and Basra. Most revenues of Muscat were farmed out and the Indian merchants helped in raising the funds of such farms. The commerce of Muscat was controlled by a group of Indian merchants who were mostly the Kaphol banias from Diu and the Mappilas of Kerala. Kaphol banias were associated with the Jaariba war fleets and the urban notables and were exempted from taxes.¹⁵

The Red Sea route was the most important for the Gujarati traders, especially for the Surat. The competition in this route was felt between the Gujaratis and the Europeans between 1620 and 1630 and must have intensified after the famines of Gujarat, when the supply of goods for export was cut off for sometime. Substantial amount of trade was carried on between India, Iran, Turan and others from Surat. As per the English estimate, one million rupees worth of Indian cotton textiles was shipped from Surat to Iran in 1661. Some of these clothes may have been shipped to Turan via the caravan route through Kirman and Mashad or westward to Ottoman cities. These sales would have generated substantial amounts of Iranian silver specie, much of which had been brought to Surat mint.¹⁶ The Surat-Mocha trade consisted overwhelmingly of Gujarat textiles on the outward voyage and precious metals on the incoming one. Information available in respect of the textile cargo (which accounted for nearly the whole of the cargo) carried by the *Dolphin* from Surat to Mocha in the account of a private English merchant, John

¹³ R.J. Barendse, op. cit. ,p. 342

¹⁴ *ibid*, p. 344

¹⁵*ibid*, p. 344

¹⁶ Stephen Frederic Dale, *Indian Merchants and Eurasian Trade 1600-1750*, Cambridge University Press, Delhi, 1994, p.44

Hope, the English chief at Surat in 1721 provides important details regarding the costs of the ship's cargo. Of the total proceeds of Mocha Dollars 35,463 were realized by the sale of the ship's cargo, a sum of 22,819 dollars was remitted to Hope at Surat while another 8,612 dollars were retained at Mocha by the local corresponding trader pro rata to his investment in the ship's cargo. The remaining sum of 4,032 dollars was accounted for by customs duties (1,063 dollars at 3 percent), brokerage (532 dollars at 1 1/2 percent), commission presumably for the local corresponding trader (1,773 dollars at 5 percent), house rent for two seasons (300 dollars), servants' wages (17 dollars), presents to the local governor (300 dollars) and a small amount of 45 dollars towards shiffage (?). Since the cost price of the textile cargo is not specified, unfortunately the earned profit cannot be calculated.¹⁷

Mocha supplied large quantities of precious metals in its trade with Gujarat and was known as the treasure chest of the Mughals. By the early 17th century, Mocha became a pivotal trading destination of the Gujarati merchants in the western Indian Ocean. From the EEIC's records at Mocha- in the season of 1731-32, 28 ships were country-ships. Among them those freighted and commanded by Indians outnumbered those commanded by the Europeans both in number and tonnage. The 13 primarily Indian financed ships totaled 4390 tons and the European controlled ships only 2449 tons. The explanation is that the Chellebes described as the Turkish merchants at Surat and other Muslim ship owners there owned the largest country-ships then afloat.¹⁸

Many banias resided there permanently and it has been pointed out that at least half of the Mocha's population at this time was made up of the Jews, Hindus and Christians. Banias and the Jews were the principal credit suppliers at Mocha, while the Muslim merchants from Gujarat concentrated on the vast trading opportunities there. The Portuguese used to come to Mocha from Diu, Daman, Goa and other Indian settlements with Indigo, Calico,

¹⁷ Om Prakash, "English Private Trade in the Western Indian Ocean, 1720-1740", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 50, No. 2/3, Spatial and Temporal Continuities of Merchant Networks in South Asia and the Indian Ocean (2007)

¹⁸ Holden Furber, *Private fortunes and Company Profits in the India Trade in the 18th century*, ed. Rosane Rocher, Variorum, 1997, p. 32

sail cloth, Gujarati textiles, tobacco, rice and medicines, pepper, most of which was re-exported to the caravans coming from Turkey, except the rice and tobacco which was consumed in Mocha. In return they would import Reels and pieces of Golden Ducats, a certain root used by the Indians for dyeing and giving red colour. The Portuguese also imported horses, raisins, almonds and elephants teeth from Sofala.¹⁹ The pearl trade between Bahrain and India was also highly lucrative for the Gujarati merchants. Pearl from Bahrain had ready market in India and was considered better in quality than the South Indian ones, which were said to turn pale after coming in contact with oils and perfumes. During the 17th century trade between Bahrain and India was dominated by the *bania* merchants and a general profit of 30 to 40 percent was earned by these traders.²⁰ There were around three to four million guilders invested in this sector by the end of 17th century.²¹

Tome Pires had mentioned that about a thousand Gujarati merchants travelled each year to Malacca.²² Large volumes of silk from China and Malacca were brought to Diu every year. In return the merchants took back with them cotton, horses, wheat, gingelly and opium both manufactured in Gujarat. The Malacca bound ships from Gujarat carried coloured woollen clothes and glassware from the Mediterranean, and items such as rosewater, opium, indigo and silver from west Asia.²³ The cargo obtained in exchange at Malacca included Chinese goods such as silk and porcelain, Indonesian spices such as pepper, cloves, nutmeg and mace, woods and aromatics, precious and non precious

¹⁹ Philip Baldaeus, *A True and Exact Description of the Most Celebrated East India Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel and also the Isle of Ceylon*”, in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels* comp. A. Churchill and J. Churchill, p. 576

²⁰ Murari Kumar Jha, “The Social World of Gujarati Merchants and Their Indian Ocean Networks in the 17th Century”, *The South Asian Diaspora: Transnational Networks and Changing Identities* ed. Rajesh Rai, p. 40

²¹ R.J. Barendse, *The Indian Ocean World of the Seventeenth Century*, M.E. Sharpe, 2002, p. 45

²² Om Prakash, , *European Commercial Enterprise in Pre-Colonial India*, Cambridge University Press, Vol.5, New Delhi, 2000, p.33

²³ *Ibid*, p. 15

metals like Malaya tin.²⁴ The English and the Portuguese procured sugar from Batavia, Malacca, and China and imported it into Bombay and Surat.²⁵ The Portuguese control over Malacca disturbed the traditional pattern of trade of the Gujaratis, who had earlier been conducting trade there for centuries. They were forced to move out of Malacca; but they eventually shifted their activities to the neighbouring ports. The Portuguese were willing to allow Gujaratis to trade in Malacca if they had accepted their conditions and regulations. The Portuguese tried to keep the local traders under their control, both in Gujarat and in other places. Portuguese India gradually became self sustaining, with its revenue based on the Portuguese country trade and on control of local trade rather than on the trade to Portugal.²⁶ The Portuguese country traders from Macao and Malacca sailed in *pataxos* and other ships built in India. They financed this trading activity with silver from Japan and Manila and Indian textiles.²⁷

Silk and silver were the principal commodities that were traded between China and the Portuguese India. The silk *karkhanas* of Gujarat got their supply of raw materials from China and Bengal, along with the Indian raw silk. In the middle of the 16th century Garcia da Orta put the imports between 250,000 or 400,000 pounds. In 1590, Linschoten mentioned 400,000 pounds or 3000 quintals of silk was officially imported.²⁸ W.H. Moreland is of the opinion that the total consumption of silk in India was 3 million pounds which in the years of war and conflict was reduced to 2 ½ million pounds of which not more than half a million pounds was imported.²⁹

The flourishing trade between East Africa and the *Estado da India* supplied Portuguese India with substantial amount of gold from Monomatopa, Sofala, Sena, Tete and other

²⁴ Ibid, p. 15

²⁵ Ghulam A. Nadri, op.cit., p. 114

²⁶ M.N. Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers In Gujarat, The Response to the Portuguese In The 16th century*, New Delhi, 1976, p. 87

²⁷ George Bryan Souza, op.cit., p. 122

²⁸ W.H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar: An Economic Study*, Low Price Publication, Delhi, 1990, p. 174

²⁹ Ibid, p. 174

gold supply areas. The value of Diu based trade in precious metals and bullion was more than that of Daman and Goa.³⁰ On 1st November, 1785, Mochande Premogy, Vady Gichande, and Morargy Amaidas brought from Mocambique to Diu 160, 24 ½ and 49 *patacas* of gold respectively.³¹ On 27th October, 1795, gold consignments was brought into Goa by of 4 *onças* and 2 *oitavas*, 7 *onças* and 2 *oitavas* and 9 *marcos* and 6 *onças* were brought on board by Vithoba Kamat Mhamai, Rama Naik and Venkatesha Kamat respectively.³² The prices of gold, gold-dust and gold articles in 1791 were 450 *xerafins* per marco and the cost of silver was 40 *xerafins* in 1816.³³ The revenue derived by Diu in the 1804 from *Estado's* bullion trade with Mocambique was 1840-2-29 ½ *xerafins*. The greatest beneficiaries of the Mocambique bullion trade were the merchants of Diu and Daman, who were mostly Hindus.³⁴ This gold was used in the Goa Mint as raw materials for the production of Portuguese coins, for the purchase of tobacco and pepper in Kanara and Gujarati and cloth merchants would exchange their wares at Goa for gold.³⁵ During 1767-69 the Portuguese State in India entered into contracts with the Hindu businessmen to buy saltpetre and other items of Asia for the Portuguese markets.³⁶

On entering Diu the Portuguese began to appropriate the East African trade from the locals and used to take Gujarati textiles directly to Mozambique to collect ivory, salves and gold in return. In 1570s the income details of the Portuguese fortress of Diu also refer to the entry of gold in considerable degree in Diu from Moçambique and Melinde and Sofala during this period. Menomotapan gold formed one of the the crucial value intensive commodity taken to India by these traders as return cargo.³⁷

³⁰ Celsa Pinto, op.cit., p.177

³¹ Ibid, p.177

³² *Mhamai House Papers*, XCHR, document. Dated 27 October, 1793

³³ Celsa Pinto, op.cit., p. 178

³⁴ Ibid, p.179

³⁵ Ibid, p. 179

³⁶ Celsa Pinto, op.cit., p.180

³⁷ Ibid, p. 7

In 1620s the *Carreira da Mozambique* moving from Diu to east Africa consisted of 6 to 10 vessels. Textiles and other wares taken from India to east African markets were purchased by the Portuguese *casado* merchants of Mozambique or the Indian brokers at Senna or Tette, who used to do the retail business in the local markets; the latter principally along the river Zambesi. By 1640s the commerce of Diu with Mozambique began to dominate over that of Chaul with the fall of trade from the hands of the Indo-Portuguese into those of the Gujarati *bantias*.³⁸ With the increasing threat from the Dutch and the English, the Portuguese descendants from India could no longer safely conduct trade with east African ports and the *bantias* of Guajrat eventually made use of this opportunity to emerge as the leading Indian merchants conducting business in African markets. In 1650s the *bantias* used to procure cheaper and good quality textiles and they sent them from Diu in the vessels of the Portuguese captain to Southeast Africa, almost triple to the volume of trade from Goa and Chaul and worth the value of 60, 000 *xerafins*.³⁹ The piece cloth trade to the Zambesi depended upon the regular supplies of *bafta* and *berauli* from Diu. The merchants' participation in this network of commerce was regulated so that the rates of barter did not fall.⁴⁰ In 1688, the Viceroy, agreed to the petition of the *mahajans* and traders of Diu, to form a company to manage the trade of Diu with east Africa. In return the *bantias* were to hand over lump sums to finance the war against the Omanis.⁴¹

The Gujarati merchants in Mozambique traded in ivory, which remained their primary commercial focus, along with gold, slave and rhino horns of the value 1,20,000 to 1,40,000 *cruzados* would move out annually. Slave trade formed a small but important part of their enterprise. The Portuguese displayed general mistrust towards the non-Christians as they feared that there would be influence on the African population of the

³⁸ Pius Malekandathil, "Portuguese and the Changing Meanings of Oceanic Circulations between Coastal Western India and the African Markets, 1500-1800", in *Journal of Indian Ocean Studies*, 2010, p.13

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p.167

⁴⁰ R.J. Barendse, *op. cit.* ,p. 333

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 333

Islamic and Hindu religion and this led the former to impose curbs on the Muslim and Hindu ownership and trade of slaves. This was opposed strongly by the Indian merchants and a petition of the mid-18th century shows that the Indian traders specially the Gujaratis strongly resenting the Portuguese ban on slave trade and claimed that they accepted the slave trade in exchange of the Gujarati clothes and unlike the Muslim traders, the *baniyas* claimed that they used to refrain themselves from proselytizing and encouraged their slaves to attend Christian services, allowed them to be baptized and assured the Portuguese that they would sell his slaves only to Christians. The slave trade was so important to the Gujarati merchants that they threatened to remove themselves from Mozambique, if they were not allowed to trade in slaves.⁴² However, the Mozambique slave export trade developed fully only in the 18th century and the number of slaves involved was not significant. African slaves brought to Daman were either absorbed locally or sent to Goa. The slaves exported to Diu were mostly re-exported to north west India particularly to Kathiawar where demand remained until the 19th century, Kutch and Sind.⁴³ These regions, near Diu, had trading relations with the latter even before the arrival of the Portuguese. Some slaves imported into Diu were also sent to the French territory of Pondicherry, through Goa.⁴⁴ Mozambique slaves retained in Diu were employed as crew on ships involved in the country trade and domestic labour. As the slaves were mostly used for non productive works, slave prices were not dependent on commodity- price levels, as it was the case with the cash crop plantations of places like Zanzibar. Moreover, sources indicate that in India traditionally the male slaves were more in demand than their female counterpart.⁴⁵

Around 25 slaves a year entered Diu and Daman from Mozambique during the 1770s. Slave imports increased in the end 1780s and 71 slaves entered Diu in 1787, and 40 to 60

⁴² Pedro Machado, "A Forgotten Corner of the Indian Ocean: Gujarati Merchants, Portuguese India and the Mozambique slave trade: 1730- 1830", in *The Structure of Slavery in Indian Ocean African and Asia*, ed. by Gwyn Campbell, Frank Cass, London, 2004, p. 18

⁴³ Ibid, p. 18

⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 19

⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 20

slaves were being annually exported from Mozambique to Diu by 1789, and half that number to Daman, around 100 to 150 were exported to Goa and in 1800, 177 slaves were exported to Daman from Mozambique.⁴⁶ Slaves were transported away on the payment of the export duties of 20 *cruzados* per slave.⁴⁷ During 1771-75 the price of slaves were comparatively low- 100 *xerafins* for an adult male, 70 *xerafins* for a medium- sized male and 50 *xerafins* for a young non Christian slave boy. The price for an adult female slave was 100 *xerafins* and 50 *xerafins* for a young girl.⁴⁸ But during 1789-1800, the Napoleonic wars and the high competition between the European powers made the Indian Ocean unsafe for the transportation of the slaves, which in return increased the cost of the slaves. Thus the price rose substantially in the last decades of the 18th century to 180, 125 and 100 *xerafins* for a big built, medium built and young male slaves respectively and the 150 and 100 *xerafins* for the female slaves.⁴⁹ The earnings of the *Estado da India* from Daman-Diu-Mocambique slave trade accrued revenue of 5303-3-14 *xerafins* during 1804-33. The revenue collection from Diu-Mocambique slave trade formed just 1.29 per cent of the total revenue collection involved in the Diu-Mocambique commerce and Daman- Mocambique generated 2.87 percent of the total Diu-Mocambique trade.⁵⁰

A wide variety of Indian wares and mercantile groups used to move to east Africa through the Portuguese maritime doors of Goa, Chaul, Daman and Diu. In 1611 the price of *bertangi* in Gujarat was 100 *xerafins*, which was priced at 200 *xerafins* at Goa, and 620 *xerafins* at Monomotapa, which information is also indicative of the profit accrued at different markets. It has been reported in 1634 that 14, 000 *corjas* (equivalent to 700 *bahars* or 2,80,000 pieces) of cloth that were bought at Goa for 2,64,000 *xerafins* were sold at 1, 270, 000 *xerafins* in Moçambique. The exchange rate between gold and cloth

⁴⁶ Ibid,p. 20

⁴⁷ Celsa Pinto, op.cit., p. 113

⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 167

⁴⁹ Ibid, p. 167

⁵⁰ Ibid, p. 168-69

was 10 *miticais* of gold for one *corja* of textiles.⁵¹ These details show that price of Indian cloth was very high in African markets, suggesting the huge profit bagged out of this trade. With the sale of Indian cloth at inflated rates there eventually appeared an increasing trend to falsify gold sold in return for the Indian textiles in Southeast Africa. In contrast to the accounts of the late sixteenth century attesting to the high quality and purity of gold obtained from this region, there began to appear repeated allegations from 1640s onwards against the falsification of Southeast African gold and dilution of its purity by adding brass to it.⁵²

According to the agreement of 1686, between the officials of *Estado* and the *Mazanes de Dio*, the latter was permitted to dispatch ships laden with Indian merchandise including rice for Mocambique for the purchase of ivory. The price of ivory in India fluctuated on a regular basis and thus the merchants of Diu were treated as indispensable “second hand” between the traders operating in Mozambique and the Indian markets.⁵³ The Zanzibar trade in ivory was financed by the Gujarati banias. Half of their imports at Zanzibar in 1811 consisted of cloth from Kutch and Surat.⁵⁴ According to the documents of the Custom House at Diu, in the year 1767, 370 *candis*, 5 *maons* and 3 *ceiras* of ivory entered Diu and generated revenues amounting to 55,538-0-13 *xerafins* at the rate of 150 *xerafins* per *candil*.⁵⁵ Ivory transported from East Africa to Portuguese India would be re-exported to Lisbon, Macao and elsewhere. According to the Macao custom records, during 1796-1802, on an average about 71.6 tusks of ivory were re-exported by Goa and Daman to Macao.⁵⁶ The ivory from east Africa was used to make figurines and ornamentations of

⁵¹ Pius Malekandathil, Portuguese and the Changing Meanings of Oceanic Circulations between Coastal Western India and the African Markets, 1500-1800”, in *Journal of Indian Ocean Studies*, 2010

⁵² *Ibid*

⁵³ R.J. Barendse, *op.cit.*, p.333

⁵⁴ Celsa Pinto, *op.cit.*, p.172

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p.171

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p.173

building like churches.⁵⁷ The profit generated from the ivory trade was more in Diu than that of Daman.⁵⁸ This could be because of the influence of the bania over the Zambesi valley, the principle source of ivory production.

Revenues Derived by Daman and Diu from the Mozambique Ivory Trade

YEAR	DAMAN(IN <i>XERAFINS</i>)	DIU(IN <i>XERAFINS</i>)
1804	10933-4-27	-
1818	16816-2-19	9781-2-23
1828	7792-3-46	9519-0-20 ½
1831-32	9443-3-41	6227-1-15 ½

Portuguese also traded in an herb known as *barcamam* from Diu. It was collected in November and by December it was taken to Portugal for trade.⁵⁹ The trade with Macao was probably the second most important strand of trade after Mozambique's gold trade.⁶⁰ Yearly one or two ships used to go to Macao from Diu, loaded with ballast like salt and iron and at the end of 17th century cotton, indigo and saltpetre were also exported. In exchange, the Indian vessels would return with fabulous riches, gold, silk, velvet, benzoic, tuttenag and sugar. This trade was a private one of the Viceroy and in Diu this

⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 175

⁵⁸ Ibid, p.173

⁵⁹ K.S. Mathew, *Portuguese Trade with India in the 16th century*, Manohar, Delhi, 1983, p. 135

⁶⁰ R.J. Barendse, op. cit. ,p. 354

trade was controlled by the governor and by the Jesuits. In fact the Jesuits acted as the broker of the Indian merchant community.⁶¹

By the end of the sixteenth century the volume of African ivory taken to India was about 40,000 to 50,000. The income details of the Portuguese fortress of Diu also refer to the entry of gold in considerable degree in Diu from Mozambique and Melinde during this period. Vitorino Magalhães Godinho opined by 1591, the gold export from Southeast African markets was around 716 kilograms⁶². A wide variety of Indian wares and mercantile groups used to move to east Africa through the Portuguese maritime doors of Goa, Chaul, Daman and Diu. Duarte Barbosa writing in the first decade of the sixteenth century says that there were many Gujaratis living in the city of Melinde and refers to a lot of rice, millets and other wares from Cambay being transacted in the city-market and a great quantity of merchandise being carried to India from this African city⁶³For several centuries, Monomotapa was a major source for gold for the Indian traders taking textiles to African markets.

Most of the trade between Mrima Coast and the Portuguese India used to take place through Diu and Chaul. The trade between the Swahili Coast, Gulf and the Red Sea was that of bulk exchange of fish, grain or fruit but with India they dealt mainly in the luxury items. The main branch of trade to the Mrima Coast in which the Portuguese authorities were involved was from Diu. In 1688, small vessels of 100 to 140 tons emanating from Diu used to conduct barter between the different ports of Swahili Coast. Steel and Cambay textiles were exchanged with tortoise shell, ivory, gold and ambergris. The traders from Diu not only acted as merchants but also as the agents of the Cambay producers. The governor of Diu only managed the navigators of the vessels. The profit earned was very low. It was a small trade and fetched minimal profits. One could earn

⁶¹ Ibid , p. 355

⁶² Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial*, vol. I, p.207

⁶³ Tome Pires. *Suma Oriental of Tome Pires: An Account of the East, from the Red Sea to China, written in Malacca and India in 1512-1515*, vol. I, New Delhi, 2005, p.46

about 50% profits from Cambay cloth but the charges in India were too high which reduced the profit to minimal.⁶⁴

II. Internal Trading network of Diu and Daman

Goa played the role of entrepot in the first half 17th century. Of the twelve routes that sailed from Goa around 1600, the greatest amount of capital was involved in the trade with Gujarat.⁶⁵ From Goa, luxury goods derived from all over Asia were sent to Diu, where it was exchanged for indigo, cotton and textiles from Saurashtra and grains, butter and cattle from Kathiawar.⁶⁶ Fabrics called negro and those of other quality derived from Daman, Diu and Balaghat were re-exported on a massive scale from the port of Goa.⁶⁷ The cost of the worst variety of Gujarat's indigo, i.e, serques, Baradora and seroll was 14, 12 and 8 rupees respectively for 33lb, whereas the indigo of Biana could cost upto 36, 30 and 28 rupees for the same quantity.⁶⁸ The Portuguese used to buy indigo from Surat and Sarkhej for Goa. In 1618, the Portuguese had brought around 1000 packets of indigo each pricing Rs. 15-18 per *maund* from Surat and 5000 packets of indigo from Sarkhej.⁶⁹ The material base of Portuguese India was sea-borne trade, based to a great extent on the products of Gujarat. Later in the seventeenth century the Anglo-Dutch and Portuguese rivalry caused some changes in the nature of trading activities in Gujarat as the Dutch and English formed their own factories at Surat and consequently Diu had to face considerable losses because of the rivalry between the European powers.⁷⁰ Even the

⁶⁴ R.J. Barendse, op. cit. ,P.336

⁶⁵ M.N. Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers In Gujarat, The Response to the Portuguese In The 16th century*, University of California Press, New Delhi, 1976, p. 97

⁶⁶ Ibid ,p. 355

⁶⁷ Celsa Pinto, op.cit., p. 109

⁶⁸ *Journal of John Jourdain(1608- 1617)*, ed. William Foster, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1992, p. 217

⁶⁹ Om Prakash, *The Dutch Factories in India: 1617-1623*, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 2007, pp. 61-62

⁷⁰ Surendra Gopal, *op.cit.*, pp. 153-154

struggles for succession among the sons of Shah Jahan also hampered the internal trade of Gujarat as political turmoil destroyed the economic stability of the region. Though peace came after a certain period of time the pattern of the internal trade of Gujarat had changed by that point of time.⁷¹

The Portuguese enclaves of Gujarat depended far more on the coastal trade rather than their hinterland for the necessities.⁷² In circulatory processes of coastal western India, Dabul, Chaul, Cambay and Diu were the four important ports through which commodity movements between Gujarat and the Maratha country took place in large frequency. The export of horses from Cambay and Diu (imported from Gulf region) was of vital military significance as the Muslim rulers in the area were then struggling against the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara. The Portuguese ports of Goa, Chaul, Bassein, Diu and Daman were the main doors through which the Indian goods were carried to east Africa to procure gold and ivory. The Portuguese obtained Chaul from the sultan of Ahmadnagar in 1521 and in 1530s it was decided that the customs duty on the various categories of cloth exported to Mozambique and Sofala should be paid at Chaul. This was believed to give economic stimulus to the emerging Portuguese settlement of Chaul, which was fundamentally connected with the weaving villages of Deccan. In the second half of the sixteenth century, annually two fleets used to go from Chaul to the ports of east Africa. A considerable trade existed between the eastern and western coasts. Ships from Malabar, Bhatkal, Goa, Dabhol and Chaul traded in different sorts of commodities with Diu and Daman. From Bhatkal came large volumes of areca-nut, coconut, jaggery, wax, emery, iron and sugar. From Malabar, Diu exported great quantity of pepper, ginger, cinnamon, cloves, mace, nutmeg, sandalwood, brazilwood and long pepper and from Chaul and Dabhol it was cotton textiles called *Beirames* and *beatilhas*.⁷³ This route was often disturbed because of the Marathas from the early part of the 18th century. Moreover, the Portuguese depended heavily on the rice supply of Kanara. Large quantities of arecanuts

⁷¹ Ibid, pp. 177-178

⁷² W.H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar : An Economic Study*, Low Price Publication, Delhi, 1990, p. 206

⁷³ Ibid, p. 59

were exported from Kanara and Kerala to both Gujarat and Gulf. Though the volume exported could not be ascertained, it should be around 1 million pounds per year in the 17th century.⁷⁴ Daman, being the only region of wheat cultivation in Portuguese India, exported wheat regularly for Goa.⁷⁵ The southern and the western parts of Central India were supplies woolens, dry goods, betel-nuts, cocoa nuts spices and precious metals like diamonds, pearls etc from the Gujarat ports.⁷⁶

Daman and Diu had a flourishing trading network of textile with the other ports of western India. Daman exported home produced textiles namely, *tiadas*, *canequins*, *chitas*, *anagoas*, *bartingis*, *cutinias*, *savaigagins*, *cadeastufolis* and household products such as table cloths, serviettes, pillows, cushion and bed linen.⁷⁷ Diu manufactured and exported *panos de joris*, *panos de begagis*, *panos de durgogins*, *panos picotilhos*, *chelas*, *anagoas*, along with bed linen, thread, pillows, skirts and handkerchiefs.⁷⁸

Diu and Daman had a flourishing trading connectivity within Gujarat, based on its traditional trading network.⁷⁹ With the arrival of the English and the Dutch, there was a growth in the production of the local manufacturing market because of the increase in demand. The Portuguese had direct trade connections with Jaffrabad, Dhollera, Jumbasoor, Amode and Goga, Broach and Cambay. Daman exported grains, iron and timber, bamboos and sundries to Broach and in imported piece goods Maura grains and threads. It also provided Bhavnagar with ivory, lead, iron, timber and sugar. Its return cargoes were comprised of cotton, grains, oils butter, chillies and pepper. From Surat, Daman imported piece-goods, textiles, indigo, pitch, iron bars, turtles, brass articles etc and exported teak wood, cisso, cifro and textiles called canequins, exported Cambay tobacco, textiles, paper, butter and imported teak, patingas, cisso, cifro and bamboos. The

⁷⁴ R.J. Barendse, op. cit. , p. 199

⁷⁵ Celsa Pinto, op.cit. p. 218

⁷⁶ Sir John Marshall, *A Memoir of Central India*, vol.2, Aryan Books, 2001, New Delhi, p. 79

⁷⁷ *Mhamai House Papers* , XCHR, 11826, Celsa Pinto, op.cit., p. 185

⁷⁸ Celsa Pinto, op.cit, p.185

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p.42

trade between the Portuguese and Cambay was mostly through the sea route. The Portuguese *Kafilas* used to come to Cambay between the beginning of October and end of March.⁸⁰ Portuguese ships from Daman and Diu brought great varieties of goods from Europe, Malacca and China and would import different kinds of textiles for Portugal, Melinde, Sofala, Mozambique and Hormuz.⁸¹ Diu principally re-exported dates, ivory, sugar and other sundry items and mostly imported food grains, piece goods and cotton from the other production centre of Gujarat.⁸² The import of food grains mostly shows urban Diu's dependency on its hinterland for the supply of grains. The Portuguese merchants from Lisbon preferred to employ intermediaries to buy clothes and fabrics from Balaghat, Porto Novo and Patavar rather than those available at Daman, Diu and Surat which would cost 25-30 per cent more.⁸³ In 1616, the price of the textile yarn ranged from $\frac{1}{2}$ *mahmudis* to 40 *mahmudis* per *seer*.⁸⁴

Timber also formed one of the most important items of trade of Daman. The hinterland of Daman was one of the most important teak and timber growing region. The district of Nagar Haveli was particularly rich in varieties of wood such as teak, *sisso*, *kher hedu*, *sadra*, *assane*, *calicanty*, *palasse*, *sivane*, *apteira*, *tenasse*, *timbre*, *jambol*, Babul and bia. Along with these varieties of wood Daman exported *patingas*, bamboos, *quita*, *rajalu*, *curee*, *wajal*, *nulderwa*, to Bombay, Surat, Diu and Goa. The total value of Daman's timber export trade with Bombay during 1802-26 amounted to Rs. 502,920.⁸⁵ Coconut cultivation was also undertaken on a large scale in the hinterland of Daman. The *cajuri* variety of Daman was extensively grown in the region around Daman. The other varieties were often imported by Daman from Goa or other Indian ports under the Portuguese. One

⁸⁰ Om Prakash, *Dutch Factories in India: 1617-1623*, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 2007, p.135

⁸¹ *Ibid*, p.135

⁸² Celsa Pinto, *op.cit.*, p. 43

⁸³ *Ibid*, p. 108

⁸⁴ William Foster, (ed.), *Letters Received from East India Company*, Oxford, S. Low, Marston and Company, London, 1899, vol. iv, p.299

⁸⁵ Celsa Pinto, *op.cit.*, p. 201

of the most traded commodities of the west coast to its hinterland was salt. It was very important source of revenue for both Daman and Bassein.⁸⁶ Every year Daman was visited by 2000 to 3000 head of cattle that would fetch up to 600,000 pounds of salt to the hinterland.⁸⁷ Salt was also traded through sea routes to Cambay, Diu, Broach, Malabar and Bengal. Locally produced salt was extensively used in the fishing industry and to increase the fertility of fields and palm groves, apart from the dietary intake.⁸⁸ Daman's fishermen, specially the Khojas, were involved in growing of fish between Diu and Jaffrabad and exported not only salted fish but also fish maws and shark fins.⁸⁹ Fish maws were exported to Macao and China via Bombay. Daman also exported fish to the hinterland of the Western Ghats.⁹⁰ Diu relied on the import of food grains from Sindh. In 1738, when Diu was facing shortage of food grains due to the political crisis of the hinterland, the captain invested 38,500 *xerafins* with the merchants and a ship was sent to Sindh to purchase rice.⁹¹ Diu also exported grains from the agricultural enclaves of Bassein and Daman, in exchange of textiles. Diu re-exported grains to other parts of Kathiawar Peninsula in exchange of *regur* and *bhajri*, staple food of the region.⁹²

Surat-Burhanpur-Agra route was the most frequented route for commodity circulation from coastal Gujarat while the Surat, Ahmedabad and Agra was one of the most flourishing.⁹³ The flourishing cotton handloom industry of Bengal fuelled partly by the burgeoning exports from the late 17th century onwards, required raw cotton over and above the local supply. The customs records indicate negligible commercial links with

⁸⁶ R.J. Barendse, op.cit., p. 161

⁸⁷ Ibid, p.161

⁸⁸ Celsa Pinto, op.cit., p.220

⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 222

⁹⁰ Ibid, p. 222

⁹¹ R.J. Barendse, *Arabian Sea 1700-1763*, Vol.1, Brill, Leiden, 2009, p. 319

⁹² Ibid, p. 319

⁹³ Pius Malekandathil, *The Mughals, the Portuguese and the Indian Ocean: Changing Imageries of Maritime India*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2013, p. 28

Goa but more extensive with Diu and Daman.⁹⁴ She imported the surplus cotton of Gujarat which in turn drew its supplies of raw silk from Bengal, to feed its prominent silk weaving centres, Ahmedabad, Surat, Navsari and Broach.⁹⁵ Bengal also exported sugar to Gujarat. The trade between Gujarat and Bengal was mostly maritime and was carried on by the Armenians, Persians, Gujaratis and the independent European merchants.⁹⁶ According to Tavernier, during the presence of the Dutch in Bengal, the region produced 2 ½ million pounds of fiber, out of which ¾ million was distributed over India, most of which was exported to Gujarat.⁹⁷ A good part of the cotton was carried by land cum river route via Agra. Given the high cost of land transportation and the fairly heavy burden imposed by the *rahdari* duties the cost of cotton was much higher in Gujarat.⁹⁸ Imports from Bengal like that of saltpeter served as a local need. In the late 18th century Portuguese traders like Rogerio de Faria and Baretos made hay at Bengal where the private trade was most active.⁹⁹ The traders of Daman also received saltpeter from Deccan which was sold to the Maratha soldiers.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴ Celsa Pinto, op.cit. p. 41

⁹⁵ Asiya Siddiqi, *Trade and Finance in Colonial India 1750-1860*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1995, p. 6

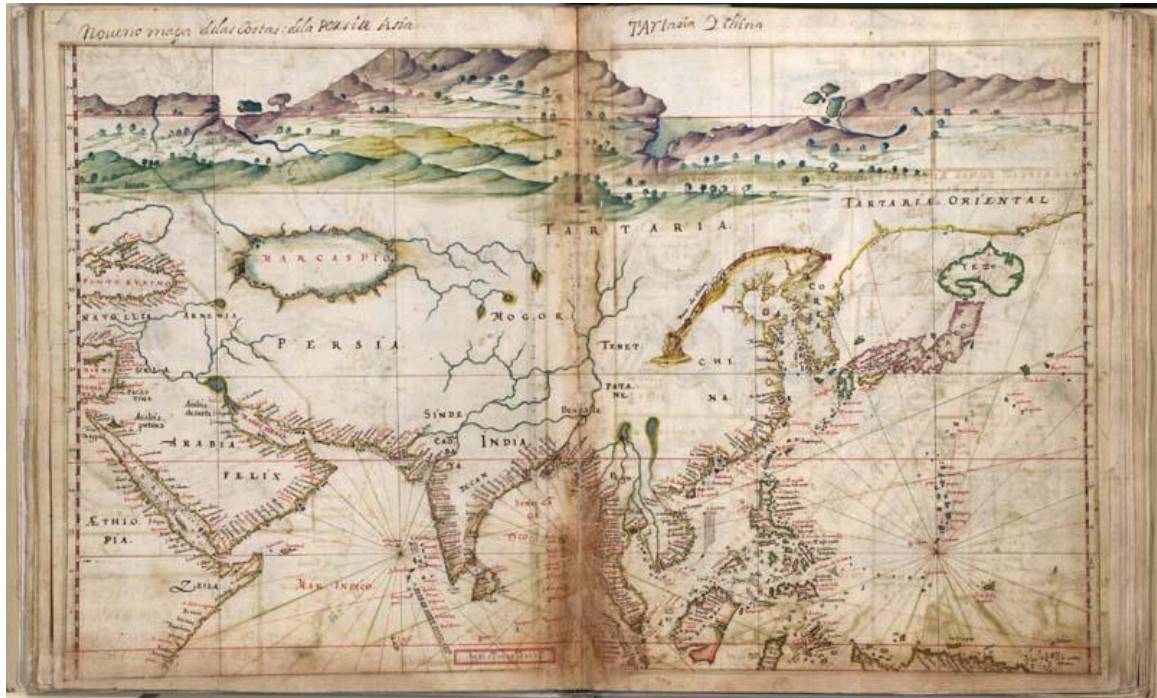
⁹⁶ Ibid, p. 6

⁹⁷ W.H. Moreland, op.cit. , p. 173

⁹⁸ Om Prakash, *Bullion for Goods: European and Indian Merchants in the Indian Ocean Trade 1500-1800*, Manohar, Delhi, 2004, p. 164

⁹⁹ Celsa Pinto op.cit., p. 42

¹⁰⁰ R.J. Barendse, op.cit., p. 161



Asia in 1630¹⁰¹

¹⁰¹<http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00maplinks/mughal/portuguese1630/portuguese1630.html>

III. Money Transaction and Revenue

Hundi or the bills of exchange remained an important medium of exchange. *Hundi* covered the costs of remittance, exchange and insurance, and was not only for transferring moneys, but a highly centralized financial device for raising credit for long-distance trade on the bankers at Surat and Agra.¹⁰² The *hundi* reduced the risk of financial loss in long distance trade. This type of *hundi* was known as *jokhami hundis*. A merchant short of ready cash could raise money, at every major commercial centre in India and at any foreign port of the Indian Ocean with a well-established Gujarati financial and mercantile presence, by drawing a *hundi* on the Bania bankers of Surat at rates that varied from place to place. During the troubled and chaotic situations, the *hundiwala* often charged high insurance premium and transportation charges on the owner of the merchandise. *Hundis* were drawn by the *sarafs* or the bankers after deducting a nominal discount (of nearly one per cent).¹⁰³ Despite fluctuations, the rates of exchange were sufficiently standardized on account of the volume of *hundi* traffic to be tabled systematically.¹⁰⁴ *Bima* or insurance companies insured goods carried by road or riverine traffic. The freight rates of the riverine transportation were less than the road transportation. The big and influential merchants also acted as bankers. The big merchants often became the chief source of commercial credit for the European companies.¹⁰⁵

The Portuguese used to obtain local capital from India, Chinese and Japanese sources. By the early 17th century the Portuguese country trader depended more on Asian capital than European.¹⁰⁶ These loans were known as *respondencia* and were utilized to purchase

¹⁰² Rajat Kant Ray, "Asian Capital in the Age of European Domination: The Rise of the Bazaar, 1800-1914", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (Jul., 1995), p. 462

¹⁰³ B.R. Grover, "An Intergral Pattern of Commercial Life in the Rural Society of North India during the 17th and 18th centuries", *Money and the Market in India 1100-1700*, ed. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1994, p. 243

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, p. 462

¹⁰⁵ Tapan Raychaudhuri, "Inland trade", *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, ed. Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib, vol.1, Orient Longman, Hyderabad, 1982, p. 346

¹⁰⁶ George Bryan Souza, *op.cit.*, p. 124

freight goods at variable rates of interest. Within Portuguese society these loans were made available from local institutions such as Society of Jesus, Santa Casa da Misericordia and prominent individual with sufficient capital.¹⁰⁷

The extension of Mughal rule to Gujarat implied the extension of its standard tri-metallic monetary system to the province. The Mughal silver rupee and the local silver coin *mahmudi* became the main units of payments and commercial transactions. While gold coins known as *muhr* or *ashrafi* were used on specific occasions or as presents, copper *dam* and later *paisa* served as a medium of payment in small transactions.¹⁰⁸ Under the Mughal system of coinage, coins which did not constitute an integral part of the system and minted in the imperial mints were ordinarily not allowed to circulate, leading to a repression of regional coinage system.¹⁰⁹ But the Gujarati *mahmudi* was an exception. The *mutasaddi* of Surat converted the receipts into rupees before sending them to Delhi. The exact reason for the exception is not documented, but as suggested by Hans Van Santen, it was probably used as a device to keep purely a locally usable medium of exchange available in Gujarat as the imperial rupee was chronically subjected to flight to upper India in large quantities.¹¹⁰ But the question still persists why it was not followed in other regions. The value of *mahmudi* was strong by itself and was not dependant on the imperial mint. The coin was also widely accepted in the maritime trade and commerce.

From the early 16th century onwards, Portuguese brought in significant quantities of silver together with gold from the west and east Africa along the Cape route. The private Portuguese traders engaged in the long distance trade within Asia also brought Japanese silver into India. According to the estimate the latter half of the 16th century, the annual export of the silver by the Portuguese from Japan was 15,000 and 30,000 kgs.¹¹¹ In return

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, p.124

¹⁰⁸ Ghulam A. Nadir, op.cit. p. 12

¹⁰⁹ Om Prakash, *Bullion for Goods: European and Indian Merchants in the Indian Ocean Trade 1500-1800*, Manohar, Delhi, 2004 , p. 361

¹¹⁰ Ibid, p. 362

¹¹¹ Ibid, p. 381

of the Chinese silk, Japan provided large quantities of silver, the domestic production of which increased substantially because of the opening of new mines, better mining techniques and application of the mercury amalgamation method to the refining of the silver.¹¹² This silver was used to obtain gold from Macao, which was exported to India along with copper.¹¹³ Vitorino Magalhaes Godinho pointed out that from the Persian Gulf to India, copious amount of river flowed along with gold and from Red Sea gold flowed into India.¹¹⁴ In 1580, silver exported via Cape route was between 180,000 and 210,000 *cruzados* per annum.¹¹⁵ The trade of metal increased in this route after the Portuguese control of the Sudanese gold in the West Africa and the American silver through the Atlantic route.¹¹⁶ Even if a fifth of the trans-Pacific silver reached India, it would have meant that around 30 to 100 tons of silver were coming to India annually during the 1590's.¹¹⁷ The stream of silver which the Europeans poured into the countries of Asia helped to expand the money economy which led to the growth of the export sector as well as diversification of export commodities and to a further increase of volume of trade with Europe.¹¹⁸ The estimated annual output of the Gujarat and North-Western mints amounted to 159.62 tons during the two decades 1586 to 1605, with approximate 150 tons of silver entering Indian Ocean along with the silver in circulation.¹¹⁹ Between

¹¹² Om Prakash, *European Commercial Enterprise, The New Cambridge History of India*, Vol.5, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1998, p. 59

¹¹³ Ibid, p. 59

¹¹⁴ Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial*, 2nd edition, 4 volumes (Lisbon, 1981-84), Vol.1, p. 232

¹¹⁵ Ibid, vol 2, p. 113

¹¹⁶ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Precious Money Flows and Prices in Western and Southern Asia, 1500-1700: Some Comparative and Conjunctural Aspects", *Money and the Market in India 1100-1700*, ed. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1994, p. 189

¹¹⁷ Shireen Moosvi, "The Silver Influx, Money Supply, Prices and Revenue-Extraction in Mughal India", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 30, No. 1, Brill, 1987, p.62

¹¹⁸ Dietmar Rothermund, *Asian Trade and European Expansion in the Age of Mercantilism*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1981, p. 130

¹¹⁹ Shireen Moosvi, op.cit., p. 62

1680-1740, large amount of silver was traded between Asia and Europe by the private Portuguese merchants most of whom were the New Christians.¹²⁰ Lari, a silver purl weighing over 74 troy grains in which 98 percent was pure silver, became one of the medium of payment on the coasts of Gujarat and Western Deccan.¹²¹ The Portuguese merchants brought *reales* from Lisbon and exchanged them for lari. They made a generous amount of money while exchanging.¹²² The converted exchange was widely used by the Portuguese in India in the 16th and 17th century. In 1602, the annual export of bullion to Hormuz by the Ottoman merchants was as high as two million *cruzados*, a substantial part of which was brought to western India.¹²³

Even though the African silver was used widely by the Portuguese, it was not used for transaction and barter system was more prevalent and the use of coins was limited around the ports. Textile was used widely as a commodity of exchange and was considered to be current mode of payment.¹²⁴ In 1712, the trade between Mombasa and Goa was paid by the Portuguese Viceroy with 20,000 pieces of *dhoti* and *bartangi* made and purchased in Daman. In another instance, in 1730 the *feitor* of Pate received his payment in white clothes.¹²⁵

The flow of bullion and money in the coastal areas was mostly seasonal. The rate of interest depended in the arrival and departure of shipping.¹²⁶ The money which was

¹²⁰ J.C. Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade in Asia under Hapsburg 1580-1640*, Baltimore, 1993; Om Prakash, *Bullion for Goods: European and Indian Merchants in the Indian Ocean Trade 1500-1800*, Manohar, Delhi, 2004, p. 328

¹²¹ Najaf Haider, "Precious Metal Flows and Currency Circulation in the Mughal Empire", *JESHO*, vol. 39, 1996, p. 304

¹²² *ibid*, p. 305

¹²³ *Ibid*, p. 304

¹²⁴ R.J. Barendse, *Arabian Sea 1700-1763*, vol.3, Brill, Leiden, 2009, p. 1008

¹²⁵ *ibid*, p. 1008

¹²⁶ Ashin Dasgupta, "Indian Merchants and the Indian Ocean", *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, ed. Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib, Vol. 1, Orient Longman, Hyderabad, 1982, p. 423

earned was almost immediately invested as advances to weavers, meeting *respondencia* obligations and in starting a new cycle of lending to provide for shipping for the next season.¹²⁷

IV. Revenue

In 1571 Portuguese state revenues from India amounted to the sum of \$245,864,024 and expenses stood at \$228,881,348 and had a balance of \$33,965,354.¹²⁸ *O Orcamento do Estado da India* of 1571 records that Goa contributed with 29% of revenue, Hormuz with 20.7%, Diu with 17.4%, Bassein 12.8%, Daman 7.3%, Malacca 7.1%, Chaul 3% and the rest 5% comes from Ceylon and other Asian enclaves.¹²⁹ In 1571, the Portuguese earned 58% of their revenue from the *Alfandegas* or the custom houses while 25% came from the fiefs granted to retired soldiers.¹³⁰ Goa, being the centre of Portuguese administration in India absorbed 59.9% of the revenue, followed by 6.7% by Hormuz, Diu 4.5%, Bassein 3% and Malacca 2.7%.¹³¹ In 1574 the custom houses of Diu and Daman were auctioned for an amount of 1,34,000 *pardaos*.¹³² In Diu it rose to 54,27,900 *xerafins* in 1610, in Daman it was 12, 25,440 *xerafins* and in Bassein, it was 31,99,680 *xerafins*.¹³³

The custom houses of Diu, Daman and Gogola were joined together with the Portuguese centre at Diu. Fort of Diu yielded one 100,000 *pardaos* of gold including the income of the custom houses of Gogola and Daman.¹³⁴ The profit derived from the customs duties

¹²⁷ *ibid*, p. 423

¹²⁸ *O Orcamento do Estado da Índia 1571*, ed. Artur Teodoro de Matos, Centro de Estudos Damião de Góis, 1999, p. 16

¹²⁹ *ibid*, p. 17

¹³⁰ *ibid*, p. 17

¹³¹ *Ibid*, p. 17

¹³² Pius Malekadathil, *Indian Ocean in the Shaping of Late Medieval India*, Presidential Address, Section II: Medieval India, Indian History Congress, 74th Session, Cuttack, p. 7

¹³³ *ibid*, p. 7

¹³⁴ *ibid*, p. 17

amounted to 35%, butter taxes amounted to 10% while the income derived the leases were 6%.¹³⁵ In 1592, the custom revenue from Daman ranged from 2000 to 2500 *pardaos* annually.¹³⁶ In 1592, custom duties amounted to 35% of the total income of the Portuguese from Diu. In case of Daman income was derived from the tax levied on goods in transit and the rents from the tenants.¹³⁷ Initially the lease of grants was renewed annually, but it was changed during the tenure of Francois Pais to three years, as an incentive for growth.¹³⁸ On the basis of the value of trade, derived from the custom revenues collected, in 1610, the income from Diu was 2,44,500 *xerfins*, Daman was 55,200 *xerafins* and of Bassein was 1,44,000 *xerafins*. In 1634 the value of trade of Chaul was 11,91,851 *xerafins*(customs duty collected was 53,687 *xerafins*) , Daman was 11,88,125 *xerafins* (53,519 *xerafins* was the customs duty collected from here) and of Bassein was 27, 18,815 *xerafins*.¹³⁹

One of the Dutch reports estimated in 1622 the annual investment by the Portuguese in the intra- Asian trade approximated 50 million guilders.¹⁴⁰ The *banias* also had substantial amount of capital invested in the maritime trade. From a report of 1646, it is known that some of the *bania* merchants had capital worth Rs. 400,000 at their disposal.¹⁴¹ The rent derived from the landed properties formed the principle source of income for the Portuguese in Daman. The custom houses were leased for three years and all merchandises had to pay a tax of 6%. Mostly oil, cotton, figs and Indian cane were

¹³⁵ Artur Teodoro de Matos, “Tenants and Rents of Diu un the 16th century: An Appraisal on the Accounts of the Fazenda Real”, *Mare Liberum*, July, 1995, p. 201

¹³⁶ *Tombo de Damao*, op.cit., p. 31

¹³⁷ *ibid*, p. 35

¹³⁸ Artur Teodoro de Matos, “Tenants and Rents of Diu un the 16th century: An Appraisal on the Accounts of the Fazenda Real”, *Mare Liberum*, July, 1995, p. 201

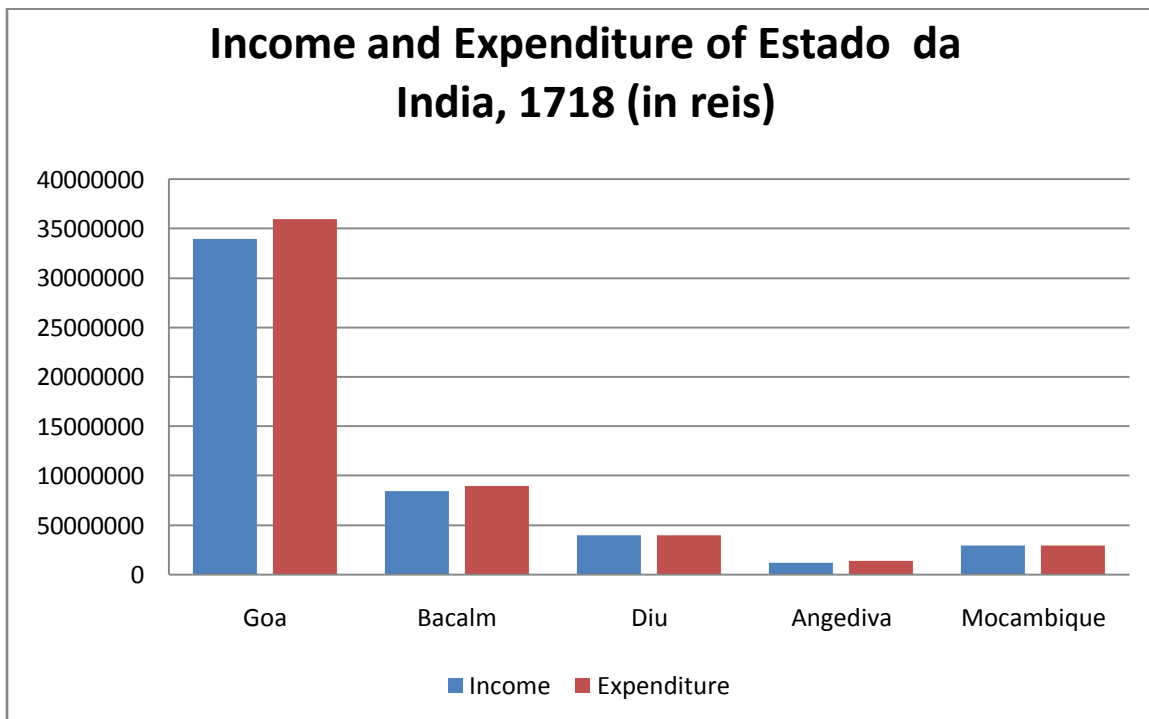
¹³⁹ Pius Malekadathil, *Indian Ocean in the Shaping of Late Medieval India*, Presidential Address, Section II: Medieval India, Indian History Congress, 74th Session, Cuttack, p.

¹⁴⁰ George Bryan Souza, op.cit., p. 120

¹⁴¹ Abhay Kumar Singh, “Cambay as a Maritime City of Gujarat, 1200-1650”, in *Cities in Medieval India*, ed. Yogesh Sharma and Pius Malekandathil, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2014, p. 549

taxed in the *parganas* of Tarapor and Maim, under the jurisdiction of Daman. Timber and fish were also important commodities which were taxed at Daman.¹⁴²

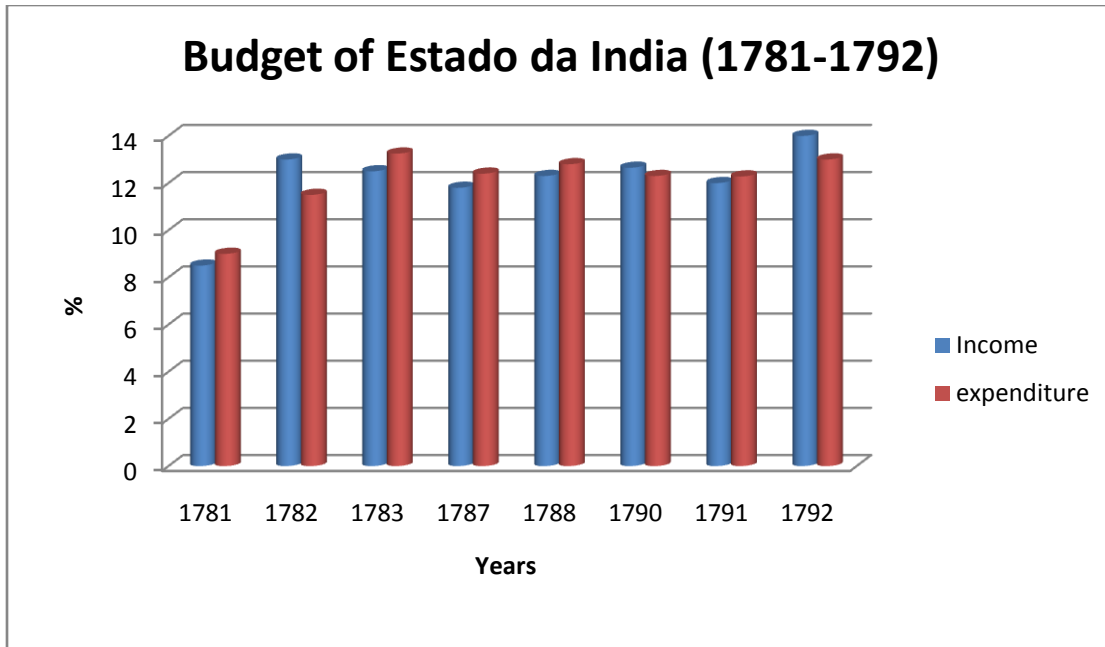
The difference between Diu and Daman's economy can be seen from the revenue structure of these two Portuguese enclaves. In 1630 the revenue derived from Daman's rent and tribute was 42,499 *xerafins*, ie, 90.6 per cent of the total revenue with customs forming 7.4% of the revenue, ie, 3,485 *xerafins* and 2%, ie, 907 *xerafins* of sales tax.¹⁴³ As compared to Diu's 79,800 *xerafins*, ie, 100% custom duties. Overall 31% of Crown revenue would appear to have come from the land revenues of the major Portuguese enclaves of the Portuguese whereas the maritime commercial activities bore 47% of revenue.¹⁴⁴



¹⁴² Celsa Pimto op.cit., p. 201

¹⁴³ A.R. Disney, *The Portuguese in India and other Studies: 1500-1700*, Ashgate Variorum, Surrey, 2009, p. 159

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 151



The *Estado* also lost revenue due to corruption of its officials and smuggling. The latter could broadly refer to engaging in clandestine trading activities in order to avoid payment of custom duties, which were payable at one or other of the various Portuguese custom houses located at entrepots like Goa, Hormuz, Muscat, Diu and Cochin.¹⁴⁵ During the 16th and the 17th centuries, smuggling mostly meant avoidance of custom payments rather than breaching of formal monopolies, which led to the loss of revenue for Portuguese Crown. About forty smuggler ships a year operated by the Portuguese and Indo Portuguese regularly used to go to the Gulf in the early 17th century.¹⁴⁶ The Crown to curb the smuggling introduced a system of regular “*devassas*” to uncover and severely punish the culprits and take naval actions against the perpetrators at sea. But this measure was not very successful as the honest witnesses were hard to get and often the ships with smuggled goods used to hide behind *cartazes* of lesser amount.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, p.58

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 70

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, pp. 70-71

The ships coming to the ports of Cambay and Surat had to pay taxes as per the Mughal *farmans* as they were under the jurisdiction of the Mughal *subah*. Mughal taxation was specific on the custom-levy but there was a lacuna in the valuation of the merchandise.¹⁴⁸ One of the cesses realized from a ship unloading at Surat and Cambay was *haq-i-langar* or anchorage dues, followed by *naul*.¹⁴⁹ The former was realized on the basis of imperial force while the latter was local levy based on customary usages and local sanctions. Apart from these two taxes the merchants and the traders also paid *zakat*, a levy on the purchase and sale of commodities in inland trade and the rate was same as the custom duties.¹⁵⁰ The Mughals under Aurangzeb's rule collected road-tax, tax on food stuff, cereals and drinking articles as per the government revenue offices. Articles whose price is less than 52 ½ rupees should not be taxed. At the time of dispatch of trading goods no tax was charged at the outgoing custom office.¹⁵¹ Moreover, taxes on slave dealings hay and stray was exempted.¹⁵² Aurangzeb implemented 2% custom on the Portuguese and the Dutch while 3 ½ % on the English.¹⁵³ In 1665, Aurangzeb ordered the realisation of *zakat* from Hindus at a rate of 5% and Muslims at 2.5%, before they were exempted in 1667. There was often a cooperation seen among the Muslim and the Hindu *banias* to evade *zakat*.¹⁵⁴ In 1644, however, Aurangzeb remitted customs for one entire year for Shivaji's attack on Surat.¹⁵⁵ Taxes were also imposed on the gold and un-coined silver which was carried by the merchants. Mint officials had to sign a bond from the merchants

¹⁴⁸ Farhat Hasan, "The Mughal Fiscal System in Surat and the English East India Company", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (Oct., 1993), p. 715

¹⁴⁹ Farhat Hasan, *State and Locality in Mughal India: Power relations in Western India, c. 1572-1730*, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, 2006, p. 111

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p.116-117

¹⁵¹ Mohammad Ali Khan, *Mirat-i- Ahmadi: A Persian History of Gujarat*, trans. M.F. Lokhandwala, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1965, p. 230

¹⁵² *Ibid*, p. 230

¹⁵³ Farhat Hasan, "The Mughal Fiscal System in Surat and the English East India Company", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (Oct., 1993), p. 714

¹⁵⁴ *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, op.cit., p. 266

¹⁵⁵ William Foster, *English Factory Records in India(1661-4)*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1906, p. 311

prohibiting them from selling the metals and a tax of one in forty from Muslim and two in forty from the Hindus was extracted.¹⁵⁶ There was exaction of illegal cesses apart from the formal and official taxes and duties implemented. The merchants had to often pay taxes at the place of purchase as well as at the place of selling and from merchants at roads and highways.¹⁵⁷ The merchants on the other hand often tried to evade taxations thus the state losing its revenues. *Farmans* were issued by the royal offices to prevent such misuses and asking the royal officials to take strong prohibitive actions



.DIU

¹⁵⁶ *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* , op.cit., p. 271

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p. 284

V. Change of Portuguese Policies: The Doldrums and the Revival of Trade

Though the Portuguese power never intended to bring any structural changes within the existing Indian Ocean network, they definitely brought in certain modification in the existing form of trade by introducing the concept of monopoly trade, factory system and centralized bureaucracy. The Portuguese occupation of Diu by the Portuguese governor Nuno da Cunha on 25th October, 1535¹⁵⁸ coincided with their realization that without the control of hinterland and certain ports in Gujarat they were unable to control the trade and commerce of the Indian Ocean region. Diu with its natural harbour became one of their important centres of trade on the western part of Indian Ocean. The attempts of the Portuguese to monopolize trade by making it compulsory for all the ships to go to Diu to take *cartazes* or passes required to trade in the region, furthermore helped in the acceleration of the trade of this port. This accelerated the growth of exchange of commodities and thus led to further growth of Diu.

In the initial years of 16th century, the Portuguese followed a policy of applying force on the local merchants and traders. The enmity between the Portuguese and the local traders had a detrimental effect on the economy of Gujarat.¹⁵⁹ This tendency was heightened because of the Portuguese policy of monopolizing certain trade routes and trade in certain merchandise.¹⁶⁰ The shift in the Portuguese maritime policies on Gujarat can be noticed after the Portuguese annexed Diu in 1535 and Daman in 1558.

The Portuguese system of commerce depended very much on the notion of monopoly trade for the Lusitanians and licensed (*cartaz*-based) trade for the Asians. The *cartazes* or passes were not only used to forbid transport of the commodities reserved to the Portuguese crown, notably spices, and of itinerant Turks and Abyssinian Muslims, but also were to make Indian traders call and pay duties at one or more Portuguese ports. The

¹⁵⁸ MN Pearson, *The Portuguese in India*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1987, p. 44

¹⁵⁹ Surendra Gopal, *Commerce and Crafts in Gujarat 16th and 17th Century*, People's Publishing House, New Delhi, 1975, p. 14

¹⁶⁰ *ibid*, p. 14

Portuguese realised that it was easier to control the trade of the Arabian Sea from Diu, because of its strategic location and thus made every ship plying through the region, come to Diu to get *cartazes*. However, the inhabitants of Diu were exempted from paying for any *cartaz*.¹⁶¹ The price of the *cartaz* could vary between 3000 and 8000 *mahmudis* per ship. These ships were not allowed to trade at Portuguese ports and were barred from trading in any spices, war ammunition, iron and slaves.

Cartaz impacted enormously on the economy of Diu in the 16th century. The Portuguese made it compulsory for all the ships travelling in the region, to stop at Diu to pay the price of *cartazes*, which made the navigational lines and trade traffic converge at this Portuguese trading centre. Tavernier opined that the revenue obtained from the *cartazes* was sufficient to support the fleet and garrison, stationed at Diu for its protection and also helped in the accumulation of Governor's wealth.¹⁶² According to Pedro Barreto de Rezenda, the northern fleet had approximately 1800 men. It had 20 vessels, each had a captain, his attendant, a crew of 25 soldiers, 40 sailors two *mocadões* and one *captureiro* and 20 gunners. The total cost of maintaining such a fleet was an exorbitant amount of 25 contos and 289,800 *reais*- a little more than the expenditure of the fort of Diu.¹⁶³ The Portuguese appointed revenue collectors called *ijaradars* of Daman in the vicinity of the inlet of the port of Daman and they demanded the "Diu Toll" or "*ushur-i-Diu*".¹⁶⁴ The crew on board was charged after making an assessment of the volume of goods on the ship.¹⁶⁵ The import from Diu by merchants based in Hijaz had become more important than those from the Calicut in the first decade of the 16th century, and this could be

¹⁶¹R.J. Barendse, *The Arabian Seas: The Indian Ocean World of 17th century*, Vision Books, New Delhi, 2002, p. 326

¹⁶² *Traverniers's Travel in India between Years 1640-1676*, translated Valentine Ball, Vol. 2, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2007, p. 29

¹⁶³ Artur Teodoro de Matos and Paulo Lopes Matos, "Christians and Muslims in the Surat Sea: Ships, Merchandise and Goods Captured in a Naval Battle in 1630", *Vasco da Gama and the Linking of Europe and Asia*, ed. Anthony Disney and Emily Booth, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2000, p. 107

¹⁶⁴ Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam (ed.), *Indo Persian Travels in the Age of Discoveries*, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, 2007, p. 306

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p. 306

attributed to the *cartazes* issued by the Portuguese.¹⁶⁶ The custom house of Daman and Diu was together with Gogola. In 1592, the custom revenue from Daman ranged from 2000 to 2500 annual *pardaus*.¹⁶⁷ The Portuguese officers under the influence of the Daman merchants started to consider the separation of the custom houses of Diu and Daman, but its effect on the Daman's custom houses was taken into account, as it was feared that the separation between the two custom houses would lead to the decline in revenue. In 1588, the Portuguese Crown opened the auction of the custom house to the highest bidder, including from the indigenous people.¹⁶⁸

Diu toll and its collections became one of the reasons of conflict between the Mughals and the Portuguese. But at the same time, there existed a certain amount of mutual co-operation and accommodation.¹⁶⁹ The Portuguese issued three *cartazes* to the ships of Mughal Emperors¹⁷⁰ in return of certain tax exemption. In 1617, the *cartaz* issued to Prince Khurram's ship, destined for Mocha cost 8000 *mahmudis*.¹⁷¹ There were many complaints being found about the abuses and ill treatment of merchants and attacks on ships by the Portuguese, despite the use of *cartaz*. There were many instances when the captain of the Diu fort, would supplement his salary by taking a bribe from the traders in return for exempting his ship from having to call at Diu. Complaints about these abuses in Diu date from 1540 onwards and they continued to increase in frequency from late 16th

¹⁶⁶Jean Aubin, "Merchants in Red Sea and the Persian Gulf at the Turn of the 15th and 16th century", *Indian Merchants and Businessmen in the Indian Ocean and the China Sea*, ed. Denys Lombard and Jean Aubin, Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 83

¹⁶⁷ *O Tombo de Damão 1592*, ed. Artur Teodoro de Matos, Centro de Estudos Damião de Góis, 2001, p. 31

¹⁶⁸ *ibid*, p.33

¹⁶⁹ R.J. Barendse, *op.cit.*, p. 344

¹⁷⁰ M.N. Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers In Gujarat, The Response to the Portuguese In The 16th century*, University of California Press, New Delhi, 1976, pp. 82-83

¹⁷¹ Om Prakash, *The Dutch Factories in India: 1617-1623*, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 2007, p. 133

century, as well.¹⁷² In spite of the Portuguese efforts to monopolise the Indian Ocean trading network, they were successful only in some selective routes.

The post of captain of Diu was worth five times than that of Hormuz and fourteen times that of Goa, due to the huge returns reaching this port.¹⁷³ The excellent trading facilities and security provided by Diu, also served as an attraction for many traders. Daman on the other hand was occupied in 1558 to control the trade and commerce of the region better.¹⁷⁴ The most important distinction between the trade of Diu and that of Daman was that the former was more of an entrepot and the goods were not manufactured at the hinterland of Diu but were mostly re-exported. The initial foundations of the trade of Diu were laid by Malik Ayaz. He called upon traders from various places and he provided them security and facilities with which it could compete with any contemporary developed port of the world. The trade of Daman was extensively dependent on the agricultural productions of its hinterland.¹⁷⁵

By the second half of the 16th century, an overall change in the Portuguese commercial strategy helped revival of Gujarati external sea trade which was badly hit because of the rise of competition from the other European powers. The Portuguese became more and more liberal in allowing Indian ships to cross the seas with merchandise although they imposed heavy monetary conditions for these privileges. These measures had to be improvised because of the deteriorating economic conditions of the Portuguese. The flow of the wealth from the east did not mean economic growth, but only increased the power and wealth of a particular section of the society. As a result of the continuous wars and because of the high level of corruption, the Portuguese treasury in India was empty. The

¹⁷² M.N. Pearson, *Coastal Western India: Studies from the Portuguese Records*, Concept Publishing House, New Delhi, 1981, p.23

¹⁷³ *ibid*, p. 23

¹⁷⁴ *ibid*, p. 22

¹⁷⁵ A.R. Disney, *The Portuguese in India and other Studies: 1500-1700*, Ashgate Variorum, Sydney, 2009, p. 155

Portuguese tried to overcome the fiscal crisis by resorting to customs collection rather than actual trade.

On the west coast, while the Portuguese strongholds like Goa declined, Surat prospered. As early as 1611, the loss of custom duties paid on spices in the State of India was making it impossible for the Portuguese to fit out the fleets they needed.¹⁷⁶ A report submitted to the crown in 1627 explained that the revenue from the Goa customs was half of what it had been a decade before and that in consequence what had previously been a substantial surplus on current account had been transformed into a deficit.¹⁷⁷ In mid 1630s Antonio Bocarro stated that the profits from many Asian commodities handled by the Portuguese such as Cambay cloth and indigo had declined, which according to him was to decline further.¹⁷⁸ The figures of the Goa custom records show evidence of decline of the purchasing power of the *xerafin* during inflation.¹⁷⁹ In regard to Gujarat, the most striking change is the decay of the coastal trade to Goa, which was mostly carried on in Indian vessels sailing under the Portuguese protection. At the beginning of the 17th century 2 or 3 of *kafilas* sailed during each season, each consisting of 200-300 vessels, convoyed by war frigates, the capacity of the cargo boats averaged from 40 to 50 tons, and carried cotton goods, indigo and other merchandise for export from Goa, partly of grain and of other commodities of consumption on the west coast. By 1626, only 40 vessels reached Cambay from Goa, with lesser valued cargoes. With the decline of Portuguese naval power, the seasonal blockade of Goa by the Dutch, contributed to the rapid decay of this trade route. But this proved to be advantageous for the English and the Dutch as this helped in the prosperity of the direct trade route between Europe and the East, which earlier used to go through Goa.¹⁸⁰ By 1634, only the northern centres of

¹⁷⁶ A.R. Disney, *Twilight of the Pepper Empire: The Portuguese Trade in South West India in the Early 17th century*, Harvard University Press, London, 1978, p. 51

¹⁷⁷ *ibid*, p.51

¹⁷⁸ *ibid*, p.51

¹⁷⁹ *ibid*, p.51

¹⁸⁰ W.H. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb: A Study in Indian Economic History*, Oriental Books Reprint Cooperation, New Delhi, p. 82

Bassein and Chaul, and to lesser extent Mozambique and Daman were producing surpluses, the remaining settlements were not only consuming their incomes locally but also requiring subsidies from Goa. The centres like Hormuz and Malacca which had been flourishing centres of trade and great source of revenue for the Portuguese were lost to the English and the Persians and the Dutch respectively. These centres often became a liability for the Lusitanian Crown and the salaries of the employees were often not paid.¹⁸¹

As Francois Martin writes, 'trading operations at Surat had expanded a great deal since the year 1670.'¹⁸² The effect of Portuguese regulatory mechanism on Indian merchants' trade with South East Asia- as far as the trade with this region is concerned since neither the *carreira* nor the concession routes to Bengal were monopoly routes, the trade carried out by the Indian merchants' had existed along with that of the Portuguese. The significant change that occurred was a substantial increase in the trade with Acheh at the expense mainly of that with Malacca, as the latter registered a progressive decline from the 1540s onward.¹⁸³ After 1720, the flourishing Gujarati shipping to Java, Manila and Indonesian Archipelago began to decline due to the British competition. But though there was an overall decline in the shipping of the country, Indian trade did not decline. From 1750 to about 1790, the shipping of Surat focussed on exports of Gujarat cotton to China, though the period also still featured a considerable trade from Surat to the Red Sea.

Throughout the 16th and 17th century the 'trade from India or to India' or trade within Asia was a very important component of the Portuguese trade in Asia. As early as the time of Alfonso de Albuquerque, the intra Asian trade of the Portuguese was more important than the trade between Goa and Lisbon.¹⁸⁴ The profit of this lucrative trade

¹⁸¹ A. R. Disney, *Twilight of the Pepper Empire: The Portuguese Trade in South West India in the Early 17th century*, Harvard University Press, London, 1978, p. 51

¹⁸² Francois Martin, *Memoires: Travel to Africa, Persia and India, 1664-1670*, Subarnarekha, 1990, p. 814

¹⁸³ Om Prakash, *Bullion for Goods: European and Indian Merchants in the Indian Ocean Trade 1500-1800*, Manohar, Delhi, 2004,, p. 200

¹⁸⁴ Om Prakash, *European Commercial Enterprise, The New Cambridge History of India*, Vol.5, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1998, p. 49

often went to the private traders rather than the Portuguese Crown. Portuguese country traders at Goa in 1630 invested 2,850,000 *xerafins* in that trade, an investment which was 15 times the value of the Portuguese exports from India in the same year to Lisbon.¹⁸⁵ Boyajian argues that between 1580 and 1640, the volume and value of the private cargoes accounted for almost 90 per cent of the total value of trade imported over the period 1580-1640 from Asia. Even though the amount of private trade could be exaggerated, the quantity of trade was quite substantial. The Portuguese became a part of the existing trading network and modified the existing trading network. One of the important innovations of the Intra Asian trade of the Portuguese was the opening up of the long distance trade between Goa and Nagasaki and introduction of monopolies which were often not implemented strictly.¹⁸⁶

Gujarati goods were carried mostly in the Portuguese vessels under the protection of the Portuguese *cartazes*. But with the decline of the Portuguese naval superiority, because of the recurring attacks of the Dutch and the English, the merchants though still had to take the *cartazes*, were not given the required protection by the Portuguese, which also led to the movement of the Indian merchants to take the protection of the Dutch and the English. The merchants' loss of one route was compensated by the opening of new avenues with the Dutch and English.

The decline of Gujarat's maritime linkages between the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf was fuelled by the growing political insecurity, and the breakdown of law and order with the decline of the Mughals in the first half of the 18th century. Though Gujarati shipping was at its height, the increased volume of Gujarat's exports had negatively affected markets in the Red Sea and elsewhere in the Indian Ocean.¹⁸⁷ Between 1698 and 1710 the voyages between Red Sea and Gujarat was often unprofitable because of political

¹⁸⁵ George Bryan Souza, *Portuguese, Dutch and Chinese in Maritime Asia*, c. 1585-1800, Ashgate Variorum, Surrey, 2014, p. 121

¹⁸⁶ Om Prakash, *European Commercial Enterprise, The New Cambridge History of India*, Vol.5, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1998, p.90

¹⁸⁷ Ashin Dasgupta, "Indian Merchants and the Trade in the Indian Ocean", *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, ed. Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib, Orient Longman, Hyderabad, 1982, p.433

instability in Gujarat's hinterland and fleeing of Gujarati traders at Mocha to meet the cost of Yemeni civil war. Yet the trade between the Persian Gulf and Red Sea with the west Coast of India survived due to the traditional network of trade, though there was a substantial decline in the quantity.

With the loss of Muscat in 1650, the Portuguese were deprived of their last stronghold in the Persian Gulf. During the preceding half century Portugal had not only been engaged in incessant wars with the Dutch in India, but she had at the same time to protect her interests in the Brazil against her rivals. Almost immediately after Portugal passed under the crown of Spain, English adventurers organized expeditions against Brazil and this was followed by the French. In 1624 the Dutch East India Company dispatched a fleet against Bahia, and from that date they waged continual wars against the Portuguese in Brazil up to 1654 when after a series of encounters, the latter succeeded in re-establishing their supremacy in those parts. In these struggles in South America and in East, Portugal had been drained of both men and money. Trade had necessarily languished considerably and had become almost extinguished. Not being possessed of territories in the neighbourhood of their forts and factories to yield revenues sufficient for their necessities and the fund required for administration and to conduct wars, the Portuguese power had deteriorated to such an extent that the king of Golconda by 1651, had stopped buying the *cartazes*, issued by the Portuguese in exchange for the protection to be given.¹⁸⁸

The overland trade route connecting Europe with Asia played a major role in the trading network of the two continents. The rising tensions and competitions in the Indian Ocean led to the revival of the overland trade routes between the two continents since the initial years of the 17th century. The ensuing quarter century is characterised by constant experiment which served to convince the East India merchants that the Red Sea route was impracticable for frequent use and that it was possible to develop communication overland between the eastern Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf without depending on the services of a European to carry a letter throughout the journey.¹⁸⁹ Between 1598-

¹⁸⁸ F. C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, Vol.2, Frank Cass and co. Ltd., 1966, pp. 299-300

¹⁸⁹ Holden Furber, *Private fortunes and Company Profits in the India Trade in the 18th century*, ed. Rosane Rocher, Variorum, 1997, p. 106

1626, sea traffic was diverted overland due to naval skirmishes in the Persian Gulf between the Dutch and the English and Portuguese ships culminating with the successful joint Anglo- Iranian expedition against Hormuz in 1622.¹⁹⁰ A significant amount of trade normally passed through these north-western passes, carried by around 3000 camel loads a year or approx 750 tons of goods per year in the early 16th century. Overland trade had a significant impact on Iranian markets as was illustrated by the report that when a thousand camels carrying cloth and indigo reached Isfahan in 1665 local prices fell by 15 per cent.¹⁹¹ The decline of the Persian Gulf- Red Sea- Gujarat trading network had a detrimental effect on the economy of Gujarat. Gujarat's trade contracted during the first half of the 18th century. Surat's total turnover fell from about an annual Rs.16 million to Rs 5 million.¹⁹²

By the end of the second decade of the 17th century, all the Portuguese centres in Asia were running short of funds. By 1634, only Daman, Bassein and Mozambique were producing significant surpluses,¹⁹³ the remaining settlements, including Diu, were consuming locally or had to ask for subsidy from Goa. In 1634, Diu which had always generated surpluses for Goa, had to be forwarded 20,000 *xerafins* from the viceregal treasury. Diu had been a major exit port for the Cambay cloth and indigo in the 17th century and had yielded 230,000 *xerafins* a year from the custom duties.¹⁹⁴ By 1620, however, it had been largely superseded by Surat, which was under the Mughals and where the English and the Dutch had established themselves and as a consequence of which the custom revenues of Diu had declined by half of it.¹⁹⁵ By 1680, the sharpest fall in revenues among all the Asian settlements of the Portuguese was that of Diu. Its

¹⁹⁰ Stephen Frederic Dale, *op.cit.*, p. 43

¹⁹¹ *The English Factories in India(1655-1660)*, ed. William Foster, Oxford, 1923 , p.128

¹⁹² Ashin Dasgupta, , "Indian Merchants and the Trade in the Indian Ocean", *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, ed. Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib, Orient Longman, Hyderabad, 1982, p. 433

¹⁹³ A.R. Disney, *Twilight of the Pepper Empire: The Portuguese Trade in South West India in the Early 17th century*, Harvard University Press, London, 1978, p. 53

¹⁹⁴ *ibid*, p. 53

¹⁹⁵ *ibid*, p. 53

revenue declined from 203,615 *xerafins* in about 1620 to less than a third of that amount by the last quarter of the seventeenth century. On the other hand the revenues of Bassein and Daman increased and that of Goa had stabilized.¹⁹⁶ In 1684-87, Diu which used to send surplus amount to Goa was running at a loss of 3,200 *xerafins* and the revenue collection points of Diu was 19.1 in 1609 which kept on decreasing from 17.4 in 1620 to 7.8 in 1684-87.¹⁹⁷ The loss was particularly large in places directly involved in military operations such as Diu, Muscat and Colombo.¹⁹⁸

The fall in Diu's revenues is explicable in terms of two factors. First, Portuguese trade in Gujarat tended from the mid century to gravitate more and more towards Surat which at that time was the great west-ward looking port of the Mughal Empire with huge commercial links with the Persian Gulf and Red Sea.¹⁹⁹ After peace was stabilized between the Portuguese and the Dutch, fleets between Goa and Surat became an annual feature. According to the Dutch, in the winters of 1694-95, the Portuguese arrived with a fairly large sized convoy of vessels with a good amount of merchandise, intending to leave a permanent factor at Surat, which could not be materialized because of the disagreements of the Portuguese with the Mughals.²⁰⁰ But nevertheless, Portuguese used Parsi merchant Rushamji Manakji, as their agent in Surat, who was able to buy and sell at Surat till 1694-99, without much difficulty. The second factor which might explain the relative decline of Diu is the fact that the port was burned down by the naval power of the Omanis during the time of their attack which dealt a considerable blow to Diu.

Abbe Carre while describing his visit to Diu, talks about the destruction which the Omanis had meted out in the city and along with it the declining condition of the Portuguese:

¹⁹⁶ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia 1500-1700: A Political and Economic History*, Longman, London, 1993, p. 189

¹⁹⁷ *ibid*, p. 190

¹⁹⁸ A.R. Disney, *op.cit.*, p. 53

¹⁹⁹ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *op.cit.*, p. 189

²⁰⁰ *ibid*, p. 190

“The Father informed me that when the Portuguese were powerful in this country, this convent ordinarily supported twenty monks, whereas, now they were so poor that they could hardly keep three; as they had nothing to live on but the alms they received, with which they were hoping gradually to repair the damage done by the Arabs”.

He said a similar comment about the Convent of St. Francis, where he found monks trying to rebuild their church which was entirely destroyed by the Omanis.²⁰¹ The Omanis destroyed the city, taking all its riches and treasures, and carried away 6000 Christian women as slaves and leaving behind sad traces of destruction of houses and roads.²⁰² A report of 1669 notes that when Diu was attacked all the vessels found were burnt and all the houses were ransacked, people imprisoned and killed. The Omani forces though could not destroy the fort caused considerable damage to the place.²⁰³

Another factor that affected the fortunes of Diu’s trade was the entry of the Dutch and the English as competitors, who acquired textiles and indigo from Surat, Cambay, Sindh on the coastal areas and Ahmadabad, Agra, Lahore in the hinterland, partially with *farmans*, which they occasionally received from the Mughal emperors and partially by fighting the Portuguese at the mouth of the Tapti river.²⁰⁴ With the signing of the convention of 1635 the English entered the Konkan terrain and began to bag a share in the pepper, spices and copper trade of Malabar, Konkan and South-East Asia and cinnamon trade of Ceylon.²⁰⁵ Meanwhile the extortion practiced by the Portuguese captains often led to the loss of custom duties. They sometimes demanded money equal to half of the cargoes as at Diu,

²⁰¹ *The Travels of Abbe Carre In India and in the Near East: 1672 to 1674*, Vol.1, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1990, p. 132

²⁰² *ibid*, p. 135

²⁰³ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia 1500-1700: A Political and Economic History*, Longman, London, 1993, p. 191

²⁰⁴ Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India: Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, Primus, New Delhi, p. 75

²⁰⁵ *The English Factories in India (1655-1660)*, ed. William Foster, Oxford, 1923, p. 234

that would sail anywhere to avoid stopping at the Portuguese ports. Thus Diu lost half of its revenue.²⁰⁶

The situation in Daman from 1741 to 1770 was grim, as the commerce declined considerably during this period, because of the Maratha blockade and the sole trading network it was left with was the commerce with the Mozambique, which also depended on the official favours and privileges.²⁰⁷ The disturbances led to the decline of population of Diu from 40,000 households to only a thousand in the mid 17th century. But despite the decline of population, the port town experienced a steady population from the mid 17th century to 18th century. According to R.J. Barendse, the stability in the population provided a stable source of revenue to the city.²⁰⁸ The traditional trade links of the indigenous traders helped the Portuguese enclave to sustain the economy. In 1620, custom revenues of Diu were worth 200,000 *xerafins*, which dropped to 40,000 in 1690 and to 25,349 in 1698 and then steadily rose in the 18th century again to an average 95,000 yearly around 1748, growing to 120,000 *xerafins* in 1760.²⁰⁹ In 1755, for the *bantias* of Diu and Daman the imports were worth 7819 *cruzados* from Mozambique and 22, 197 *cruzados* in 1755, while the exports were worth 6,253 *cruzados* in 1755 and 13,381 *cruzados* in 1756.

With the mounting of pressure on the Portuguese in India, they were compelled to bank upon the money and the resources of the Gujarati *bantias* to retain their power in India. In 1690s, the Portuguese tried to cajole both the Saraswat Brahmins of Goa and *bantias* of Diu to invest in their new company of commerce. Their contribution was very important for its profits were largely to come from the proceeds of the trade between Diu and Mozambique, which was controlled by the *mahajans*. The Portuguese generally bought both their Gujarati and Deccani textiles for the Carreira da India from small commercial

²⁰⁶ George Davison Winius, *The Black Legend of Portuguese India*, XCHR Studies, Series No.3, Concept Publishing House, New Delhi, 1985, P. 54

²⁰⁷ R.J. Barendse, *Arabian Sea 1700-1763*, vol.4, Brill, Leiden, 2009, p. 1458

²⁰⁸ *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 334

²⁰⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 334-335

companies: six or eight individual merchants signing the contracts and was together held responsible for the punctual delivery of the textiles.

The *bantias* of Diu, having immense wealth at their disposal, who formed the first mercantile Indian corporation in 1686 under the name *Companhia de Comercio dos Mazanes* (discussed in detail in the later chapters) began to give money liberally to the Portuguese to meet their expenses of the wars with the Omanis, the Marathas and the other European competitors. Though the monopoly of the Mazanes Association was temporarily suspended in 1693, in 1701 it was again revived by incorporating the mercantile wealth and personnel from Diu, Surat and Cambay.²¹⁰ The Board of Company attempted to restrict the smuggling activities of the customs officers by paying them in cash rather than in cloth. This policy helped in curbing the power of the officers and increases the importance of the *bantias* in the trade of textiles in Mozambique.²¹¹ The fall of Kilwa and Mombasa in 1698 to the Omanis, led to the abandonment of the two ports and the subsequent rise of Mozambique. The latter with strong trading networks with the *bantias* of Gujarat, helped in the increase of their importance in the trading network of the *bantias*.²¹² The inability of the Portuguese Crown to control the activities of the officials of Board of Commerce and the *bania* merchants, paved the way for increase in their profits and pushed the Crown towards financial losses.²¹³ Smuggling became a parallel economy and affected the administrative and political system of Mozambique. The tusks from the ships were transshipped before arriving in Mozambique at Angoche and Mongincual and reduced the Crown's profit by over 40% in entry duties and freight

²¹⁰Pius Malekandathil, "Portuguese and the Changing Meanings of Oceanic Circulations between Coastal Western India and the African Markets, 1500-1800", in *Journal of Indian Ocean Studies*, 2010, p.14

²¹¹ Luis Frederico Dias Antunes, "The Trade Activities of the Banyans in Mozambique: Private Indian Dynamics in the Panel of the Portuguese State Economy(1688-1777)", *Mariners, Merchants and Oceans*, ed. K.S. Mathew, Manohar, Delhi, 1995, p. 308

²¹² *ibid*, p. 308

²¹³ *ibid*, p. 309

charges.²¹⁴ Smuggling also took place in large scale on the voyages between secondary East African ports and India.²¹⁵

Thus though the Portuguese started experiencing the heat of financial crisis the local traders of Diu, who amassed considerable wealth by way of their ongoing trade with East Africa continued to keep the economic vibrancy of Diu. Indian goods reaching Senna and Tette from Diu were further carried to the inland periodical markets located along the banks of river Zambesi, very often through the agency of small peddling Indian merchants. In the second decade of the eighteenth century the income for the Portuguese in Mozambique from the customs duty on the textiles from Diu and Daman was 220,000 *cruzados*. Mello e Castro estimated in 1753 that textiles and other Indian wares that moved to Mozambique from Diu, Daman and Goa were worth 6,00, 000 *cruzados*, while the Mozambican wares reaching India were of the value of 2000,000 *cruzados*. As the investment was done in the form of commodities and the profit was to be assessed on the basis of the value of the return cargo, the profit for Indian merchants from the outcome of this African trade was around 334%. Bania traders were given special privileges in Mozambique because of their influence over its economy. The tax paid by the *banias* of Diu and Daman was about fifty- eight percent of the total custom taxes of Mozambique.²¹⁶

The *banias* of Mozambique charged higher prices from the Portuguese than the Indians or Swahili merchants. The Portuguese merchants of Africa who often had to sell off the cloth at the current market prices,²¹⁷ in the first half of the eighteenth century ran into indebtedness of the to the Indian merchants of Diu and Daman reached alarming heights, with the *banias* forming 61% of the total creditors for the *Junta de Comercio* of Mozambique. The Portuguese often had to give up their possessions of land, houses,

²¹⁴ *ibid*, p.311

²¹⁵ *ibid*, p. 145

²¹⁶ Luis Frederico Dias Antunes, *op.cit.*, p. 314

²¹⁷ *ibid*, p. 315

palm grooves, cattle and slaves in favour of the *banias* to pay off their debt.²¹⁸ This period also witnessed the development that the debt of the commercial *Junta* to the Indian traders of Diu and Daman was four times higher than the total debt of private Portuguese traders to the *banias*. During the time span between 1723 and 1730 the Portuguese owed an amount of 2,40,000 *cruzados* to four principal Indian traders and this formed 83% of the total public debt of the Portuguese in Mozambique. Between 1745 and 1754 the debt of the *Junta de Comercio* of Mozambique to the *banias* stood between 3,00,000 to 3,75,000 *cruzados*, suggesting the amount and degree of dependence that the Portuguese activities of Mozambique had on the mercantile capital of the *banias* of Diu. Meanwhile, during the same period the customs duty paid in Mozambique by the *banias* of Diu and Daman for the textiles from Cambay and the return cargo of ivory, slaves and gold rose to 78, 000 *cruzados*.²¹⁹

Apart from the East Africa and India trade the *banias* of Mozambique was also involved in the slave trade, food trade, arms and *patacas* with the French in the Mauritius islands.²²⁰ One of the reasons why the *banias* became more and more inclined towards the African trade could be the tension in the western Asia sea water. The overseas trade of the *banias* was frequently interrupted owing to the piracy and high custom duties of the Red sea.²²¹

The internal trade of Diu and Daman formed an important role in the economy, with the decline in the long distance maritime trade. The records from the late 18th century shows that during 1786-1789, the port received only one rich cargo from Mozambique, one from Mukalla and one from Mozambique, but the internal trade with the Gulf of Cambay, trade between Diu and Daman, flourished. Diu received around a dozen ships from Jambushir, loaded with textiles, cotton and indigo, three ships from Cambay with sugar, a

²¹⁸ *ibid*, p. 315

²¹⁹ *Ibid*, p.16; Pius Malekadathil, “*Portuguese and the Changing Meanings of Oceanic Circulations between Coastal Western India and the African Markets, 1500-1800*”, in *Journal of Indian Ocean Studies*, 2010, p. 144

²²⁰ Luis Frederico Dias Antunes, *op.cit.*, p. 321

²²¹ *ibid*, p.66

dozen ship from Daman loaded with rice, two from Bassein with paper, lead, and coconuts and scores of ships from the neighbouring Veraval, Bhavnagar, kutch Mandvi and Goga with bulk cargoes of bajra, ghee and regur.²²²

Special attention was diverted towards the Indian cotton textiles especially those manufactured at Daman and Diu. Commercial laws were enacted by the Portuguese Crown to improve their sale in Europe. In November 1800, textiles manufactured at Daman and Diu, transported in Portuguese ships from Goa, was exempted from the payment of entry duties at Lisbon, Brazil and Western African ports for a period of six years.²²³ Moreover, in 1802 special permission was given to the embroidered clothes of Daman and Diu to enter India House, even though it was denied for the textiles of other manufacturing sectors.²²⁴ Between 11 December 1799 and 16 January 1800, Portuguese merchants exported piece-goods to the value of Rs 547,198.²²⁵

Concerted efforts were made to promote ship building with the ultimate goal of generating commerce in Indian Ocean. Custom duties on materials essential for the construction of ships were abolished. It was meant to motivate merchants to construct ships to transport their cargoes. A very important role was played by the Indo-Portuguese merchant Faria in this regard.

The decline of the direct trade routes between Asia and Lisbon was compensated with the development of the opium trade. With the liberation of opium trade in 1810, the private traders turned their attention from Bengal opium to the cheaper Malwa opium.²²⁶ The cheapness of the Malwa opium and the high profit compared to the English monopolist Bengal opium attracted the small speculators, at the same time the possibility of large scale profit making operations outside the control of the company invited the attention of

²²² R.J. Barendse, op.cit, vol1, p. 335

²²³ Celsa Pinto, op.cit., p. 110

²²⁴ *ibid*, p.110

²²⁵ Ghulam A. Nadri, op.cit., p. 139

²²⁶ Gervase Clarence-Smith, *The Third Portuguese Empire, 1825-1975*, Manchester University Press, 1948, p.25

the largest dealers.²²⁷ Around 8600 *maunds* of opium were produced in Malwa of which 6500 *maunds* were annually exported to meet the demands in the Deccan, Mewar, Marwar and Gujarat.²²⁸ In 1805, with the English imposition of restrictions on the Portuguese trade of opium via Bombay, the trade mostly shifted to the Portuguese ports of Daman, Diu and Goa. In the early 19th century the Portuguese developed Daman as an entrepot for the shipment of Malwa opium to China, because of its closeness to the Malwa-Deccan route. Moreover, most of the merchants involved in the Malwa-Daman-Macao opium trade were settled in Bombay which made its location more favourable for the trade. Opium was transported from Malwa via the Mewjee Ghat, Aumbagong Ghat and the Waugyra Ghat, across Pient and Dhurrumpor territories to Daman.²²⁹ With the Portuguese presence in Macao the circle was complete. This route was completely independent of the British. According to the Chinese regulation no other vessel other than with the Portuguese or the Spanish flags could enter Macao, though this restriction was removed in 1823.²³⁰

The custom duties at the ports were fixed at a modest rate to attract trade of opium. The opium dealers paid 5 percent duty, calculated on an official value minus 15 per cent, various port dues, and an export duty of 2 per cent.²³¹ If the opium was brought in only for re-export there was an export duty of 2 per cent. If the opium was brought in only for re-export there was a 4 per cent duty for foreign ships and 2.5 per cent for Portuguese ships, which often encouraged the private traders to trade under the Portuguese.²³²

In 1823, according to the English company the financial worth of Daman and Diu was Rs 1, 11,900 for Daman including land revenues and custom duties. Of this Rs 40,000 or

²²⁷ Michael Greenberg, *British Trade and the Opening of China: 1800-42*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1951, p. 124

²²⁸ Sir John Marshall, *A Memoir of Central India*, Aryan books, Vol.2, New Delhi, 2010, p. 76

²²⁹ Celsa Pinto, *op.cit.*, p.34

²³⁰ Amar Farooqui, *Smuggling and Subversion: Colonialism, Indian Merchants and Politics of Opium, 1790-1843*, New Age International, New Delhi, 1998, p.162

²³¹ Gervase Clarence-smith, *op.cit.*, p. 26

²³² *ibid*, pp. 26-28

about one-third of the total came from re-export duty on opium and 4% ad valorem. The expenses including military charges were Rs 89,500 leaving a balance of Rs 22,400 for remittance to Goa. This was a trifling sum. In the case of Diu, the annual civil and military expenditure exceeded the revenue by about Rs. 12000.²³³ In absolute monetary term the two settlements meant very little to the Portuguese government. But the private trade was massive. In 1822, receipts from opium were Rs1,25,888, mostly carried on the private traders.²³⁴ It earned the Estado average opium revenues to the tune of about two and half lakhs of *xerafins* annually. During 1825-29, on an average the opium trade yielded the Customs Department of Daman 344,479-1-45 *xerafins* per year.²³⁵ In 1828-29 Portuguese ships leaving Daman were issued licenses to proceed to Macao or Lintin or other places of their choice in the Far East which increased the Daman opium revenues to 616,868-0-18 *xerafins*, which was remitted to Goa.²³⁶

Prices of Various Grades of Malwa Opium at Daman (1825-30)²³⁷

Prices	First Grade (In Rupias)	Second Grade (In Rupias)	Third Grade (In Rupias)
April 1825-1825-Dec	800	637 ½	257 ½
Feb 1826-Feb 1828	1200	975	409
March 1829-1830-Jan	1475	1325	525
April 1830	837 ½	587 ½	287 ½

The affluence of Daman found expression in the construction of new public buildings like the Secretariat, where the revenue derived from the opium trade was used in

²³³ Amar Farooqui, op.cit., p. 176

²³⁴ ibid, p. 176

²³⁵ Celsa Pinto, op.cit., p. 139

²³⁶ ibid, p. 139

²³⁷ Celsa Pinto, op.cit., p. 135; In China there was a sudden decline in the price of the Malwa opium in 1830 this was as a result of the excessive supply of the said opium in Chinese markets.

construction.²³⁸ The revenue earned from the trade of opium could have also led to the increase in the importance of the Daman merchants.²³⁹

List of a Few Indigenous Firms/ Merchants of Daman Associated with Opium Trade

Number	Names of Merchants/ Firms
1	Daya Ram Dulobha
2	Ganeshdas Kisnaji
3	Govardhan Das
4	Heera Raikurun
5	Hurrebhai Moorsha
6	Hurrewulub
7	Parsee Dhurabsa
8	Rattanchand Heerachand
9	Kavasji Byramji
10	Byramji Bikaji
11	Agha Mohammad Suastry

Slave imports into Diu by Indian merchants decreased in 1800, particularly low imports were recorded in 1802, and from 1804-05 when only 13 slaves arrived, increased thereafter to reach almost 100 in 1810.²⁴⁰ By contrast, slave imports to Daman were high from the start of the decade, numbering 287 in 1801 and 97 in 1804, of the slaves shipped in 1801, 118 were carried on Indian vessels, 99 on a Portuguese vessel and 70 on an American vessel.²⁴¹ The difference between the Diu and Daman slave-trades reflects

²³⁸ Amar Farooqi, op.cit., p. 173; there was a spurt of new buildings in Goa in the late 1820's and 1830's. this could be attributed to the opium revenues.(Clarence-smith, op.cit., p. 28)

²³⁹ Gervase Clarence-smith, op.cit., p. 26

²⁴⁰ Pedro Machado, op.cit, p. 23

²⁴¹ *ibid*, p. 23

different commercial structures. Diu belonged to the north-west Indian trading complex centred on Kathiawar, whereas Daman was also integrated into a European trading network, being frequented by Portuguese traders like Monteiro, who purchased slaves for Goa and Macao, English merchants buying for the Ceylon market, and the Americans.²⁴² The easy accessibility of Daman with the hinterland also helped to cater the internal demand for slaves.

In the eighteenth century, in age of the decline of the Portuguese supremacy in India and Brazil, another strand of trading network which survived was the trade between Surat and Lisbon. Goa re-exported almost 55 per cent of the products received from Surat to the world market. Lisbon absorbed 8 per cent of Goan exports and re-exported the rest to the Portuguese Atlantic ports of Brazil, Spanish America, Europe and Angola. In 1750 the total volume of capital employed by the Portugal in the Surat trade was Rs. 10,000 but increased to Rs. 637,090.21 in 1781-89.²⁴³ In 1749, the Portuguese private trade from Surat to and fro from Mozambique was 300,000 rupees and to and fro from Macao was 200,000 rupees.²⁴⁴ Surat exported to Goa annually goods valued at 250,000 pound sterling or almost 1,000,000,000 *reis* from 1816 to 1819, of which over 90% of these products were cotton goods, along with raw cotton, coffee, cloves, pepper and opium.²⁴⁵

The amount of trade might not be substantial, its importance lies in the fact that it earned Surat bullion from the Luso-Brazilian areas. From 1775-1825, the Luso- Brazilians had send more bullion to India than to England. The Portuguese Atlantic empire exported approximately 560,000 pound sterling of bullion(540,000 from Portugal and 20,000 from Brazil) annually to India from 1816-19, which went to Goa, Calcutta and Surat.²⁴⁶ The

²⁴² *ibid*, p. 23

²⁴³ Celsa Pinto, "Lisbon Investment in the Indian Textile Commerce- The Surat Feeder", *Mare Liberum*, Julho, 1995, p. 221

²⁴⁴ R.J. Barendse, *Arabian Sea 1700-1763*, Vol.1, Brill, Leiden, 2009, p. 371

²⁴⁵ Rudy Bauss, "Textiles, bullion and other trades of Goa: Commerce with Surat, other areas of India, Luso-Brazilian ports, Macau and Mozambique, 1816-1819", *Indian Economic Social History Review*, 1997, p. 281

²⁴⁶ *ibid*, p. 278.

Portuguese acquired varied quality of cotton piece goods from Surat. The price of the cadeas in 1800-01 ranged from 1,280 to 2,237 reis, coromande is from 1,440 to 2000 reis, chelas from 1,720 to 2000 reis, zuartes from 1341 to 1681 reis, gingham from 480 to 600 reis and handkerchiefs at 720 per bundle.²⁴⁷ The Lisbon merchants had to pay 20% freight, insurance 15%, packing and customs 14% which amounted to 49 ½ % in India along with 16% customs at Lisbon, commission 5% and sundry petty charges of 4% .²⁴⁸ Even after that in 1800-1801 the profits ranged from 31.42% in case of zuartes from Broach and 127.53% in case of chelas azuis of 9 vissas and the medium profit of the twenty varieties was 75.89%.²⁴⁹

The part of the trade between the Portuguese and the port of Surat, gradually shifted from the Portuguese enclave of Daman. In 1799, the textiles manufactured at Surat were exempted from the payment of export duties at the port Daman and import duties at Lisbon.²⁵⁰ The powerful and rich merchants like Jacinto Domingues and Modi Merwanji shifted to Daman with their capital, business and weavers with the rise of demand in textile for Lisbon. This development had an adverse effect on the economy of Daman, as on one hand the textile industries of Daman was affected by the rise of competition from the Surat piece-good, and on the other hand the Portuguese State treasury lost valuable revenue.²⁵¹

Conclusion

The Indian Ocean trading network went through modifications and changes from 15th century to that of 18th century. When the Europeans arrived in the Indian Ocean region,

²⁴⁷ Celsa Pinto, "Lisbon Investment in the Indian Textile Commerce- The Surat Feeder", *Mare Liberum*, Julho, 1995, p. 221

²⁴⁸ *ibid*, p.221

²⁴⁹ *ibid*, p. 221

²⁵⁰ *Mhamai House Papers*, XCHR, document dated March, 1802; Celsa Pinto, *op.cit.*, p. 227

²⁵¹ Celsa Pinto, "Lisbon Investment in the Indian Textile Commerce- The Surat Feeder", *Mare Liberum*, Julho, 1995, p. 227

the vitality of trade of the Gujarat ports increased. Diu and Daman's trade with West Africa in textile became the pillar of the Portuguese empire in India. Though, over the years the Portuguese supremacy in the Indian Ocean region decreased, the port cities continued to be flourishing trading centres. The Portuguese realised the economic importance of Diu and Daman for the Portuguese crown. This impacted in the Portuguese policy making which started to promote liberal trading policies from the 17th century onwards. The trading network of the merchants of Diu and Daman were instrumental in forging new trade routes and diversification of trading commodities in the face of the challenges. With the increase in the competition of the Dutch and the English and the decline of the Portuguese power in Asia, the Portuguese started to be depended more and more on the Indian networks and the indigenous networks of commerce along with the private trade of the Portuguese officials. The private traders and the local markets played a very important role in the prosperity and continuity of trade and commerce of the area. The trade routes of Mozambique- Gujarat and the opium trade between Malwa- Daman- Macao became a symbol of a new order of trading pattern which evolved with the participation of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean trading network.

Chapter IV

Portuguese and the Gujarati Urban Society

Gujarat provided an example for the remarkable strength of the local business system and its capacity to respond to the opportunities and challenges of the 17th century. Gujarati merchants carried out their commercial activities amidst the emergent challenges. Throughout the first half of 17th century the Gujarati merchants tried to compete with the Europeans and refused to be passive suppliers of cotton textiles and other merchandise to the European companies. They had large amount of liquid money and prevented small traders from entering the market. They adjusted themselves, first with the Portuguese and later with the Dutch and the English.¹ The population of India was between 100 and 150 million according to W.H. Moreland in 1800 and approximately 130 million according to Percival Spear in the same year.² Each city of Daman and Diu consisted of 10,000 inhabitants, ie, 1/400 of the total population of India.³ The population of Diu and Daman, was mostly based on maritime trade and commerce and played a very important role in the history of the region.

In the main strongholds of the Portuguese in Gujarat, viz., Diu and Daman, the Portuguese wanted to create a predominantly Lusitanized society, consisting mostly of the Portuguese and their descendants, besides their mercantile collaborators. Among the collaborators the Parsis and Hindu *baniyas* of Diu and the Muslim merchants of Daman formed a formidable socio-economic group. In the initial years, the Portuguese followed strict policy of conversion of the residents in their settlements. But in the case of Diu, the Portuguese followed a policy of religious tolerance. In the treaty through which the

¹ For a different perception on this theme see Ruby Maloni, “Europeans in the 17th century Gujarat : Presence and Response”, *Social Scientist*, Vol.36, No. 3/4, March- April, 2008, p.90

² Rudy Bauss, “A Demographic study of Portuguese India and Macau as well as comments on Mozambique and Timor, 1750-1850”, *Indian Economic Social History Review*, 1997, p. 200

³ *ibid*, p. 200

Portuguese obtained Diu from Bahadur Shah of Gujarat in 1534-35, there was a clause which mentioned that there would be no proselytizing, especially from among the Muslims. In Diu, the Portuguese did not indulge in converting the Hindus. Nevertheless the number of Catholics increased. Since the Portuguese could not conduct trade alone from the seventeenth onwards, because of the frequent attacks on their navigational lines by the Dutch and the English, the enterprising mercantile group of the *banias* was to be incorporated for sustenance of their commerce and political activities, which in turn necessitated the introduction of a policy of tolerance and accommodation. The cooperation of the *banias* with the Portuguese not only along the Indian coast but also along the African markets earned for them their freedom of worship. Diu was officially given the freedom of worship in 1564 by the Portuguese king Sebastian I, who is considered to be the last crusading ruler of Europe.⁴ This policy had a widespread impact on the economy and the society of Diu.

I.Composition of Diu and Daman's Society

The multicultural composition of the urban society of Diu was well attested by Pyrard de Laval, who says that there were around 10,000 people living in the port town and unlike Goa, where mostly Christians were found, in Diu people from all the religious backgrounds are to be found.⁵ In 1597 in Diu a little more 200 Portuguese families were found, and the Muslim population that reached the size of about 2000 inhabitants along with a considerable number of Hindus. In 1613 they reached the strength of about four or five thousand.⁶ Besides the residents each year around 1000 foreigners used to come to Diu for trade.⁷ Between 1794 and 1800, among the number of persons residing at Diu, forty-five were pure Portuguese, of which thirty- two were men. While the indigenous

⁴ R.J. Barendse, *Arabian Sea 1700-1763*, Brill, Leiden, 2009, vol. I, p, 332

⁵ Pyrard de Laval, *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, The Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil*, Translated Albert Gray, Hakluyt Society, London, Vol. 2, part1, p. 254, 255

⁶ Tombo de Diu, p. 13

⁷ *ibid*, p. 13

Hindus, Muslims and Catholics totalled 8511 of which 51.09% were men and 48.91% were women.⁸ By the mid 18th century the garrison of Diu consisted of not more than 13 Portuguese, often previous convicts, men with 300 Indian men filling up the contingent.⁹ Thus over the centuries the Lusitanian population in Diu declined and there was a rise in the indigenous population.

In 1785, Daman was inhabited by 1,527 Catholics of which 770 were Catholic females and 757 were Catholic males.¹⁰ The indigenous population numbered to 7984 men and 6903 women. The urban population also consisted of slaves. In 1831, Daman had 55 pure Portuguese descendants of which 38 were men and 17 women. In the same year, 211 slaves resided in Daman.¹¹

II. Indigenous Population

In Diu and Daman the Muslim merchants were one of the important social segments of the port city. They were outnumbered only by the Hindu *baniyas* in Diu and in Daman they formed the largest section of the population. The Muslim mercantile population of Gujarat was in itself heterogeneous. They were as plural a collection as one would get anywhere. Muslims of various ethnic groups and sects were united by long domicile in Gujarat and by acquisition of a common language and culture. They were Persians, Turks, Arabs, Khorasans, Pathans by ethnic origin and Sunnis, Shias, Bohras and Ismailis by sect making it a very heterogeneous community. Varthema in 1504 noted the presence of 400 Turkish merchants and called Diu as ‘Diuobandierrumi’ or “Diu, the port of the Turks”. Though they were small in number they formed a significant group whose sphere of trading activities was confined to export trade. The Mughals and the Arabs traded mainly with West Asia, conducting their own trade as well as some of the Bohra traders. The Bohras were economically well-off and did not claim any foreign lineage. The most

⁸ R.J. Barendse, *Arabian Sea 1700-1763*, Brill, Leiden, 2009, vol. I, p. 210

⁹ *ibid*, vol. 1, p. 332

¹⁰ Rudy Bauss, *op.cit.*, p. 210

¹¹ *ibid*, p. 211

famous among the Bohra merchants of Surat was Abdhul Ghafur who headed the *jamayat* or social organization of the Bohras. When Diu was attacked by the Portuguese in 1531, it was defended by a Turk, Mustafa Khan Rumi.¹² The names of Razia and Vazia of Diu come across the documents, who were so influential traders that they were able to secure the release of captives from the Portuguese at Chaul.¹³ The native Muslim citizens of Diu could be divided into *agia, bhati, capatia, dobi coja, faquir ghanchi, hora, khatik, khoja, meman, mir, nalia, pangi-gara, pathan, pinjari, sidi, tarac*¹⁴, thus making the Muslim fabric a completely heterogeneous thing. The Juma Mosque in the centre of the island and constructed by Jalal Khan, later known as Ahmed Shah II was an important meeting place for the Muslim traders.

The Hindu population of Diu was a very complex one, with people from various castes staying there. The Hindus of Diu could be divided into the Brahmanas, the Banias or the traders, the *bhoias, canias and chunares* working as masons, *coles* or the sailors, *cumbhares, dheres, dhobis, golas, jampras, kandois, kharvas, lohars, malis, mochis, rangara, salats, sangarias, sonis, suis, sutares, vanands, vancars* and *vanjahs*.¹⁵ The *bania* is a term which embraces both Hindus and Jain merchant communities. By far the most numerous of the North Indian merchant groups were those of the banias, which was in fact a caste-cum-occupational category accommodating eighty-four Jain and Vaishnavite clans. Vaishnava clans like Oswals, Agarwals, Shrimali, etc., were traditionally associated with trade and commerce.¹⁶ The range of commercial activities that the bania merchants participated was truly amazing. Their participation in the structure of land revenue collection included the procurement of grain at the village level from the peasants enabling them to meet their revenue obligations in cash. Since a part of

¹² O.K. Nambiar, *The Kunjalis- Admirals of Calicut*, Asian Publication House, Bombay, 1963, p.99

¹³ Surendra Gopal, *Commerce and Crafts in Gujarat in 16th and 17th centuries: A Study in the Impact of Europeans on Pre-capitalist Economy*, People's Publication, New Delhi, 1975, p. 148

¹⁴ A.B. De Braganca Pereira, *Etongrafia da India Portuguesa As Civilizacoes da India*, Vol.2, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1991, p. 54

¹⁵ *ibid*, p. 53

¹⁶ *ibid*, p. 53

the land revenue still came in the form of grain, the same merchants offered to relieve the state of these supplies and convert it into cash again making a profit in the process. The financial markets were totally dominated by the banias, among whom there emerged several leading houses with pan India networks, particularly across the Gangetic plains into Bengal. Their services were utilized by merchants, by European Companies and by Mughal officials. The other sector dominated by the banias was brokerage and wholesaling of the commodities. Banias dominated the market in major import commodities, such as spices, pepper and copper to the extent of being able to dictate prices. Brokers proliferated among banyas in the second half of the seventeenth century. There were a few major brokers who came from the leading families- the Parekhs, the Vaishyas, the Thakurs and who moved in to dominate the business of commercial companies.¹⁷

The Brahmanic section that were mostly followers of the Vallabhacharya sect used to call themselves as Meshri banias to distinguish themselves from the Shrivak section who used to follow Jainism and call themselves Shrivak Banias.¹⁸ Though separated by religion and the line of separation was rigid in south Gujarat including Diu, the Brahmanic and the Shrivak sections of the *bania* community were knit together by social ties and were often seen to eat together and to inter marry.¹⁹ Even within these two main divisions there were several sub divisions of caste. Though in social position they rank below the Brahmans their wealth and intelligence make the banias one of the most important sections of the population of Gujarat. The Meshri banias in themselves were sub divided into many groups and were often found in the region of the Gujjars.²⁰ They

¹⁷ Sinnappah Arasaratnam, *Maritime India in the Seventeenth Century*, University Press New Delhi, 2004, p. 195

¹⁸ James M.Campbell(ed.), *Hindu Castes and Tribes of Gujarat*, Vintage Books, Gurgaon, 1988, Vol. 1, p. 69

¹⁹ *ibid*, p. 69

²⁰ *ibid*, p. 70

mostly worked as clerks and traders, and held some rent free land, which they had received as reward for bringing the land under tillage.²¹

The Parsi community took part both in local and overseas trade and also participated into banking and insurance. They occupied a prominent economic position inspite of their low population in Gujarat. They emerged as the strongest business rivals to the other local communities by increasing their share in the overseas trade. Fr. Manuel Godinho's travelogue, *Relação da Novo Caminho que fez por terra e mar, vindo da India para Portugal, no anno de 1663, o Padre Manuel Godinho* describes the Parsi people as fair complexioned, who were called the Parsis because they came from Persia, from where they had to flee when it was taken over by the Muslim rulers.²² Fortunato de Almeida in his *Estado da India*, estimated the number of Parsis present to be 500.²³ Oliveira Mascarenhas in his *Atraves dos mares: Recordações da India* called the Parsi colony as one of the most important by their number in India. He claimed that their coffers are always open for the benefit of great undertakings, this being the reason why their social and political situation is the most advantageous among the races which inhabit India.²⁴

Ovington, writing in 1690, called the Parsis as a very considerable sect. They were hardworking and diligent, careful to train their children in arts and labour. They were the chief men of the loom throughout the country.²⁵ After about another 20 years in 1710, they were described as carpenters, shipbuilders, exquisite weavers and embroider. They made silks, especially fine Broach and Navsari silks called *bastes*, worked in ivory and agate and distilled strong waters.²⁶ In 16th century the Portuguese writer Garcia d'Orta

²¹ *ibid*, p. 71

²² Antonio Do Carmo Azevedo, "Diu: The Parsi Connection", *Mare Liberum*, Numero 9, Julho 1995, Esc. 3 500, p. 34

²³ *ibid*, p. 35

²⁴ *ibid*, p. 35

²⁵ James M. Campbell, *Muslim and Parsi Castes and Tribes of Gujarat*, Vintage Books, Gurgaon, 1990, p. 192

²⁶ Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, voll, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1995; James M. Campbell, *Muslim and Parsi Castes and Tribes of Gujarat*, Vintage Books, Gurgaon, 1990, p. 192

notices curious class of merchants and shop keepers who were called *Esparis*, that is, Parsis in Cambay. They had different letters, strange oaths and many superstitions and were also different from the rest of the Indians in looks and habits. They were husbandmen rather than traders. They supplied the marine population with carts drawn by oxen and ship with wood and water. The Parsis were divided into two sects, Shenshais and Kadmis, but this is practically a distinction without difference.²⁷ They owed their prosperity to the collaboration with the Europeans. Various Parsi traders excelled exceptionally as collaborators between different trading houses. The Portuguese, French Dutch and the English, often employed Parsis as chief brokers amidst stiff competition from the banias. The Parsi merchants at Daman and Diu in the 18th century and early 19th century had close ties with Bombay, particularly, Famji Cowasjee and Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy.²⁸ The Daman based Beramji Bharde and later his sons Bhikaji and Kavasji earned profits from the trade of the Malwa opium. Another influential member of the Parsee community domiciled at Daman was Cauji Beramogi, the father of the owner of the village Catria, Maneckji Cauji and also an opium trader.²⁹ The prosperous trade of the Malwa opium depended largely on the traditional network of the Parsis traders.

²⁷ Antonio Do Carmo Azevedo, op cit, p. 35; James M. Campbell, *Muslim and Parsi Castes and Tribes of Gujarat*, Vintage Books, Gurgaon, 1990, p. 194

²⁸ Celsa Pinto, *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India- XCHR Studies Series, No.5*, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1994, p. 60

²⁹ *ibid*, p.61



Indian Merchant

II. Way of Life of the Indigenous Merchants and the Maritime Society of Gujarat

During the 17th century there was a continuous movement of Acharyas from Tamil Nadu and Karnataka, who used to visit Gujarat frequently. They influenced many Gujaratis to follow the Sri Sampradaya and thus encouraged many merchants, businessmen and other saints to become the followers of Ramanuja. The affluent Jain group believed in the cult of non-violence. The vaisyas under the influence of the teachings of the Vallabhacharya by and large accepted the doctrine of non-violence. The two together formed the majority of the traders in Gujarat. But religion prevented them from safeguarding their material

interest by using the arms. This could be one of the reasons why the Europeans had never faced an armed resistance on a large scale from the traders.³⁰

The *bania* ethos was one of great austerity: one could not easily tell a millionaire from a commoner. The only extravagance the *bania* could permit himself came in the wake of a death or a wedding in the family. The family deity accumulated ornaments which descended with the idol from generation to generation. But Hindu mercantile thrift restrained even the urge to accumulate merit.³¹ It would in all likelihood be wrong to attribute the simple lifestyle of the *bania* and other Hindu merchants to the necessity of concealing their assets, though sometimes it was needed to avoid the harassment of Governmental officers, it was more of a value system. Unlike the Hindus *banias* who maintained a principle of austerity, the Muslim merchants were free from such inhibition and the wealthier among them lived like aristocrats and wielded some political influence. It was difficult even for the more despotic of the local governors to fleece men of this class.³² Textiles were to Indian merchants one way of storing value. In an incident when the merchant was under heavy debt, they first sold textiles, then the ornaments of their wives, then their land.³³

Religious harmony and tolerance was documented from the contemporary Gujarat, though incidents of religious conflicts were not totally absent. Gujarat was governed by Islamic laws. The celebrations of Hindu festivals were not curbed, though certain checks were imposed on the celebrations, mostly to prevent any disturbances or violence.³⁴ Conflicts and tensions often broke out due to control of religious spaces. One of the most striking features in these conflicts was the presence of the class. Religious boundaries

³⁰ Surendra Gopal, *Commerce and Crafts in Gujarat in 16th and 17th Centuries: A Study in the Impact of Europeans on Pre-capitalist Economy*, People's Publication, New Delhi, 1975

³¹ Ashin Das Gupta, "Indian Merchants and Trade in the Indian Ocean", in *Cambridge Economic History of India*, Vol.1, Cambridge University Press, 1982, P.421

³² Om Prakash, "The Indian Maritime Merchant, 1500- 1800", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 47, No. 3, P. 438-439

³³ R.J. Barendse , *Arabian Sea 1700-1763*, Brill, Leiden, 2009vol.3 p. 1079

³⁴ Farhat Hasan, *State and Locality in Mughal India*, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, 2006., p. 66

were distinguished on the basis of 'Hindu merchants' and the 'Muslim aristocracy'.³⁵ With a political shift in the 17th and 18th century Gujarat, the Muslim aristocracy started losing its prevalence and the Hindu merchants started gaining more importance.³⁶

The Hindus and the Muslims had greater lifecycle as compared to that of the Portuguese population in Portuguese India. Lifestyle and simple living could be one of the factors to analyze the health-index of the region. Evidences show for males and females over 90 years of age in Daman in 1785, no Catholic in a total population of 1,527 lived to the age of 90.³⁷ However, the port city had 81 Hindus and Muslims of both who had attained the age of 90 years or more in a total indigenous population of 14,887 in 1785 or one Hindu or Muslim in every 185 inhabitants reached at least the age of 90 years in Daman in 1785.³⁸

III. Portuguese Population

In most of the Portuguese settlements, Portuguese were the minority section of the society. The Portuguese estimated about 2400 people a year had immigrated to India in the first quarter of the 16th century.³⁹ The Portuguese population consisted of the officials of the Portuguese Crown as well as the private traders engaged in the intra- Asian trade.⁴⁰ Officials and the private Portuguese entrepreneurs constantly evolved in response to

³⁵ *ibid*, p. 67

³⁶ The Maratha plunders of the city of Surat and their occupation of, the Athavisi or 28 parganas made the Muslim administration in Surat faced extreme financial crisis from the 1730s. The city Governors, unsure of their tenures, perfected the art of plunder of the city merchants whose rebellion in 1730-32 resulted in the Governor's dismissal. During these crucial years, the Bania community led by Seth Laldas decided to involve the English Council at Surat in the protest movement of the city merchants led by Mulla Mohammed Ali.

³⁷ Rudy Bauss, *op.cit*, p. 209

³⁸ *ibid*, p. 209

³⁹ George Bryan Souza, *Portuguese, Dutch and Chinese in Maritime Asia*, c. 1585-1800, Ashgate Variorum, Surrey, 2014, p. 17

⁴⁰ Kenneth Mc Pherson, "The Indian Ocean: A History of People and the Sea", in *Maritime India*, University Press, New Delhi, 2004, p. 142

changing local conditions and were remarkably successful in blending into indigenous commercial response. The Portuguese society was divided on the basis of both birth and occupation.

They mostly acted under the jurisdiction of the *Estado*. The categories of residents in the Portuguese settlements under the jurisdiction of the *Estado* included government officials, soldiers, ecclesiastics, Jews and New Christians and the *casados*, *moradores* or married settlers.⁴¹ The unmarried Portuguese were known as *saldados* and were liable for military service. The white Portuguese were further subdivided between *reinões* born of white Portuguese parents in Portugal and the *mestizos*, born in Asia and usually of a Portuguese father and mother. *Castiços* were born of Portuguese father and Asian or Eurasian mother.⁴² Those who acted outside the Portuguese jurisdiction were sarcastically called *chattins*.⁴³ The *casados* were mostly engaged in the maritime trade and only a small section was involved in the agriculture. They often extracted privileges and concessions from the *Estado* like occasional limited commodity monopolies and special rates of custom duties etc.⁴⁴ The *casados* formed the major thrust of the Portuguese private traders. Many of the *fidalgos* who came for trading purpose went back to Portugal with great wealth amassed from the Indian Ocean trade. The second generation of the Portuguese, the *indiaticos* and the *mestizos* were more attached to India and did not have a desire to go to Portugal to settle down. They saw India as a stable empire which permitted certain limited upward social mobility.⁴⁵

The private Portuguese traders played an important but controversial role in Asia. Officially the companies regarded them as interlopers but unofficially there was a great

⁴¹ Om Prakash, "The Indian Maritime Merchants: 1500- 1800", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 2004, p. 55

⁴² *ibid*, p. 56

⁴³ Om Prakash, *European Commercial Enterprise in Pre-colonial India*, Cambridge University Press, Delhi, 1998, p. 55

⁴⁴ Om Prakash, "The Indian Maritime Merchants: 1500- 1800", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 2004, p. 56

⁴⁵ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia 1500-1700: A Political and Economic History*, Longman, London, 1993, p. 247

deal of collaboration.⁴⁶ Due to the nature of their business these private traders actually had to advocate the abolition of the monopoly companies but in practice they utilised the political power of the companies in Asia to suit their ends. They maintained no troops and built no forts. They were sleeping partners of the company and need not have to invest capital. They assembled wherever there was Portuguese presence but maintained a distance from the Portuguese royal power. In 1627, Diu had 59 married Portuguese men living outside the fortress.⁴⁷ Thus in Cambay there were 300 families of *casados* though Cambay was not officially under the Portuguese.⁴⁸ The *casados* were blamed to be unpatriotic and usually they would put their trading interests before the love for Portugal as there were instances where the *casados* continued to carry out their trade, even when the country of the region was at war with Portugal.⁴⁹

The councils were mostly governed by the higher class Portuguese. The Council of State was mostly an elite body, apart from one ecclesiastical representative, all other members were *fidalgos*. Thus the *casados* for their political voice was dependent on *Senado de Camara* or Municipal Council.⁵⁰ The *camara* mainly represented the commercial interest. Though these councils were restrictive in its memberships, the councils did consult other members of the society as well, including the Hindu banias.

One of the most important pillars of the Portuguese population in India was the Jesuits. Della Valle wrote that the enclaves of Diu and Daman did not have any Bishops but the

⁴⁶ Dietmar Rothermund, *Asian Trade and European Expansion in the Age of Mercantilism*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1981, p. 101

⁴⁷ Timothy Joel Coates, *Exiles and Orphans: Forced and State Sponsored Colonizers in the Portuguese Empire, 1550-1720*, Doctoral Thesis(Unpublished), University of Minnesota, 1993

⁴⁸ Ashin Das Gupta, "The Vasco da Gama Epoch", *World of Indian Ocean Merchant: 1500-1800, Collected Essays of Ashin Das Gupta*, Compiled by Uma Das Gupta Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2001, p. 248

⁴⁹ M.N. Pearson, *Coastal Western India: Studies from Portuguese Records*, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1981, p. 60

⁵⁰ *ibid*, p. 52

vicars and the Jesuits and was immensely powerful.⁵¹ The power enjoyed by them also often made them misuse their power most. They inflicted great harm from within the system to the Portuguese Crown in India. In 1631, the Viceroy wrote to the Portuguese Crown that the Jesuits often do not obey the orders and maintained their own army in complete defiance of the Government.⁵² Their closeness to the native people and also with the other Europeans was often seen with suspicion. Abbe Carre mentions the Jesuits as taking part in the trade and commerce. In many instances they brought commodities of great value from Persia, Africa and China and exchanged them with the Hindu and Muslim traders.⁵³ The Portuguese also played an important role in the education, hospital and charitable activities. The Portuguese ensured that all the education should be imparted within the limits of the Roman Catholic orthodoxy and was attained by the strict literary censorship. The Portuguese branch of Inquisition promulgated its first list of prohibited books in 1547, and made in a composite list by 1624. The Jesuits missions in Asia published various books of grammar and guide to the vernacular languages,⁵⁴ which helped in the intermixing of the Portuguese and native languages. As CR Boxer had opined that the Jesuits did not confine themselves to collegiate and university education but they maintained the kindergarden and primary education at home and in the overseas.⁵⁵ The Portuguese were the first to incorporate the Indian medicines in their medical practices and there were enough evidences to show that the Portuguese used to resort to treatment under the Indian practitioners. According to Dellon, during his visit to Daman, only Indian medical practitioners were present.⁵⁶ The brothers often worked as male nurses. They also hired slaves, mostly from east Africa, as the region had traditional

⁵¹ *The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India*, ed. Edward Grey, vol.1, Asian Educational Service, New Delhi, 1991, p. 133

⁵² F.C. Danvers, *Portuguese in India*, vol.2, Frank Cass and Co. Ltd, London 1966, p. 242

⁵³ *The Travels of The Abbe Carre in India and the Near East: 1672-1674*, trans. Lady Fawcett, Vol.1, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1990, p. 214

⁵⁴ CR Boxer, *Portuguese Sea Borne Empire(1415-1825)*, pp. 347-48

⁵⁵ *ibid*, p. 350

⁵⁶ Gabriel Dellon, *op. cit.*, p. 184

trading network with Diu to do kitchen chores and other services.⁵⁷ Women were not allowed entry into the convent.

More Portuguese women went to Brazil than they came to Asia and Africa.⁵⁸ During the years 1549-1750, no wife of the Portuguese viceroy or the governor-general of India accompanied their husbands to India. The average male immigrants could not afford to take their wives/daughters along with them without a monetary grant (*ajuda de custo*) from the Crown, which was seldom given out. The Crown used to send orphan girls from Portuguese of marriageable age to India, but that number was not high enough to meet the difference of ratio in the population of Portuguese men and women. This was one of the main reason of inter societal marriage in the Portuguese enclaves and by the end of the 17th century most of their descendants were Eurasians and not of purely Portuguese descent.



Portuguese Merchant greeted by his family and Indian Staff

⁵⁷ *ibid*, p. 231

⁵⁸ C.R. Boxer, *Mary and Misogyny: Women in Iberian Overseas 1415-1815 Some Facts, Fancies and Personalities*, Duckworth, p. 63

Portuguese women enjoyed both the position of importance or degradation in Diu and Daman. The societal position of women in Diu was impacted greatly by the fact that most of the male population of Diu was involved in trading activities which kept them away from the city for long durations. R.J. Barendse has termed the city as ‘female town’ because of the absence of the male members of the city.⁵⁹ The number of children per family was exceptionally low with many families having no children. In Daman the women were given lands and grants. These were often conferred to the widows of orphans who had to remarry a Portuguese born man.⁶⁰ The pure race or the Portuguese women were given more recognition than the native women as it was in other Portuguese settlements. During the defence of Diu, during the time of siege in 1538 and 1545, it was said that the women rendered a great service towards the *Estado*, by treating the wounded as well as in combat along the side of the men. The most celebrated was Isabel Fernandes, who was called “the old lady of Diu”.⁶¹ The women who were in the fort, led by Donna Isabel de Viegas, wife of Manuel de Vasconcellos and Anne Fernandez, wife of a physician took upon themselves certain duties, which helped the weak fort to be reinforced with some more manpower.⁶² Women were given recognition by the Crown of Portugal because of the services rendered by them. The welfare of an orphan girl or widowed lady was taken care by the local municipalities.⁶³

⁵⁹ R.J. Barendse, op.cit., vol.1, p.333

⁶⁰ This clause was opposed strongly at the Municipal Council of Daman in 1681, as by the end of 17th century the number of pure Portuguese born population have dwindled greatly; C.R. Boxer, op.cit., p. 76

⁶¹ Joy L.K. Pachau “Women in Portuguese India: Their Representation in 16th century Sources”, in *Coastal Histories: Society and Ecology in Pre Modern India*, ed. Yogesh Sharma, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2010, P. 96

⁶² F.C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, Vol. 1, Frank Cass and Co. Limited, 1966, P. 428

⁶³ Timothy Coates, “State Sponsored Female Colonization in Estado da India”, in *Sinners and Saints: the Successors of Vasco da Gama*, ed. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Oxford University, 1998, P. 44

IV. Slaves and Slavery

There were diasporas of slaves all over the various Portuguese pockets of India. To the Portuguese, religion and not the colour was the criterion of the Portuguese citizenship. And even while in taking slaves more importance was given to his or her religion and in their conversion to Christianity rather than to the colour. Even the *Misericordia* or charitable institutions used to buy slaves for the institution without thinking that there was anything wrong in it. Many Portuguese traders used to take part in the slave trade and thus there were a large number of slaves found in the coastal towns of India. The Portuguese imported slaves to India to relieve themselves of any work that might involve the use of physical force, hence the slaves worked on the farms, worked in the Portuguese households and did all the odd jobs. The Portuguese used slave labour in Diu as they did in Bandar Abbas and Surat. They believed that the free labour force “are prone to steal than to work”. Thus the treatment of slaves by the Portuguese in India was milder than that of the treatment meted out to the slaves in the west.⁶⁴ The brutal treatment in slavery on St. Helena or Mauritius has no counterpart in India, Persia or Swahili coast. The town of Diu was surrounded by settlements of refugee Portuguese slaves as was Goa.⁶⁵ As Diu participated in one of the most important slave trade of the Portuguese with the African coast, the slaves were being imported in Diu and then re exported from here. In Diu, they were mostly engaged to work in decks and in households. Also, as it had, been seen in chapter II the demand for boys were more than the men and that of the ration of women to man slave was greater in Diu. In the year 1831, the total number of slaves in Daman was 211 and in Diu during the same time, the number of black male slaves was 197 and female African slaves were 153, ie, 3.91% of the entire population of Diu).⁶⁶ At Diu the average male to female import ratio for adult African slaves was traditionally 3:1; but by the mid to late 1820’s this changed in the favour of boys and women. The boys were considered to be less likely to flee than the adult males. By this time the ratio of female to

⁶⁴ Jeanette Pinto, *Slavery in Portuguese India(1510- 1842)*, Himalaya Publishing House, Bombay, p.126

⁶⁵ R.J. Barendse, *The Arabian Sea: The Indian Ocean World of the 17th century*, Vision Books, 2002, p. 116

⁶⁶ Rudy Bauss, op.cit., p. 211

male changed to that of 6:4. Women and young girls were in demand in Kathiawar and Kutch as domestic workers and concubines. Slave prices were more or less stagnant in Diu, but it increased as late as the first years of the 19th century, a rise confirmed by fragmentary evidence of Daman.⁶⁷

V. Division of Labour and Occupation

With the increase in population there was a visible division of labour within the residents of the city and the surrounding areas. The maritime trade and commerce led to the rise of manufacturing and other related industries. The profession was often chosen in accordance with religion and caste, but the society of Diu and Daman was not very stringent on these factors and there was an air of co-operation and mutual dependency within the residents of the city.

In the handloom industry, the weaving and the dyeing skills were generally passed on through generations and within the same caste. However, with the rising demands of goods and services, labourers were employed according to their availability and not caste.⁶⁸ With the coming of the Europeans, there was a rise in demand in production. To meet this demand the skills of weaving and dyeing were acquired often by other castes that were not associated with the industry in the past. But often the skills were not passed on by the master weaver to his apprentices from other castes. Various castes and social groups such as the Momin, Tahi, Bohra, Bungar, Bandara, Khatri, Kunbi (both Hindus and Muslims), as well as Parsis, are mentioned as working with looms.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Pedro Machado, "A Forgotten Corner of the Indian Ocean: Gujarati Merchants, Portuguese India and the Mozambique Slave Trade: 1730- 1830", in *The Structure of Slavery in Indian Ocean African and Asia*, ed. by Gwyn Campbell, Frank Cass, London, 2004, p. 27

⁶⁸ Ghulam A. Nadri, *Eighteenth Century Gujarat: The Dynamics of its Political Economy*, Brill, Leiden, 2005, p. 27

⁶⁹ *ibid*, p. 24

Unlike Bengal and Coromandel, Gujarat weavers were urban dwellers.⁷⁰ The centres of textile production of Diu was at the city of Diu, Brancavara, Monxivara, passo do Covo and Podame. The painters or dyers resided in the main city of Diu. The highest concentration of weavers was found at the market place and the rest at Brancavara, Moxivara, Paso do Covo and Podame.⁷¹ In the years 1810-14, in Diu 323 weavers and 53 painters resided. In Diu, out of 232 weavers in 1816, 162 were Hindus and 36 were Parsis.⁷² The Portuguese opened a workshop in Salcette on the models of the weavers' workshops of Diu with twelve looms and employed nine weavers at salary of 20 *xerafins* and two master weavers with one getting a salary of 40 *xerafins*.⁷³

WEAVERS AND DYERS ENGAGED IN TEXTILE PRODUCTION AT DIU 1810-16⁷⁴

YEARS	WEAVERS	PAINTERS
1810	343	57
1811	337	56
1812	313	53
1814	300	47

In Daman the centre of weaving was located at Damão de Sima or Upper Daman, Doler, Ambavary, Chão de Jamporis, Damão Pequeno, Fora de Jampa, Carivary and Varacunda. The weaving population formed 30.13% of the total population at Daman. In Daman the weaving was controlled by the Mulסים, however, the dyers and printers were almost all Hindus. The weavers were either Hindus or Muslims, but the majority of the weavers were Muslims.⁷⁵ In 1810-12 the Muslim weavers formed 82.01% of the average

⁷⁰ *ibid*, pp. 24-26

⁷¹ Celsa Pinto, *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India- XCHR Studies Series, No.5*, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1994, p. 189

⁷² *ibid.*, pp. 189-190

⁷³ R.J. Barendse, *Arabian Sea 1700-1763*, Brill, Leiden, 2009, vol. 3, p. 1105

⁷⁴ Celsa Pinto, *op.cit.*, p. 191

⁷⁵ *ibid*, p.190

population of 667 weavers. The average number of Muslim houses of weaving formed 86.53 per cent of the average total of 340.5 weaving houses located at Daman.⁷⁶ During 1814- 28, on an average around 30 dyers existed in Daman.⁷⁷

In Surat, a spinner earned an average of Rs 8.5 for spinning a *man* of yarn. Assuming that a weaver is working full time spun, i.e., 0.75 of a *seer* (0.468 pound) per day, it would take about eighty days to spin a *man* of yarn and the salary of the weaver would be 1.7 *annas* (one-sixteenth of a rupee) a day or Rs 3.18 a month.⁷⁸ In Diu as in elsewhere the intrinsic value of textiles included the remuneration of the weavers and a fair percentage of workmanship along with the purchasing cost of the raw materials.⁷⁹ The looms also employed apprentices at a very meagre salaries and young boys as help. In most of these cases the young boys were sons or relatives of the weavers, and were learning the art of weaving from a very young age.

The occupations were often overlapping: merchants were ship owners, freighters, inland traders, bankers, brokers, and suppliers. The rich merchants combined their trading activities with banking or brokering.⁸⁰ The agricultural labourers often shifted to weaving according to the market demands in the 16th and 17th centuries. But even then caste had an important role to play in the selection of the profession. But the shift in profession , which was considered demeaning according to the caste lines , was not that frequent. Thus the *lascarins* would never be involved as a *koeli* worker. R.J. Barendse is of the opinion that due to the constant restrictions in the supply of skilled labour, growth of industries depended on the supply of skilled labour in the region along with capital.⁸¹

⁷⁶ *ibid*, p. 190

⁷⁷ *ibid*, p. 190

⁷⁸ Ghulam A Nadri, *op.cit.*, p. 28

⁷⁹ R.J. Barendse, *op.cit.*, vol.3, p. 1108

⁸⁰ Ghulam A. Nadri, *op.cit.*, p. 52

⁸¹ R.J. Barendse, *op.cit.*, vol,3 ,p. 1126

According to a report of 1646, there were around 30,000 *banias* in Portuguese Asia.⁸² The *bania* merchants took part in diverse commercial activities. Their participation in the structure of land revenue collection included the procurement of grain at the village level from the peasants enabling them to meet their revenue obligations in cash.⁸³ Since a part of the land revenue still came in the form of grain, the same merchants offered to relieve the state of these supplies and convert it into cash again making a profit in the process. They also had substantial dealings with the intermediary such as the *zamindars* who coupled their occupation of being a moneylender.⁸⁴ The ‘substantial merchants’ had links in other Indian Ocean ports, travelled with their cargoes and often acted as an agent of other merchants who were unable to travel elsewhere.⁸⁵ The post of *nakhuda* or the captain of the ship is a classic example of how the duties of merchants and ship-owners could be merged in. The *nakhuda* was often an eminent merchant, a ship-owner and also acted as a commission-agent for other merchants.⁸⁶ The *bania* merchants often participated in the process of land revenue collection which included the procurement of grain from the peasants helping them to meet their revenue obligations in cash, making a profit in the process.⁸⁷ The traders also developed links with the producers.⁸⁸ The merchant capital applied to the agricultural production was small though it was

⁸² M.N, Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat— The Response to the Portuguese In The 16th Century*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Private Ltd., New Delhi, 1976, p. 104; Abhay Kumar Singh, “Cambay as a Maritime City of Gujarat, 1200-1650”, in *Cities in Medieval India*, ed. Yogesh Sharma and Pius Malekandathil, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2014, p. 549

⁸³ Om Prakash, “The Indian Maritime Merchants: 1500- 1800”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 2004, p. 436

⁸⁴ *ibid*, pp. 436-437

⁸⁵ Ashin Dasgupta, “Indian Merchants and the Trade in the Indian Ocean”, *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, ed. Dharma Kumar and Tapan Raychaudhuri, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1982, p. 418

⁸⁶ *ibid*, p. 419

⁸⁷ Om Prakash, “The Indian Maritime Merchants: 1500- 1800”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 2004, p. 436, p. 436

⁸⁸ Prasannan Parthasarathi, “Merchants and the Rise of Colonialism”, *Institutions and Economic Change in South Asia*, ed. Burton Stein and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1996, p. 92

significant.⁸⁹ The advancement of credit often acted as a tool of social control and was also source of capital for the poor artisans.⁹⁰

The brokerage was sanctioned by the customary law and the brokers often played various roles. A. Jan Qaisar distinguishes brokers from one hand and *sarafs* and *dubashis* or interpreters on the other. He points out the presence of four types of brokers: those who were regular employees or agents of merchants, companies, etc., and who were paid either by a salary or a commission (these could perhaps best be called agents rather than brokers); those who worked for more than one employee; those who worked ad hoc; and those who were appointed by the state.⁹¹

The brokers worked with both local and foreign merchants. In Surat no merchant could work without the help of the broker or in some ways the *sarafs* as they had the control over the market.⁹² Well known and influential merchants as Abdul Ghafur had a broker called Gangadas and his grandson Muhammad Ali had two brokers Rajaram and Jeddaram. The foreign merchants were more dependent on the brokers than their Indian counterparts because the former often had limited resources and was faced with various shortcomings like that of the local language.⁹³ For the Europeans the brokers were often also their *vakil* or lawyer, the man responsible for the local authorities for their conduct and actions.⁹⁴ Abbe Carre speaks about a broker Samson who was appointed by the French East Indian Company at Surat in 1668 to look after the Company's business in the

⁸⁹ C.A. Bayly, *Rulers Townsmen and Bazaars North Indian Society in the Age of British Expansion, 1770-1870*, Cambridge University Press, 1988, p. 107

⁹⁰ K.N. Chaudhuri, "Markets and Traders in India During 17th and 18th century", *Money and the Market in India 1100-1700*, ed. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1994, p. 274

⁹¹ A. Jan Qaisar, "The Role of Brokers in Medieval India", *Indian Historical Review*, I, ii, Sept. 1974,

⁹² Ashin Das Gupta, *Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1994 p. 85

⁹³ M.N. Pearson, "Brokers in Western Indian Port Cities Their Role in Servicing Foreign Merchants", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol.22, No.3, p. 461

⁹⁴ Ruby Maloni, op.cit., p. 91

city.⁹⁵ There were often two categories of brokers- general and sub brokers in Gujarat. The latter could be also termed as the commodity broker who dealt with particular commodities like the indigo or textiles. They worked with the primary producer or the headman and acted as an intermediary for the house broker for the European factory.⁹⁶ He often charged two per cent for supplying the items of export and import.⁹⁷ In case of the shutdown of the factory the trusted brokers often took over the complete charge of the European trade of the area. The Europeans perceived the brokers to be shrewd and the relationship between the two were often maligned with distrust and suspicion. Thus the brokers were never delegated any decision making powers by the Europeans.⁹⁸ Rustomji Manekji was one of the important brokers of Gujarat who arranged for Portuguese commercial transactions in Surat, administer the issuance of passports in Surat and act as their attorney in political and commercial matters with the Mughal administration in Surat.⁹⁹ On behalf of the Portuguese he also issued *cartaz* in Surat and acted as the Portuguese consul.¹⁰⁰ Since July 1695, Rustom Manock arranged the sale of company's ivory from Diu and Daman as well as of quicksilver, tutenage and vermilion from its China trade at Surat.

The occupation of the sailors and the crew members of the ships were mostly Hindus and Muslims. Muslim sailors or lascars dominated the Indian Ocean. Their navigational skills and talent and their knowledge of the sea were incomparable and they were paid 6 *mahmudis*¹⁰¹ per month¹⁰² in return of their service, which was very less in comparison to

⁹⁵ Abbe Carre, op.cit., vol.1, p. 787

⁹⁶ Ruby Maloni, op.cit., p. 79

⁹⁷ Celsa Pinto, *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India- XCHR Studies Series*, No.5, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1994, p. 66

⁹⁸ Om Prakash, "The Indian Maritime Merchant, 1500-1800", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 47, No.3, 2014, p. 437

⁹⁹ Balkrishna Govind Gokhale, *Surat in the 17th century*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1979, p. 148

¹⁰⁰ G.V. Scammell, , "The Pillars of Empire: Indigenous Assistance and the Survival of the Estado da India", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 3, p. 479

¹⁰¹ *Mahmudi* was a silver coin of the value of an English shilling. It was widely used in Gujarat, but its value fluctuated with time and also place. For eg. In 1630s, the rate of exchange between a

that of the European sailors. The situation, though, changed later on, as in certain cases Indian sailors were being paid equal to a European.¹⁰³ Abul Fazl, noted that in Cambay a *nakhuda*¹⁰⁴ sailor used to earn Rs. 800 while in Satgaon, he earned Rs. 44 and a *Kharwa* or common sailor received Rs. 50 along with food on a daily basis.¹⁰⁵ The most elite of the crews worked in the dhows from the Persian Gulf and Hadramawt. The mariner's would start the career of a sailor very early in life. The contract was mostly oral as most of the sailors could not write. The whole community subsisted upon their remittances. For though the sailors working in the coastwise navigation from a place like Gogola received relatively meagre pay at eight rupees a month for a common sailor and nine for their *tandil*, but got free food and thus could save to send home.¹⁰⁶

The reasons for the shortage of sailors in the Portuguese society can be attributed to the lowest rank given to them in the social hierarchy. The word sailor was used as a mere abuse, with often putting them in the same rank with the slaves.¹⁰⁷ Even the senior naval officers were often treated with disrespect by their juniors in the military and land services as the latter regarded themselves as social superiors to that of the sea men. The root of this lay in the feudal nature of the European society in general, where the landed gentry was given more importance. To enhance the prestige and efficiency of the sailors, in the age of discoveries, the monarchs often tried to improve their social position by

mahmudi and the rupee fluctuated between 41 and 42 rupees for 100 *mahmudis* (B.G. Gokhale, *Surat in the Seventeenth Century: A study in Urban History of Pre- modern India*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1979, p. 131)

¹⁰² M.S. Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, Longmans Green & Co. Ltd., Bombay, 1938, vol.1, p. 309

¹⁰³ R.J. Barendse, *The Arabian Seas: The Indian Ocean World of 17th century*, Vision Books New Delhi, 2002, p. 582

¹⁰⁴ Ship owning merchants of western India.

¹⁰⁵ Lakshmi Subramanian, *Medieval Seafarers of India*, Roli Books Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, 2005, p. 27

¹⁰⁶ R.J. Barendse, *The Arabian Seas: The Indian Ocean World of 17th century*, Vision Books New Delhi, 2002 p. 92

¹⁰⁷ C.R. Boxer, *Portuguese India in the Mid 17th century*, Oxford university Press, 1980 , p.30

awarding them with knighthood and other such social hierarchal positions.¹⁰⁸ But even if the Portuguese *fidalgos*¹⁰⁹ rose in their professional ladder, it did not improve their social conditions. These reasons contributed in the decline of the Portuguese sailors and sea men, leading to a dependency of the Portuguese on Indian men.

The Indian seafarers of 16th century were cosmopolitan in character. Though the profession was dominated by the Muslims, there was the presence of Hindus and converted Christians. The Indo-Portuguese mariners became the most important sailing community in the Indian Ocean from 16th century even under other European companies. While the indigenous mercantile groups faced resistance and competition from their European counterparts,¹¹⁰ often leading to tensions and conflicts, the indigenous sailors and fishermen found themselves incorporated into European shipping and mercantile activities.

Moreover, apart from being great traders and merchants, the Gujaratis were also great artisans. To prevent the flow of cash from Goa to Gujarat, to buy manufactured goods, a factory was established in 1761. Viceroy Count of Ega entrusted 8,900 *xerafins* to Chandra Kamat, a businessman, to open a factory in Panjim with the weavers from Diu and Surat.¹¹¹ The banias invested their capital in land, in dowries and in building temple. Kutch witnessed a boom in temple building in a distinctive local style, the capital for which was primarily sourced from Mozambique trade.¹¹²

In Gujarat significant shift of weavers to the urban centres started from 17th century onwards.¹¹³ The weavers started to shift from the localized networks of exchange to

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, p. 32

¹⁰⁹ Portuguese noblemen living in India

¹¹⁰ Lakshmi Subramanian, *Medieval Seafarers of India*, Roli Books Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, 2005, p. 14

¹¹¹ R.J. Barendse, *Arabian Sea (1700-1763)*, Brill, Leiden, 2009, vol.3, p. 1071

¹¹² Ibid, p. 1304

¹¹³ Douglas E. Haynes, "The Logic of the Artisan Firm in an Capitalist Economy: Handloom Weavers and Technological Change in Western India, 1880-1947, *Institutions and Economic*

larger centres of production, which was connected to markets. There was a continuous circulation of population from Gogola, which used to shift to the neighbouring villages of Una and Dilvara which was then under the Mughals, and offered more opportunities.¹¹⁴ Pandit Babhu Raja, the collector of Maratha *chauth* complained that the Muslim sailors would go and serve in the ships of Una while the family stayed back at Gogola. The weavers or craftsmen and the traders or the shipwrights were also on a move from one centre of manufacture or commerce to another seeking fortune.¹¹⁵ In 1762, when the Portuguese constructed a *palla* in Diu, they subcontracted the work to a master carpenter from a nearby town of Goga, seven others from Bhavnager, and their payment was drafted in a *hundi* from Surat.¹¹⁶ Artisans and cloth manufacturers started to shift in larger weaving centres where there was abundant supply of yarn and market available. The growing competition among the merchants led to the shift of around 10% of Saurashtra born male to Bombay in the 19th century, as business that got shifted from Gujarat to Bombay.¹¹⁷

The migration was often initiated by the *Estado*, to meet its requirements in exchange of some monetary or profitable transactions. In 1753, when seven apprentices moved from Goa to Diu to receive training in weaving, they received seventy *xerafins*. Moreover, in Diu they were paid ten *xerafins* monthly and fourteen in Goa, as a contribution for their families.¹¹⁸

Change in South Asia, ed. Burton Stein and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1996, p. 177

¹¹⁴ R.J. Barendse, *Arabian Sea (1700-1763)*, Brill, Leiden, vol. 1, p. 90

¹¹⁵ *ibid*, p. 327

¹¹⁶ *ibid*, p. 327

¹¹⁷ Howard Spodek, "Rulers, Merchants and Other Groups in the City-States of Saurashtra India around 1800", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 16, No. 4 (Sep., 1974), p. 466

¹¹⁸ R.J. Barendse, *Arabian Sea (1700-1763)*, Brill, Leiden, 2009, vol.3, p. 1122

VI. Occupational Groups and Guilds: The Indigenous Organisational System

There is certain ambiguity in the matter of the nature and functions of the organizations of Hindu Bania and Jain merchants in Gujarati cities in the 17th and the 18th centuries. Powerful social groups in control of a particular occupation could and did regulate the manner and method of trade. The trading and banking sector was often controlled by the big merchant families, some of which played a pivotal role in the business transactions of the region for generations. The merchant community or business families of Gujarat worked in close cooperation with each other. The families of the Parekhs and Abdul Gafur were dominant financial players in the region for generations.

The banking system was also mostly run by big banking house, though this does not eliminate the presence of small bankers in Gujarat. One such banking house was that of Travadis, founded by Arjunji Nathji, a *nagar* Brahmin from Benaras. The members of the house were predominant in the banking sector of Gujarat and had an administrative and literary tradition. The knowledge of Persian also gave them access to the Mughal courts and further strengthened their position.¹¹⁹ The Arabian Sea network had Kathiawar *kotis* and *bombaras*, and ‘the Kathiawar sailors and the banias were vanguard of advancing capitalism’ particularly on Portuguese *cartazes* called ‘a costa de Mocha’.

In 1783, the traders of Diu pointed out that the trading journeys sometimes took years to complete and were hazardous at the same time thus there was a need to divide the risk and finances among as many traders as possible.¹²⁰ The requirement of large network of trustworthy people for the commercial operation seems to have led in the development of a close network of dependences.¹²¹ The business communities often had a competitive relationship among each other, mainly commercial in nature.¹²² The Portuguese brought

¹¹⁹ Makrand Mehta, “Indian Bankers and Political Change: A Case Study of the Travadis of Surat, c. 1720-1820”, *Studies in History*, Vol. IV, No.1, 1982, p. 46

¹²⁰ R.J. Barendse, *Arabian Sea (1700-1763)*, Brill, Leiden, 2009, vol. 4, p. 1455

¹²¹ Ghulam A. Nadri, “The Maritime Merchants of Surat: A Long-term Perspective”, *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 50, No. 2/3, p. 252

¹²² *ibid*, p. 239

their Gujarati textiles for the *Carreira da India* from small commercial companies of six to eight merchants, together becoming responsible for the delivery of the textiles.¹²³ In this way they were able to diminish the risk involved as the nature of the journey was hazardous and cost consuming.

Though “guilds” in European lines did not develop during this period but nevertheless, these trading bodies acted on the lines of the guilds and looked after the needs, interests and well being of the traders at the same time trying to bind the entire trading community together. The joint stock company was often looked upon as a tool to establish monopoly rather than capital.¹²⁴ There were social organizations called the *jatis* to distinguish them from the professional association designated the *mahajans*. At Diu, by the second half of the 17th century, only 17 wealthy traders lived who acted as representatives of the “assembly of Hindus” and few hundred hawkers. The merchants were organized through this hierarchical body presided over by a captain. This was more of a makeshift body for negotiation with the Portuguese than the caste assembly, in which Jains and Muslim traders were also involved.¹²⁵ As in case of the Hindus the merchants of the other communities also had their organizations that were similarly social and religious in nature. The Parsis had their *anjuman* while the Muslims had their *jamats*. There was social organization called *jnatis* and different professional associations headed by the *mahajan* or the principal merchants. The *mahajans* acted as a spokesperson and sometimes had political interests. The *mahajans* had to be cautious and pious traders at the same time had to have strong economic interests.¹²⁶ But the basis of *mahajans* continued to be religious and social instead of occupational.¹²⁷ Among all the *banias* were so powerful that their “captain” or the head of the guild they had was a powerful

¹²³ R.J. Barendse, *Arabian Sea (1700-1763)*, Brill, Leiden, 2009, vol.2, p. 728

¹²⁴ J. Brenning, “Joint Stock Companies of Coromandel, in B.B. Kling and the M.N Pearson, *The Age of Partnership: Europeans in Asia before dominion*, pp. 71-96

¹²⁵ R.J. Barendse, *The Arabian Seas: The Indian Ocean World of 17th century*, Vision Books New Delhi, 2002 p. 179

¹²⁶ R.J. Barendse, *Arabian Sea (1700-1763)*, Brill, Leiden, 2009, vol.2, p. 715

¹²⁷ Om Prakash, “The Indian Maritime Merchants: 1500- 1800”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 2004, p.440

figure in Diu politics and the Portuguese had to conciliate with him. The Gujarati *bantias* in Diu acted as the agents for all Gujarati merchants in dealing with the Portuguese authority. These captains occupied important positions and they were treated with considerable respect by the Portuguese.¹²⁸ The *mahajans* exercised authority over their members including the right to tax them to run an organization called *pinjrapole* to aid animal protection. The *mahajans* not only had control over the economic life of the merchants but also the social and political position of the merchants.¹²⁹ Towards the end of the 17th century, largely under the influence of the *mahajans* merchant protests started to take place. In 1725, Surat merchants including Mulla Muhammad Ali, Ahmad Challeby, Abdur Rahman Laldas, Lalmani and others caused a complete deadlock of the city and trade and commerce was closed.¹³⁰ In another protest of 1732, the merchants of Surat, including Ahmad Chellaby, Abdur Rahman and the *mahajans* and the residents of Surat brought trade to standstill and threatened to leave the city if their demands were not met.¹³¹

The joint stock company and the guild system came with the European. The embodiment of the guild system of the *bantias* of Diu was the *Companhia dos Mazanes*, founded in 1689. The *Companhia* acted as a collective body to bargain and safeguard the interests of the *bania* community whether against the greedy and dishonest Portuguese captains of the *Junta de Mozambique*. It defended the right and interests of the smaller merchants against the larger contractors, as by statute of the *Companhia* every merchants of Diu was allowed to get cargo space on the ship and thus the smaller merchants could not be avoided.¹³² But in reality, five principal contractors elected by the assembly, made the

¹²⁸ M.N. Pearson, "Indigenous Dominance in a Colonial Economy- The Goa Rendas (1600-1670)", *Mare Luso Indicum*, Vol.2, p.68

¹²⁹ Farhat Hasan, *State and Locality in Mughal India*, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, 2006

¹³⁰ *ibid*, p. 64

¹³¹ *ibid* pp. 64-65

¹³² R.J. Barendse, *Arabian Sea (1700-1763)*, Brill, Leiden, 2009, vol. 4, p, 1456

bidding for cargoes.¹³³ The *Companhia* worked autonomously in deciding the crew to the cargoes that were to be taken without the interference of the captain of the fortress. Moreover, the *Companhia* as a separate commercial organization obtained the right to send its commercial representatives to Mozambique to look into stock at Mozambique and also could send any merchandise to India without any intervention of the Mozambique Junta.¹³⁴ In the face of growing competition against the Portuguese from the English and the Dutch in the Indian Ocean, the prosperous trade of the Mozambique- Diu network flourished because of the trading links of the *Companhia* under the *baniyas* of Diu. Over the years, Gujarati *baniyas* had settled in various parts of the West African trade routes. The trading agents and Indian brokers of the Saraswat Brahmins of Goa and the *baniyas* of Diu brought textiles to the markets for retail trade along the river Zambesi or to Sofala, Mrima coast and the various Swahili towns, where they carried on trade with the help of the African collaborators.¹³⁵

Big merchant firms of Jamshedjee Jeejeebhoy, Jardine Matheson and Remington Crawford and Company worked in close association with the Europeans and the manufacturers. Along with the *baniyas*, the brokers or the *mahajans* also played a very important role in the Gujarati society. Often the principal merchants acted as the *mahajans* or as the Portuguese called them *mazanes*. The *mahajans* often acted on the behalf of the entire community.¹³⁶ Settling of the succession was one of the most important functions of the *mahajan* particularly under Mughal jurisdiction.

The close ties between the family organization and long distance trade in the Indian Ocean portrays how successful capitalist enterprises are closely linked to social organization based on kinship.¹³⁷ Marriage alliances played a very important role in

¹³³ *ibid*, vol.2, p. 715

¹³⁴ *ibid*, p. 1457

¹³⁵ Pius Malekandathil, *Indian Ocean in the Shaping of Late Medieval India*, Presidential Address (Indian Medieval Section), Indian History Congress, Cuttack, 2013

¹³⁶ R.J. Barendse, *Arabian Sea (1700-1763)*, Brill, Leiden, 2009, vol.2, p. 716

¹³⁷ Martin Ottenheimer, "Social organization and Indian Ocean Long Distance Trade", *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1991, p. 133

building traditional ties of network. The opium trade of Daman in 18th century, depended on these traditional network. These features of the Indian Ocean often ensured the availability and distribution of wealth, helped in forging international contacts and set up hospitality for the foreign trader in culturally different lands.¹³⁸ The capital accumulation was not sporadic and unlike in some other parts of the country, the merchants who accumulated wealth did not create a volatile situation. It was mostly passed on among several generations and the merchants were able to diversify their wealth.¹³⁹ Weber had pointed out that the predominance of traditional ties was detrimental for the growth of capitalism. Jack Goody criticising this theory had pointed out that the familial ties were not something unknown to the western world. He opined that extended domestic units and wider kinship groups often played a very critical role in commercial activities in the Indian Ocean region and also in West. Though the English and the Dutch joint stock companies were run by directors and shareholders, it also depended on the personal network of ‘nephews and friends’.¹⁴⁰ However, the Indian merchants, often followed the etiquettes and social norms not written solely according to religion or caste but the business ethics.¹⁴¹

VII. Merchants Linkages

The linkages of the Indian merchants were not only found in India but also in the foreign lands. The Indian merchants from ancient times moved far and wide for trading. Indian diaspora comprising mostly of the merchants and traders were found from southeast Asia

¹³⁸ *ibid*, p. 133

¹³⁹ Sanjay Subrahmanyam and CA Bayly, “Portfolio Capitalists and the Political economy of Early Modern India”, *Merchants, Markets and the State in Early Modern India*, ed. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1990, p. 257

¹⁴⁰ Bhaswati Bhattacharya, Gita Dharampal-Frick and Jos Gommans, “Spatial and Temporal Continuities of Merchant Networks in South Asia and the Indian Ocean (1500-2000)”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 50, No. 2/3, Spatial and Temporal Continuities of Merchant Networks in South Asia and the Indian Ocean (2007), p. 96

¹⁴¹ Ashin Das Gupta, “Some Attitudes Among the 18th century Merchants”, *The World of the Indian Ocean Merchant 1500-1800: Collected Essays of Ashin Das Gupta*, Compiled by Uma Das Gupta, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2001, p. 106

to Africa. Even within the country the traders and the businessmen often formed alliances on personal and professional lines.

Though the shipping industry was dominated by the Muslim traders, shore based Hindu merchants were not necessarily men who never went abroad but they followed general lines of trade which fed the shipping in the Indian Ocean and which they did not operate themselves.¹⁴² Religious ties were important in forging this kind of alliances. But the cooperation was also seen among different religious beliefs. The merchant groups found it more worthwhile to depend on the internal alliances rather than to depend on the foreigners. The Muslim traders of Rander had their fellows settled and usually married to local women in all the major ports of Indian Ocean.¹⁴³ The well known Armenian merchant of the late 17th century, Hovhannes, wherever went from Shiraz, Surat, Agra, Patna, Nepal and Tibet, always depended on his fellow Armenians. Thus he always had a ready-made network of credit, supply, information and local expertise.¹⁴⁴ Parsi merchants Dadabhai and Edul Dada, the two contractors for the English investment for much of the 1760s and 1770s, depended for the actual procurement of goods on Rustam Jessu, a Parsi, and Mancherji Khurshedji depended on his *bania* merchants and brokers.¹⁴⁵ At the beginning of the sixteenth century Barbosa noted regular trading connections between the Hindu merchants of Gujarat and their agents in Hormuz.¹⁴⁶ They became so important that they started to influence the administration of the port. Thevenot noted the presence of around 15000 *banias* in Ispahan, the capital of Persia, working as money-lenders. The *bania* merchants who were settled in Yemen controlled the trade of the region and also devised a coin of account known as Yemeni dollar. All the transactions of Yemen were

¹⁴² Ashin Das Gupta, "Indian Merchants and Trade in the Indian Ocean", in Tapan Ray Chaudhuri and Irfan Habib edited, *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, Vol.1, p.419

¹⁴³ M.N. Pearson, "Brokers in Western Indian Port Cities Their Role in Servicing Foreign Merchants", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol.22, No.3, p. 460

¹⁴⁴ *ibid*, p. 460

¹⁴⁵ Ghulam A. Nadri, *op.cit.*, p. 66

¹⁴⁶ M.N. Pearson, *The Portuguese in India: The New Cambridge History of India*, Vol.1, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1987, p.159

done through this account. It was 21% less value of the Spanish dollar.¹⁴⁷ The *baniyas* of Yemen also introduced the system of deferred payment according to which after the departure of the fleet from Surat would be paid only at *nauroz* or later.¹⁴⁸ The merchants also had a remarkable presence at Massowa and Suakin.

Like the trade between Diu and Mozambique the Portuguese benefitted immensely from the connections and the traditional links of the traders and merchants, particularly in the trade between Gujarat and Africa and the opium trade of Daman and China. In the last half of the 17th century and the beginning of 18th century when the power of the Portuguese was losing and also their supremacy in the Indian Ocean region, they could still continue their trading activities between Asia and Africa because of these links of the merchants and traders of Diu, Daman and Goa. The failure of the English East India Company's attempts to monopolise the opium trade between India and China can be attributed to the power and influence of the network of the opium dealers and private merchants in the country.¹⁴⁹ This also made difficult for the Europeans to make inroads into the opium markets in the interior of the Deccan. The Daman based Beramji Bharde and later his sons Bhikaji and Kavasji and Cauji Beramogi, an influential member of the Parsee community domiciled at Daman and had built their fortune because of the opium trade.¹⁵⁰ The opium markets of Gujarat and Rajasthan ~~markets~~ were traditionally supplied by Marwaris, Gujarati *baniyas* and wandering ascetics such as Gosains and Charuns.¹⁵¹ Daman's supply market of opium was dominated by eight or nine indigenous traders, Modi Dorabji Nasserwanji, Byramji Bhikaji, Kavasji Byramji, Moolchand Heerachand,

¹⁴⁷ Om Prakash, "Indian Maritime Merchant: 1500- 1800", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 47, No. 3, 2004, p. 448

¹⁴⁸ *ibid*, p. 448

¹⁴⁹ Asiya Siddiqi, "The Business World of Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy", *Trade and Finance in Colonial India- 1750-1860*, ed. Asiya Siddiqi, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1995, p. 197

¹⁵⁰ Celsa Pinto, *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India- XCHR Studies Series*, No.5, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1994, p.61

¹⁵¹ Amar Farooqi, *Smuggling and Subversion: Colonialism, Indian Merchants and Politics of Opium, 1790-1843*, New Age International, New Delhi, 1998, p. 143

Karamchand Hurruckchand, Dayaram Dulobha, Lalubhai Valobdas and Racique Vallobo, all depended on their traditional and indigenous trading network to carry on the trade.¹⁵²

Though historians often point out communal discord between the different sections of the society, there are evidences of different sections of the society coming together. According to “Mirat-i-Ahmadi” the *masjids* became desolate and the temples increased in splendor. During Holi, Muslims were subjected to injury, insult and disgrace and the Hindus regarded this deed as that of virtue. None had the power to question. Even in some instances the Marwaris had entered houses and had plundered them.¹⁵³ However, the conflict was not always communal. The Bohra section of the merchants was often jealous of the Parsis because of their growing control over trade and commerce. In order to restrict the business of the Parsis, the Bohras often undertook various kinds of measures, starting from black magic to getting members of the Parsi community murdered. The Parsis further alleged that because of their friendship with the Mughals, the Bohras were promoting the trade of the former in Surat by indulging in fraudulent activities. Money was also used to provoke violence against the Parsis.¹⁵⁴ But cooperation among the economic sphere was prevalent widely. The Hindu merchants of Gujarat and Sind would employ Muslim supercargoes to take care of their vessels and trade. Sometime the name of the ships would also speak about the cooperation between the two, eg. Lakshmi Pasha.¹⁵⁵ Moreover, the presence of Indian traders and Indian men of religion as a civilizing force led to the growth of shared common culture and also

¹⁵² *ibid*, p. 171

¹⁵³ *Mirat-i-Ahmadi: A Persian History of Gujarat*, Translated by M.F. Lokhandwala, Oriental institute, Baroda, 1965, p.489

¹⁵⁴ Dilbagh Singh and Ashok B. Rajshirke, “The Merchant Communities in Surat: Trade, Trade Practises and Institutions in the Late Eighteenth Century”, in Indu Banga ed. *Ports and their Hinterlands: 1700-1950*, Manohar Publication, Delhi, 1992

¹⁵⁵ Ashin Das Gupta, “Some Attitudes Among the 18th century Merchants”, *The World of the Indian Ocean Merchant 1500-1800: Collected Essays of Ashin Das Gupta*, Compiled by Uma Das Gupta, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2001, p. 107

expansion of textile trade and the entry of the Indian traders in the southeast Asia and China.¹⁵⁶

VIII. Response and Relationship of the Gujaratis and the Portuguese

Lot of factors were responsible for influencing and determining the response and relationship between the Indian mercantile class and the Europeans in the 16th and 17th centuries. The non interference of the Indian government except in some centres, the ambitions of the Indian merchant class specially the Gujarati merchants, and the rising competition between the Portuguese, English and Dutch, which made the peaceful Indian Ocean trading region to be one of the most competitive spaces. The Portuguese attempts to compensate for their failure to attract large numbers of European settlers led an increase in their reliance upon the Eurasian and indigenous Christians who became surprisingly mobile on the routes between Portuguese enclaves.¹⁵⁷ These enclaves, unlike the previous merchant settlements around the Indian Ocean, were part of a new sprawling political entity and represented commercial organisations.

The relationship between the Portuguese themselves went through transformation over the centuries. From being rigid and oppressive in the 16th century it became liberal and accommodating in the following centuries, with the growing competition from the other European powers. Initially, the Portuguese had enacted certain discriminatory laws against the non Christians to encourage conversion to Christianity by denying the non Christians their right to worship, by excluding them from the top level of the political process, by attempting to limit their economic activities. Often attempts were made to prohibit non Christian religious ceremonies from the Portuguese territories and by attempting to educate and baptize Hindu orphans.¹⁵⁸ In the 16th century, the Europeans coming from a class conscious society themselves, behaved towards the highest level of

¹⁵⁶ Simon Digby, "The Maritime Trade of India", *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, vol.1, ed. Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib, Cambridge University Press, 1982, p. 127

¹⁵⁷ Kenneth McPherson, op.cit., p. 191

¹⁵⁸ M.N. Pearson, *Coastal Western India: Studies from Portuguese Records*, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1981, p. 95

society in Asia, as they would have done in Europe. European attitudes towards many of the other communities in Asian society and towards the Eurasians were varied. They were often influenced by the relations between the upper and lower classes in Europe as well as the complexities of the Asian society.¹⁵⁹ The Portuguese encouraged their soldiers and petty officials to become the progenitors of a Christian Eurasian community and also encouraged the landed Hindu communities, especially the landed Hindu communities to enter into matrimonial alliances with the Portuguese. This often brought legacies as well as dowries.¹⁶⁰ Moreover, though there was a ritual of sending off marriageable orphan girls from Lisbon to India, the ratio was often not balanced. This led to the rise of Indo-Portuguese households in the Portuguese enclaves.

The presence of the Portuguese did not change trading pattern of the Gujarati merchants and traders, but certainly brought modifications in it. The Gujarati traders, who before the arrival of the Portuguese mostly traded in free waters, accepted the Portuguese license of *cartaz*, but once in the open sea, did not necessarily adhere to the requirements of the *cartaz*.¹⁶¹ The early Portuguese officials who put forward ~~that~~ the concept of open seas in Europe tried to limit shipping only to the Christians, as they were associated with the Roman laws and in that sense they spoke about the concept of closed sea as far as navigation was concerned. But for the Muslims and Hindus the freedom of navigation was denied by them. The Gujarati traders who were Hindus, Muslims and Jains modified their trading practices according to the presence of the Portuguese. The Portuguese found the Gujarati merchants in most of the Asian trading outposts- from west Asia to Southeast Asia and the Gujaratis were one of the most important trading segments in Asian waters. Therefore, they could not afford to alienate the traders of Gujarat who contributed exponentially to the state revenue of the Portuguese Crown From Albuquerque's time the Portuguese realized that the revenue generated from the trade of Gujarat was crucial for

¹⁵⁹ Holden Furber, *Rival Empire of Trade in the Orient 1600-1800*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1990, p. 317

¹⁶⁰ *ibid*, p. 317

¹⁶¹ Ashin Das Gupta, "India and the Western Indian Ocean at the Death of Akbar", *The World of the Indian Ocean Merchant 1500-1800: Collected Essays of Ashin Das Gupta*, Compiled by Uma Das Gupta, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2001, p. 271

the financial gains and stability of the *Estado*. When the trade between Goa and Gujarat stopped during 1540s and 1613-15, the revenues of the Portuguese declined.¹⁶² In another instance when the Portuguese King decreed all the Hindu and Muslim religious institutions to be closed the Portuguese officials feared the loss of trade.¹⁶³ The Portuguese State in the 17th century critically depended upon Hindu credit to defend against the Dutch and the English and in the 18th century against the Marathas. The merchants funded the state with 1,000,000 *xerafins* and came forward to financially support Goa¹⁶⁴ and largely paid the Maratha *chauth* in Goa in 1740. The Hindu merchants of Chaul and Daman financed the war against the Angria.¹⁶⁵ The Indian merchants got a large amount of profit and magnified it considerably thanks to their collaboration with the Portuguese. The latter paid them better price for their commodities, than they got from the Cairo merchants, in the Africa- Gujarat trade.¹⁶⁶ In all major settlements of the Portuguese, they were generally a minority.¹⁶⁷ Many important departments like the finances often were left in the hands of the Asian mercantile communities, for the case of Diu it was the *banias*. As P. Marshall noted 'the banian brought his [mathematical] skill and his capital to the partnership; the European contributed his privileges'¹⁶⁸ Meanwhile many Portuguese officials, including government and ecclesiastical functionaries, participated in the regional trade, either as

¹⁶² M.N. Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat: The Response to the Portuguese In The 16th century*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Private Ltd., New Delhi, 1976, p. 97

¹⁶³ *ibid*, p. 104

¹⁶⁴ *ibid*, p. 97

¹⁶⁵ R.J. Barendse, *Arabian Sea (1700-1763)*, Brill, Leiden, 2009, vol. 4, p. 1475

¹⁶⁶ O.K. Nambiar, *The Portuguese Pirates and the Indian Seamen*, M. Bhaktavatsalam, Bangalore, 1955, p.39

¹⁶⁷ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia 1500-1700, a Political and Economic History*, Longman, London, 1993, p. 225

¹⁶⁸ PJ Marshall, *East Indian Fortunes: The British in Bengal in the Eighteenth Century*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1976, p. 45

active merchants or as investors of money and goods.¹⁶⁹ The Portuguese Crown thus took steps to ensure the growth of trade in the region.

The Gujarati *baniyas* in Diu had their captains, who acted as agents for all Gujarati merchants in dealing with the Portuguese authority. These captains occupied recognized positions and were treated with considerable respect by the Portuguese. At the other end of the economic scale from the opulent *baniyas*, there are evidences of guild like organization among the artisans and handicraftsmen.¹⁷⁰ The Hindu population, in general, in the Portuguese areas was governed, in the matters of inheritance by local Hindu law. But the Portuguese judges considered the *baniyas* to be above the general masses and considered that it would be harsh upon them to be judged according to the native laws, which was inferior in their eyes. Thus the *baniyas* got the privilege of being judged by the Portuguese laws.¹⁷¹ This was not extended to any other Hindu group. They were economically so important to the Portuguese that they did not take the risk of alienating them.¹⁷² The European companies often hired local experts to help locate goods and negotiate prices and transport the commodities from the production areas to the markets and ports. Increasingly, these local experts became an established part of each European company's network of operations. The Baniyas of Diu and Daman even promised to contribute towards the establishment of *Estado the India* in 1693 under the Portuguese Viceroy Conde de Villa Verde. The banias of Diu agreed to join the company with a sum of 80,000 *xerafins*. However, he told him that they could not pay the amount immediately as they had to calculate the share each one of them had to pay. But in either case, the result was never beyond the promise.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁹ M.N. Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat: The Response to the Portuguese In The 16th century*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Private Ltd., New Delhi, 1976, p. 37

¹⁷⁰ M.N. Pearson, "Indigenous Dominance in Colonial Economy- The Goa Rendas (1600-1670)", *Mare Luso Indicum*, Vol. 2, p.68

¹⁷¹ *ibid*, p. 71

¹⁷² *The Voyage of John Van Linschoten to the East Indies*, Mushiram Manoharlal Publishers Private Limited, New Delhi, 1997, vol.1, p. 228

¹⁷³ Agnelo Paulo Fernandes, *Portuguese and the Mughals (1627-1707)*, Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, University of Bombay, p. 289

Portuguese private traders were active wherever there was profit available. The Portuguese officials specially the captains often misused their power to further their private interests. This often led to oppression of the Indian merchants, but also led to cooperation between Indian and the Portuguese merchants.¹⁷⁴ The ships in the Indian Ocean were often found carrying Portuguese flag, Portuguese navigator and Portuguese gunner, but the rest of the crew were Indians. The trade of the *casados*, *mestizos* and the Jesuits was mostly financed by the Indians but were hidden under the Portuguese flag. This was also often done to prevent piracy at the high sea. The better technique and ammunition of the Europeans helped to oppose piracy.¹⁷⁵ The Portuguese signed and the Gujarati merchants both signed contracts together becoming responsible for the delivery of the textiles for the *Carreira da India*.¹⁷⁶ The country trade became one of the most important points of connection between the Europeans and the Asian merchants. The building of the European trading empire depended on a mutual respect rather than fear and violence.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁴ Ashin Das Gupta, "The Vasco da Gama Epoch", *The World of the Indian Ocean Merchant 1500-1800: Collected Essays of Ashin Das Gupta*, Compiled by Uma Das Gupta, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2001, p. 247

¹⁷⁵ Makrand Mehta, *Indian Merchants and Entrepreneurs in Historical Perspective*, Academic Foundation, Delhi, 1991, p. 154

¹⁷⁶ R.J. Barendse, op.cit., vol.2, p. 728

¹⁷⁷ Holden Furber, *Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient 1600-1800*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1990, p. 314



Assimilation of Indian and European Ways of Life

The private trade of the employees was initially encouraged by the Portuguese, as due to their financial crisis they were often unable to pay their employees. Following the precedent of the Portuguese, the Dutch under Heeren XVII allowed each employee to bring in his sea chest a small amount of Oriental goods of small value. But soon complaints of misuse of the order started pouring in and in six years the Directors complained that the senior merchants, junior merchants, skippers, officers and assistants were making profits.¹⁷⁸ This reduced the profits earned by the European companies substantially and at the same time gave rise to new section of merchants and traders.

Around 1570s Diu merchants had granted the Portuguese a raise of one per cent in the duties they would pay on indigo and a particular cloth, in return for a reduction from the five per cent to three per cent on the duties for bullion.¹⁷⁹ The Portuguese officials at the custom houses of Diu would consult the merchants before the increase of the custom rates each time.¹⁸⁰ The opium trade between Malwa- Daman- China is one of the important examples of the cooperation between the Indian and Portuguese private traders. The Indo- Portuguese traders of the west coast of India virtually carried out large scale exports of Malwa opium to China from Daman in partnership with the Gujarat and Bombay traders on one hand and the Macao Portuguese traders on the other side, after the 1764 decree of the Portuguese authorities at Macao, allowing only the Portuguese to trade in opium.¹⁸¹ Indo- Portuguese traders like Roger de Faria obtained Malwa opium from Daman, Bombay, Surat and other Gujarati ports for Macao. These merchants established their headquarters at Daman and Bombay rather than at Goa, because of its distance from the Malwa supply networks and shipped opium either on their own account or as agents of Macao traders.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁸ C.R.Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600-1800*, Hutchinson of London, London, 1965, p.

¹⁷⁹ M.N. Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat: The Response to the Portuguese In The 16th century*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Private Ltd., New Delhi, 1976, p. 106

¹⁸⁰ *ibid*, p.106

¹⁸¹ Amar Farooqi, *op.cit.*, p. 164

¹⁸² *ibid*, p. 165

The *bantias* of Diu and the Jesuits maintained a good rapport, which the former made use of for conducting their trade in different parts of Indian Ocean regions, where the Jesuits had their houses. When the Portuguese private merchants raised objections to the *bantias* being allowed to conduct trade in the interior of Africa, it was the Jesuits who came in support of the *bantias* saying that they should be allowed to conduct business in the interior and Monomotapa regions, as they contributed liberally to the Portuguese during the times of wars with the Marathas and the Omanis.¹⁸³

Surendranath Gopal is of the view that the Jains, Bohras who were converted into Islam from Hinduism and the *vaisyas* under the influence of the teachings of Vallabacharya formed the majority of traders in Gujarat but their religion prevented them from using arms to safeguard their material interests.¹⁸⁴ But the Gujaratis joined in military engagements with the Portuguese. In Diu, the all Kaphol Bantias were expected to keep indigenous weapons like muskets and assist on the ramparts of the fortress, in case of an attack on the fort.¹⁸⁵ Vitoji Shenvi Kantekar, a Brahmin merchant, lent gunners from his ships to support the Portuguese against the Marathas. He was part of the attack on the Sidhi fortress of Simbhor.¹⁸⁶ In Bassein, the Chitpavin Brahmins worked as scribes of the Portuguese and relocated themselves to Goa and Diu, during the Maratha attack on Bassein.¹⁸⁷ The Gujarati army was also composed of Hindu and Muslim lascars. The Portuguese forces were often comprised on the Asian mercenaries. Moreover the armies were generally raised by the land lords and comprised of the local men. The principal reason why the Indian merchants never conceded superiority in trade to the Europeans, even though the latter was better organized and financed was because he was the thriftier of the two. The Indian trader spent much less on equipping his ships and supporting his

¹⁸³ Pius Malekandathil, *Indian Ocean in the Shaping of Late Medieval India*, Presidential Address, Section II: Medieval India, Indian History Congress, 74th Session, Cuttack

¹⁸⁴ Surendra Gopal, *Commerce and Crafts in Gujarat in 16th and 17th Centuries: A Study in the Impact of Europeans on Pre-capitalist Economy*, People's Publication, New Delhi, 1975, p. 204

¹⁸⁵ R.J. Barendse, *Arabian Sea (1700-1763)*, Brill, Leiden, vol. 2, p. 858

¹⁸⁶ *ibid*, p. 858

¹⁸⁷ *ibid*, p. 858

establishment, and was content with much smaller profits. Besides the Indians knew and understood the complexities of the markets much more. Above this the presence of the Mughals played an important role in moulding the market.

Often the merchants and the brokers played a role of middlemen between the two to resolve a confrontation or to break a deal. The Mughal officials of the 16th century were not overshadowed by the powerful merchants, which changed by the 17th century. The Indian provincial officials also sometimes acted as the mediators between the *banias* and the Europeans.¹⁸⁸ Moreover, Portuguese empire in India was mostly dependent on the Hindu craftsmen who also made images and ornamentation of the churches. Hindu, Moslems, Jews and Parsis were also appointed by the Portuguese as diplomats, physicians, interpreters of the administration.¹⁸⁹ The dependence and the need of interpretation, language and social barriers, between the Portuguese and the indigenous society gave rise to the emergence of a class of middlemen, known as *lingoa*. The *lingoa* or the interpreter, was essential adjunct of every fort and every government or semi-government agency, the indispensable intermediary between the Portuguese authorities and the local population.¹⁹⁰ They were well placed within the government machinery as well as within the indigenous population to enrich themselves from the gifts, bribes and profits. One of the arenas in which the Portuguese were able to break the barrier was that of language. The Gujarati merchants were often fluent in Portuguese language.¹⁹¹ The wide use of the 'Negro Portuguese' or broken Portuguese across the coastal towns of Gujarat is evident enough of the acceptance of the language.

The Gujarati merchants did not live in the fear of the Indian government. Political participation of the Gujarati merchants was emphatic. The vertical linkage of common

¹⁸⁸ Ruby Maloni, "Europeans in the 17th century Gujarat: Presence and Response", *Social Scientist*, Vol.36, No. 3/4, March- April, 2008, p. 81

¹⁸⁹ G.V. Scammell, "The Pillars of Empire: Indigenous Assistance and the Survival of the Estado da India", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 3, p. 477

¹⁹⁰ A.R. Disney, "The Portuguese Empire in India 1550-1650, *The Portuguese in India and other Studies: 1500-1700*, Ashgate Variorum, Surrey, 2009, p. 156

¹⁹¹ Pietro della Valle, *The Travels of Pietro Della Valle*, Hakluyt Society, ed. Edward Gray, London, 1892; Ruby Maloni, op.cit., p. 88

mercantile and economic interests existed between the government and the merchants.¹⁹² The political participation from the mercantile class mostly came from the foreign merchants and very rarely from the *baniyas* as their societal ethos prevented their political aspirations.¹⁹³

Ashin Das Gupta is of the view the Indian merchants lost when the Mughals lost.¹⁹⁴ This was not true entirely, the market functioning changed and so changed the way of working of the Indian merchants. They were moulded according to the needs and requirements of the evolving market system. M.N. Pearson is of the view that the Gujarati merchants not only accepted the Portuguese control but also cooperated with them. There was a willingness on both sides to accept the presence of each other for economic interests.¹⁹⁵ Partnerships and alliances among the different castes and religious communities were common. When problems arose in the joint trading partnership of a Hindu named Ajit Karan Sen and a Muslim, Balim Bhai an adjunction committee was created involving two merchants from different religion and castes and also involving men of several different castes of Muslim and Hindus- a *sarang*, *bhandari*, Telugu and a Chitpavin Brahmin.¹⁹⁶

The partnership between the Europeans and the Indian mercantile class often did not mean friendship on many occasions; it was intense and sustained competition.¹⁹⁷ Indian merchants were not a subservient factor within a structure dominated by the Europeans.¹⁹⁸ The Indian merchants did not always dealt with a single European company and can be seen having simultaneous trading relationship with the Portuguese,

¹⁹² Ruby Maloni, op.cit, p. 81

¹⁹³ Ghulam A. Nadri, op.cit., p. 249

¹⁹⁴ Ashin Das Gupta, "Indian Merchants and Trade In the Indian Ocean 1500-1750" *The World of the Indian Ocean Merchant 1500-1800: Collected Essays of Ashin Das Gupta*, Compiled by Uma Das Gupta, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2001, p. 81

¹⁹⁵ M.N. Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat: The Response to the Portuguese In The 16th century*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Private Ltd., New Delhi, 1976, p, 106

¹⁹⁶ R.J. Barendse, *Arabian Sea (1700-1763)*, Brill, Leiden., vol. 2, p. 728

¹⁹⁷ Ruby Maloni, op.cit, p. 91

¹⁹⁸ *ibid*, p. 91

English and the Dutch. This was especially prevalent in the brokerage sector of Surat. The emergence of the Dutch and the English, the Indian merchants had participation in direct trade between Asia and Europe or Eastern markets, which were earlier mostly controlled by Goa. Thus though the competition at sea between the European powers reduced their profits at that same time it opened new avenues¹⁹⁹ and many of the merchants often shifted their realms of activities from the Portuguese enclaves to that of English ports like Bombay.

Conclusion

Religious pragmatism formed an important aspect of the Portuguese in their enclaves, but in the Portuguese enclaves of Gujarat, cooperation and co-inhabitation of people from different religious beliefs proved that the Portuguese efforts of Lusitanization did not succeed in the case of Gujarat's Portuguese enclaves, especially Diu. The process was often met with objection even from the Portuguese population itself as they feared the loss of financial profits and interests. The existence of mixed population in Diu and Daman, against the background of their animosity towards Muslims elsewhere is a pointer to the nature of co-operation and partnerships that commercial activities among them formulated for them. As Ruby Maloni pointed out the European patronage no doubt affected the life cycle of the cities, and with the introduction of new techniques, market policies, institutions and also language the indigenous groups managed to develop new responses and redefine themselves to uphold their identities. The merchants can be termed as the commercial elite, in the words of Sanjay Subrahmanyam and CA Bayly,²⁰⁰ with cultural and trading links with smaller merchants as well as with other inter regional trading magnates, but unlike the portfolio capitalists very few of them had had political inclinations and did not depend on political favours for their financial gains. Moreover,

¹⁹⁹ W.H. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb: A Study in Indian Economic History*, Oriental Books, New Delhi, 1972, p. 82

²⁰⁰ Sanjay Subrahmayam and CA Bayly, "Portfolio Capitalists and the Political Economy of Early Modern India", *Merchants, Markets and the State in Early Modern India* (ed). Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1990

the trading firms or business houses mostly reproduced their capital and exerted influence over the market over generations and were not easily affected by the economic or political vulnerabilities, as was the case with the portfolio capitalists. The traditional network of the urban society whether merchants or weavers, helped the Portuguese to achieve economic success, in the face of stiff competition from other European counterparts. Thus over the centuries, the relationship between the Portuguese evolved from being rigid to being cooperative and sometimes dependent on each other. The amalgamation of the Portuguese society with that of the Gujarati urban society distinguished the urban society of Diu and Daman, from the rest of the Portuguese enclaves. The new social order created by the Portuguese was accommodated and internalized by the English in the 19th century.

Chapter V

Portuguese and the Local Polity of Coastal Gujarat

The actors of the society, i.e. the merchants the traders and the Jesuits played helped in carving out a distinct political space for coastal Gujarat. The role of local political authority in the sustenance of the trading network of Gujarat cannot be ignored. The polity of Gujarat was not centralised but was based on a system of co-sharing of power between the rulers and the chieftains or the *zamindars*. After the Mughals came to power in Gujarat in 1573, the power sharing was institutionalized. The difficult terrains of the region along with the powerful *zamindars* and the chieftains, served as the main reasons for this co-sharing of power in the region.¹ The Portuguese Crown on the other hand combined both government and private elements in running the administrative part of its commercial endeavour. The trade of pepper and major spices were monopolised by the Portuguese Crown. A certain amount of space for private trade was allowed to naval officials and to the privileged institutions and also to individuals under the royal license. The liquidity problems of the Crown led to a major reorganization of trade with Asia in 1564, when the first series of contracts were given out for trade to the private traders.² The Crown tried to follow a policy of gaining optimal profit without direct involvement in the trade. Along with the Portuguese crown, Asian traders also became part of the system. The indigenous mercantile co-operation necessitated the formulation of different types of relationship with the varying categories of power holders in Gujarat. With the coming of the English and the Dutch, the polity of Gujarat became more complex. This chapter tries to study how the trade and commerce of the region, especially under the

¹ Ghulam A Nadri, *Eighteenth Century Gujarat: The Dynamics of its Political Economy, 1750-1800*, Brill, Leiden, 2009, p. 22

² Om Prakash, "International Consortiums, Merchant Networks and Portuguese Trade with Asia in the Early Modern Period", Paper presented at Session 37 of the XIV International Economic History Congress, Helsinki, 21-25 August 2006.

Portuguese evolved by developing various ties of negotiations and compromise with the different sections of the political structure.

I.The Local Polity of Gujarat

The weight of power of the Gujarat Sultan was based on the strength of the hierarchal relations that he managed to maintain with the local power holders. These relations were formulated on the basis of the co-sharing of sovereignty which was established by sharing its perquisites with the local power holders. Bahadur Shah's conquest over Ahmadnagar, Malwa, Mewar, Raisen, Ranthambor and Ajmer was all based on alliances with the local power holders. Since these alliances were maintained through a re-distribution of imperial resources, they had a paradoxical consequence whereby imperial expansion was weakening the state by strengthening the local intermediaries. The period following his death consequently saw the development of what might be termed as local sovereignties, i.e., political units that were exercising far more compact control over local resources. However, these political units exercised compact control over local resources. These local political units were not hostile towards the Sultanate, but co-existed with it, as its affiliates, deriving from it both legitimacy and ritual power.³

Establishment of sovereignty required a co-sharing of resources with the local elites and military entrepreneurs, either in the form of a share in loot and plunder or through assignments as *jagirs*.⁴ The local political elites only became a part of the Sultanate with the financial resources along with the political ranks. Most of these elites were either mercenary warriors or pastoralist chieftains, who were very rarely estranged from centre, though their power was curbed.⁵ Several chieftains maintained a dual role as plunderers and landholders. The region of Ahmadabad, Kheda, Bharuch, Cambay and parts of the northern regions around Patan and Siddhpur were among the few areas ruled directly by

³ Farhat Hasan, *State and Locality in Mughal India: Power Relations in Western India, c.1572-1730*, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, 2006

⁴ *ibid*, p. 13

⁵ Samira Sheikh, *State and Society in Gujarat, c. 1200-1500: The Making of a Region*, Doctoral Thesis, Wolfson College, Oxford University, 2003, p. 205

the sultans. Though the local chiefs became powerless under the Gujarat Sultans, the bulk of the revenue-sharing hierarchy remained intact in return of payment of tribute.⁶ According to S.C. Misra the power sharing of the sovereignty in Gujarat can be attributed to the expansion of the Delhi sultanate in the region. This hegemony ended the independent existence of the different provinces. However, the allegiance shown to the central authority remained one of the major strength of the system. Zafar Khan, the founder of the dynasty in Gujarat, tried to create precedents in which transfer of power in succession and avoid disputes which could put the entire system into whirlwind.⁷ According to M.N. Pearson the aim of any strong Sultan of Gujarat was horizontal, territorial expansion rather than greater vertical penetration.⁸ In considerable part of the Sultanate the pre-Muslim power figures in Gujarat remained effective rulers. Before the Gujarat Sultans, the region was mostly ruled by Rajputs and the Kolis. With the accession of the Sultans, these former chieftains and zamindars kept one-fourth of the produce of *watans* and villages, known as *banth* or *chauth* for maintenance and the three parts of the produce went to the government, known as *Talpad* or *Tripat*.⁹ The Sultanate was still the most important source for dispensation of political units, which were as yet not antithetical to the Sultanate, but coexisted with it as its affiliates, deriving from it both legitimacy and ritual power. No local potentates could exercise legitimate authority in his domain without appearing deferential and acceptable to the Sultan.¹⁰

Bahadur Shah's claim to the Gujarat's throne was supported by dominant groups in the political arena, nobles, chieftains, zamindars, soldiers, saints and preachers.¹¹ He was assured assistance from the disgruntled nobles like Khudawand Khan, Fateh Khan Baluch

⁶ *ibid*, p.72

⁷ S.C. Misra, *The Rise of Muslim Power in Gujarat: A History of Gujarat from 1298 to 1442*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1963, p. 4

⁸ M.N. Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat— The Response to the Portuguese In The 16th Century*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Private Ltd., New Delhi, 1976, pp. 61-62

⁹ *Mirat-i-Ahmadi: A Persian History of Gujarat*, Translated by M.F. Lokhandwala, Oriental institute, Baroda, 1965, p. 150 (from now on will be refereed as 'Mirat')

¹⁰ Farhat Hasan, *op.cit*, p. 22

¹¹ *ibid*, p. 13

and Khurram Khan among others before his attack on Gujarat. He was further joined by several Gujarat nobles like Malik Sarwar, Malik Yusuf, Latif Khan. He derived spiritual support from the chief of the Bukhari Sayids and Qutubuddin Qadri. Bahadur Shah's military strength was reinforced because of these alliances.¹² In Gujarat, the conquests did not involve only the display or exercise of military might but also involved the alliances with the local power holders. Sovereignty was constitutive of alliances based on exchange of resources, both symbolic and material with service (*kidmat*). It required a constant co-sharing of resources with the local elites and other political actors. In 1526, when Bahadur Shah formally ascended the throne of Gujarat, nobles were generously awarded robes, *khil'ats* and titles and were generously given and were showered with generous gifts. There was a favourable shift in the military labour market caused due to the imperial lavishness.¹³ The accession of Bahadur Shah highlights the fact that the conquest was highly connected with the military power, political alliances, control over communication and information system, credibility in the military labour market and the internal politics of the household and domestic arena.¹⁴ Each stage of the weakening of the Gujarat Sultanate was accompanied with a corresponding increase in the powers of the local kingdoms. These petty political units had not only assumed independence from Sultanate, but had also become quite well-established in their respective localities.¹⁵ The centre, whether the Delhi Sultans or the Gujarat Sultanate, absorbed many mercenary armies into their forces, and gave the chieftains administrative powers of their principalities, in return for the revenue from trade and agriculture.¹⁶ The Gujarati governors like Malik Ayaz and Malik Gopi wielded immense power in economy and military of the Gujarat Sultan. As discussed in Chapter 2, Diu was developed by Malik Ayaz as one of the trading destinations of Gujarat. The high revenue of the region further

¹²ibid, p.14

¹³ ibid, p.14

¹⁴ ibid., p. 16

¹⁵ ibid, p. 24

¹⁶ Samira Sheikh, *State and Society in Gujarat, c. 1200-1500: The Making of a Region*, Doctoral Thesis, Wolfson College, Oxford University, 2003, p. 205

helped the rulers to offer handsome salaries, which helped in the smooth functioning of the government.

II. Gujarat under the Mughals

Francisco Pelsaert in 1620 observed that the central power of the Mughals beyond the Gangetic Doab was insignificant. The Mughals were unable to levy any land revenue, in the unsettled territories and had to rely on the occasional levies of the tribute. The Mughals' control over the distant lands was often weak, and often relied upon the local landlords and the zamindars. There was a tendency for depending upon the local powers and this strengthened as the Marathas attacked Gujarat in the 18th century.

Iqtadar Alam Khan is of the view that 'from its very inception, the Mughal Empire manifested a tendency towards a greater degree of centralization of political and administrative authority as well as of the resources it controlled'.¹⁷ The assignment system and organization of military hierarchy by Babur had initiated this tendency. During the reign of Babur, the assignments conferred by the Emperor on his nobles in India indicated that there was an attempt to separate their stipulated personal incomes (*wajh*) from what was meant for the salaries ('*alufa*) or support (*istiqamat*) of their retainers. There is also some basis for imagining that at times a clear demarcation was sought to be made between the *wajh* jurisdiction and the routine military-cum-civil administration within a *pargana* or *sarkar*. This would have facilitated the apportioning of fixed amounts of revenues, of particular territories as *khalisa* revenues managed by staff other than that of the nobles having these territories within their *wajhs*.

The formation of the conquest states in medieval Asia was coming with migration of elites, especially military specialists, religious leaders and creative men.¹⁸ The Mughals incorporated the migrating elites from Central Asia and Iran. Many of these men were

¹⁷ Iqtadar Alam Khan, "State in the Mughal India: Re-Examining the Myths of a Counter-Vision", *Social Scientist*, Vol. 29, No. 1/2 (Jan. - Feb., 2001), p. 33

¹⁸ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700*, Longman, New York, 1993, pp. 20-21

given *mansabdari*. The Mughals in course of their expansion often assimilated various features of the contemporary statecraft.

The Mughals, like the Gujarat Sultans, were able to subdue the rulers or the aristocrats but not the lower ranks of officials or the masses. As a result, Gujarat and especially the port of Surat, became the central space and gradually these developments transformed the imperial family and ruling elite into artful maritime merchants.¹⁹ Humayun's conquest of Gujarat during 1535-37, indicates that annexations were not elite affairs, confined to the ruling classes and the local dominant elements. It shaped the participation and the support of subordinate social groups. The political arena was diverse and consisted of not just the nobles and chieftains, but also the petty merchants, peasants, *zamindars*, tribesmen, religious preachers and petty clerks. Humayun's expedition failed because his alliances were confined to patricians and failed to incorporate the plebian elements within the Mughal redistributive system.²⁰ The Gujarat Sultans were provided with their necessities by the merchants and the *banjaras*, during the Mughal blockade. Even the tribal chiefs of the Kolis provided the Sultan with food grains during the besieging of the Champaneer fort by Humayun.²¹ In the face of Mughal attack, Bahadur Shah's Governor Imad-ul-Mulk was able to arrange an army of 50,000 men even before he reached Ahmedabad.²² Certain *zamindars* and the peasants paid their revenues to Bahadur Shah, when the latter's force were facing defeat and around five to six thousand Bhils and kolis attacked Humayun's forces near Cambay.²³ The local chieftains and rulers, the zamindars, merchants, peasants, petty officers and tribal warrior clans were still tied to the Gujarat sultanate and thus prevented Humayun from successfully annexing Gujarat.²⁴ This

¹⁹ Jorge Flores, "The Sea and the World of Mustaddi: A Profile of Port Officials from Mughal Gujarat (1600-1650)", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Volume 21, Issue 01, Cambridge, January 2011, p. 56

²⁰ Farhat Hasan op.cit., p. 21

²¹ Mirat, op.cit, p.308

²² Khwajah Nizamuddin Ahmad, *The Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, trans. Brajendranath de, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1939, Vol.3 Part I, p. 376

²³ Mirat, op.cit., p. 309

²⁴ Farhat Hasan, op.cit., p. 19

support of the local chieftains made possible for Bahadur Shah to reclaim Gujarat back from the Mughals very soon.²⁵

When Akbar, captured Gujarat in 1573, it had a large implication for the Mughal state. Mughal hegemony was accompanied by economic prosperity and a growth in foreign trade which benefitted both indigenous and European participants.²⁶ Mughals brought stability and connected Gujarat with the North Indian hinterland. As a continental state it got its maritime opening with the world. Thus the trade prospered. The capture of Gujarat also brought Akbar in close contact with the Portuguese.

The Mughal army had an undeniable role to play in the Mughal expansion. But even then the Mughals depended predominantly on the successes with each they co-opted political agents, intervened and mediated in local conflicts and generated credit among the conquered.²⁷ In the three-eighth of Gujarat under the Mughals which were about to pay tributes, the rulers were satisfied if tribute was paid occasionally.²⁸ In the other-eighth, where land revenues were collected, the ruler's control was greater but not impregnable. In most of these areas the payment of one-quarter due to the local power was accepted by the rulers. More important was that many smaller divisions were controlled by zamindars who paid tribute. Thus in majority of the region there was no enforced system of paying taxes but only payment of tribute.²⁹

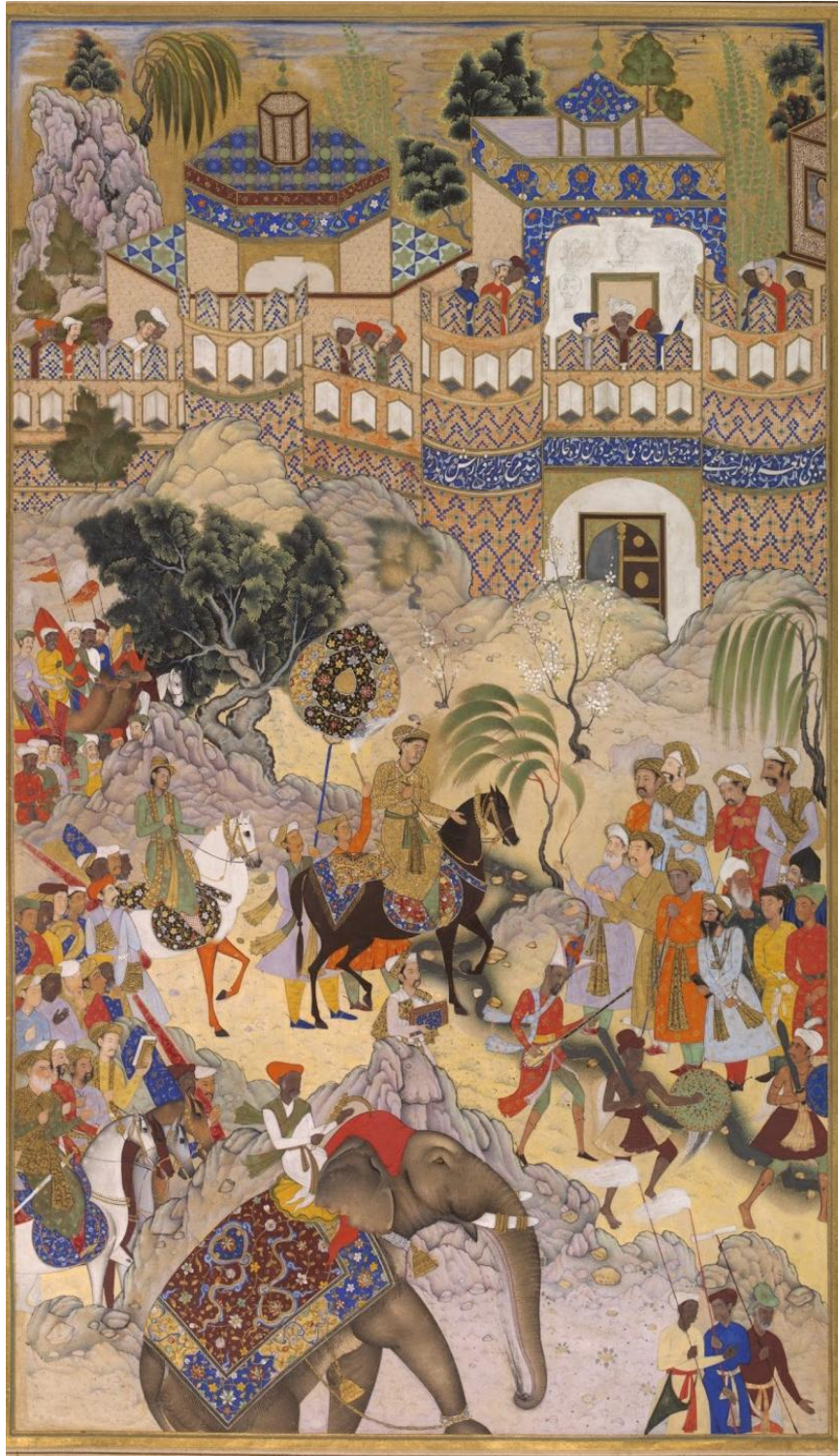
²⁵ Ibid, pp.19-20

²⁶ Kenneth Mc.Pherson, *The Indian Ocean: A History of the Peoples and the Sea*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1993, p. 196

²⁷ Farhat Hasan, op.cit., p/ 22

²⁸ MN Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat— The Response to the Portuguese In The 16th Century*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Private Ltd., New Delhi, 1976, p. 62

²⁹ ibid, p. 62



Akbar's Triumphant entry at Surat in 1573

Of the sixteen *sarkars* that constituted Gujarat, stretching from Jalore in the north to Daman in the south, nine were brought under the direct administrative control of the Mughal Empire: Ahmadabad, Baroda, Broach, Champaner, Godhra, Nadaut, Patan, Sorath, and Surat. They were collectively known as *sarkarat-i kharaji* or territories where the Mughal fiscal system was applied for the collection of revenues. The other seven *sarkars*, namely Bansballa, Dongarpur, Kachh, Navanagar, Ramnagar, Sirohi, and Sunt, remained in the administrative and fiscal jurisdictions of local chiefs. Since the Mughal administration collected a *peshkash* or an annual tribute in lieu of regular revenues from the holders of these territories, they were called *sarkarat-i peshkashi*. These hereditary chiefs, *zamindars* and the *desais* acknowledged the nominal suzerainty of the Mughal Empire and provided occasional military services with a contingent of troops loaned to the provincial governors.³⁰ They often used to impose excess taxation over that of the ones sanctioned by the Mughal rulers. For all practical purposes, these chiefs were autonomous rulers of their principalities and the provincial governors often had to exert military pressure to make them pay the *peshkash*.³¹

Within Gujarat, the degree of imperial infiltration and control of the Mughal officials exercised varied from one region to another. Shortly after the conquest of Gujarat, the imperial administration was introduced in the directly administered territories (*sarkarat-i kharaji*). The new system of rule in Gujarat recognised Surat distinctly. The administrative jurisdiction over the city and its dependent *mahals* (or *parganas*, territorial units for revenue collection purposes) was delegated to a *mutsaddi* (governor) and a *qiladar* (commander of the castle), both appointed by the Mughal Emperor. The former was responsible for the collection of revenue and general administration while the *qiladar* exercised control over the military affairs and was responsible for the defence of the city. The provincial governors with their administrative headquarters at Ahmadabad had no formal superior authority over the *Qiladar* of Surat. A large part of the *kharaji* territories was brought under the *zabt* system whereby the land revenue was assessed by

³⁰ *Portuguese Records on Rustomji Manockji: The Parsi Broker of Surat*, ed Panduranga Pissurlencar Sadanand Press, Goa, 1933, p. 24

³¹ Ghulam A. Nadri, *Eighteenth Century Gujarat: The Dynamics of its Political Economy, 1750-1800*, Brill, Leiden, 2009, p. 11

measuring the cultivable land. The state's share was determined according to the average annual yield per unit of land, which was then commuted to cash on the basis of the average price.³²

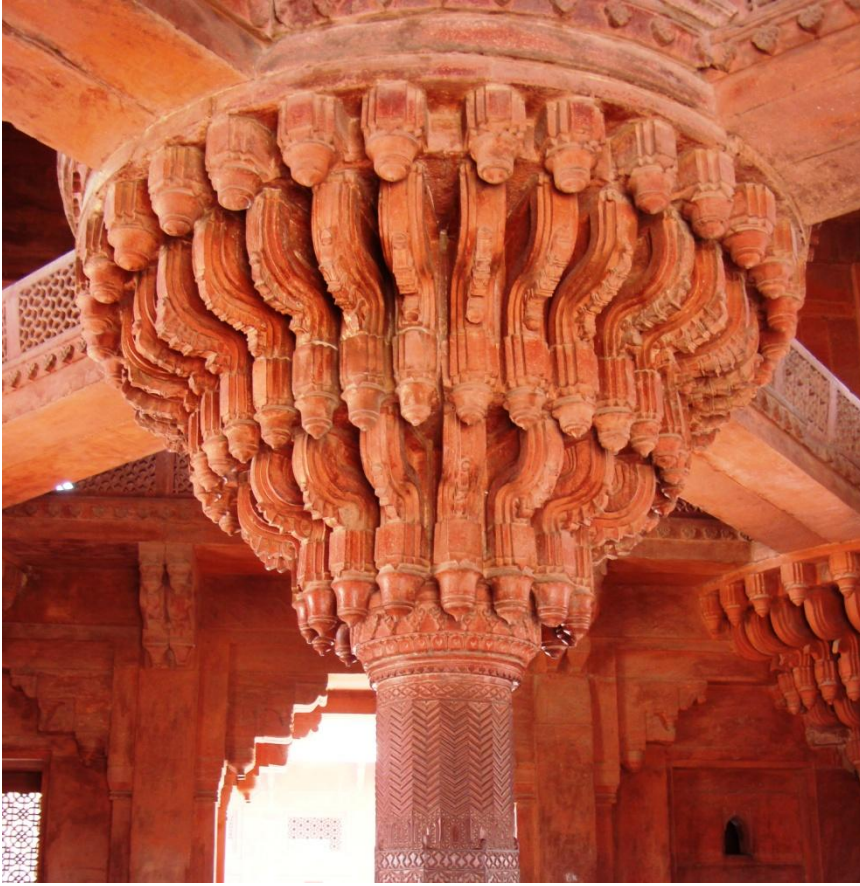
During the 17th century province of Gujarat was divided into two categories of *sarkars*-the *peshkashi* and the *kharaji sarkar*. The term *peshkashi* refers to the fact that no *mal-i wajib* was collected from the peasants by the imperial officials. The revenue paid by the *zamindars* of these *sarkars* was called *peshkash*. These *zamindars* had enormous strength in men and equipment. The Mughal administration collected annual tribute or *peshkash* in lieu of regular revenues from the holders of these territories and they were called *sarkarat-i peshkashi*.³³ The *kharaji sarkars* on the whole were subjected to the payment of *mal-i*, determined on the basis of detailed assessment by the imperial officials.

Rendering military service to the state was not invariably conditional upon holding a *mansab*. There is evidence to show that these *zamindars* served even when they were not recipients of *mansab*. Under Emperor Akbar, no *zamindar* except that of Bhuj was actually granted a *mansab*. However, every *zamindar* was required to serve the central authority. According to Mirat, during the reign of Khan-I Azam or Mirza Aziz Koka, a royal order was issued to the effect that the Diwan of the Subah should collect half the revenue with the consultation of the *desais* and the *muqaddams*. Five percent should be fixed on crown *mahal* of revenue, government land, jagirdars of His Majesty, provincial jagirdars as *muqaddami* charge.³⁴ More than this nothing else should be taxed or charged. Land of the fourth part should be separately shown as belonging to the *Kolis* and no revenue should be charged from it. *Zamindars* had to bring their horses for branding and participate in the military activities of the Mughals. Half of the revenue should be charged on the purchaser for purchasing land as *bechan*. There were often reports of the *desais* and the *muqaddams* misusing their powers.

³² *ibid*, p. 11

³³ *ibid*, p.11

³⁴ Mirat, *op.cit.*, p. 149



Influence of Gujarat on the Mughals: The influence of Gujarat architecture can be vividly seen at Agra Fort



By the mid 1570s a loose arrangement had been reached to manage the external affairs of Gujarat. The trade of Surat was managed by the *hakim* or the local governor and the revenue collection was done in and around the port city largely through the mediation of local elites who were given the position of revenue farmers (*mustajiran*).³⁵ One of the first cesses to be realized from a ship unloading at Surat was *haq-i-langar* (anchorage dues), followed by another cess *naul*. The *haq-i-langar* was an 'illegal cess' and implemented on the ships, was prohibited by the imperial court but nevertheless exacted by the port officials. The *naul*, was an authorized cess sanctioned by the court and imposed on the freight-goods of the merchants. The merchandise was carried to the customs-house (*furza*) for assessment of the customs-dues (*ushur/ushr/ mahsul*).³⁶ The customs dues, by far the most lucrative of commercial taxes, belonged to the 'imperial' system of taxation. In certain orders issued by the Mughal officials of Bengal and Orissa during the second half of the seventeenth century, it is stated that the English enjoyed the privilege of customs-exemption, all over the Mughal empire, by virtue of Shahjahan's *farman*.³⁷ In the end 18th century, the chaos and extortion of custom revenues in the Mughal custom houses of Surat, led to the shift of custom duties from the Mughals to the English custom houses or *latty* in Surat. In 17940-95, the English had received 34.2% of the Mughal custom revenues, the Marathas 12.4%, whereas the Nawab had earned around 56.4%.

III. Portuguese and the Gujarati Polity

The Portuguese Estado da India, in the initial years of the 16th century did not want to be involved in the local political and administrative system of Asia. The Portuguese

³⁵ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Explorations in the Connected History: Mughal and Franks*, Oxford University Press, 2011, p. 52

³⁶ Farhat Hasan, "The Mughal Fiscal System in Surat and the English East India Company", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (Oct., 1993), p. 712

³⁷ *ibid*, p. 712

monarch wanted to assert wide spread influence rather than deep influence.³⁸ In Hormuz, one of the strongest Portuguese enclaves of Asia, they did not establish any sovereign rights but had a protectorate permitting the Shah to remain in charge, even though the revenue passed on in the hands of the Portuguese. In Melaka, they tried to persuade the Sultan to return as their vassal and in Goa the important post of *tanadar-mor* was held by Krishna Rao for more than two decades. In Malacca, they adopted the existing administrative system with minor changes.³⁹ Gujarat was no different.

The political scenario of Gujarat was based on hierarchical relations and allegiance. The Portuguese and other European powers did not have to directly deal with the Mughal state but with the intermediaries. The Gujarat political elites initially did not feel threatened with the arrival of the Portuguese. They resisted when their interests were affected. As M.N. Pearson puts it, the protection of trade and traders were not considered as function of the rulers.⁴⁰ With the coming of the Portuguese, and their implementation of *cartaz*, trade suffered for Malik Ayaz and the other 'independent or quasi independent rulers of Indian port cities'.⁴¹

Before the arrival of the Portuguese, the trading network of the Indian Ocean lay in the hands of the Ottomans, Egyptians and the Gujarati merchants. After the capture of Constantinople in 1453 by Mahmud II, the Ottomans controlled the trading routes between Europe and Asia.⁴² This was not only a great source of constant wealth, but also increased their spheres of influence. The discovery of an alternative trade route via the Cape of Good Hope deprived the Indians, Egyptians and the Ottomans of their revenue.

³⁸ Sanjay Subrahmayam, *Portuguese Empire in Asia: A Political and Economic History*, Longman, London, 1993, p. 78

³⁹ D. R. Sar Desai, "The Portuguese Administration in Malacca, 1511-1641", *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, Vol. 10, No. 3, *International Trade and Politics in Southeast Asia 1500-1800* (Dec., 1969), pp. 501-512

⁴⁰ M.N. Pearson, *The Portuguese in India: The New Cambridge History of India*, Vol.1, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1987, p. 56

⁴¹ MN Pearson, *The Portuguese in India*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1987, p. 51

⁴² Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2010, p. 111

The attempts by the Portuguese to appropriate the Indian Ocean trade on a monopolistic basis with the help of controlling mechanisms like *cartaz* and a chain of fortresses negatively affected the fortunes of the existing trading communities of the Indian Ocean.

Qansawh-al-Ghawri, the Sultan of Cairo, sent an expedition with 1500 men under Amir Hussain, the governor of Jedda to oust the Portuguese from the Indian Ocean, thereby beginning a new phase in the Asian maritime history. The united fleet of the Egyptians was supported by several Sultans from Gujarat, Ahmednagar, Bijapur, Chaul and Dabhol (kingdoms situated on the western coast of India). The united force confronted the Portuguese fleet at Chaul in 1508. The Portuguese mobilized a sizeable fighting force to counter the attacks of the Afro-Asian forces near the coast of Gujarat under Dom Lourenco Almeida, son of the then Portuguese Viceroy, Francisco da Almeida. In the battle, the Portuguese commander died, and the Portuguese surrendered to Malik Ayaz.

The Asian forces were able to stop the Portuguese advances only for a short span of time; but, they could not keep them away from Indian waters. The joint forces were soon defeated by the Portuguese. Viceroy Almeida, in order to avenge the death of his son, proceeded towards north from Cannanore on December 12, 1508 with 1200 men and 18 vessels,⁴³ among which 400 men were from Malabar. Zamorin, despite the Portuguese threats, had sent a fleet in support of the Asian forces. Viceroy Almeida after destroying the Dabhol port proceeded to Diu, where he reached on February 2, 1509. The Portuguese completely defeated the allied Asian powers and consequently, Malik Ayaz agreed to surrender Diu and give tributes to the King of Portugal.⁴⁴ The defeat is ignored by the contemporary Asian historians, because of the decisive victory of the Portuguese and the humiliation which the Asians faced at the former's hands.

⁴³ R.S. Whiteway, *Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, Janaki Prakashan, Patna, 1979, p.6

⁴⁴ K.S. Mathew, *Portuguese Trade with India in the 16th Century*, Manohar, Delhi, 1983, pp. 40-41

The battle of 1509⁴⁵ was the first brush of conflict between the Indians and the Portuguese. The superiority of the Portuguese showed the weakness of the India in the sea. Apart from the destruction of the Dabhol port the territorial gains of the Portuguese from the Battle of Diu were not significant, but the economic implications for the Portuguese were substantial. The political ambitions of the Portuguese met strong resistance from a section of the Gujarat governors. After the Portuguese occupied Diu, they got the right to one third of the income from the custom houses of Diu and in order to augment the scale of their profit they resorted to various policies which helped in the development of the trade of Diu. Under the terms and condition of a treaty signed between the Portuguese and Bahadur Shah of Gujarat in 1534, according to which Indian ships leaving Gujarat were bound to go to Bassein and buy *cartazes* or license to ply on the high seas.⁴⁶ The initial policy followed by the Portuguese did not offer peaceful cooperation in trade with the indigenous political class. Politicians turned merchants like Malik Ayaz had to choose between resistance and submission.⁴⁷ Diu and Bassein were ceded by Gujarat Sultan Bahadur Shah in Bassein in 1534 and Diu in 1536. The annexation of Diu and Bassein solved the problem of scarcity of food for Goa, as the former was known for its agricultural produce and secondly, it provided means to pamper the residual seigniorial pretensions of the *fidalgos* who were given land in this area.⁴⁸ Moreover, the centres of Gujarat became the nodal points for the Portuguese to be sentry for the Indian Ocean trading activities.

⁴⁵ In the battle of 1508, the Asian forces were able to defeat the Portuguese in the sea. To avenge this defeat the Portuguese attacked again next year, with a better military preparations and superior leadership.

⁴⁶ K.S. Mathew, *Indo- Portuguese Trade and the Fruggers of Germany*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1997, p. 79

⁴⁷ M.N. Pearson, *The New Cambridge History of India: The Portuguese in India*, Oriental Longman, Cambridge, 1987, p. 52

⁴⁸ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700*, Longman, New York, 1993, p. 74



Defeat of Bahadur Shah by the Portuguese

The Portuguese gained the control of Diu due to the lack of unity and presence of distrust among each other. After the Mughal conquest of Gujarat by Humayun, the Gujarat Sultan invited the Portuguese build a fort at Diu, much to the displeasure of the Malik Ayaz, the governor of Diu. By the time, he realised the political ambitions of the Portuguese it was too late.⁴⁹ The Gujarat Sultan lacked the political foresight. Malik Ayaz, inspite of holding a prestigious position in the court of Bahadur Shah, did not trust the Sultan and tried from his side to maintain Diu's control over the maritime trade of western India. In 1527 he wrote to Lopo Vaz Sampaio, who was governor of India at the time, offering to hand over Diu to the Portuguese in order to ensure his own personal safety. Moreover, Malik Gopi, the governor of Surat, in order to gain more privileges for Surat conspired against Malik Ayaz-with the Portuguese.

The Portuguese often carried out plunder and pillage against the port towns of Gujarat in the mid 16 century. This phase of the Portuguese often termed as 'reign of terror' was often done with the help of the banias. Gogha was burned down and the merchants who had run away from the plunder was chased down.⁵⁰ The arrival of the Ottomans in 1546, drastically changed the power equations in the region, making many influential Muslim houses rally around the Portuguese. The Ottoman threat brought the Omanis and the Portuguese together.⁵¹ In 1546, Diu was divided between the Portuguese fort and the town, governed by the Gujarat Sultan.⁵² The position of the Portuguese became consolidated in Gujarat after lifting the siege of 1546 against Diu by the Ottomans. The Portuguese plans to annex Daman was to gain control over the Gulf of Cambay with Diu on one side and Daman on the other side of the Gulf, though the contemporary Portuguese documents insist that the reason behind gaining control over Daman was to

⁴⁹ Khwajah Nizamuddin Ahmad, *The Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, op.cit., Vol3, Part I, pp. 379-380

⁵⁰ M.S. Commissariat, *Studies in the History of Gujarat*, Saraswati Pshtak Bhandar, Ahmedabad, 1987, p. 38

⁵¹ Pius Malekandathil, "The Other as a Crusading Enemy and Collaborator", *The Evolution of a Nation Pre-Colonial to Post Colonial: Essays in Memory of R.S. Sharma*, ed. D.N. Jha, Manohar, New Delhi, 2014, p. 296

⁵² M.N. Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat— The Response to the Portuguese In The 16th Century*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Private Ltd., New Delhi, 1976, p. 121

prevent the Ottomans from doing so.⁵³ In 1557, Dom de Noronha wrote to Pero de Alcacova Carneiro,

“This port of Daman that they are giving now to His Highness is one of the most important of Cambaia, and amongst the most appropriate and necessary for this *Estado*, and we can keep and sustain it better than any other through all these changes. And with it, we become masters of all the wood of Cambaya, and we take it away from them, and this fortress is so much in the throat of that bay that we shall come to control it, and can keep a strict account of all the ships that enter and go out of it, and a thousand other profits and benefits that it would require a great deal of writing to set out. Besides everything else, this is the only port of Cambaia that if the Turks come to these parts, they could occupy and fortify, and they would then have all the wood for their fleets.”⁵⁴

The Portuguese gained the control from the governor of Daman, Imad-ul-Mulk, one of the most powerful noblemen of Gujarat of the contemporary times, in return for peace from the Portuguese who were constantly blocking the maritime routes. The Portuguese conquered it on 2nd February 1559 and fortified the city but even after its occupation the Portuguese paid a tribute called *Chauth* to the local ruler. Thus like the Gujarat Sultans and Mughals, the Portuguese too accepted the allegiance of the local governing class.

With the expansion of the Mughals in the east coast in Bengal and in west coast in Gujarat, the Mughals came in direct contact with the Portuguese. The *desais* or *zamidars* often became a bone contention between the Mughals and the Portuguese. From giving shelter to the defaulter villagers to revolting *desais*, the two powers often had conflicts regarding the matters of local polity. But the Portuguese, as seen in contemporary texts did not prefer to go against the Mughals due to local political matters. Moreover, the Portuguese while sheltering the villagers from the excess burden of taxations of the

⁵³Sanjay Subrahmanyam, “A Note on the Rise of Surat in the Sixteenth Century”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (2000), p. 29

⁵⁴ *ibid*, p. 29

deasais mostly treated them as subjects of the Mughal emperor.⁵⁵ In 1593, when Mirza Koka began to threaten the Portuguese settlements in Gujarat, in particular Diu, the Mughal court did not show much support despite his military success, eventually he embarked for pilgrim in *hajj*, returning only in 1594.⁵⁶

The territorial expansion of the Mughals helped the growth of trade and commerce. The hinterland was connected with the Indian Ocean trading network, and along with the indigenous traders, it also gave an impetus to the financial gains of the European nations. The commodities of trade, textile particularly, was purchased from the Mughal hinterland and was taken to the ports of Bengal and Gujarat, was mostly taken to the trans-regional networks, by the Portuguese.⁵⁷ In the 16th century, the Mughals also depended on the Portuguese for their supply of luxury items, spices and bullions. The China- Japan trade of bullion was mostly in the hands of the Portuguese, which was needed for the minting of currencies. Maryam- uz Zamani preferred to trade with the Portuguese, despite the conflicts with the latter, because they had access to the rare objects.⁵⁸

The officials of the Gujarat Sultanate were considered by the Portuguese Crown as merchants or traders or spies. But with the appointment of the Mughal officials in the key positions of customs and taxation, the importance of the position increased manifold, though the designation remained the same. Akbar had sent his ambassadors to the Portuguese seat of power in Goa. This gesture was often represented in the contemporary Portuguese documents as a mean to get information about Goa but the mission was received with great pomp and magnificence and was given a salute of artillery throughout the day, showcasing the supremacy of the Portuguese artillery. The Mughals presented

⁵⁵ Panduranga Pissulencar, op.cit., 24

⁵⁶ Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam , “The Deccan Frontier and Mughal Expansion, ca. 1600: Contemporary Perspectives”, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 47, No. 3, Between the Flux and Facts of Indian History: Papers in Honor of Dirk Kolff (2004), p. 367

⁵⁷ Pius Malekandathil, *The Mughals, The Portuguese and the Indian Ocean: Changing Imageries of Maritime India*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2013, p. 28

⁵⁸ Ellison B. Findly, “The Capture of Maryam-uz-Zamānī’s Ship: Mughal Women and European Traders”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 108, No. 2 (Apr. - Jun., 1988), p. 232

the Viceroy with expensive gifts and it was decided that a Mughal delegation would be despatched for Portugal which will further strengthen the alliance between the Portuguese and the Mughals. Akbar, after his expeditions around Deccan wanted to capture the Portuguese enclaves of Western India. He wanted to cut off the supply chain of the Portuguese enclaves and plan to confront them in war.⁵⁹ During the visit of the Mughal governor, Muqarrab Khan to Goa in 1611, he was welcomed with lot of pomp and glory. Muqarrab Khan travelled by sea to Goa, accompanied by 300 persons and was received by Portuguese Viceroy Rui Lourenco de Tavora with all diplomatic conventions.⁶⁰

The relationship between the Mughals and the Portuguese underwent considerable change from the time of Jahangir onwards. Monserrate wrote in 1582, that anti-Portuguese sentiments ran high, and the mere name of Christians and Franks was conceived as horrible and hateful.⁶¹ Jahangir wrote in 1613 “the Europeans in Goa, in defiance of their engagements had plundered four ships engaged in the foreign trade of Surat” and imprisoned the Muslims and had captured their wealth and goods.⁶² Jahangir was convinced of the emerging English naval power, and that the Portuguese could be stopped by the English alone.⁶³ When the English wrote to Prince Khurram in 1618 that the Red Sea ship should be kept reserved for the Indians and the rest should be open to the English on which, the former accepted the view of the Indian merchants and rejected the English plea.⁶⁴ Shah Jahan provided that any dispute which arose between a native trader and the English was to be settled by local authorities as justly as possible, thus

⁵⁹ Fr. Pierre Du Jarric S.J., *Akbar and the Jesuits: An Account of the Jesuit Missions to the Court of Akbar*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1996, p. 113

⁶⁰ Jorge Flores, “The Sea and the World of the Mutasadi: A Profile of Port Officials from Mughal Gujarat(1600-1650)”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 21, January, 2011, p. 61

⁶¹ Commentary of Monserrate, ed. Hoyland and Banerjee, p. 185-91

⁶² “Waki’at-i- Jahangiri”, *The History of India as Told by its Own Historians*, Elliot and Dawson, Allahabad, 1972, Vol. 6, p. 377

⁶³ Ruby Maloni, *European Merchant Capital and the Indian Economy: A Historical Reconstruction Based on Surat Factory Records, 1630-1668*, Manohar Publications, Delhi, 1992, p. 45

⁶⁴ W.H. Moreland, op.cit., p. 84

giving the indigenous traders an edge over the Europeans. Three years after the establishment of the Portuguese in Surat, Viceroy Jerenimo de Azevedo had promised Mughal emperor Jahangir to prevent the contemporary European nations from getting a foothold in Surat the principle port of the Mughals. This did not prevent the English from getting permission for their factory at Surat in 1618. Thus the confrontation and hostility between the Portuguese and the Mughals mostly was related to the sea faring activities of the latter.

Lakshmi Subrahmanian, pointed out that the Mughal conquest of Gujarat in 1573 and the attention that the Mughal emperors bestowed on the trade and pilgrim traffic of Surat made possible the integration of coastal Gujarat into the imperial grid. Surat became the most important port of western India under the Mughals, as under their patronage Surat was connected to the vast hinterland of North India. The merchants and the urban population of Cambay, as documented in the contemporary text of *Mirat-i- Ahmadi*, had welcomed Akbar and supported his conquest of Gujarat.⁶⁵ Although the Mughals were not enthusiastic about Surat's participation in the maritime dimension of the overseas trade, the responsibility of keeping the merchants of Surat safe was not neglected by them.⁶⁶ The *hakim* or the local governor took care of revenue collection in and around the port city of Surat largely through the mediation of local elites who were given the position of revenue farmers (*mustajiran*).⁶⁷ In 1594, the Surat *sarkar* contributed four percent of the total revenues of the *subah* of Ahmedabad.⁶⁸ There was a gradual transformation of the imperial family and ruling elite into artful maritime merchants.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Farhat Hasan, *State and Locality in Mughal India: Power Relations in Western India, c.1572-1730*, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, 2006, p. 15.

⁶⁶ Lakshmi Subrahmanian, *Indigenous Capital and Imperial Expansion: Bombay, Surat and West Coast*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1996, p. 29.

⁶⁷ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Explorations in the Connected History: Mughal and Franks*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2011, p. 52.

⁶⁸ Francois Martin, *Memoires: Travels to Africa, Persia and India, 1664-1670*, Subarnarekha, Calcutta, 1990, Vol.1, Part.1, p. 4.

⁶⁹ Jorge Flores, "The Sea and the World of Mustaddi: A Profile of Port Officials from Mughal Gujarat (1600-1650)", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 21, Issue 01, Cambridge, January 2011, p. 56.

Initially, private Portuguese traders at Surat or Cambay were able to carry out their commerce with Goa and Cochin and the *Estado da India* continued to collect revenues from ships that were obliged to put in at Diu. The Mughals, for their part, were placated by giving of *cartazes* or licenses for their vessels destined for the Red Sea carrying *hajis*.⁷⁰ After the Mughal conquest of Sind, the Portuguese were allotted a *farman* to settle down there in 1584. They were to pay three percent customs and were free of other charge; horses were also permitted to be imported free of charge. In return, the Portuguese were to hand over three *cartazes* to the ships of Akbar, whose passage should not be hampered by the tax-farmers. Akbar's acceptance of *cartaz* can be seen as a sign of Mughal weakness but it shows certain amount of mutual co-operation and accommodation between the Portuguese and the Mughals in the Indian Ocean network.⁷¹

In spite of the *cartazes*, the Mughal ships often faced Portuguese opposition in the sea. Gulbadan Begum, the emperor Akbar's aunt, faced difficulty, while going to *hajj*, in October 1576 at Surat. Gulbadan had to give the territory of Bulsar, near Daman to ensure her safe passage to the Red Sea.⁷² In 1613, the Portuguese traders seized the Maryam uz Zamani's ship *Rahmini* and carried her off to Goa. The *Rahmini* was one of the largest of the Indian ships trading between the Red Sea and the western India. The ship was captured in spite of carrying the necessary Portuguese pass "guaranteeing her against molestation." She was carried off with all of her cargo and Mughal court was severe and, when it became clear that the Portuguese had no intention of returning the ship. The Mughal Emperor Jahangir got livid and ordered the halt of all traffic through Surat, the seizure of Daman, the closing of the Jesuit church in Agra, and the suspension of all allowances to Portuguese priests in Mughal India.⁷³

⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 53.

⁷¹ R.J. Barendse, *Arabian Sea: The Indian Ocean World of the Seventeenth Century*, Brill, Leiden, 2002, p. 344.

⁷² Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "A Matter of Alignment: Mughal Gujarat and the Iberian World in the Transition of 1580-81", *Mare Liberum*, No. 9, July 95, p. 468.

⁷³ *Early Travels in India, 1583-1619*, ed., William Foster, (Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press, 1921), pp. 191- 92

Bayazid Bayat, a Mughal noble, while giving description of his journey through Gulf of Cambay, mentioned how he had to face inconvenience in the hands of the Portuguese *ijaradars* to whom he had to give his son as a hostage as the collectors were afraid to climb on board to estimate the amount which should be implemented as 'Diu toll'. As the people travelling on the ship did not have 10,000 *mahmudis* which was demanded, Bayat, the owner of the ship gave everyone on board money as a loan and then he was allowed to travel from there.⁷⁴ In 1694, one of the ships of the Mughal Emperor was captured and kept for two years, as the Emperor wanted to send off the ship to Mecca without paying for the cartaz. The issue was finally resolved when the governor of Surat agreed to pay for the cartaz, on a condition of protection against piracy in the high seas.⁷⁵

Mughals though opposed the Portuguese at sea in early 1580 regarding the *cartaz*-system, but they were not successful in taking the Portuguese head on because the merchants of Surat were not forthcoming to cooperate.⁷⁶ One of the main reasons for this might be the fact that though the Mughals were supreme at land, the merchants knew they would be unable to protect them or their commodities from the Portuguese at the high seas. There is a change in the Mughal policy towards the Portuguese and the overseas trade from the time of Jahangir onwards.

Ashin Das Gupata opined that, "Prince Khurram as the *subahdar* of Gujarat had been the most powerful protector for the Indian maritime merchant. The fact that he was in rebellion and losing against the imperial forces deprived Indian shipping of any political support."⁷⁷ This opportunity was utilized by the English and the Dutch to gain a foothold in the Gujarat. A *farman* issued by the Mughal emperor Shah Jahan declared that the places and houses and the compound of the Jesuits priests at Agra, which were granted to

⁷⁴ Simon Digby, "Bāyazīd Beg Turkmān's Pilgrimage to Makka and Return to Gujarat: A Sixteenth Century Narrative", *Iran*, Vol. 42 (2004), p.29

⁷⁵ Historical Archives of Goa (HAG): L.de Moncoes do Reino, vol.59, £1.112.(Will be further mentioned as HAG)

⁷⁶ *ibid*, p. 472.

⁷⁷ Ashin Das Gupta, "Indian Merchants and the Western Indian Ocean: The Early Seventeenth Century", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 3, Cambridge University, April 1984 (1985), p. 495

them by Jahangir, was confirmed and upheld. Moreover he granted lands and material for the construction of a church, which was razed. In the background of growing tension between the two there were evidences of cordiality between the two. Even in the 18th century when the Mughals were declining the emperor was given respect by the Portuguese. The treatment given to the Mughal ambassador was lavish, as it is often regarded in accordance with the Portuguese military and economic power in the region. One of the reasons for the Portuguese respect towards the Mughals could be the fact that as the Portuguese were well aware of the internal intricacies of Indian subcontinent, much more than their European counterparts and realised the power and influence which the Mughals held over the region. Moreover, the Portuguese were mostly a naval power, and they started to expand their territorial influence much later. With the decline in the power of the Mughals, and the rise of the *nawabs* the Portuguese had further change their policy to adjust with the powerful Nawabs.

The Jesuits played a pivotal role in shaping the relationship between the Mughals and the Portuguese, especially under Akbar. In the initial years the Portuguese realized the demand for luxury items in the Mughal court of Agra and later Delhi.⁷⁸ The commercial relationship between was strengthened by the religious dialogue between the Jesuits and the Mughals.⁷⁹ As had been discussed in the previous chapter, the Jesuits formed an important link between the indigenous people and the Portuguese. The threat of the Ottomans brought the Omanis, Mughals and the Portuguese together. Though the Portuguese were not able to make any progress in their initial missionary activities, politically the presence of Jesuits in the court of Akbar, helped the Portuguese to gain a future alliance against the common rivals. By this time, the Portuguese had given up their crusading zeal against the Muslims, especially in Gujarat, as they realized that importance of the Muslim population in conducting trade and commerce in the region. By the reign of Aurangzeb, the support of the Jesuits Fathers from Goa, diminished. The losses

⁷⁸ Ellison Banks Findly, "Jaina Ideology and Early Mughal Trade with Europeans", *International Journal of Hindu Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (Aug., 1997), p. 291

⁷⁹ Pius Malekandathil, "The Other as a Crusading Enemy and Collaborator", *The Evolution of a Nation Pre-Colonial to Post Colonial: Essays in Memory of R.S. Sharma*, ed. D.N. Jha, Manohar, New Delhi, 2014, p. 297

suffered by the Portuguese at the hands of the Dutch and the English, reduced the importance of the Portuguese Fathers in the Mughal court.⁸⁰

Despite the confrontations, the Portuguese and the Mughals maintained cordial relations. The relationship between the Portuguese and the Mughals were often dependent on the relationship of the two with their neighbouring states. Mughal Emperor Akbar's request for supply of arms and ammunitions were rejected by Jesuits father Xavier, as the arms were planned to be used against the Khandesh, who were in alliance with the Portuguese. These caused tension between the two. The Portuguese in order to maintain the diplomatic status quo often meted out equal privileges among the Mughals and other Indian kingdoms. In one of the Portuguese contemporary documents the State Council of Goa had ordered to maintain the same amenities to the Mughal ambassador which were offered to that of Adil Shah, the ruler of Bijapur.⁸¹ When the envoy and ambassadors of Keladi Nayaka, a minor kingdom which was the main supplier of rice for Goa, visited the city they were received with modest welcome. The Maratha diplomats did not receive a grand welcome as the Mughals did. In a letter written in 1695 to the Nawab of Surat, the Portuguese confirms explicitly explicitly about the faith and trust which the latter had on the Mughals. The letter emphasises the Portuguese claims of supporting the Mughals against the Marathas and showered Portuguese allegiance to the Mughals against the latter's rivals.⁸² Mughal emperor Aurangzeb acknowledged the support shown by the Portuguese to the Mughals against Kem Sawant and had gifted the Portuguese Crown a dagger inlaid with rubies and with gold handle.⁸³ The presence of the Jesuit priests in the court of Akbar showcased the support of the Portuguese towards the Mughal emperor. Father Mathaeus Ricci, points out that Akbar tried to establish peace with the Portuguese

⁸⁰Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, Vintage Books, Gurgaon ,1990, p. 125

⁸¹ HAG: *Assentos de Conselho da Fazenda*, vol.14, fl.267.

⁸² Panduranga Pissulencar, op.cit, p. 21

⁸³ HAG: *Livro de Concelho de Fazenda*, vol.18, fl.17

at a time of tensions between Akbar and his half-brothers. Also the Mughals wanted to appease the Portuguese after the annexation of Bengal by the former.⁸⁴

IV. Marathas and the Portuguese

In his continuous strikes against the Mughals, Shivaji attacked Surat in 1644. Surat was one of the major areas of conflict between the various mercantile communities of the western coast of Gujarat and one of the most important custom houses for the Mughals. In 1644, the value of the goods passing through the customs house was around Rs.1,00,00,000. By comparison, the total capital available on 165 ships sent to the east by the East India Company between 1601 and 1640 amounted to Rs. 3,00,00,000. In 1646-47, the standard assessment of the land revenue of the fertile province of Gujarat was Rs.1,32,50,000.⁸⁵ The Maratha conquest of Gujarat and Malwa could be divided into three phases. The first stage was the implementation of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*. The claim for these revenue extractions was sanctioned by the Mughal governor Sarbuland Khan in May 1726.⁸⁶ This was followed by the demand for the cessation of territories and the provinces were divided into spheres of influence among the Maratha *sardars*. Then came outright annexation. The collection rights of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* did not stop the plunder activities carried out by the Marathas. In February, 1731, the Mughal governor Abhai Singh, the successor of Sarbuland Khan made a pact with Peshwa Baji Rao, and tried to oust the Maratha sardars Kanthaji Kadam and Pilaji Gaekwad from Gujarat in return for a *chauth* of 13 lakhs but this arrangement did not have any long lasting result. Gujarat faced the plunder of the Maratha *sardars* again.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Pius Malekandathil, "Akbar Portuguese and the Politics of Religious Dialogue", *The Mughals, The Portuguese and the Indian Ocean: Changing Imageries of Maritime India*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2013

⁸⁵ M.N. Pearson, "Shivaji and the Decline of the Mughal Empire", *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol.35, No. 2 (Feb. 1976), p. 227

⁸⁶ Satish Chandra, *Parties and Politics at the Mughal Court 1707-1740*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2002, p. 232

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, p. 243

According to the contemporary sources, the city was unable to prevent the sudden attack on it by Shivaji. The Maratha leader left the city in ruins and shambles. He had plundered around two and half millions of rupees, gold, silver, pearls, rubies, diamonds, rubies and other precious stones from the houses of the rich merchants and traders. In his five to six days of plunder, he ransacked cash and goods of around 8 million rupees. The Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, was furious at the incapability of the Mughal governor in defending the city and ordered to fortify the city. As a token of appreciation for the courage shown by the Europeans in defending the city, he remitted a part of the custom duties for them.⁸⁸ The wall built by Aurangzeb was not strong enough to withstand an attack. The Marathas sacked Surat again in 1670. The Marathas plundered houses and *sarais*, burnt down half of the town and retreated after two days carrying enormous amount of wealth. Streynsham Master, an English stationed at Surat, claimed, ‘No sooner Sevagy was gone but the poor people of Surat fell on plundering what was left, in so much that there was not a house, great or small...which was not ransacked.’ The defendants of the city failed to protect Surat. The French stationed at Surat made peace with them, but the English and the Dutch, defended themselves against the Maratha hostilities.⁸⁹ The presence of the Marathas in western India led to the rise of new political order in the region, which brought in long standing implications.

The Maratha plunders of the city of Surat and their occupation of the Athavisi or 28 parganas made the Muslim administration in Surat face extreme financial crisis from the 1730s. The city Governors, unsure of their tenures, perfected the art of plunder of the city merchants whose rebellion in 1730-32 resulted in the Governor's dismissal.⁹⁰ During

⁸⁸ Bal Krishna Gokhale, *Surat in the Seventeenth Century*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1979, p. 25

⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 25

⁹⁰ Lakshmi Subrahmaniam, “Capital and Crowd in a Declining Asian Port City: The Anglo-Bania Order and the Surat Riots of 1795”, *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (1985), p. 210



India in 1760

these crucial years, the Bania community led by Seth Laldas decided to involve the English Council at Surat in the protest movement of the city merchants led by Mulla Mohammed Ali. In 1734, the Maratha opened three fronts against the *Estado*, imposing a siege on Chaul, Bassein and Goa and inflicting a serious blow to the food chain of Daman.⁹¹

The presence of the Portuguese and the Marathas, in close geographical proximities, often led to conflicts and contentions between the two powers, regarding the collection of land revenue *and also* to attacks on each other's territories. The additional tolls charged by the Marathas decreased the profit margins of the trading communities. Bands of Marathas would plunder the countryside during the season of collection of revenues. They would take hostage some peasants and cattle as the villagers used to show resistance. In the absence of any clear demarcation of territories the Marathas would often plunder the Portuguese territories. The Marathas did not have an organized revenue policy or tax collectors. They depended on the local collaborators for the revenue collection.⁹² In the first half of 1740, the average annual exports to both Europe and to other parts of Asia were low. The estimated trade of Asian merchants from Surat at this point was estimated at Rs. 2 million, that of the Portuguese at Rs. 500,000 of the French at Rs. 160,000 and of English at as much as Rs. 2.43 million. According to Francis Warren Malet, the British ambassador to the Peshwa estimated that due to the Maratha attack, the revenue from Gujarat totaled to around 1,200,00 rupees.⁹³

The Portuguese protested against these practices in 1677, to Trimbaji Raja, the Mughal *tanahdar* of Ramnagar, who denied taking responsibility and pledged to take action against the Marathas.⁹⁴ An “unruly frontier” of violence and banditry separated the

⁹¹ João Vicente Melo, “Respect and Superiority: The Ceremonial Rules of Goan Diplomacy and the Survival of the Estado da Índia, 1707–50”, *Portuguese Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (2012), p. 144

⁹² Stewart N. Gordon, “The Slow Conquest: Administrative Integration of Malwa into the Maratha Empire, 1720—1760”, *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (1977), p. 9

⁹³ R.J. Barendse, *Arabian Sea (1700-1763)*, Brill, Leiden, 2009, vol. 1, p. 341

⁹⁴ R.J. Barendse, *The Arabian Sea: The Indian Ocean World of the 17th century*, Vision Books, 2002, p. 145

Portuguese from Adilshahi and the Maratha territory. More than Diu, Daman was more susceptible to the Maratha attacks because of its closeness to the Deccan. Since 1638, Daman stopped maintaining armed men and cavalry. The peaceful neighbourhood and the high cost of maintaining and training of armed forces, were the main factors of disbanding the army. Horses were mostly imported and were expensive. To maintain a horseman in Daman 148 *pardaos* were sent. A professional soldier was paid 40 *pardaos* and a rower 12 by the *senado da camara* for guarding Daman in 1680s. Moreover, the fertile agricultural land had to supply fodder for the horses.⁹⁵ The continuous proximity of the Marathas towards the Portuguese territories created anxiousness inside the Portuguese government. This also paved the way for the alliance between the Portuguese and the English. The Portuguese were aided by the English against the Marathas in 1731 with two thousand infantry and five hundred horses. The conflicts and the tensions between the Portuguese and the Marathas in the 18th century was a recurring problem. However, both the Portuguese and the Marathas had internal tensions as well as faced stiff competition from the English.

In the second half of the 18th century, the English and the Marathas had large surpluses to fight their wars, but did not own a treasury like the Mughals. The principal sources of revenue for the Muslim administration in Surat had been land revenue from the *Athavisi* or 28 Mahals dependent on Surat, customs on trade (on goods passing through the sea and customs house *Phurza* and land custom house *Khuski*) and town dues or *mokats*. The *mokats* were special levies on every items sold or manufactured in the city and it had started increasing from the time of Togh Beg Khan in 1735 when the revenues of the city had begun to decrease.⁹⁶ The Marathas depended on the *ijaradars* and *sahukars* for their money supply. The English though had an elaborate trading network by the 18th century, did not have the territorial control over western India by then and both the English and the Marathas had to depend on the bankers and money lenders.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Ibid, p. 145

⁹⁶ Lakshmi Subramanian, *Indigenous Capital and Imperial Expansion: Bombay, Surat and the West Coast*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1996p. 101

⁹⁷ Ibid p. 331

The Maratha attacks led to the decline of trade and commerce of Surat and Diu, but it boosted the growth of newer settlements like that of Bhavnagar. The Gohel chief shifted his centre of administration from the castle of Sirul to that of Bhavnagar in 1723. Surat suffered from the continuous Maratha blockades, as the Marathas stopped anything from entering the city until the Nawab of Surat conceded to them the right to levy their *chaut* on Surat. The merchants for the interim period, would sent their ships to the small anchorage of Vertage, close to Bhavnagar where the goods were unloaded and sent to Surat.⁹⁸ With the blockade many merchants of Surat, either moved to Bhavnagar or invested in shipping there. The Gohels charged only 1 ½ percent customs as opposed to 4 percent of Surat.⁹⁹ The attack on Surat by Shivaji had a great impact on the financial houses of Gujarat. The European traders had initially been subjected to payment of customs duty at the rate of 2 ½ percent. This was reduced to 2 percent as a reward for the gallant resistance which had been put up by the Europeans at the time of the first raid of Shivaji in 1664. Dutch and English were given reward and their import duties on their merchandise were reduced.¹⁰⁰ During the second raid of Surat by Shivaji in 1670, the Europeans were suspected of having come to a secret understanding with Shivaji instead of putting up a resistance. In 1679 Aurangzeb imposed *jiziya*, which was modified after the protests launched by the Armenians and the Europeans in 1680 and custom duties of 3 ½ percent was levied on them instead of 2 percent.¹⁰¹ From the mid 18th century the Mughal administrative system of Malwa was replaced by that of the Marathas. This brought the Marathas more close to the trade and commerce routes of the central India. The Marathas tried to implement new social and economic control over the region

Besides these many regulatory functions the Marathas introduced. *Ainjama* or the yearly contract was introduced within the administration which promoted economic development. As Stewart Gordon claims, “By establishing a pax over the area, settling

⁹⁸ R.J Barendse, *Arabian Sea 1700-1763*, Brill, Leiden, 2009, vol.1, p. 329

⁹⁹ R.J. Barendse, *The Arabian Sea: The Indian Ocean World of the 17th century*, Vision Books, 2002, p. 331

¹⁰⁰ Jadunath Sarkar, *Shivaji*, M.C.Sarkar and Sons Private Ltd, Calcutta, 1961, p. 100

¹⁰¹ Francois Martin, *op.cit.*, vol.2, part 1, p. 814

disputes by negotiation, the Marathas promoted agriculture and prosperity, just as the Mughals before them had done.”¹⁰² As part of this general pax new roads were built and old ones made safe”. Trade and the industries, especially the Chanderi silk weaving expanded. By conscious policy, the *kamavisdars* were responsible for the well-established means to expand agriculture. Like the Mughal *subahdar*, the *kamavisdar* appealed to the central government on behalf of the peasantry for a decrease in government demand, during bad years. After natural disaster, the *kamavisdar* regularly gave out *taqavi* loans for recovery.¹⁰³

With the incorporation of the Marathas in the Malwa, the Portuguese often saw the Marathas as a buffer between them and the English. The treatment of the Maratha ambassadors and envoys at Goa speaks a lot about the relationship shared by the two and shows how it changed. The Maratha ruler was often regarded as a vassal prince. The Maratha envoy had to ask for Viceroy’s permission when they were near the border of Portuguese enclaves. Due to low diplomatic prestige, the *Estado* was not obliged to arrange a house for the diplomats and they often received a modest reception in the Portuguese enclaves. The envoy’s house was equipped with six chairs, one box,¹⁰⁴ very minimal in the context of what was arranged for other ambassadors. With the escalation of Mughal- Maratha conflict the Portuguese, tried to avoid any kind of conflict and tension with the Mughals. Mostly the hinterland of the Portuguese ports passed through the territories of the Mughals and a conflict could have brought in economic losses. Count of Alvor, after the Luso- Maratha war ordered the reception of the Marathas in the same way as of the other ambassadors.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² Stewart N. Gordon, “The Slow Conquest: Administrative Integration of Malwa into the Maratha Empire, 1720- 1760”, *Modern Asian Studies*, II, I (1977), p. 28

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, p. 28

¹⁰⁴ Julio Firmino Judice Biker, *Collecao de Tratados e Concertos de pazes que o Estado da India Portuguesa*, Asian Oriental Service, New Delhi, 1995, V. 13

¹⁰⁵ Julio Firmino Judice Biker, *Colleccão de Tratados e Concertos de Pazes que o Estado da India Portuguesa Fez com os Reis e Senhores com Quem Teve Relacoes nas Partes da Asia e Africa Oriental*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1995, vol.V. p. 13

V. Portuguese and other Europeans

The presence of the English and the Dutch in Gujarat, brought in complexities between the relationship of the local political elites and the Portuguese. The Portuguese regarded the commercial interests of the English and the Dutch as illegal and unwarranted. They adopted a policy of uncompromising opposition to both of the nation.¹⁰⁶ The trading relationship between the Portuguese and the Dutch and the English had a deep relationship with the wider political complexities from Latin America to Europe and Africa. The situation in the East was different from the circumstances in Europe where Portugal's place in British external commerce was determinant. The relationship between the European companies became more complex due to the presence of private traders who often gave more priority to the individual profits and interests rather than that of their companies.

The decade of 1630s witnessed devastating losses for the Portuguese country traders because of the Dutch. The Dutch wanted to control the pepper trade and silver trade which were mostly carried on by the Portuguese. The Gujarat textiles were important for the procurement of the pepper, and thus the control of maritime trade of Gujarat was important to the Dutch. In 1622, fine quality Gujarat clothes of the value of f. 100,000 to f. 200,000 were to be sent by the Dutch stationed at Batavia for pepper trade on the west coast of Sumatra and Jambi and for being sent to Moluccas, Amboina and Banda.¹⁰⁷ The control of textile trade was one of the major issues of contention between the Portuguese and the Dutch. Since Diu, Daman, Bassein and Chaul were under the Portuguese, the Dutch could only operate from Goga, Cambay, Broach, Surat, and Sindh. According to a contemporary Portuguese source, between 1629 and 1636 around 155 ships were destroyed or captured and goods worth 7.5 million *xerafins* were lost.¹⁰⁸ The maritime

¹⁰⁶ A.R. Disney, "The First Portuguese India Company, 1628-33", *The Economic History Review, New Series, Vol. 30, No. 2 (May, 1977)*, pp. 242- 243

¹⁰⁷ Coen at Batavia to Dedel at Surat, 28 August 1622, VOC, 1076, ff. 98-100, Om Prakash, *The Dutch Factories (1617-1623)*, Munshiram Manoharlal Pvt. Limited, Delhi, 1984, p. 221

¹⁰⁸ Om Prakash, *European Commercial Enterprise in Pre-colonial India*, *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. 5, p. 61

attacks on the Portuguese ships by the Dutch did not only hurt the interests of the Portuguese but also affected the interests of the Indian merchants.¹⁰⁹ In Surat in 1700, the Dutch were more powerful than the English, and were just threatened of imprisonment by the Mughal authorities because of their acts of piracy, though it was impossible to execute people in Surat.¹¹⁰ Because of the Dutch commercial intervention in Indonesia, local political changes in the south-west India and the decreasing bargaining power of Portugal, the purchase price of pepper rose in India in the early 17th century.

In 17th century the effect of European country trade was seen in the Asian trade. Holden Furber identifies at least three reasons for the Anglo- Dutch assault on the Portuguese. First was the Anglo Dutch assaults on the Portuguese, culminating in the Portuguese loss of Malacca, Ceylon, Cochin greatly lessened Portuguese participation in country trade, secondly both English and the Dutch companies in their first decades of existence effectively enforced their prohibition of individual private trading by their people.¹¹¹

The effects of European- European relations were contradictory. On one hand because of the massive increase in both demographics and power, it became increasingly important for British, French and Dutch- the other Europeans - to see the Portuguese in Surat and Mocha as semi-Asian.¹¹² On the other hand while trying to maintain the facade of cordial relations toward the Arabs and Indians, ties between the British on the one, the Portuguese, and the Dutch on the other hand had soured. Anglo- Portuguese relations got extended to a new place with the signing of Goa Accord in 1635 which signalled the cessation of hostilities and a phase of mutual assistance. The English gained from the situation by increasing their profits on the carrying out of trade.¹¹³ The English were

¹⁰⁹ Leonard Blussé and George Winius, "The Origin and Rhythm of Dutch Aggression against the Estado da Índia, 1601-1661", in *Studies on Portuguese Asia, 1495-1689*, ed. George D. Winius, Ashgate, Variorum, p. 78

¹¹⁰ R.J. Barendse, *Arabian Seas 1700-1763: Kings, Gangsters and Companies*, vol. 2, Brill, Leiden, 2009, p. 512

¹¹¹ Holden Furber, *Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient 1600-1800*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1990, p. 265

¹¹² *Ibid*, p. 513

¹¹³ Ruby Maloni, *op.cit.*, p. 45

constantly suspicious of the Dutch and kept them under complete surveillance not only in India, but also in West Asia and Southeast Asia. The capture of the Surat by the English in 1759, gave the English the commanding power over the west coast of India.¹¹⁴

Thomas Roe believed that effective diplomacy was based on adequate force being available to maintain peace.¹¹⁵ English force and superiority over the Portuguese was mostly seen in the Indian Ocean and the Middle East. These helped the English to gain a better relationship with the Indian governors at Surat.¹¹⁶ The combined Persian and English attack on the Portuguese fortress at Hormuz in 1622 further strengthened the position of the English against the Portuguese in India as well as in Persia. In one of the encounters in 1618, the English had captured two Portuguese frigates worth over 5,000 crown.¹¹⁷ Conflict between Portuguese and English effectively ended in 1635 with the Goa Accord, concluded between the Portuguese viceroy at Goa and the English at Surat.

In 1633, the Dutch sought the help of the English to join them against the Portuguese. Due to the mistrust between the English and the Dutch, as the former believed that the latter would engulf the entire commercial world, the English concluded a truce with the Portuguese at Goa in 1635.¹¹⁸ The strong Dutch fleet from Batavia was despatched in 1635 bound for Persia and the blockade of Goa had orders to attack any English ship assisting the Portuguese. The hostilities between the Portuguese and the Dutch were not restricted to west Arabian Sea. Van Diemen the Dutch senior merchant posted in 1623,

¹¹⁴ P.J. Marshall, ed. *The Eighteenth century in Indian History: Evolution or Revolution*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2005, p. 391

¹¹⁵ William Foster, ed. *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India, 1615-19, as Narrated in His Journal and Correspondence*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1899 p. 457

¹¹⁶ I. Bruce Watson, "Fortifications and the India of Force in Early East India Company Relations with India", *Past and Present*, No. 88, Aug 1980, p. 77

¹¹⁷ Van Ravesteyn at Surat to the Directors at Amsterdam, 14 February 1619, VOC 1068, in Om Prakash, , *The Dutch Factories in India 1617-1623*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Private Limited, Delhi, 1984, p. 83

¹¹⁸ Holden Furber, *Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient 1600-1800*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1990, p. 53

attacked the Portuguese from Goa, Ceylon and Malacca.¹¹⁹ Under his leadership, the Portuguese experienced opposition and hostilities and were prevented from carrying out their trade under the Portuguese passes. The carracks loaded with commodities like silk, porcelain had to be stationed at Goa. The fleet did not achieve any success. As the blockade became more effective, the Portuguese shifted their trade to Cochin.¹²⁰

After 1739 the English did not get embroiled with the Portuguese. In 1739 when they lost Salsette and Bassein to the Marathas. The Portuguese Viceroy made an appeal to the English on the grounds that the Europeans should unite when faced with Maratha powers.¹²¹ Eighteenth century Indian history would surely be very different if all Europeans had united against the Marathas or any other Indian power or if all Indian powers had united against the Europeans.

The Bombay government's policy was influenced by the previous experience. In their view the Portuguese Viceroy had left them in lurch by making separate peace with the Marathas in 1722 when there were four English royal ships off the coast available to defeat Kanhoji Angre if he had not allowed to go to Goa harbour and refit. There were also rather bitter memories of the events of 1730 when the Governor Cowan rushed to Portuguese aid and prevented the Marathas from taking Thana. In return the Portuguese made no concessions. Bombay goods were subjected to 10 per cent customs duties at Thana, and the British ambassador at Lisbon had no success in getting full payment of the loans.¹²²

The Portuguese were also not successful in convincing the Dutch that all Europeans should stand together. In a letter written on February 27, 1739, Goa was described as in danger and said Maratha victory would harm all the Europeans. The Dutch admiral Siersma, refused to help and held Angre as the power to be feared as the latter then had 9 'grabs' mounting 10 to 12 guns, 25 *gallivats* of 4 guns each served by about 4000

¹¹⁹ *ibid*, p. 50

¹²⁰ *ibid*, p. 53

¹²¹ Holden Furber, *Bombay Presidency in Mid 18th century*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1965, p. 40

¹²² *Ibid*, p. 41

seamen. The Portuguese in 1737-40 was in desperate state. In September 1737, the Viceroy appealed to all classes of the population to support the government with a loan,¹²³ and raised over a million *xerafins* from the churches, the municipalities and the wealthy Indian merchants, who together gave a total of 1,116,655 *xerafins*.

There was lack of trust among the Europeans in Asia. Even though they had conflicting interests, the Portuguese and the *Estado* pretended to be friends for the other Europeans for reasons of commercial profits. But there was a sudden change of policy from 1756 onwards when the Portuguese started to see other European nations as enemies. The Portuguese though remained neutral in most of the conflicts in Asia during this period, believed that the other European nations were trying to incite tensions attacks in Asia.¹²⁴ The Portuguese believed that the Dutch were trying to get control of Daman, and the security of the port city was thus increased.

VI. Political Shift and the Portuguese Revival of Trade

From the late 17th century to the 18th century, Gujarat witnessed political uncertainty and lawlessness of an unparalleled scale. Repeated extortions, first under the later Mughals and then under the Marathas, created anxiety among the people especially the merchants and the traders. Affluent merchants were easy prey to the local regimes, which were also trying to survive the changes. Ship-owners, mainly Muslims, suffered not only from the Europeans, chiefly English, who introduced new rules of the game, but also from a mushroom growth of pirates along the Western Indian Ocean littoral. Surat tended to lose accessibility to its interior, while coastal trading remained no longer safe for ordinary merchants. Shipping along the ports of the Kathiawar peninsula, the Gulf of Kutch and Sind declined and Surat became increasingly isolated from some of its favourite destinations.¹²⁵ These adverse circumstances certainly affected the trading networks, but

¹²³ Holden Furber, *Bombay Presidency in Mid 18th century*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, p. 42

¹²⁴ RJ Barendse, *Arabian Sea(1700-1763)*, Brill, Leiden, vol. 4, p. 1629

¹²⁵ Ghulam A. Nadri, "Commercial World of Mancherji Khurshedji and the Dutch East India Company: A Study of Mutual Relationships", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (Mar., 2007), p. 318

did not altogether uproot them. The practitioners of commerce knew very well how to adjust to the new conditions and lacked no potential to tune their activities and if necessary, restructure their scale and scope of operation. The traders often sought allegiance or protection from the European companies. Protection did not necessarily imply patronage or an unequal relationship; it was rather contractual and based on mutual trust and cooperation. With the decline in superiority of the *Estado* in the Indian Ocean, the Portuguese began acting more and more as traders and revenue collectors rather than conquerors.

The English tried to prevent the Portuguese from blocking the sea route and the East India Company focused on trying to block the land routes between the producing areas, which were situated far inland, and the exporting ports in Portuguese India. To that effect, it sought to conclude treaties with its other allies, the native states of Gujarat, through which the drug had to transit. Although the Gaekwar of Baroda, the Kathiawar chiefs and the rulers of Palanpur, Chhota Udaipur, Rajpipla and Porbandar duly signed agreements by which they promised to take measures against the transit of opium through their territories, the latter were not always actually enforced by their officials, some of whom were most probably in cahoots with the drug smugglers.¹²⁶

With the rise of the Portugal- Surat textile trade in 1790s the English tightened their control over Surat's manufacturing centres. In the 1790s, the Portuguese purchases of textiles grew substantially and the English accused them of inflating the prices by desperately buying textiles, sometimes without regard for their quality. Between 11 December 1799 and 16 January 1800, Portuguese merchants exported piece-goods to the value of Rs 547,198.72, and the revenue derived could be easily compared with the English. In 1796, when *Reigna dos Angos*, a Portuguese vessel, arrived from Lisbon, they offered the cargoes at relatively higher prices for inferior quality of goods, thus tempting the suppliers and artisans to sell them the goods, instead of giving to the English.¹²⁷ To

¹²⁶ Claude Markovits, "The Political Economy of Opium Smuggling in Early Nineteenth Century India: Leakage or Resistance?", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 1, *Expanding Frontiers in South Asian and World History: Essays in Honour of John F. Richards (Jan., 2009)*, p. 92

¹²⁷ Lakshmi Subramanian, *Indigenous Capital and Imperial Expansion: Bombay, Surat and the West Coast*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1996, p. 260

prevent this the English persuaded the Nawab of Surat to introduce an embargo on the Portuguese trade and to extract a penalty bond from the principal brokers to the effect that they would not sell goods to any individual without his consent and further stationed *sepoys* around the loom to stop the Portuguese from buying the products on which the English had advanced money to the weavers. Numerous brokers of piece-goods such as Pestonjee Jaamasjee, Gopaldas Vrindavan and others signed the bond, according to which they could only sell the products to the English.¹²⁸ The Portuguese stationed at Surat protested in front of the English Council at Bombay, but could not deter the Surat authorities to stop the coercion towards the Portuguese.¹²⁹

There were some major factors that enabled the Portuguese to play a crucial role between 1790 and 1840, in lending support to the Malwa opium commerce. One was the political crisis in Portugal second was the control which local municipal colonies the *camaras* had over the decision making processes in these settlements, and the third was the presence of private Portuguese commerce.¹³⁰ Daman traders performed three functions in the seaborne opium trade. They managed the coastal transportation of cargoes from Karachi to Daman, they organized export transportation of cargoes as brokers, and they arranged the shipments to China taking care of various requirements such as payment of custom duties and port cleanliness.¹³¹ The stable but authoritarian and pro absolutist administration of Juliaõ José da Silva Vieira who was the governor of Daman for 1824-34 in the period of expansion of the Daman opium trade, helped to consolidate the position of the port. The Portuguese derived modest profits from the opium trade. The Portuguese traders and merchants controlled only a fiftieth part of the shipping of the opium.¹³² The rest was controlled by the private traders. Daman opium merchants were

¹²⁸ *ibid*, p. 260

¹²⁹ *ibid*, p. 261

¹³⁰ *ibid*, p. 163

¹³¹ *ibid*, p. 172

¹³² Gervase Clarence-smith, *The Third Portuguese Empire, 1825-1975*, Manchester University Press, 1948, p. 26

essentially agents for the Bombay, Macao, and Gujarat traders.¹³³ Daman opium merchants were essentially agents for the Bombay, Macao, and Gujarat traders. The Scots, Armenians and British Indian traders also participated in this trade. In the absence of sufficient data it is difficult to determine the proportion of capital that belonged to the Daman dealers, but on the face of it apparent that the bulk of the investments in opium came from outside. The opium handled by the Daman merchants should be joint ventures in which investments from various sources were managed by them, from picking up the commodity from Karachi and to sending it to Macao, Lintin and Alibaug.¹³⁴

According to Claude Markovits, the opium trade was the combination of Portuguese naval enterprise, together with British and Indian speculative capital.¹³⁵ Without Portuguese the opium from Daman would not have reached the markets of Macao. The Portuguese were heavily dependent globally on the British, especially after the loss of Brazil in 1822, to mount any kind of challenge to them in Asia. The Portuguese officials used the opportunities offered by the channeling of the Malwa opium trade through ports that were under their rule.¹³⁶

The Indian merchants were content with making the best of the opportunities, but without harbouring any idea of challenging British economic domination. It is interesting to note that, as soon as China had been 'opened' by British in the wake of the First Opium War, the Bombay Parsis and Gujaratis who had organised the smuggling of Malwa opium became the agents of the big private British firms in Canton. The famous Parsi merchant, Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy is known to have supplied the big firm of Jardine and Matheson with a third of the opium they had in their Canton warehouses in the mid 1840s.¹³⁷

¹³³ Amar Farooqui, op.cit., p. 173

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 173

¹³⁵ Claude Markovits, "The Political Economy of Opium Smuggling in Early Nineteenth Century India: Leakage or Resistance?", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 1, *Expanding Frontiers in South Asian and World History: Essays in Honour of John F. Richards* (Jan., 2009), p. 110

¹³⁶ Ibid, p. 101

¹³⁷ Claude Markovits, op.cit., p. 110

VII.Merchants and State

The section of the society taking part in the trade and commerce of Gujarat was diverse and discussed in details in the last chapter. The banias were often used as a generic term to describe the mercantile class of Gujarat. Historians have maintained that the Mughal Emperors were not interested in the matters of trade. But the welfare of the traders was not always ignored, as already discussed. According to the regulations of Jahangir, no one should open goods of merchants on the road without their permission. If the merchants themselves sold their goods of their own accord they should be bought by anyone and if they did not want to sell, no one should force them to do so.¹³⁸ R.Frykenberg opined that the Indian magnates themselves often involved the Europeans to solve or for adjudication of various conflicts among them. Conflicts and clash of interests often arose between various elite groups, tax collectors and richer peasants. According to Frykenberg this is the inner logic of Indian politics.¹³⁹ In 1613-14, during the Mughal- Portuguese confrontations, the Gujarati merchants who had suffered from the attacks of the sporadic Portuguese attacks in the Gulf of Cambay acted independently to get peace. They offered to pay the Mughal emperor Jahangir the value of the goods seized by the Portuguese, hoping that it would solve the tensions and trade could be normalized.¹⁴⁰

The trade carried out by the Asian merchants from Surat was estimated at Rs. 2 million and that of the Portuguese at Rs. 500,000 and the English Rs.2.43 million.¹⁴¹ An overwhelming percentage of trade of the Portuguese and the English were in the hands of the private traders. In 1759, Goa permitted the traders from Bombay and Surat to

¹³⁸ Mirat, op.cit., p. 161

¹³⁹ R.J. Berendse, *The Arabian Sea: The Indian Ocean World of the 17th century*, Vision Books, 2002, p. 143

¹⁴⁰ M.N. Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat— The Response to the Portuguese In The 16th Century*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Private Ltd., New Delhi, 1976, p. 120

¹⁴¹ Om Prakash, *European Commercial Enterprise in Pre-colonial India: The New Cambridge History of India*, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, 1998, p. 301

participate in the trade between Mocha and Diu which was reserved for the merchants of Diu and that too at a reduced custom rate of 1 ½ %. One of the reasons behind it was an attempt to woo the merchants from Surat, who were fleeing because of the British policies.¹⁴² Local officials were often financially involved in trade. They preferred to delegate affairs to Armenian or bania representatives whether in Golkonda, Bijapur, Yemen or Safavid Empire. The Mughal nobles, invested large sums of money in trading activities "either by engaging in trade directly or by making advances to merchants".¹⁴³ The trading interests and overseas investments of Mir Jumla, Shaista Khan and Prince Azimush-Shan are well documented in the contemporary sources. If, however, the reasons for the two coming together were overwhelmingly mercantile, this cooperation was punctuated with phases of conflicts marked by clash of interests and open hostilities.¹⁴⁴

Locally the Europeans could have a marked impact. There often arose markets and trade networks associated with the Company and often under the European protection. Merchants who were closely tied to the local administration often dealt with the Europeans. The European private traders often dealt with the bulk products which might infringe on tax revenues. The increase in the local trade because of the presence of the Europeans, often gave rise to a tangled web of intrigue involving local potentates, mercenaries, and the servants of the Company.¹⁴⁵

The Indian merchants often stayed away from the political affairs of the state. Mostly, the support shown by the indigenous merchants were indirect and very rarely they indulged directly in the politics and administration. In the initial years the opposition faced by the

¹⁴²R.J. Barendse, *Arabian Sea 1700-1763*, Brill, Leiden, 2009, vol. 4, 1678

¹⁴³ M. Athar Ali, "The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb", Bombay, 1966, p. 154; Farhat Hasan, "Conflict and Cooperation in Anglo-Mughal Trade Relations during the Reign of Aurangzeb", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (1991), p. 356

¹⁴⁴ Farhat Hasan, "Conflict and Cooperation in Anglo-Mughal Trade Relations during the Reign of Aurangzeb", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (1991), p. 356

¹⁴⁵ R.J. Barendse, *The Arabian Sea: The Indian Ocean World of the 17th century*, Vision Books, 2002., p. 142

Portuguese from the indigenous section was from the administrators who had mercantile interests. As discussed earlier, the *bantias* or the principle merchant class of Gujarat mostly advocated non violence and were only interested in economic prosperity. They often worked as brokers, interpreters and bankers of the European companies and often changed their allegiance as per the economic interests of the merchant class. The *bantias* often worked as the collaborators of the Portuguese army. The Brahmin Vitoji Shenji Kantekar, from Bassein and who got relocated to Diu, wrote to aid the Portuguese against the Marathas by lending gunners from his own ships and demanded in return of some personal benefits.¹⁴⁶ Mancherji invested in the military operations of Safdar Khan his son in law, Ali Nawaz Khan, expecting in return, support which would ultimately yield commercial advantages, monetary dividends or at least immunity from arbitrary extortions or revenue collections.¹⁴⁷ Virji Vohra, was one of the leading merchants of Surat. He was the ultimate authority within the Jain group, headed by him. In 1639, he was asked by Shah Jahan to account their grievances against the governor of Surat. When Murad Baksh, revolted the merchants of Surat gave him 50,000 rupees and it was advanced by Virji Vora.¹⁴⁸ Abdul Ghafur the famous and influential ‘merchant- prince’ of Surat, protested against the port-officer of Surat, Behram Khan, when the latter asked for one lakh rupess as customs from the trade carried out by the merchant.¹⁴⁹ He had under his command 3000 cavalry and infantry men and was supported by the merchants like that of Ahmaed Chalapi, the *qazi* and the *mufti*.¹⁵⁰ Ghafur was also supported by the Maratha Devji Nagvir.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁶ R.J. Barendse, *Arabian Sea 1700-1763*, Brill, Leiden, 2009, vol.2, p. 858

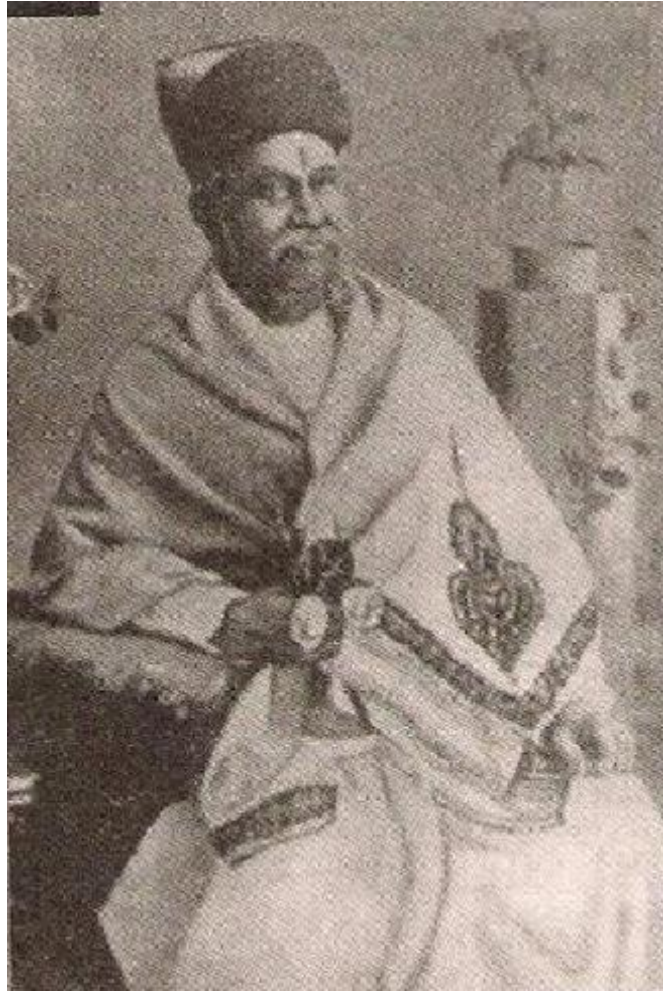
¹⁴⁷ Ghulam A Nadri, “Commercial World of Mancherji Khurshedji and the Dutch East India Company: A Study of Mutual Relationships”, *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (Mar., 2007), p. 326

¹⁴⁸ M.N. Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat— The Response to the Portuguese In The 16th Century*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Private Ltd., New Delhi, 1976, p. 126

¹⁴⁹ Mirat, p. 495

¹⁵⁰ *ibid*, p. 496

¹⁵¹ *ibid*, p. 498



Indian Merchant: Virji Bohra

In the opium trade between Daman and Macao, different sections of the society took part. They often were escorted by armed caravan and had influence and economic power. These trade inflicted immense revenue loss for the English, as the difference between the Daman opium and the Bombay opium was around 100 rupees. Confrontations and skirmish between the private traders dealing with the opium and the English were not unknown. Yet, political conspiracies could not be seen against the English.¹⁵² One of the major reasons for the lack of any challenge could be attributed to the absence of any major political power in India, in the 18th century. The Portuguese, were dependent on the British globally, particularly after the fall of Brazil in 1822 and the Mughals and the Marathas had already declined by that time.

One of the major impacts of the manipulation of the political power of the merchants in Gujarat was during the transformation of Surat from Mughal port to that of the English port. In 1758, the political crisis after the death of Nawab Safdar Khan got intensified. With the succession becoming major issue of contention and the lurking Maratha peril, the *shroffs* of the city came out in open and around 20-21 January 1758, they urged the English East India Company to seize the Surat Castle and to become the *qiladar* of Surat, preventing it from going into further political crisis. In return the *shroffs* promised to support English in their campaign. After Surat fell on 4th March 1759, the wealthy merchants of Surat, with political influence, were divided in their support towards the English. The eminent among them were Salah Chellabi, Mulla Fakharuddin, Jaganath Laldas and Muncherjee Cursetjee, who played important role in the civil war.

Conclusion

Commercial interests and the high profits from the trade scripted the nature of political relationships of the region. Lack of any political centralization and the presence of the hierarchical divisions in the political scenario of Gujarat paved the way for the rise of

¹⁵² Claude Markovits, op.cit, p. 102

different political actors in the region. Due to the decentralized nature of Gujarat, the local political elites had a very important role to play rather than the far off central power. The Portuguese, did not deny the supremacy of the Mughals, and though there were conflicts and confrontations between the two, the Portuguese and the Mughals mostly had a cordial relationship and it went through constant changes. Unlike the English and the Dutch, the Portuguese did not try to bring in changes in the existing political scenario. The religious dialogue between the Portuguese Jesuits and the Mughal Emperors often acted as a buffer against the rise of any animosity between the two. The presence of the Dutch, the English and later the Marathas, influenced and impacted the local political scene of the region. One of the most important roles played in economic prosperity of the Gujarat was the merchants and the traders, who brought and disseminated different forms of wealth in the region through their trade channels. They had the power of the capital and the Europeans as well as the local political elites were depended on them for trade. But the aim of the merchants was not always political privileges but to earn an economic profit. The merchants played a role in politics very rarely, and even if they did, it was mostly for economic benefits.

Chapter VI

Meanings of Urbanization: Diu and Daman

Donald Mc Taggart says that the definition of urbanism is a metaphysical rather than a scientific question and as such is not likely to be answered satisfactorily by the empirical methods of social sciences.¹ The causative factors for the emergence of towns can be diverse. Urbanism is mostly perceived as the product of societal change, manifestation of certain economic and social system at work, as exemplified by the temple cities of south India.² While economic factors are basic to urban growth, often what is required is a focal point of mobilization and redistributive activities, which in pre-modern society is often provided by an ideology, common religion.³

Urban sociologists described towns as social realisation of power, stressing the continuity of social stratification between town and country.⁴ Weber, Braudel and Sjoberg had seen towns internally and externally as an institutional expression of power. Philip Abrams studies towns in a larger context of a struggle to constitute and elaborate power. Abrams describes town as a social form in which essential properties of larger systems of social relations are grossly concentrated and intensified to a point where residential size, density and heterogeneity, the formal characteristics of the town appear to be in themselves constituent properties of a distinct social order.⁵

¹ W. Donald McTaggart, "The Reality of Urbanism", *Pacific Viewpoint*, Vol.6, no.2, (1965), p. 220

² R. Champakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization: South India 300 BC to AD 1300*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1996, p. 2

³ *ibid*, p. 4

⁴ *ibid*, p. 4

⁵ Philip Abrams, "Towns and Economic Growth: Some Theories and Problems", in *Towns in Societies: Essays in Economic History and Historical Sociology*, ed. Philip Abraham and E.A Wringley, Cambridge, 1978, pp. 9-10



Fort of Diu

In the study of urban processes, another useful distinction is that of primary and secondary urbanization. In primary urbanization the rise of the cities is solely the result of internal developments, although not in complete isolation. In secondary urbanization forts and regional administrative centres established for political and economic control, could act as centres of diffusion of metropolitan culture, i.e., technological and other aspects including knowledge.⁶ The workings of a sophisticated administrative and technological structure of the conquering society provide skills to the locals, helping them to assert their independence in the long run.

Paul Wheatley is of the view that the economic definition of urbanism is based on a combination of morphological and functional criteria and is based on abstract morphologies of urban society and of urban economies or of urban politics and tries to study urban centres as a principle of regional integration, as generator of effective space.⁷

⁶ R. Champakalakshmi, *op.cit.*, p.6

⁷ Paul Wheatley, *The Pivot of the Four Quarters*, Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago, 1971, p. 388

Echoing the words of John Friedman, he puts forward the view that the hierarchy of urban places represent the ultimate means of organizing a geographical area into its component social, political-administrative and economic spaces. In this context organization implies a reorientation of the social, political and economic activities of a tract of territory, not merely its exploitation, the utilization of its biological and mineral resources, by the inhabitants in daily sorties from a centrally located settlement.⁸

In India the utilization was largely the result of the drain of the surplus from countryside to the towns with any substantive recompense to the rural economy. Unlike in Europe the urban products found an expanding rural market, with the rise of gentry and rural “proto-industrialization”.⁹ Throughout the history of India, the utilization of spaces by the influential section of the society was seen. The Cholas of the South or the Rajputs of Rajasthan glorified their past and showcased their superiority by building temples and monuments.

Rajat Datta differentiated the urban commercial centres from towns, by following Gideon Sjoberg’s theory, and stating that in a town there are inflexible hierarchical divisions, a stronghold of elite consumption that denies consumption of goods to others and little craft specialisation. But in an urban centre there had to have skill based diversity of its inhabitants, economic specialisation characterised by complex division of labour, substantial demographic concentration replenished continuously by demographic expansion and migration, complexity of habitat and an elite sector which would act as a consumer of elite goods which would induce transference of such goods from long distance.¹⁰ The distinctiveness of the early modernity and proto industry combination lies in the way it directed the commercialization of the countryside and expansion of rural or urban manufacturing along with the urban requirements. Proto industrialisation was

⁸ *ibid*, p. 389

⁹ Shireen Moosvi, *People, Taxation and Trade in Mughal India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2008, p. 120

¹⁰ Gideon Sjoberg, *The Pre Industrial City*, Free Press, Illinois, 1960, p. 27; Rajat Datta, “The Rural-Urban Continuum and the Making of a Proto- Industrial Economy in Early Modern India: A view from the East”, *Cities in Medieval India*, ed. Yogesh Sharma and Pius Malekandathil, Primus, New Delhi, 2014, p. 86

characterised by rapid growth of traditionally organised but market oriented rural industry, a spatial reorganisation of the rural economy, operated by households and engaged in both industry and agriculture, partly for market, and partly for home consumption.¹¹ One important feature of early modern economy of India was distribution of productive and commercial functions from large cities and their concentration in centres scattered over a wide variety of *qasbas* or intermediate townships and in larger villages which together comprised a web of interconnected production centres dotting the face of the country across the trade routes. Between 13th to 18th centuries, the Indian *qasbas* transited from a large rural settlement into a township of smallest size, thus becoming the crucial link between village and the urban centre.¹²

¹¹ Rajat Datta, op.cit., p. 88

¹² *ibid*, p. 92



Fort Of Diu: Forts became One of Major Key of Monopolising Trade in the Indian Ocean

I. Gujarat and Urbanization

The pre-eminence of Gujarat as the most urbanized region could have nothing to do with the military encampments or camp-cities, depended on the administrative mechanism.¹³ High level of urbanization in Gujarat can be explained in terms of its trade.¹⁴ The long distance inland trade generated by the demand for luxuries and other craft products fashioned in Gujarat from members of the ruling class and their subordinates.¹⁵ *Mirat-i Ahmadi* claims that the vestiges of the foundation of the Gujarat Sultans were on the corals and pearls brought from the 84 ports of the kingdom.¹⁶ As has been discussed earlier, the lofty buildings, forts and masjid, tanks and step wells all showcase the grandeur of Gujarat Sultans and their use of space to showcase their power. Though there were mountains around, stones were carried from far off places to change the urban landscape.¹⁷ The architecture of Gujarat combined the Hindu architectural traditions and the Islamic ideas. The Portuguese craftsmanship did not overwrite the existing architectural designs but assimilated them.

Agriculture and the manufacturing centres were also important for the growth of urban centres in the region. Gujarat was highly cultivated. In Baroda, Surat and Nadaut, the extent of cultivated land reached almost 90 per cent in 1903-04. In Ahmedabad it was 68 percent.¹⁸ In Mughal Gujarat the gross revenue demand per *bigha-i Illahi* of cultivated land in various *sarkars* of Gujarat(1595) varied from 14.96 *dāms* to 82.88 *dāms* and the

¹³ *ibid*, p. 133

¹⁴ Shireen Moosvi is of the view that the long distance inland trade was the most important factor though the overseas trade was important for Gujarat, this alone could hardly have sustained more than a small part of the economy. But this is true for the inland urban centres like Ahmedabad, the same cannot be said about the urban centre of Diu, where the economy was based on the maritime trade.

¹⁵ Shireen Moosvi, *op.cit.*, p.133

¹⁶ *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, p. 18

¹⁷ *ibid*, p.18

¹⁸ Shireen Moosvi, *op.cit.*, p. 90

average for all *sarkars* being 46.51, while in UP it was 34.98 *dāms*.¹⁹ This high agricultural productivity helped in the growth of the urban centres in Gujarat. Cambay, Broach, Ahmedabad, Surat, Champaneer or Daman all depended heavily on the agricultural supplies of rural Gujarat. Rice was one of the main food grains which was imported from Bengal and Konkan. Other food products were mostly grown in the region helping in the growth of urban population. Total revenue of Ahmedabad under the Gujarati Sultans was two crores tanks or two lakh rupees, of which miscellaneous revenue of fifteen crores and fifty lakhs of Gujarati *tankas* equivalent to fifteen lakhs and fifty thousand rupees, fifty lakhs *tanka* from the agricultural revenue and *mandi* each.²⁰ If the urban taxation is worked out by any index of the degree of urbanization, (the urban taxation varied in any index of urbanization), Gujarat is the most urban in Mughal India with the urban taxation at 15.7 per cent of the *jama*. The urban tax of Gujarat was calculated 8,36,34,996 *dam* with 44,83,39,676 *dam* which amounts to 18.654% of *jama*.²¹

Many features of capitalist system of production can be seen in Gujarat.²² The demand for trade had influenced the growth of manufacturing and handicraft industries of Gujarat. As discussed in the chapter one the religion played an important role in the development of some urban centres, like that of Somnath and Dwarka. With the growth in demand the gap between the rural and urban supply chain was reduced. It facilitated the emergence of small townships with skilled artisans, increased the role of wage labourers and the concept of division of labour.²³ The Gujarat Sultans facilitated the growth of urban centres like that of Ahmedabad, as a centre of power.

¹⁹ *ibid*, 293

²⁰ Mohammad Ali Khan, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, translated M.F. Lokhandwala, Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Baroda, 1927, p. 13-14

²¹ Shireen Moosvi, *op.cit.*, p. 132-133

²² Surendra Gopal, *Commerce and Crafts in Gujarat 16th and 17th century*, People's Publishing House, New Delhi, 1975, p. 238

²³ Surendra Gopal, *Commerce and Crafts in Gujarat in 16th and 17th Centuries: A Study in the Impact of Europeans on Pre-capitalist Economy*, People's Publication, New Delhi, 1975, p. 238

The Portuguese on their arrival did not bring any structural changes in the urban system of Gujarat. The Portuguese did not infiltrate into the structure of the society and economic foundations of the country as was later done by the English and the Dutch. They modified the existing urban centres of Gujarat, specially Diu and Daman, and worked in association of the local traders and artisans.

II. Nature of the Portuguese Urbanization Process

The Portuguese idea of an urban centre as showcased from the cartographic evidence, highlights the stereotyping of the landscape in Arabian Sea, but a closer inspection will reveal that the representations remarkably varied from place to place.²⁴ The Portuguese constructed various Lusitanian structures and institutions within their enclaves to make the physicality of the towns appear to correspond to the inner dynamics and logic that they wanted to inscribe onto urban space. In 1503, the first Portuguese fortress was established at Cochin. This was followed by the construction of fortress at Quilo, Sofala, Socotra and Hormuz followed by other forts in the Indian Ocean trading network. In India, the reign of Dom Joao III saw the establishment of towns and settlements. On the Coromandel coast towns came up in St. Thomé of Mylapore, Negapatnam and Jafnapatnam.²⁵ In western India, based on economic activities, a three tier system of Portuguese urban centres evolved.²⁶ At the smaller economic level was the villages that evolved between Daman and Thana, on an intermediary level was the semi-urban centres of Salcette, Caranja, Bandora, Bombaim, Mahim, Daravi, Versova, Javen, Nevem,

²⁴ *Architecturalized Asia: Mapping a Continent through History*, ed. Vimalin Rujivacharakul, H. Hazel, Ken Tadashi Oshima, Peter Christensen, Hongkong University Press, Honolulu, 2013, p. 36

²⁵ J.J.A. Campos, *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1998, p. 15

²⁶ Pius Malekandathil, "Shifting from Inland to the Frontiers of Coastal Societies: A study on the Integration of Coastal Northern Konkan with the Mughal World", *The Mughals, The Portuguese and the Indian Ocean: Changing Imageries of Maritime India*, Primus, New Delhi, 2013, p. 145

Sahem, which depended on the village level surplus and at the highest level stood the urban centres of Bassein, Chaul, Daman and Diu.²⁷

In Goa and Cochin, the two urban centres which developed during the same time period, standardization was implemented in all spheres of the city life.²⁸ Municipal councils acted as mechanisms that were involved in the process of constructing continual urban space, in which the aspirations of urban elites and the multiple needs of the *Estado* were involved,²⁹ though the Portuguese depended on the native administrative class in Goa to collect the taxes. Goa being seat of civil and ecclesiastical authority experienced a unique development with the religious zeal and trading interests being transcribed into the city space. The urban phenomenon of Cochin with a self governing municipal system, a diverse but complex social pattern and a network of ecclesiastical institutions acting as cohesive and integrating city force grew parallel to the earlier city of Cochin under the King of Cochin, linked by a bridge with the Portuguese city.³⁰ In Cochin the functioning of the Municipality was kept isolated from that of the fort. The municipal council was an elected body but it only represented the Portuguese population of the city. The existence of various ecclesiastical institutions in Cochin shows that religion was one of the major factors of urban life. The Portuguese encouraged inter-marriages and those institutions that increase their power. The policy of conversion led to an upward movement of population in the urban centre of Cochin, as the low-caste people started enjoying a higher social experience in the society.³¹ The society of Cochin was divided on the basis of religion and blood line, in which the clergy occupied the most important position.³²

²⁷ *ibid*, p. 144

²⁸ Pius Malekandathil, "Spatialization and Social Engineering: Role of the Cities of Cochin and Goa in Shaping the Estado da India, 1500-1663", *O Estado da India e os Desafios Europeus: Actas do XII Seminario Internacional de Historia Indo-Portuguesa*, João Paulo Oliveira e Costa and Vitor Luis Gaspar Rodrigues, Lisboa, 2010 p. 301

²⁹ *ibid*, p. 302

³⁰ Pius Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India 1500-1663*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2001, p. 100

³¹ *ibid*, p. 84

³² *ibid.*, p 85

The common people were also divided on the basis of religion and profession, with the non-Christians occupying the last strata of the society.

The wealth from the private trade of Goa and Cochin was utilized in construction of magnificent civil and religious edifices. In this process the wealth was transferred into architecture. St. Cathedral, Bom Jesus Basilica, Madre Deus College of Cochin, which came up in the mid 16th century and which showcased the power and superiority of the Portuguese. The Portuguese adopted to India the climatically appropriate Iberian patio houses and the Baroque churches of Goa. So Cathedral and the church of Conception of Goa were built in the typical Portuguese- Gothic style.³³ Pyrard described the multiplicity of the churches in the city as marvellous. The largest building in the city was the great 250-foot-long Cathedral Church, whose construction work got started in 1562. There were seven parish churches in the city of Goa and further and sixty- two elsewhere in the territory of Goa.³⁴ Goa churches included some of the largest ecclesiastical institutions in the Lusitanian world. Among the most important was Sao Paulo College, the largest Jesuit school in Asia, with a roll of seventy religious allegedly two thousand students and extensive endowments.³⁵ The spatialization process in the urban unit of Goa reflected the logical processes and mechanisms by which the Portuguese moulded the city through the urban elite.³⁶ Unlike the planned cities of Spain and Spanish America, early 17th century Goa was a complex maze of orderly streets, squares and lanes, medieval in haphazardness.³⁷ Pyrard was astonished that the Portuguese managed to construct so many churches, forts, monasteries and palaces in Goa in European style.

³³ Raj Kumar, *Essays on Indian Art and Architecture*, Vol. 3, Discovery Publishing Private Limited, New Delhi, 2003, p.14

³⁴ A.R. Disney, *Twilight of the Pepper Empire: Portuguese Trade in South- West India in the Early 17th century*, Harvard University Press, USA, 1978, p. 24

³⁵ *Ibid*, p.24

³⁶ Pius Malekandathil, "City in Space and Metaphor: A Study on the Port City of Goa, 1510-1700", *Studies in History*, Vol.25, 1, n.s., New Delhi., 2010, p. 74

³⁷ A.R. Disney, *op.cit.*, pp. 22-23

The forts along the coast of Goa and Cochin not only acted as the source of protection for these forts but also became the core-centre of the Portuguese power. Through the conversion and strict religious policies the Portuguese tried to build a strong social base for the Lusitanian empire. Like Cochin, religion also proved to be one of the most important factors of Goa. The new Christians whose belief in faith was questioned in one way or the other were arrested and brought before the Inquisitorial tribunal of Cochin and then taken to Goa. The economic impact of the inquisition was quite high.³⁸

Bassein was the main Portuguese city of Provincia do Norte. The city of Bassein was an administrative as well as military centre. The main source of revenue of this Portuguese enclave was mostly from the agricultural surplus generated from the neighbouring region. The Portuguese mostly continued the existing laws of the land. Unlike Diu and Daman, Bassein witnessed large scale conversion to Christianity. In 1573, 1600 people were



Our Lady Immaculate Conception, Goa

³⁸ Pius Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2001, p. 99

baptised many of whom were the household African slaves.³⁹ The city space of Bassein demonstrated the Portuguese supremacy in the region. The church of Bassein played a very important role in the educational activities of the city. Antonio de Porto opened a boarding house cum- school in the fortress of Bassein which had around 50 students enrolled and were specially taught the basics of Christian doctrine.

In the east Portuguese settlement grew up in various parts of Bengal. Hijli, Sripur, Dacca, Chandikan, Katrabhu and numerous places in the Midnapore, Dacca, Jessore, Barisal and Noakhali districts, which became the centres of intense commercial activities.⁴⁰ Hugli became the chief centre of the Portuguese commercial activities in Bengal. Intense commercial activities around the port were initiated by the Portuguese traders who erected large golas or store houses. In 1579-80, Pedro Tavares founded the settlement of Hugli under the *farman* granted by Akbar.⁴¹ Porto grando or Chittagong was included in commercial orbit of the Portuguese. By 1597, Satgaon became one of the chief frequently visited destinations of the Portuguese private traders.⁴² In all, the commercial settlements of Bengal were principally the results of private ventures. In fact the captain of *Carreira de Bengal* carried with him a fluid state with powers of diplomats and ambassador of the central power of Goa.⁴³ The number of the Portuguese settlers in Hugli was 7000 in 1632 and they contributed 100,000 *tangas* or rupees as custom duties to the Mughals.⁴⁴ The Bengal textile and weaving industry contributed substantially to the Portuguese private trade. It received a fillip with the implementation of Brazilian policy of liberalization of

³⁹ Jeanette Pinto, "The Decline of Slavery in India with Special Reference to the North", *Mare Liberum*, Julho, 1995, p. 237

⁴⁰ Tapan Raychaudhuri, *Bengal under Akbar and Jahangir*, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1969, p.95

⁴¹ Pius Malekandathil, *The Mughals, the Portuguese and the Indian Ocean, Changing Imageries of Maritime India*, Primus Books, New Delhi, p. 185

⁴² Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, trans. by Henry Blochmann, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1873.

⁴³ Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India: Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2010, p.178

⁴⁴ J.J. Campos, op.cit., p.56; Pius Malekandathil, *The Mughals, the Portuguese and the Indian Ocean: Changing Imageries of Maritime India*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2013, p.187

trade.⁴⁵ Moreover, the weavers and spinners were sent from Bengal to Brazil when the Portuguese tried to introduce textile weaving and dyeing in the latter.⁴⁶

With the growing commercial and political power, the rise in the power of missionaries and Jesuits was also witnessed. Churches and colleges were established in Hijli, Banja, Hugli, Bandel, Chittagong and other Portuguese centres.⁴⁷ The presence of proselytizing can also be seen, but these were not met with any local resistance.⁴⁸ The Augustinians of Goa elected a provincial commissario to look after the ecclesiastical matters of Bengal, thus linking the Bengal Portuguese with the power centre of Goa.⁴⁹ Forts were the basis of Portuguese settlements in the Indian Ocean, but in Bengal the Portuguese did not construct a fort in the important settlements of Hugli or Chittagong, as the maintenance was not cost effective. Moreover, the Portuguese structures were built of bricks in Bengal unlike most of their stone structures of western India. The Portuguese of Bengal were slowly incorporated within the English population of Bengal.

Though the Portuguese policies of urbanization were mostly similar in the Indian subcontinent, there were certainly exceptions and modifications according to the requirements of the region. With this background, this chapter, tries to study the Portuguese process of urbanization in Gujarat, especially in Diu and Daman.

⁴⁵ Pius Malekandathil, "Spatialization and Social Engineering: Role of the Cities of Cochin and Goa in Shaping the Estado da India, 1500-1663", *O Estado da India e os Desafios Europeus: Actas do XII Seminario Internacional de Historia Indo-Portuguesa*, João Paulo Oliveira e Costa and Vitor Luis Gaspar Rodrigues, Lisboa, 2010, p. 193

⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 192

⁴⁷ Tapan Raychaudhuri, op.cit., 95

⁴⁸ Ibid, p.95

⁴⁹ Pius Malekandathil, "Spatialization and Social Engineering: Role of the Cities of Cochin and Goa in Shaping the Estado da India, 1500-1663", *O Estado da India e os Desafios Europeus: Actas do XII Seminario Internacional de Historia Indo-Portuguesa*, João Paulo Oliveira e Costa and Vitor Luis Gaspar Rodrigues, Lisboa, 2010, p.188



Fort of Bassein

III. Portuguese Model of Urbanization in Gujarat: Diu and Damam

The Portuguese realized the strategic location of the coastal areas of Gujarat and developed settlements which could strengthen the maritime commercial activities of the Portuguese Crown. One of the most documented smaller Portuguese settlements was Gogola, with two Mughal territories of Una and Dildara in the neighbourhood. Gogola became a satellite economic centre and a semi-urban component for the sustenance of Diu. There was mobility in the population noticed among the inhabitants of Una especially the mariner's who would frequently go to Diu in search of employment. Una's economy was not solely based on maritime commerce, though they supplied necessary commodities like milk to the maritime population of Diu.⁵⁰ According to the mandate of Viceroy D. Antao de Noronha, all goods and cotton cloths arriving by land or sea into Diu's harbour as well as all the food items, timber and other merchandise were to be paid custom duties at Gogola's custom house.⁵¹ The district of Nagar Haveli constituted of 72 *aldeias* (villages) and covered an area of 3765 square kilometres.⁵²

Population of Gogola

Occupation	Houses	Male	Female	Children
Bhansali merchants	26	26	39	42
Brahmins	20	19	21	14
<i>Leiteiros</i> (butter makers)	4	4	4	4
Beaters of cotton.	19	19	19	36
<i>Olheiros</i> (copra workers).	5	5	5	2
Muslims	8	10	15	24
Moorish sailors	15	25	26	20
Sailors	50	995	N.A.	N.A.

⁵⁰ R.J. Barendse, *Arabian Sea 1700-1763*, Brill, Leiden, 2009, Vol.1, p. 90

⁵¹ Artur Teodoro de Matos(ed.), *O Tombo de Damão 1592, Centro de Estudos Damião de Góis, Lisbon, 2001*, p. 15

⁵² *Ibid*, p. 15

Other Portuguese settlements around Diu were Fodan, Malala, Dangavarim, Nagoa, Jasoatraque, Buncavara and Bunxivara. These settlements were mostly agricultural in nature. Almost half of the farming lands of the district of Diu were found in Bunxivara (48%) and its outskirts (20%). Brancavara constituted 16% of the agricultural lands, Dangavarim 4% and Nagoa 3.5%. The sizes of the land holdings were quite small in Diu.⁵³

Apart from Daman, other important towns in the region were Danum, Maim and Tarapor. After the conquest of the region by the Portuguese, the governor gave lands to the new settlers in this region. These leases often concerned the whole villages and rents were derived from the large holdings like *parganas* or administrative divisions and *mandovis* or the custom houses as well as from the smaller holdings like the vegetable gardens or the *hortas* and *palmares* or the palm groves. The only exception was Danum, which was leased with all its villages and *mandovi* to Francisco Paim de Melo, captain of the Danum fortress with the obligation that he had to maintain a certain number of soldiers and servants.⁵⁴ The main income of these towns came from agricultural surplus, such as oil, cotton, figs and Indian cane. The custom houses in the region, along with the agricultural land were often leased out by the Portuguese. The custom duties paid by all merchandise in the *mandovis* of Daman, Poarim and Tarapor whose custom houses were leased for three year had to pay 6% taxation on all the merchandise.⁵⁵

Above all other Portuguese settlements in Gujarat, Diu and Daman, became the most important centres of urbanity. The basic nature of Diu and Daman was very much different. The coastal city of Diu was hub of maritime trade and the population of the city

⁵³ Artur Teodoro de Matos, "Tenants and Rents of Diu in the 16th century: An Appraisal on the Accounts of the Fazenda Real", *Mare Liberum*, July, 1995, p. 203

⁵⁴ *Tombo de Damao*, p. 96

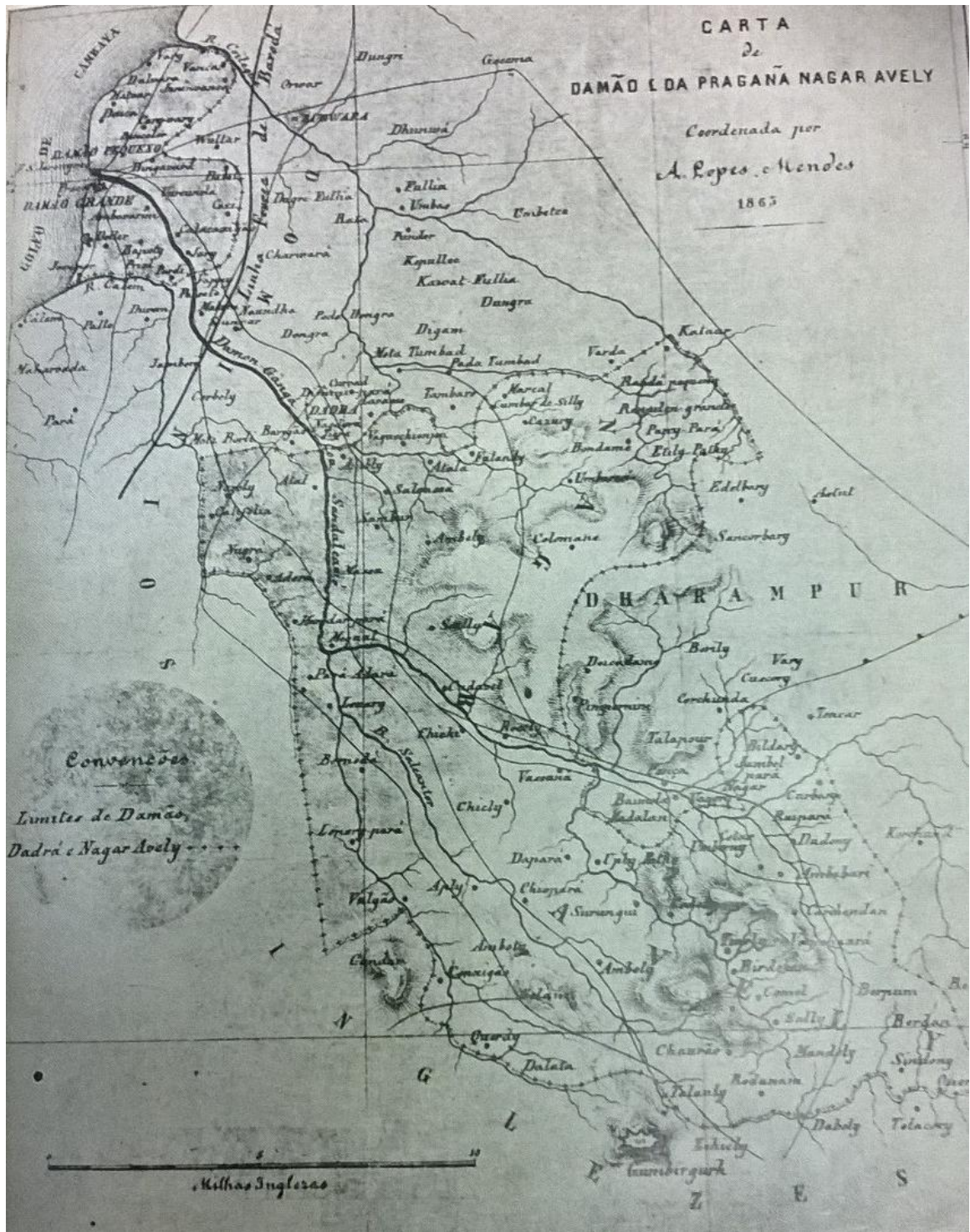
⁵⁵ Livia Baptista de Souza Ferrao, "Tenants, Rents and Revenues from Daman in the late 16th century", *Mare Librum*, no.9, July, 1995, p. 142

was mainly merchants, commercial intermediaries and brokers, while Daman was more concerned with agriculture and defence of the fortress. At Daman it was mostly the subsistence and strategic matters, which dominated social life, influenced policies and laid down politics.⁵⁶ The Portuguese did not bring about drastic changes in the basic structure of the cities and towns they occupied; however they modified the societal and spatial pillars, to match their requirements and tried to retain the loyalty of the indigenous people.⁵⁷ Thus after the conquest of Daman they sought detailed information on the tributes and conditions of landownership prevailing in the area, and the Viceroy promised on no extra taxation. However, certain modifications were undertaken in the government.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ *ibid*,p. 139

⁵⁷ A. R. Disney, *The Portuguese in India and other Studies: 1500-1700*, Ashgate Variorum, Surrey, 2009, p. 155

⁵⁸ *ibid*, p.155



The Parganas of Daman

IV. Urban Administration

Every Portuguese urban settlement in the State of India had an administrative system based on division of powers. While the captain was the military head and an overall supervisory authority, there was a judge to attend to the administration of justice and a factor to keep the accounts and to pay the State employees.⁵⁹ The basic pay of the military and administrative ranks and files were paid in cash and kind. Church servants also received their pay from the government. Along with this a lump sum was given to the church for its expenses. The Portuguese continued many of the older taxation system and laws of inheritance of the region. There was assimilation of some of the older indigenous system with that of the new laws and regulations.⁶⁰

Both Diu and Daman's hinterland consisted of *aldeas* or villages under their jurisdiction. Diu had under it villages of Simar, Naliara, Massania, Frafarium, Talium and the tank of Mainatos.⁶¹ Initially the fort of Diu was under a Portuguese officer, while a governor was appointed from the Gujarat sultanate from 1534 till the complete annexation of Diu by the Portuguese in 1546. The banias wielded substantial power in the administration of Diu, and even the different religious groups had their own guild-like associations. The merchants had their own guilds comprising Hindu banias, as well as the Muslim and Parsi traders.⁶² Daman's hinterland consisted of 26 villages and Nagar Haveli which further consisted of 72 villages. Among these, Bamotim, campo de Remedios, Damao de

⁵⁹ Teotonio R. de Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio- Economic History*, Broadway Book Centre, Panjim, 1994, p. 126

⁶⁰ Luis Frederico Dias Antunes, "The persistence of traditional systems of land tenure in Daman and Vasai (XVI century)", *Property Rights, Land and Territory in the European Overseas Empires*, ed. José Vicente Serrao, Barbara Law, Eugenia Rodrigues, Susana Münch Miranda, CEHC-IUL, Lisbon, 2014

⁶¹ A.B. De Braganca Pereira, *Etongrafia da India Portuguesa As Civilizacoes da India*, Vol.2, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1991, p. 24

⁶² Om Prakash, "The Indian Maritime Merchant, 1500- 1800", *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 47, no. 3, 2004, p. 440

Cima, Deva-Paidi, Doler, Jampor, Jari, Jumpri, Magarvara, paila-Paidi, palhita, prial e Tana-Paidi were *kasbas* or small towns.⁶³

The Portuguese state played a very important role in the commercial activities in Diu , when compared with any other parts of India. The agents of the Government played the role of intermediaries in the commerce of Diu.⁶⁴ Most of the big landholdings of Diu were under the Christians, though the small holdings and the ownership of shops were mostly under the Hindus and the Muslims. The Portuguese laws were applicable in rural as well as urban areas. As Diu was essentially a trading city, the Portuguese adopted certain regulations which would help in the commercial activities. During the late 16th century, when the Portuguese empire started experiencing financial losses, a lot of new taxes were imposed through the custom houses as well as on the agricultural holdings and small manufacturing industries. Daman was one of the principle towns of the *Provincia do Norte* of the Portuguese. After the conquest of Daman, the major concern of the administrator of the fort was to construct a social structure of Portuguese loyalists. The villages around Daman were considered as legal “wasteland” by the Portuguese crown. Thus in accordance with the normal Portuguese practice of division of wasteland, the lands were partitioned in fiefs granted to retired soldiers, who had to pay an annual sum to the Crown. The holder of such a fief had to take care of the defence of their lands.⁶⁵ They were not allowed to lease or sell the land, as it was legally the property of the Portuguese Crown.

⁶³ A.B. De Braganca Pereira, op.cit., p. 21

⁶⁴ M.N. Pearson, “Brokers in the Western Indian Port Cities and Their Role in Servicing the Foreign Merchants”, *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol.22, No. 3, 1988, p.467

⁶⁵ R.J. Barendse, *Arabian Seas: The Indian Ocean World of the Seventeenth Century*, Brill, Leiden, 2002, p. 55



Daman , 1558

In rural districts of Daman, which were already densely populated when the Portuguese took over, taxes were levied by the village heads or the village accountants. They had to turn over one-sixth of the land revenue to the *foreiros* in some villages, one-fifth in others. The rent payable to the landlord by the tenant had to be paid within 30 days from the date of each harvest. It had to be paid in cash or in kind at the discretion of the landlord or from an agreement between the landlord and tenant but could never include the rendering of any personal service or labour.⁶⁶ Though the Jesuits landlords often flourished, the poor tenants often suffered. They had to till the land as much as they could to pay the landlords often with additional services. They would often run away from their land to avoid harsh tax rules.⁶⁷

The areas around the fortresses were given to the Jesuits or the traders who have to guard the walls, deliver provisions and perform manorial labour to repair walls.⁶⁸ They were free from taxes. The Jesuits for the ecclesiastical interests acquired many villages through grants, gifts, bequests and purchases⁶⁹ Since one of the major intentions was to strengthen security, the conditions normally included an obligation to perform military service when required, to maintain horses and foot soldiers and to reside in the town especially in the case of Bassein and Daman and were often free from paying any taxes. In the absence of a son, if the daughter succeeded the land lord, she had to get married within six months of succession with a soldier chosen by the Crown.⁷⁰ Some of these lands and villages were leased for two or three lifetimes and others in perpetuity.⁷¹ The fact that Daman was

⁶⁶ Livia Baptista de Souza Ferrao, "Land Tenure and People in Daman: Past and Present", *Goa and Portugal: History and Development*, ed. Charles J. Borges and Hannes Stubble, Concept Publishing, Delhi, 2000, p. 165

⁶⁷ Charles Borges, "Jesuit Economic Interests in the Portuguese Province of the North till the Mid 18th century", *Mare Librum*, No.9, July, 1995

⁶⁸ Antonio Bocarro, Arquivo Portugues Oriental(APO), Tomo IV, Vol- II, 1600-1699, part III, p. 235; R.J. Barendse, op. cit., p. 329

⁶⁹ A. R., Disney, op.cit., p. 156

⁷⁰ APO, p. 235

⁷¹ Livia Baptista de Souza Ferrao, "Tenant, Rents, and Revenue from Daman in the 16th Century", *Mare Librum*, no.9, July, 1995, p.139

surrounded by land on three sides, the issue of security posed a great threat.⁷² The Portuguese through the policy of system of leasing out lands to officials and Jesuits in



St. Jerome Fort, Daman

return for maintaining soldiers and horses, tried to minimise the cost of maintaining an army.⁷³

There most important positions held in Daman were that of the Governor, the factor and the *Ovidor*. The factor represented the Portuguese Crown and received all the revenues of the town and looked after the finances of the town. The *ovidor* administered justice and was considered to be in a very honourable position within the Portuguese power-

⁷² *ibid*, p. 141, Gabriel Dellon, *op.cit.*, p. 184

⁷³ Livia Baptista de Souza Ferrao, *op.cit.*, 141

structure. He had jurisdiction over any troubles discords and brawls that might arise, also he had the power on any death, to take over the heritage of the orphans or absent heirs.⁷⁴ In few decades there was a difference in the revenues of Daman, some of the families did exceedingly well for themselves and became owners of villages.⁷⁵ But this position was often misused by the landlords. In an official enquiry at Daman, in 1614, it came out that the military requirements of Daman was not fulfilled as many of the land holders were absentee *fidalgos* living in Goa or elsewhere.⁷⁶ It was alleged in 1619, six or seven among sixty people were maintaining horses at Bassein.⁷⁷ Abbe Carre who visited Daman between 1672 and 1674, gives detailed account for how the Jesuits were often found to flout the rules even in cases of emergency. The Jesuits often demanded remuneration against the supply of arms and ammunition to the state.⁷⁸ This resulted in a negative impact on the Jesuits position in Daman. This gave a chance to the indigenous population in showing their support towards the Portuguese, during the Mughal or Maratha attacks. The Jesuits were in the 17th century deprived of the administrative services in Daman, Diu, Chaul and Bassein.⁷⁹ This situation helped the Portuguese in creating a loyal but influential section within the Indians. Indians often profited from this alliance in getting favours and concessions.

⁷⁴ *The Travels of Abbe Carre in India and in the Near East: 1672 to 1674*, Fawcett, Charles(ed.), Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1990, Vol.1, p. 168

⁷⁵ A.R. Disney, *The Portuguese in India and other Studies: 1500-1700*, Ashgate Variorum, Surrey, 2009, p. 158

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p. 157

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, p. 157

⁷⁸ Abbe Carre, *op.cit.*, vol.1, p. 170

⁷⁹ Charles J. Borges, *op.cit.* , p. 55



Fort of Diu

The difference in the nature of Diu and Daman gave rise to different administrative policies in these two cities. The most important difference was in the religious policies of the two cities. When Bahadur Shah of Gujarat handed over Diu to the Portuguese in 1534, the former demanded that there should be no proselytizing, especially among the Muslims.⁸⁰ With the increasing settling down of Portuguese families in Diu after having lifted the siege of 1546 led to the increase in the number of Portuguese citizens in the city. This might not be entirely due to the treaty with Bahadur Shah. The Portuguese realised the importance of the banias in conducting trade in the western Indian Ocean. Moreover, the support of the banias to the Portuguese endeavours in Hormuz and Africa earned them their religious freedom.⁸¹ Thus the number of conversion in Diu was very low. However, this was not the same in the case of Daman. Though the Parsis and the Muslims consisted of the important section of the society and supplied the fort with revenue, the people of Daman did not enjoy the freedom of worship till late 17th century. Abbe Carre, mentioned, “The Portuguese do not allow people from other religion to reside here. They mostly dwelled in the outskirts and the neighbouring villages”.⁸² The influence of the Jesuits in Daman could be one of the reasons for this difference in policy between the two cities. According to Du Jarric, when the Portuguese annexed Daman, the Muslim ruler of the place handed over the mosque to the Jesuits for purification and his wife got converted to Christianity immediately, as they were convinced of the superiority of Christianity.⁸³ This episode can be seen as the start of conversion in the territory of Daman with its annexation. By 1580, the number of Christians in the neighbourhood of Daman was 500, along with a substantial number within the city. However, the number of annual baptisms, in the territory of Daman does not seem to have exceeded fifty or a hundred, even though the quinquennial report of 1621 claims of

⁸⁰M.S. Commissariat, *A History Of Gujarat- Including a Survey of its chief Architectural Monuments and Inscriptions*, Longmans, Bombay, 1938, p. 363

⁸¹ C.R., Boxer, *The Portuguese Sea Borne Empire*, Hutchison, London, 1969, p. 68-69

⁸² Abbe Carre, op.cit., p. 159

⁸³ Rev. Alex J.D. D’orsey, *Portuguese Discoveries Dependencies and Missions*, Asian Educational Service, New Delhi, 1998, p. 143

200 annual conversions.⁸⁴ Jesuit Francisco de Monclaro felt the injustice done to the natives of Daman by the Portuguese, which had a negative effect on the number of conversion in the region.⁸⁵ The religious policy of the Portuguese at Daman faced resistance from the local population. The difference of policy was evident on the urban space of both the cities. While the existence of the Gangeshwar temple and the Jami Masjid in the urban space of Diu symbolised its cosmopolitan nature, the absence of major non Christian worship centres at Daman, and the prevalence of the churches and monasteries speak of the importance of the Jesuits in the city. Thus the urban space transcribed the complex cultural nature of both the cities.



The Portuguese Church at Daman

⁸⁴ Joseph Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India: From the Middle of the 16th to the end of the 17th Century*, Church History Association of India, Bangalore, 1988, p. 386

⁸⁵ Teotonio R. De Souza, "North-South in the Estado da India", *Mare Librum*, no.9, July, 1995, p. 457

V.Spatial Process

The Portuguese empire was based on the system of forts and *armada*, and the forts of the Diu and Daman proved to be the Portuguese centre of not only power and wealth but also symbols of the spatial process undertaken by them. The time, when the Portuguese occupied Diu, it already had a dilapidated fortress that was built in Diu under Malik Ayaz in order to provide security to the merchants and their vessels. He had created a bastion in the middle of the creek and chains were placed in the middle of the town and the bastions. He constructed a bridge on this side of the island of Diu where the sea branches into channels, in order to facilitate the transportation and communication of commodities to the mainland and also the other way round.⁸⁶ He also built a tower along the sea on an under-water rock and from it drew massive iron chains called *sankal kot*, across the mouth of the harbour so as to prevent the Portuguese ships from entering.⁸⁷



⁸⁶ K.S. Mathew, op.cit. , p. 56

⁸⁷ibid, p. 56

As the old fort of Malik Ayaz was damaged at the time of Portuguese occupation, Nuno da Cunha laid the foundation stone for the bastion of St. Thomas in 1535. This bastion along with the St. James bastion guarded the gate of the fort. The fort of Diu was well guarded. The Portuguese firstly, dug up a large moat from sea to sea, six arms in length and four in width. With the stones from the moat, a high wall was built towards the interior. A wooden bridge was built over the moat. The dimension of the fortress was enlarged by the Portuguese to cover an area five times greater than the previous one. It was triangular in shape and it was situated on a hill, near the city. The wall from sea side to the hill was 17feet thick and 20 feet high.



CITY WALL OF DIU

The Portuguese had built two forts at Diu.⁸⁸ The building of the fortress was to a large extent executed through local craftsmanship. In the initial phase when the Muzzafarids were threatened by the Mughals in 1530s, Bahadur Shah supplied the Portuguese with the diggers and masons for the purpose of construction of the new fortress and also Cunha recruited many people from Goa. To increase the strength of the fort, lime was mixed with earth.⁸⁹ From a rock in the mid -channel, there was an isolated fort which guarded the entrance. On the northern side of the fortress, where only the enemy could bring the army, had two eastern bastions known as Garcia de Sa(nearest to the creek) and St. Thomas.⁹⁰

The fortress was almost round in shape. It was surrounded by sea on three sides and by a canal on the fourth. The canal was cut through solid sandstone and was about twenty feet broad and thirty feet deep and was filled by each of the sea tides and could be emptied by opening the locks.⁹¹ The fort was about twenty feet high and had twelve parapets made of stone and mortar. The fort was considered to be one of the strongest forts of the Portuguese and was impregnable. There were several multi-storied buildings within the fortress and it was estimated that more than 3000 men could be easily lodged in the fortress.⁹²

⁸⁸ Pyrard de Laval, *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, The Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil*, Translated Albert Gray, Hakluyt society, London, vol2, part 1, p. 255

⁸⁹Francisco Sousa Lobo, “Indo- Portuguese Fortification”, *Indo Portuguese Encounters: Journeys in Science, Technology and Culture*, ed. Lotika Varadarajan, Vol. 2, Aryan Books International, Delhi, 2006, p. 778

⁹⁰R.S. Whiteway, *Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, Reprinted in India, Janaki Prakashan, Patna, 1979, p. 262

⁹¹ Abbe Carre, op.cit., vol.1, p. 134

⁹² Ibid, p. 135; K.S. Mathew., *Portuguese and the Sultanate of Gujarat(1500-1573)*, Mittal Publication, Delhi, 1986, p. 62

The Daman fort was well guarded and surrounded by the river on the north, sea on the west and the strait on the east. Its plans were drawn by Julio Simao.⁹³ It is surrounded by strong walls with several fine ramparts, each protecting the other.⁹⁴ All this is encompassed by a large moat which was formerly filled at high tide.⁹⁵ The plan for Daman fort was conditioned by the site of the primitive castle which determined the growth of the settlement and its plan for modifications and reinforcements was approved either from Lisbon or from Madrid.⁹⁶ The walls are about nine metres high. Military architecture at Daman was more advanced than in Bassein. The main fortress of St. Jeronimo fort was built on the other side of the river, for protection and security of the inhabitants. It has a powerful land front but is fragile on the side of the sea. Daman was well protected by four well built bastions.⁹⁷ The villages had wooden defensive structures and guarded by the Naiks and the foot soldiers. There were also forts at S. Gens, Danu, Maim and Tarapore besides towers and fortified houses along the coast.⁹⁸ This complex system was indispensable for its defence.

It is interesting to note that the land gate, due to the vulnerability of the land facade, was built under the orillon of the St. Sebastian. It is aligned to the sea gate. The regularity of its streets is in accordance with the new ideas of defence. These alignments enabled a quick change of artillery positions and good observation.⁹⁹ Situated on a flat surface with open fire fields it was the easiest Portuguese citadel to defend. Here flanking could be used in conjunction with frontal fire. It is well fortified and according to Abbe Carre it is

⁹³ Ibid, p. 789

⁹⁴ Dr John Francis Gemelli Careri, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, trans. Surendranath Sen, National Archives of India, , New Delhi, 1949, p. 158

⁹⁵ Abbe Carre, op. cit., p. 134

⁹⁶ Francisco Sousa Lobo, op.cit., p. 789

⁹⁷ Dr John Francis Gemelli Careri, op.cit, p. 158

⁹⁸ Francisco Sousa Lobo, op.cit., p. 789

⁹⁹ Ibid, p. 789

one of the most symmetric one that the Portuguese occupied.¹⁰⁰ Baldaeus mentions that the defence of Daman as not very strong;¹⁰¹ This may be because of the fort's vulnerability not only from the sea front but also from the land. Most of the Portuguese fortresses, including Daman, with the exception of Cochin and Diu, although conditioned by rivers and straits were accessible by land. The best solution for their defence was to provide depth to their system of protection towards the land ward side.¹⁰²

Concomitant to the enlargement of fortification the evolving city space was inscribed with new meanings and logic through intense spatial and construction processes. The cities of Diu and Daman had great structures like beautiful churches and other building belonging to the Portuguese. The houses, which belonged to the Jesuits priests, were magnificent structures. The Convent of Carmelites was a beautiful structure situated at the highest part of the town. The houses of the priests of St. Francis were very big with fine cloisters.¹⁰³ As more and more Portuguese started coming to the city, more and more churches and other Portuguese buildings started coming up. This changed the physical appearance of Diu. These many churches that were erected at different time points made the habitation pattern of the Portuguese revolve around churches like the church of St. Francis of Assisi which was erected by the Franciscans in 1593, (but now used as a hospital) and the St. Paul's Church, which was set up by the Jesuits in 1610, besides the churches of Immaculate Conception and St. Andrew.¹⁰⁴ As the number of the Portuguese residents increased in the city, the importance attached to the church also got increased.

¹⁰⁰ Abbe Carre, op.cit., Vol 1, p. 167

¹⁰¹ Philip Badaeus, *A Description of the East India Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel and also the Isle of Ceylon*, Vol.3, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2000, p. 591

¹⁰² Francisco Sousa Lobo, op.cit., 789

¹⁰³ Abbe Carre, op.cit., vol.1, p. 135

¹⁰⁴ R.J. Vasavada, op.cit, 751



St. Paul's Cathedral, Diu

The structures of church buildings were based on a single bay Latin Cross plan with a direct entrance. The hall of the church was supported over two parallel, buttressed walls with a vault structure entirely built of local stone. This form of construction of roof was brought in with the architects from Portugal and introduced here to suit the materials available here.¹⁰⁵ The St. Francis Church is the earliest of the churches, which can be found today. The church is built on the top of a small hill and commands a higher elevation on a plateau. The structure is approached by a series of steps broadened all along the width and length on the east and north. The plaza is flanked on the east by a portico with columnar bays. There are many semi circular arches, which give the entire setting an appearance reminiscent of the early renaissance building of Italy.¹⁰⁶ The church itself is rectangular hall with the proportions of the Latin Cross but a cross itself is not emphasized in the plan. The rectangular structure supports the vaulted ceiling of the hall. The altar is roofed by another hall. All these structural elements are built using local stone quarried from nearby areas on the island. The church of St. Francis had a cistern, which collected fresh water, which was almost supplied for the use of the entire city.¹⁰⁷

The St. Thomas Church, was also one amongst the first Christian churches built in Diu to cater to the spiritual needs of the dwellers of evolving city. This church is also one of the simplest built in Diu. It has a massive structure of stone with a rectangular hall separating the vaulted roof on top. It is also situated on an elevated platform and has a commanding view of the port and the harbor. The structural form has a central hall space with vaulted ceiling and an altar. The church is built of local stone and its overall dimensions are approximately 75 feet long and 30 feet wide with a height of approximately 45 feet. The entrance façade with two pylons and a vaulted end profile has the only feature of the entrance door, which had exquisite plaster decorations. There were also circular windows of a higher level, which was heavily ornamented. The form of the church is extremely

¹⁰⁵ibid, p. 751

¹⁰⁶ibid, p. 751

¹⁰⁷*The Travels of Abbe Carre In India and in the Near East:1672 to 1674*, trans. Lady Fawcett,ed. by Charles Fawcett, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1990, vol1, p. 132

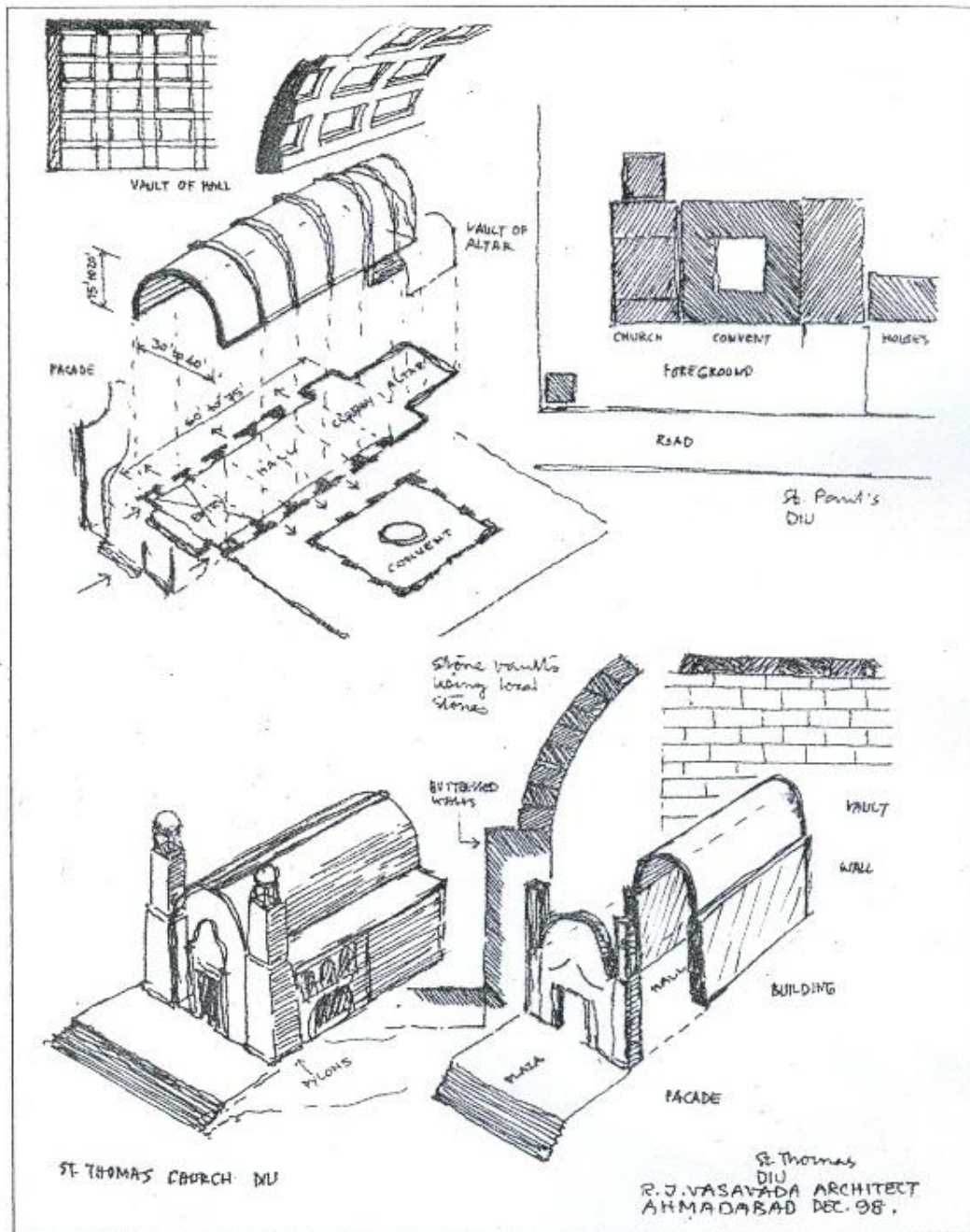
simple, but structurally do impose strong pylons and side walls, which support the vaulted roof.¹⁰⁸

The St. Paul's Church is one of the most magnificent churches built by the Portuguese. It was started in 1601 and took ten years to be completed. It was designed by a Jesuit priest, Rev. Fr. Gasper Soares. The architecture had a lot of Renaissance and mannerist influence attached to it. The main façade of the church is perhaps the most elaborate of all Portuguese churches in India and is adorned with curiously treated volutes and shell like motifs. The designs of the church were clearly being influenced not only by the European style, but also influenced by the local crafts tradition.¹⁰⁹ The shell motifs heavily used in its construction shows the immense banking on the objects of the sea for the purpose of articulating an edifice that would exteriorize the logic of power and monopoly of maritime activities that the Portuguese claimed to wield. The domes built in the churches of Diu was not because of the lack of wood and timber but also because for reasons of protection that the churches needed against the cyclones.¹¹⁰ Very high quality wood was used in its construction and most probably they were exported from the African countries with which Diu had trading relations. The church also had a tank where rain water was being stored, a feat which was quite ahead of times. The cistern of St. Paul's exists till date.

¹⁰⁸ R.J. Vasavada, op.cit., p. 751

¹⁰⁹ *ibid*, p. 754

¹¹⁰ *Our Lady Immaculate Conception: Church Of Diu(1610-2010)*, Published By the St. Paul's Church Of Diu on the Celebration of its 400 years, Diu, 2010



Illustrations showing the basic structure of churches in Diu

The mighty citadel of Daman was around 30 feet thick and surrounded by moats and trenches. The city of Daman had several good monasteries which were built by the Jesuits the Franciscan Recollects, the Augustinians and the Paris Church. St Augustine's church had an excellent cloister with twelve stone columns, besides the four great pillars at the angles. It also had a dormitory attached to it in which Christian travellers could stay.¹¹¹ Daman had one of the ports suitable for the overseas vessels.¹¹² It was oriented towards east-west direction and was protected by the forts on both sides armed with 30 canons.¹¹³ Diu's harbour on the other hand was nearly circular and half the circle is surrounded by the sea and the harbour can give shelter to great numbers of vessels.¹¹⁴

The civil architecture built by the Portuguese had almost disappeared from their enclaves. By the second half of the 17th century, the Hindu aesthetic ideas mixed with the Portuguese influence got reflected onto the buildings that came up. . Urban architecture was often controlled by the royal and city council decrees. Indian culture was seen in the interpretation in the iconography, along with the Renaissance, Mannerism and Baroque styles mostly in the exterior decorations of the structure.¹¹⁵ The civil architecture mostly were characterised by the improvement of the exteriors of the buildings with their continuous in-line facades. They showed no salient features in their elevations such as porches, landings or steps. The only exceptions were a hand and a half width measure for balconies.¹¹⁶ Though concerns over the uniformity of the surfaces of the facades caused a ban on arcades and buildings on pillars, churches and public buildings were excluded.

¹¹¹ Gemelli Careri, op.cit., p. 158

¹¹² Gabriel Dellon, *A Voyage to the East Indies*, London, available at <https://books.google.co.in/books?id=Fa82AAAAMAAJ&pg=PP27&dq=st+jeronimo+fort+daman&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0CEMQ6AEwCGoVChMIjab7haX3xwIVFEmOCh0iRgZf#v=onepage&q=fort%20daman&f=false>, p. 184

¹¹³ ibid, p. 184

¹¹⁴ *Traverniers's Travel in India between Years 1640-1676*, translated Valentine Ball, Vol. 2, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2007, p. 28

¹¹⁵ Helder Carita, "Hindu Tradition and the Vastu Shastra in the Indo-Portuguese Architecture", *The Portuguese and the Socio-Cultural Changes in India 1500-1800*, ed. K.S. Mathew, Teotonio R. de Souza, Pius Malekandathil, MESHAR, Tellicherry, 2001, p. 209

¹¹⁶ ibid, p. 209

The buildings and architecture of the Portuguese often showcased similarity from Brazil to Far East. But in India they often adapted the Indian techniques such as use of timber in the construction, and strong emphasis on the symbolic dimension of its formal features in the staircase, roof, main entrance and the veranda.¹¹⁷

VI.Indigenous Population and Urban Industry

The Portuguese well knew that the control that they wanted to exercise over the rich trade of Gujarat through Diu and Daman could be implemented mainly through a social process, by creating supportive social groups and economic partners in the cities and by economically empowering them with concessions and privileges for carrying out the agenda that the former had in their mind. This led to a growth of indigenous urban population especially in Diu. The merchants lived in their separate quarters and were given the freedom of worship. The Bania were 34.9% of all the Gujarati population in Diu and inhabited 818 homesteads.¹¹⁸ Some of the houses were multiple stories rising upto three floors, with wide windows with finely carved wooden balconies, the household surrounding an inner yard with orchards. In Diu, *Bairro dos Baneanes*, consists of the richest and most important buildings.¹¹⁹ This phenomenon is in direct contrast with the simple living espoused by the Gujarati Jains. The Muslim quarters were separate from that of the Hindus. The Bazars of Diu could accommodate around 2000 sellers and buyers¹²⁰ which attracted merchants from different parts of the globe giving the city a cosmopolitan character and the houses of the city could accommodate the crews of the anchored vessels.¹²¹

¹¹⁷ *ibid*, p. 211

¹¹⁸ Luis Frederico Dias Antunes, “Urban Phenomenon of Diu”, *Cities in Medieval India*, ed. Pius Malekandathil and Yogesh Sharma, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2014, p. 62

¹¹⁹ *ibid*, p. 62

¹²⁰ *ibid*, 63

¹²¹ *Traverniers's Travel in India between Years 1640-1676*, translated Valentine Ball, Vol. 2, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2007, p. 28



Curvings at St. Paul's Church, Diu,:Timber was extensively used in Construction works of the Portuguese in India

The architectural configuration of Hindu and Jain neighbourhood was remarkable. A group of residents settled within a *khadki* but without individual gateway.¹²² A number of similar *khadkis* communicated with each other through lanes all of which joined with a road and the gateway guarding all the enclaves. This larger grouping was called *pol*. The members of the *pol* were mostly upper class, but within the smaller *khadkis* members of different castes lived together.¹²³ The *pol* had certain common amenities, like the gate along with the guards, common wells and public toilets. The *pol* had a system of internal administration.¹²⁴

As the customs tax entirely consisted of the revenue of Diu the banias, both Hindus and Jains, formed the most influential section of the society. The items that were taxed in Diu were mostly non-agricultural commodities and also multiple items that were traded. There were taxes on oil, ghee, fish, opium, arrack and betel leaves. Horses were charged forty-two *pardaos* as customs duty.¹²⁵ Besides, the customs houses in Diu, there were minor customs houses in Goghla, Pallarym and other small neighbouring ports.¹²⁶ Even in Diu, the customs officials collected the Diu tolls. Initially the customs of Diu were shared between the Sultan of Gujarat and the Portuguese under the treaty of signed between the two in March, 1539. The inspections of the ships and the collection of the revenue by the officials were done jointly. The Portuguese got one third of the share and the rest went to the Gujarat Sultan.¹²⁷ The revenue from Diu along with that of Daman

¹²² V.S. Pramar, *Social History of Indian Architecture*, Oxford University Press, New delhi, 2005, p. 39

¹²³ V.S. Pramar, p. 39

¹²⁴ *ibid*, p. 39

¹²⁵ K.S. Mathew, "Taxation in the Coastal Towns of Western India and the Portuguese in the 16th century", *Mariners, Merchants and Oceans: Studies in Maritime History*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1995, p. 146

¹²⁶ K.S. Mathew, *Portuguese and the Sultanate of Gujarat(1500-1573)*, Mittal Publication, Delhi, 1986, p. 62; K.S. Mathew, "Taxation in the Coastal Towns of western India and the Portuguese in the 16th century", in *Mariners, Merchants and Oceans: Studies in Maritime History*, Manohar, 1995, p. 146

¹²⁷ K.S. Mathew, "Taxation in the Coastal Towns of Western India and the Portuguese in the 16th century", in *Mariners, Merchants and Oceans: Studies in Maritime History*, Manohar, 1995, p. 146

was around 131,500 *pardaos* in 1574 and 3000 *pardaos* was generated separately from the trade of horses.¹²⁸ The amount of money received by the Portuguese from the issue of *cartazes* was considerably high. Ships from Mocha carried silver, gold, coral and other valuable items generated customs duties of great amount.¹²⁹ Akbar was given a relaxation of one ship to cross Diu without paying any tax and it was calculated that from the single ship the Portuguese lost around 15000 *cruzados*¹³⁰. Though the amount could be an exaggerated one, it only points fingers to the large amount of money that was generated at Diu from trade and commerce. Though the chief source of income of the Portuguese in Diu was customs duties, and they also collected taxes from the cultivators, artisans, craftsmen and merchants.¹³¹ The total income from Diu around 1581 amounted to 100,000 *pardaos* after deducting the various expenditure incurred for administration.¹³² Later the revenues of Diu were reduced because of the illegal ways adopted by the captains of the Diu fort; yet the revenue collected was of a considerable amount.¹³³ The revenues of Diu started declining from the 1620s onwards, but Diu continued to generate a large amount from trade and commerce, mostly in Mozambique and other African countries.¹³⁴

Daman was more of an agricultural based city. The houses of the city were lavishly built with orchards and gardens. Some of which used to produce medicinal herbs and plants. The lay- out of the city was influenced by the Italian architecture.¹³⁵ The roads were

¹²⁸ *ibid*, p. 146

¹²⁹ Luis Frederico Dias Antunes, *Diu, The Commercial Activity of a Small Harbour in Gujarat (1680- 1800): Portuguese Documents, Sources Europeennes Surle Gujarat*, Societe d' Histoire de l' Orient, L, Harmattan, 199, p.65

¹³⁰ K.S. Mathew., *Portuguese and the Sultanate of Gujarat(1500-1573)*, Mittal Publication, Delhi, 1986, p. 146-147

¹³¹ K.S. Mathew, "Taxation in the Coastal Towns of western India and the Portuguese in the 16th century", in *Mariners, Merchants and Oceans: Studies in Maritime History*, Manohar, 1995, p. 154

¹³² *ibid*, p. 147

¹³³ *ibid*, p. 147

¹³⁴ Luis Frederico Dias Antunes, *op.cit*, p.65

¹³⁵ Careri, p. 158

broad and regularly built¹³⁶ and the houses are aligned with the street. Most of the houses of the Jesuits were single storied but were lavishly ornamented. The houses were mostly tiled and the windows were made of oyster shells instead of glasses.¹³⁷ Most of the houses of the elites and the Jesuits had a garden attached to it. The old city of Daman was situated on the other side of the river where mostly the indigenous people used to stay. The houses were generally made of mud and the roofs were made of palm tree leaves.¹³⁸ The roads of this part of the city were often not well laid.¹³⁹

From the demographic records of Diu and its neighbouring areas of 1720s, the weight of trade and activities related to the processing and manufacturing of cotton fabrics represented 4%, the dyers 2.4%, the banias occupied the majority of the population with 34% of the population and *mainatos* were 3.6%; the rest of the population, Hindus and the Muslims were divided into about 40 professions corresponding to 55.2% and 9.8% respectively.¹⁴⁰ There was a large diversity of manual profession such as quarrymen, bricklayers, boiler makers, barbers, shoemakers, potters, carpenters, goldsmiths, mostly consisting of the Hindus, residing in the city.¹⁴¹ The Muslims were engaged mostly in various agricultural and maritime activities like vegetable and grain sellers, fishermen, sailors and coolies.¹⁴² Most of them were engaged in the urban jobs like construction, manufacture, trade and other non-agricultural occupations. The exact number of houses is

¹³⁶ *The Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India*, ed. Edward Grey, Vol1, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1991, p. 133

¹³⁷ Gemelli Careri, op.cit., p. 158

¹³⁸ *ibid*, pp. 158-159

¹³⁹ *ibid*, p. 159

¹⁴⁰ Luis Frederico Dias Antunes “*Diu, The Commercial Activity Of A Small Harbour In Gujarat(1680- 1800): Portuguese Documents, Sources Europeennes Surle Gujarat*, Societe d’ Histoire de l’ Orient, L, Harmattan, 1998, p. 66

¹⁴¹ *ibid*, p. 67

¹⁴² *ibid*, p. 67

difficult to find, however, there were 130 types of *boticas* or shops in Diu selling food, clothing, dates, apothecary's shops.¹⁴³

Hindu Population of Diu, 1723

Occupation/ Caste	Men	Women	Children	Houses
Banias	587	999	510	818
Brahmins all castes	108	201	135	108
Bhansali	15	10	10	7
Weavers	50	100	80	50
Sandal Makers	11	37	12	25
Carpenters	20	31	12	20
Dyers of Textile	48	55	75	50
Oil makers	29	38	19	1 houses, 20 huts
Workers with bamboo	50	40	25	20
Makers of Chunam	12	15		10 huts
Mariners	25	25	20	10
<i>Falleiros</i>	19	20	25	12
Parsis	15	25	25	25

¹⁴³ Artur Teodoro de Matos, op.cit., p. 202,

Purabis	14	30	14	8
Shell Workers	45	54	33	33
Fisherwomen	25	33	10	21

Muslims Population of Diu in 1723

Occupation	Men	Women	Children	Houses
Beaters of cotton yarn	4	4	10	4
Leather Makers	11	20	14	7
Hojas	45	52	40	37
Catiques	10	0	6	6

Source: R.J. Barendse, *Arabian Sea*, vol.1, p.333

The area of landed property of Diu was around 77.578,3 square meters. Irrigation was necessary in the region in and around Diu because of the dry soil and lack of rain. The rents were thus fixed, taking into consideration the nature and quality of the soil. The rent issued from the city of Diu comprised 104,644 *reis*, ie, 25% of Diu's rent.¹⁴⁴ Among 150 lease-holders of Diu, the numbers of Christian landholders were 67 while the Hindus and the Muslims occupied 66 lands among themselves or shared the rights of the land.¹⁴⁵ 76 Christians owned 54% of all the land accounted in Diu. Half of the tenants were Hindus or Muslims with small tenancies. Land was frequently sold or auctioned, making a section of Diu's population owning large tracts of land. Antonio Cardosa was one of the wealthiest land holders who owned 197 *bighas* of land in Bunxivara, Domingo Henriques

¹⁴⁴ *ibid*, p.203

¹⁴⁵ *ibid*, p.203

owned 182 *bighas* scattered around Nagoa, Brancavara, Bunxivara and Sebastiao de Ataide owning 115.5 *bighas* around the city of Diu.¹⁴⁶

In the case of Daman, in 1722, about 289 Christian inhabitants resided in Daman, of which thirty five were extremely wealthy and the rest were soldiers, officers and most of them poor.¹⁴⁷ The rest were natives some of whom were wealthy and the rest ragged leatherworkers, soldiers and servants. In 1736, the number of Christians at Daman was 2200.¹⁴⁸ In December 1749 the total number of Hindus were 5130, Muslims 1635, 270 slaves and 235 Portuguese people and 20 clergy.¹⁴⁹ In 1796, of the total population of 16019, 1343 were Christians and the rest were non Christians.¹⁵⁰ In the following year, the Christian population further decreased to 1206. The Christian population was mostly the resident of the St. Jerinimo fort and the city. The population of Daman, however, increased to 27,579 in 1808, of which 1852 were Christians.¹⁵¹ The Parsis were a very influential section of Daman. Their trade of horses and slaves brought great revenues for the Daman government.¹⁵²

Due to the salty water of Diu, the growth of agriculture was very low.¹⁵³ Moreover, rainfall is irregular thus agriculture had to depend on the tanks or wells, which were often shared by tenants.¹⁵⁴ The area of landed property of Diu was little over 77.5783 m. Among around 150 lease-holders, Christians owned more land holdings than the Hindus

¹⁴⁶ *ibid*, p. 204

¹⁴⁷ R.J. Barendse, *Arabian Sea: 1700-1763*, Brill, Leiden, 2009, vol3, p. 434

¹⁴⁸ Joseph Thekkedath, *op.cit.*, p. 386

¹⁴⁹ *Anurario da India Portuguesa*, 1932, p. 94

¹⁵⁰ *ibid*, p. 97-98

¹⁵¹ *ibid*, p. 99

¹⁵² R.J. Barendse, *Arabian Sea*, Vision Books, New Delhi, 2002, p. 327

¹⁵³ *People of India: Daman and Diu*, Vol. XIX, ed. Kumar Suresh Singh, Popular Prakashan Private Limited, Bombay, 1994, p. 13

¹⁵⁴ Artur Teodoro de Matos, "Tenants and Rents of Diu in the 16th century: An Appraisal on the Accounts of the Fazenda Real", *Mare Liberum*, Numero 9, Julho 1995, p. 202

and the Muslims.¹⁵⁵ 76 Christian land-holders owned around 56% of the total land of Diu, though most of the tenants of Diu were Muslims and Hindus.

But there was a rise of manufacturing and handicrafts industries. The manufacturing of textiles occupied the foremost position among the crafts in Gujarat. With the development of textile industries, a lot of industries grew along with it like that of the cleaning of cotton and spinning, dyeing, formation of cloth of loom and other auxiliary industries. The dyeing industry of Diu was very well known. Men were sent from Goa to Diu in order to learn the art of weaving, the painting on clothes and making colours.¹⁵⁶ Diu was always known for its textile and block printing on cotton textiles. These cotton fabrics of Diu were sold on local market, in West Asia and Red Sea through the port of Jiddah and Mocha, in East Africa through the ports of Mombasa and Mozambique and in the Portuguese market through the royal vessels or from 1760 on vessels of private merchants from Lisbon and Porto.¹⁵⁷ Another economically important profession was that of the turners.¹⁵⁸ Merchandise such as bracelets and decorative and artistic items were made of African ivory and tortoiseshell by the turners. They were also responsible for the manufacturing of wooden press blocks of different geometric and motifs and used for printing.¹⁵⁹ Diu was also famous for manufacture of turbans.¹⁶⁰

Daman was known for its timber and orchards. Daman and Diu had 354 and 492 fruit bearing palm trees and 3 and 237 non bearing palm trees respectively. The region around the town grew rice, sugar, coconut in abundance and even produced some wine.¹⁶¹ The

¹⁵⁵ *ibid*, p. 204

¹⁵⁶ Luis Frederico Dias Antunes, *op.cit*, p.74

¹⁵⁷ *ibid*, p. 75

¹⁵⁸ *ibid*, 64

¹⁵⁹ *ibid*, 64

¹⁶⁰ Extract of Ceasar Fredericke, *His Pilgrims*, ed. Samuel Purchas, Haklyut Society, London, Vol. 10, p. 90

¹⁶¹ R.J. Barendse, *op.cit*, p. 55

city was mostly known for its orchards and gardens. Diu and Daman both had a flourishing weaving and dyeing industry.¹⁶²

One of the most important industries of Daman was that of the ship building. The region around Daman was rich in timber, which helped in the growth of the industry. The European ships though were sturdier in nature but were unable to face the challenges of a tropical climate. This led to rise of indigenous ships made in Bassein, Daman, Diu and Goa. Moreover, the vessels built in Daman would pay only a symbolic duty on the value of the hull. Since there was no formal shipyard this saved cost of maintenance. The cost of labour also was limited as the shipbuilder did not have permanent employees.¹⁶³ Daman was mostly used for building small and medium sized vessels, mostly of 50 to 60 tons and suitable for sailing in the western Indian Ocean. The ship building industry of Daman made Indian style vessels and few European *patache*. In 1680, a chief ship builder was hired to introduce European techniques and models into the Daman ship building.¹⁶⁴ The ship building industry is a capital intensive industry. The value of the ship depended on size, type and material used for construction.¹⁶⁵ Though there was a decline in the Portuguese shipping due to piracy and competition from the English and the Dutch, the ships continued to be built in Daman and Diu, often under the local merchant class. Among the Portuguese ships constructed at Daman, Francisco Xavier built in 1770 at the cost of 111,970-2-34 ½ *xerafins*, Santa Anna and S. Joaquim, in 1761, Real Fedelissima in 1777, Temivel Portuguesa in 1778 and others were known for their size and capacity. Ships were constructed at Daman on the orders of Lisbon, Macao, Mozambique and even Dutch and English ordered ships to be built at Daman. Daman

¹⁶² A.R. Disney, Op.cit., p. 155

¹⁶³ Erestine Carreira, "From Decline to Prosperity: Shipbuilding in Daman 18th- 19th century", *Indo Portuguese Encounters*, ed. Lotika Varadarajan, Aryan Books, New Delhi, 2006, Vol.2, p. 608

¹⁶⁴ *ibid*, p. 595

¹⁶⁵ George Bryan Souza, op.cit., p. 325(IV)

shipyard earned the Portuguese acclaim. Brazilian ships and slave galleys and ships of private traders engaged in Indo-Chinese trade were constructed at Daman.¹⁶⁶

Names and Tonnage of Some Ships Constructed at Daman¹⁶⁷

Name of the Ship	Ton	Owner
Elizabeth	255 1/2	Nursidas Pussotoma
Gloriozo	490	Rogério de Faria
Kurovie	324	Mohamed Takey
Sulamaney	329	Framjee Cowasjee
Anna Felix	324	Premchand Curimchand

VII. Societal Process

The Portuguese created various social institutions in Diu and Daman, which formed mechanisms to produce and sustain a supportive social base in these towns in a way that would meet the requirements of the early colonial state. The Portuguese in their attempts to construct Lusitanian cities in Diu and Daman transplanted many of their urban institutions and welfare programmes to this town. One of the main urban institutions that they introduced in Diu was *Misericórdia* (House of Mercy); the first of its kind was founded in Portugal in 1498 to assist the old, the disabled, the sick and the weaker sections among those who were involved in the overseas expansion. The first *Misericórdia* in India was founded in Cochin in 1527. The *Misericórdia* was established in centres where there were hospitals and they began to render help to hospital services and the poor. The members of *Misericórdia* made regular visits to the sick in the hospital and the poor in the prisons bestowing love and care to them. They used to give an honourable burial to the deceased, dowries to poor young ladies, alms to the poor and

¹⁶⁶ Celsa Pinto, op.cit., p. 203

¹⁶⁷ *ibid*, p. 203

supported the destitute and the abandoned children. Affonso d'Albuquerque was given the credits of bringing *misericordia* to India in 1514, with all the privileges belonging to a similar institution in Lisbon.¹⁶⁸ In 1574, according to the budget of the *Estado da India*, an amount of 9000 *reis* per month was set aside for the poor, which shows that after a period of 29 years the priority was shifted from the marriage of the orphans to financial help of the poor. By the end of 16th century, this amount was increased to 1,20,000 *reis*.¹⁶⁹ The *Misericordia* of Diu not only helped the Christian children but also those from the other religions. The non Christian children were often converted into Christianity and were given in care of the *fidalgos*.¹⁷⁰ Certain positions of Daman and Diu were also reserved as a dowry for the orphans. In the first half of the 17th century the *Misericordia* of Diu had spent around 70,000 *reis* annually as a charity for the poor.¹⁷¹

But in reality its governing bodies became a stage where power politics within the *casado* community was given full expression and membership of which conferred a great deal of prestige on a *casado*. The *Misericordia* funds came from three sources, ie, the bequests, the money of the citizens who died intestate and legacies of deceased persons which were awaiting transmission to their heirs and annual contribution of the State in the form of money and food items. In Diu and in Daman, as in other Portuguese settlements, the goods and money of those who died were handed over immediately to the *Misericordia*, which in turn would hand over the estates to Goa's *Misericordia* to be sent to Lisbon.¹⁷² There was an important link with the charitable institutions like the orphanage of Batavia

¹⁶⁸ J. Gerson da Cunha, *Notes on the History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1993, p. 93

¹⁶⁹ Pius Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India:1500-1663*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2001, p. 88

¹⁷⁰ Abbe Carre, *op.cit.*, Vol.1, p. 133

¹⁷¹ Vitorino Magalhaes Godinho, *Les Finances de l'etat Portugais des Indes Orientales (1517-1635)*, Fundacao Calouste Gulbenkian Centro Cultural Portugues, Paris, 1882, p. 180

¹⁷²Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia 1500-1700, a Political and Economic History*, Longman, London, 1993, p. 226

and the lay brotherhood of the “holy house of charity” of Diu as with other Portuguese settlements of Bassein, Goa, Chaul and Mozambique.¹⁷³

In addition to the *Misericordia*, there was a hospital also in Diu to cater to the needs of medical care. The hospital was located near the sea-shore to cater to the health care of the city population and sailors and this centre for medical care eventually grew into a big 30-bed hospital under the management of the Brothers of St. John of God in 1685. The hospital was built outside the fortress and had a church attached with it. The hospital was under the supervision of four friars and the Portuguese Crown had granted them some annual financial support which was accounted from the *Estado's* budget.¹⁷⁴ In the first half of the 17th century the Portuguese had spent around nine hundred thousand *reis* annually for the hospital.¹⁷⁵ In 1702 and 1711 a number of *Prazos da Coroa* as well as several rents were given to them to help them financially. The Portuguese hospital used to have a garden attached to it and many Indian herbs were also grown. Indian medicines and Indian practitioners both were incorporated into the Portuguese health system.¹⁷⁶

During the great famine of 1630-32, the Portuguese government at Goa tried to undertake steps to minimize the devastation caused due to it. The Portuguese authorities in 1630-31 made more emphasis on attempting to make rice available in the market at affordable prices. During the famine the Government believed that their primary aim should be the maintenance of fair and stable prices. Attempts were also made during the famine to apply the government funds directly or indirectly to make more rice available in the market and to keep the prices down. In June 1630 a loan of viceregal government of 40,000 *ashrafis* to *camaras*, brought down the price of rice by 50 per cent, moreover, in

¹⁷³ R.J. Barendse, *op.cit.*, p. 99

¹⁷⁴ Artur Teodoro de Matos, “A Glimpse of Hospitallers of Diu in the late 18th Century”, *Goa and Portugal: History and Development*, ed. Charles J. Borges and Hannes Stubbe, Concept Publishing, Delhi, 2000, p. 231

¹⁷⁵ Vitorino Magalhaes Godinho, *Les Finances de l'etat Portugais des Indes Orientales(1517-1635)*, Fundacao Calouste Gulbenkian Centro Cultural Portugues, Paris, 1882, p. 181

¹⁷⁶ Timothy D Walker,, “Supplying Simples for the Royal Hospital: An Indo-Portuguese Medicinal Garden in Goa (1520-1830)”, *Portuguese and Luso-Asian Legacies in Southeast Asia, 1511-2011*, The Institute for Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, 2010

August 1631, a loan of 18,000 *ashrafis* to a group of Gujarati merchants resulted in the availability of more grains in the market.¹⁷⁷ However, despite these measures the effect of the famine was disastrous. Heavy loss of life of both humans and animals were recorded in Daman, Diu and Goa. The Portuguese viceroy though tried to take steps to fight the famine, irregularities were not noticed among the Portuguese captains themselves. The fort captain of Diu, Daman and Chaul were often found to sell grains for their personal profits.¹⁷⁸

The Portuguese tried to intervene in the societal and cultural processes of Diu and Daman by introducing an educational system translated from Iberian Peninsula. Schools were opened in the premises of their churches to teach the basics of Christian faith, besides elementary mathematics, logic and language. The Jesuits were the pioneers in launching a systematic knowledge-disseminating programme in Diu. In 1540s in a letter to Father Gaspar Baertz, Francis Xavier urged him to send one of the best Jesuit fathers to India to be sent to Diu.¹⁷⁹ The Jesuits soon established cultural institutions in Diu. The College of Diu received from the royal treasury each year an amount of 648 *xerafins* for the expenses of the priests studying Arabic, 1000 *pardaos* for the Christians of Ethiopia, 200 *xerafins* for the Seminary and 500 *pardaos* for the 5 Jesuits in Ethiopia. Diu was felt to be the best link between the Red Sea and Ethiopia. The attempts to learn Arabic in Diu were indicative of the desire of the Portuguese Jesuit priests to interact with the Muslim cultural world of Diu and Gujarat. Joao Dias Riberio gave donations towards the foundation of the College in the city and earned the designation of founder as a result. The Crown gave an annual stipend of 300 *cruzados* and there were another 400 *cruzados* left by a deceased person. Since 1559, Daman had the college of Jesuits and in 1594,

¹⁷⁷ A.R. Disney, "Famine and Famine relief in Portuguese India in 16th and early 17 centuries", *The Portuguese in India and other Studies: 1500-1700*, Ashgate Variorum, Surrey, 2009, p. 268

¹⁷⁸ *ibid*, p. 272

¹⁷⁹ Letters of St. Xaviers, p. 463

received a gift of 130 *pardaos*.¹⁸⁰ There had been a school since 1578 with 200 children on its rolls, which had been gifted with the head of one of the companions of St. Ursula.

Jesuits played a very important role in societal process of Daman. In 1558, Duke of Braganca offered the Jesuits an orchard and few houses in Daman. These were managed well and received other royal gifts and alms. The Jesuits owned large properties in Daman, Diu, Chaul and Bassein.¹⁸¹ The Jesuits were the administrators in the *Provincia do Norte*. They were the administrators of the warehouses for war provisions, of the artillery and of fortifications of different fortresses. They also looked after the granaries of Diu and Daman and used to provide supplies at a modest price to the people, and had helped the soldiers and the families. The Daman granary under them flourished from 25,229 *xerafins* to 56, 139 *xerafins*.¹⁸² Donation by the Portuguese Crown and others, even non Christian people helped the Jesuits to carry on their ecclesiastical works. But even though the Jesuits played a very important role in Diu and Daman, the number of Jesuits was relatively low in these two enclaves, as seen in the charts below. This can be attributed to the fact that in these enclaves the Portuguese officials did not want to adversely affect the existing social order and alienate them from the commercial activities.

Distribution of ecclesiastical orders in western India 1635¹⁸³

Region	Franciscans	Capuchins	Augustinians	Dominicans
Goa	149	75	125	102
Diu	-	10	-	8
Daman	-	10	6	6
Bassein	38	-	8	12
Chaul	26	15	15	31

¹⁸⁰ Charles J. Borges, “Jesuit Economic Interests in the Portuguese Province of the North till the Mid 18th century”, *Mare Librum*, No.9, July, 1995, p. 50

¹⁸¹ *Father Duisse to the Director of the French Missions established in China: Surat, January, 1701*, in J.Lockman, *Travels of the Jesuits:1698-1711*, vol. 1, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1995, p. 10

¹⁸² *ibid*, p. 54

¹⁸³ Sanjay subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia 1500-1700: A Political and Economic History*, Longman, London, 1993, p. 223

Distribution of Jesuits in Asia in 1635¹⁸⁴

Region	Number
Goa	148
Mozambique	14
Ethiopia	21
Mughal Court	5
Tibet	5
Diu	8
Daman	8
Salsette	27
Bassein	15
Thana	11
Chaul	8
Malabar Province	190-200
China, Japan, Cochin-China	190

The late 16th century witnessed the Portuguese shift in policy from maritime to territoriality, but the position and influence of the merchants did not diminish, many of whom became absentee landlords, who continued to trade unabated in the face of rising Dutch and English competition in the Indian Ocean. In the 18th century, the English and the Portuguese investments in cotton and textiles on a large scale and the former's acquisition of a share in the fiscal management of Surat offered additional income and employment opportunities to producers, manufacturers and merchants. The evidence for the European Companies' and private merchants' trade testifies to a large output of merchandise and the Gujaratis' great tendency to consume in the second half of the eighteenth century.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁴ *ibid.*, p. 223

¹⁸⁵ Ghulam A Nadri, *Eighteenth Century Gujarat: The Dynamics of its Political Economy*, Brill, Leiden, 2005, 128

VIII. Seventeenth Century Changes

The growth of urbanization in the Portuguese enclaves was directly related to the growing competition of the Europeans in the waters of Indian Ocean. As there was a decline in the trade of the Portuguese, there was a shift in the nature of urbanization. Though there was a decline in the trade of Goa, Diu, Daman and Bassein thrived. With the decline in trade, Portuguese state in India, shifted their focus more on agriculture as means of sustaining itself.¹⁸⁶ These increased the importance of Bassein and Daman and their neighbouring villages. Also the profits of East African trade carried out through the banias and local merchants between 1680s and 1740s continued to maintain a considerable amount of commercial prosperity.¹⁸⁷ Gemelli Careri who came to Daman during the last decade of the 17th century, comments on the lavish lifestyle of the Portuguese in the city. He writes, “The Portuguese live very great in India, as to their tables, clothings... or slaves to serve them”¹⁸⁸ and often carried around the city by their slaves in beautifully carved palanquins decorated by silk and leather. This shows that the economic prosperity of Daman even when there was a considerable decline in the position of the Portuguese in India.

From the second half of 17th century onwards the religious nature of *Estado* changed considerably. One of the major reasons for that was the dwindling of the trade and steep competition between the European powers. Harassed officials in Goa predicted the downfall of the Portuguese state in India if the expulsion or mishandling of indigenous merchants deprived it of capital for trade.¹⁸⁹ The incidents of the shift of merchants and traders from the Portuguese settlements to the more liberal English settlements of Bombay and Surat, were one of the main reason for the change in the Portuguese

¹⁸⁶ Pius Malekandathil, *The Mughals, The Portuguese and the Indian Ocean*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2013, p.205

¹⁸⁷ *ibid*, 207

¹⁸⁸ Gemelli Careri, *op.cit.*, p. 159

¹⁸⁹ G.V. Scammell, “The Pillars of Empire: Indigenous Assistance and the Survival of the Estado da India c. 1600- 1600”, *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 3, CUP, 1988, p. 480

policy.¹⁹⁰ Though Diu had enjoyed the freedom of worship, the areas adjoining to the city as well as the Muslim and Hindu dominated regions around Daman and Bassein profited immensely. Thus in 1695, colonies of weavers sought for permission to settle down in Daman, with the guarantee of religious liberty.¹⁹¹ Moreover, in the continuous struggle in the Deccan with the rise in the Marathas, many traders and landholders shifted to Daman. With the fall of Bassein, in the hands of the Marathas in 1739, many of the Portuguese settlers of the city shifted to Daman. This led to a power tussle between the indigenous influential class and the newly shifted Portuguese population.

The Mughals conquest of Deccan, linked the *banias*, Muslim traders and the Saraswat Brahmins with the extensive inland production centres of the Mughals. Their increasing connectivity with the inland exchange centres helped in the rise in the importance of these merchant groups over the Portuguese *casados*.¹⁹² Daman, located close to the Deccan trade routes, experienced the rise of Muslim traders over the Portuguese *casado* traders. One of them was the Muslim trader Baxira Mucali who in 1720, brought in huge revenues for the Portuguese to buy land and palm fields in East Africa.¹⁹³ In Diu, the *banias* wielded immense power as trade passed into their hands with the rise of the Dutch and the English, and the Mughal's Deccan dreams. The attack of the Omanis on Diu in 1669 and the eventual carrying away of its wealth inflicted a severe blow on the city. On the other hand growing commercial opportunities in East Africa to the *banias* through Diu made more and more *banias* settle down in the city either as their collaborators or as direct investors. As a result by 1722 the number of Catholics in Diu declined to 429, and the city became non-Christian and pluri-cultural. With the formation of the first mercantile Indian corporation in 1686 under the name *Companhia de Comercio*, by the *banias* of Diu, the city became more and more as hub of Indian traders than that of the Portuguese.

¹⁹⁰ *ibid*, p. 481

¹⁹¹ APO, *op.cit.*, p, 258

¹⁹² Pius Malekandathil, *The Mughals, The Portuguese and the Indian Ocean*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2013, p. 152

¹⁹³ *ibid*, p. 154

The increasing ethnic alterations happening in the cities of Diu and Daman with passing of its trade into the hands of the *baniyas* began to get reflected on the physicality of the city. The Portuguese engineered a social and economic processes with the help of which these diverse social and ethnic groups were transformed into their supportive social segments by drawing out of them their commercial collaborators and partners. In these processes they allowed the cultural and religious institutions of their commercial collaborators to come up in Diu, unlike in their other Portuguese enclaves. This led to the growth of Hindu and Muslim architecture simultaneously with the Portuguese structures. By the 18th century, the cities became more and more cosmopolitan and the power of *baniyas* increased with the decrease of the Portuguese in the city; consequently the urban space became more and more multi-cultural in nature and the physicality of the walled city became a platform where these alterations got intensely reflected.

Conclusion

In the background of the studies and theories of urbanization, an effort has been made to study the urban space and the processes of urbanization of Diu and Daman. Gujarat's agricultural surplus, geographical location, and its proximity to the coastline as well as the Gangetic Doab, led to formation of urban centres like Diu and Daman. The cities of Diu and Daman had a complex division of labour and the majority of the populace depended on no-agricultural sector, mainly trade and commerce and weaving. The Portuguese wanted to convert the urban unit of Diu and Daman as a pliable tool to control the trade of Gujarat. Both Diu and Daman were not founded by the Portuguese, but they modified the existing urban structures to suit their aims and policies. However, their attempts to create a Lusitanian city with loyal Portuguese citizens and Catholics as social base for this purpose did not succeed, as the number of Portuguese people dwindled considerably over years. Hence the Portuguese socially engineered the process as to create a loyal social base in the city out of the *bania* and Muslim merchant partners. By leaving trade into the hands of the native collaborators and allowing the cities to evolve as a quasi-Gujarati urban units, the Portuguese preferred to remain as customs collectors

and use the resources, expertise and man power of their Gujarati partners for keeping the resourceful production centres and commercial regions of Gujarat integrated with the early colonial commercial system of the Portuguese. The urban space with the temples, mosques and churches showcase the assimilation and evolution of the Portuguese culture with that of the indigenous one. The cooperation and collaboration between the two helped in creating a new social as well as urban order in these two cities.



Ariel View of Diu

Chapter VII

Conclusion

In the foregoing chapters attempts were made to look into the meanings of trade in coastal Gujarat and to analyze the changing character of urbanity in the coastal cities of Gujarat, particularly Diu and Daman, thanks to the new meanings articulated by the Portuguese who made them evolve as constituent components of their political and commercial endeavours in Asia. As major procuring centres for the textile trade of the Portuguese in East Africa and other parts of Asia, the towns of coastal Gujarat had prime place in the early colonial projects of the Portuguese and it was with that logic that the Lusitanians articulated urban frames for Diu and Daman as well as their minor enclaves in coastal Gujarat

The Portuguese never intended to bring any structural change within the existing Indian Ocean network, but they brought in certain modification in the existing form of trade by introducing the concept of monopoly trade, trade-monitoring mechanisms of *cartaz-fortress-armada*, factory system and centralized bureaucracy. In the initial years of 16th century, the Portuguese followed a policy of applying force on the local merchants and traders. The enmity between the Portuguese and the local traders had a detrimental effect on the economy of Gujarat. This tendency was heightened because of the Portuguese policy of monopolizing certain trade routes and trade in certain merchandise. After the annexation of Diu and Daman there was a shift in the Portuguese policy. More and more Indian or Asian players were incorporated as collaborators within the commercial and political projects of *Estado da India*.

The liquidity problems of the Crown led to a major reorganization of trade with Asia in 1564, when the first series of contracts were given out for trade to the private traders. The Crown tried to follow a policy of gaining optimal profit without direct involvement in the trade. Along with the Portuguese crown, Asian traders also became part of the evolving system of trade. The incorporation of indigenous mercantile co-operation necessitated the

Portuguese to reformulate their understanding about different mercantile groups and economic players of Gujarat, which consequently made them get linked with several local elites and major players of economy, including Banias, Parsis, Vohras who controlled money market and commodity movements. This ensured the Portuguese to carry out regular supply of cargo not only for Lisbon-oriented trade but also for their trade with various parts of the Indian Ocean. Though the initial six decades of Portuguese activities in the sixteenth century tell the stories of Portuguese crown who made attempts to monopolize Indo-European trade, the period from 1570s onwards manifests the inability of crown arrangements to conduct trade with India with positive returns. Consequently the Portuguese became more and more liberal in allowing Indian ships to cross the seas with merchandise (obviously with their licences) although they imposed heavy monetary conditions for these privileges. As a result of the continuous wars and because of the high level of corruption, the Portuguese treasury in India was empty. The Portuguese tried to overcome the fiscal crisis by resorting to customs collection rather than actual trade. The situation eventually reached such a level that the sustenance of Portuguese institutions and devices of power and state-cum-commercial apparatuses was realized not by returns from their actual trade but from their customs houses. The enterprising traders like the Banias, Parsis, Jains, Bohras and Muslim merchants who managed to establish good rapport with the Portuguese and ensured receptivity and acceptivity before the Portuguese by extension of timely financial loans to them became the actual traders, whereas the Portuguese who maintained their enclaves in Gujarat were to satisfy themselves with a share of the profit coming from their trade through customs houses

The Banias, Parsis, Jains, Bohras and Muslim merchants of Gujarat had better linkages with the weaving villages in the hinterland. Seeing the type of taste, flavour and textures of textiles that were in demand in different geographies of their consumption, these merchants got different varieties of textiles manufactured in various weaving villages of Gujarat. Eventually there evolved the practice of area-wise specialization in the manufacturing of textiles in the hinterland. This led to the emergence of different types of textile manufacturing traditions and weaving culture of various fabrics in various enclaves of Gujarat and neighbourhood. The *Bania* traders used to procure principally

through their intermediaries the textile varieties on the basis of the demands in the destinations of their trade. As a result there evolved specialized networks of production and procurement oriented specifically towards the East African markets which became the major destination for the merchants of Diu and Daman. Specialized production for meeting the demand requirements of Southeast Asian markets also evolved in the weaving villages, from where through the bania mercantile networks they were taken to Indonesia and neighbouring places, where demand for textiles got hugely increased because of the dress code necessitated by the fast spread of Islam. Sophisticated varieties of textiles, particularly fabrics mixed with silk and cotton used to be taken frequently by the merchants of Diu and Daman to the markets of Saffavid Persia, Oman and the Ottomans. In places like Muscat the banias formed the largest mercantile group conducting trade. The *banias* even started *Companhia dos Mazanes* in 1689 as a commercial company of their own for conducting trade with East Africa and by 18th century Gujarati mercantile collaborators became the greatest creditors and money lenders to the Portuguese in East Africa.

Ivory, gold and slaves brought by these traders from East Africa and also bullions from Persian Gulf ports caused the neighbourhood of Gujarati ports to evolve as major hub for bullion-trade and handicrafts, besides being market for slaves. Manufacturing of specialized-labour-intensive objects like embroidery works, carving, ivory-works, gem cutting, cleaning and processing of precious stones coming from Deccan developed in an unprecedented way in areas adjacent to coastal Gujarat. The immense flow of bullions made the Mughals to set up their best mint in Ahmedabad.

The indigenous traders and merchants played a pivotal role in the economy of the region. The Gujaratis had been one of the most ambitious and the entrepreneurial population of the country. The Gujarati traders modified their trading activities with the coming of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean. They got a large amount of profit and magnified it considerably thanks to their collaboration with the Portuguese. They worked as bankers, brokers and the link between the indigenous network of market and the international trading network. However, the Indian merchants did not always deal with a single European company and can be seen having simultaneous trading relationship with the

Portuguese, English and the Dutch. The emergence of the Dutch and the English, facilitated the Indian merchants to have participation in direct trade between Asia and Europe or Eastern markets, which was earlier mostly controlled by Goa.

Concomitantly the Portuguese benefitted immensely from the connections and the traditional links of the Indian traders and merchants, particularly in the trade between Gujarat and Africa and the opium trade of Daman and China. In the last half of the 17th century and the beginning of 18th century when the power of the Portuguese was losing and also their supremacy in the Indian Ocean region, they could still continue their trading activities between Asia and Africa because of these links of the merchants and traders of Diu, Daman and Goa. The failure of the English East India Company's attempts to monopolise the opium trade between India and China can be attributed to the power and influence of the network of the opium dealers and private merchants in the country.

Meanwhile, with the coming of the English and the Dutch in the Indian Ocean there evolved a complex situation in the nature of flow of commodities and the types of trading networks emanating from the region. Big merchant firms of Jamshedjee Jeejeebhoy, Jardine Matheson and Remington Crawford and Company worked in close association with the Europeans and the manufacturers. The presence of the English and the Dutch in Gujarat, brought in a situation of nuanced relationship between the local political elites and the Portuguese. At the same time, with the increase in the competition of the Dutch and the English and the decline of the Portuguese power in Asia, the Portuguese started to depend more and more on the Indian networks of commerce along with the private trade of the Portuguese officials.

In fact Mughal hegemony was accompanied by economic prosperity and a growth in foreign trade which benefitted both the indigenous and European participants. Mughals brought stability and connected Gujarat with the North Indian hinterland. Thus the trade prospered. The decline of the Mughal Empire also impacted greatly the economy of Gujarat, more than their polity. The decline of Gujarat's maritime linkages between the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf was fuelled by the growing political insecurity, and the breakdown of law and order with the decline of the Mughals in the first half of the 18th

century. The political transition of the region did not have far reaching influence with the decline of the Mughal empire. The weight of power of first the Gujarat Sultans and then the Mughlas was based on the strength of the hierarchal relations that they managed to maintain with the local power holders. These relations were formulated on the basis of the co-sharing of sovereignty which was established by sharing its perquisites with the local power holders. Thus with the decline of the central power the local political elites or the Nawabs and the zamindars gained more power and privileges. While taking about Maharashtra, one can trace the local level networks of support spreading primordial lines that sustained the regional polity. The monetary economy and commerce in pre colonial India was dependent on and developed as consequences of state taxation. Gujarat had a well established banking and credit system and the Portuguese, like their European counterparts were dependent on the indigenous capital. With the mounting of pressure on the Portuguese in India, they were compelled to depend on the money and the resources of the Gujarati *baniyas* to retain their power in India. The Mughal decline did affect the economic stability of the region. The decline of the Mughals led to the tensions in the hinterland and the intra- regional trading network consequently suffered. The luxury trade between Agra and Gujarat faced decline.

The 18th century ushered in a new epoch in the history of the Indian history. The decline of the Mughal empire led to the vast changes in the nature of the state in the Indian subcontinent. Unlike the Mughal historian, the revisionist historians opined that the decline of the Mughal empire did not necessarily lead to the decline of the trade and commerce and urbanization of the country. The corporate mercantile institutions transcended political boundaries for overseeing the moving of goods and provision and banking and credit services in the period of decline. The inland trade increased but the export trade and port cities suffered comparative decline in the face of European challenges. There was decline of port cities like that of Surat and Masulipatnam, but the rise of colonial port cities like Bombay, Madras and Calcutta happened simultaneously. In case of Surat and Bombay, there had been a shift of the population from the former to the latter and the political stability offered by Bombay was one of the primary factors for the shift.

The competition at sea between the European powers reduced the profits for the Indian traders at that same time it opened new avenues and many of the merchants often shifted their realms of activities from the Portuguese enclaves to those of the English like Bombay. The growth of Bombay also proved detrimental to the recovery of Gujarat's maritime economy. Till 1673, the ships from Europe mostly anchored in Surat. With the shift of English headquarters to Bombay in 1687, the chief seat of English trade shifted to Bombay. The crisis of Surat, decline of the law and order and the Mughal presence all contributed to the shifting of the trade. Bombay offered political stability which led to the growth of trade and commerce. Thus the trade of Gujarat was affected due to the political turmoil of the 18th century, but it did not disappear. It found newer avenues as in the opium trade and the traders and the commercial population found political stability and peace and often shifted to other ports, mostly to Gujarat.

In the eighteenth century, in age of the decline of the Portuguese supremacy in India and Brazil, the strand of trading network which survived was that between Surat and Lisbon. Moreover, the decline of the direct trade routes between Asia and Lisbon was compensated with the development of the opium trade. There were some major factors that enabled the Portuguese to play a crucial role between 1790 and 1840, in lending support to the Malwa opium commerce. One was the political crisis in Portugal second was the control which local municipal councils, the *camaras*, had over the decision making processes in these settlements, and the third was the presence of private Portuguese commerce. The opium trade was the combination of Portuguese naval enterprise, together with British and Indian speculative capital. Even though the Portuguese traders amassed substantial wealth, they never conspired to challenge the growing English power. The Portuguese traders, were more interested in commercial activities rather than political influence.

One cannot altogether exclude the disorderliness which was built in the 18th century more so because of the Maratha system, with plundering and supplanting of local zamindars at the pettiest levels. The bankers and the moneylenders in the significant positions were more of malfunctioning than any positive state support to trade and commerce. It seems that the Maratha administration from 1754 onwards had begun to give a certain amount

of economic recovery. The insurance rates on money and goods sent from Malwa to different parts of the Maratha dominions in 1795 were about the same or slightly higher in 1820, testifying to the maintenance of certain levels of law and order throughout Maratha controlled territory. Moreover, the role of state in the maritime affairs of Gujarat is highly debatable.

Though the initial aim of the Portuguese was to create a chain of enclaves in India supporting the commercial and political projects of the Lusitanians, things changed over time. The need to incorporate as collaborators the indigenous mercantile community, the structures of the Lusitanian commerce and urbanity were begun to be modified by the requirements raised by the accommodation of Indian partners. A major chunk of Gujarati commerce with East Africa from Diu was dominated by the banias. So was the case with Diu's trade with West Asia, where again the bania merchants started dominating over most of the streams of commodity trade. This was done by their clever social engineering. They maintained good rapport with the Jesuits and at times carried out trade for the Jesuits who used to get commercial voyages as a mechanism to raise fund for their missionary and institutional sustenance. The banias of Diu also used to donate liberally to the political and military endeavours the *Estado da India*, particularly when it was waging a series of wars of defence against the Omanis in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Whenever the *banias* had difficulties with the Estado officials on matters related to their trade concessions, the Jesuits came to their support clamouring for commercial concessions for them, indicating the voluminous support the banias extended to the Portuguese state, when it was in dire need. The skills and capabilities of the banias to survive in their intra-Asian trade eventually got reflected onto the settlement-distribution in the urban space of Diu as well. Though Diu started as a Portuguese city with large number of Portuguese residents in the first half of the sixteenth century, by the end of the seventeenth century the number of Portuguese inhabitants got considerably reduced, while the majority of city-dwellers of Diu were banias and their Indian collaborators. The process of accommodating Indian partners in Portuguese trade and the eventual relegation of the Portuguese from being active traders to mere customs-collectors and handing over actual trade to their economic collaborators, necessitated the redrafting of the Portuguese urban format, where the ethnic Portuguese became a

minority, while the banias, their commercial collaborators became the majority. In the years 1810-14, in Diu 323 weavers and 53 painters resided. In Diu, out of 232 weavers in 1816, about 162 were Hindus and 36 were Parsis. Such a development not only changed the social composition of the city of Diu, but also the cultural landscape of the city. The exclusively Portuguese city character of Diu began to get eventually diluted and along with churches including St. Paul's church and Portuguese city institutions, came up temples and several other sacred shrines as to cater to the spiritual needs of the banias, Parsis, Vohras and Muslims, who were their mercantile collaborators. In this process Diu, with its multiculturalism and accommodativeness, evolved as a city with a difference in the urban network of the *Estado da India*.

Almost same was the case with Daman, where the Portuguese again set up a Lusitanian urban centre with *misericordia*, Franciscan monastery and other European urban institutions. Though Daman was in the neighbourhood of Surat, the former evolved as a part of the three-tier urban formation process that happened in the *Provincia do Norte* of the Portuguese. The agrarian surplus from the various *parganas* at the grass root level (produced often with the slave labour force) was transferred to the *qasbas* and semi-urban centres and finally to the apex town of Daman, where the beneficiaries of *foreiro* system actually lived. By living in the city of Daman the Portuguese *fidalgos* and recipients of land grants from the crown transferred agrarian wealth from their estates to Daman. When combined with trade surplus accruing from maritime commerce, the returns from agrarian production in their estates made the city of Daman affluent and immensely rich. Since Daman was the maritime door through which the textiles produced in Gujarat and Deccan were carried to East Africa, the neighbouring Muslim merchants also began to move towards this city to take advantage of the commercial opportunities thrown open by the Portuguese commerce with East Africa. In this process Muslim merchants began to dominate the commercial activities of Daman with East Africa, where some of them started even investing huge amount in properties. In this process the neighbouring weaving villages benefitted immensely out of Daman's commerce with East Africa. In Daman the centre of weaving was located at Damão de Sima or Upper Daman, Doler, Ambavary, Chão de Jamporis, Damão Pequeno, Fora de Jampa, Carivary and Varacunda. With the predominant position of the Muslims in the trade of the Portuguese city of

Daman, we find the composition of the city population getting changed. By 1785, Daman had only 1,527 Catholics including the Portuguese while the number of indigenous population increased to 14887. With the change in the urban social composition, the city landscape of Daman also started changing with mosques coming up as to cater to the spiritual needs of Muslim merchants. The exclusively Lusitanian character started fading in Daman as in Diu, though both continued to function as urban units in the pre-colonial agenda of the Portuguese system of trade and polity. Later when Daman became a major hub for opium trade going to China, Daman's supply market of opium was dominated by eight or nine indigenous traders like Modi Dorabji Nasserwanji, Byramji Bhikaji, Kavasji Byramji, Moolchand Heerachand, Karamchand Hurruckchand, Dayaram Dulobha, Lalubhai Valobdas and Racique Vallobo, who banked heavily on the indigenous trading network for its procurement and movement. This consequently kept the content of the city of Daman, particularly its material and social meanings, changing with the change in the nature of trade and the type of social groups who dominated trade and power processes in the city.

Thus in short, out of the various Portuguese enclaves of varying economic importance along coastal Gujarat, only Diu and Daman emerged as significant urban centres. Though these towns and their economic as well as social activities were linked with the type of power processes and socio-economic developments that developed over time in Gujarat, the Portuguese enclaves in Gujarat in general and Diu and Daman in particular had unique roles to play in the accomplishment of the pre-colonial agenda of the Portuguese. Hence their trade and urbanization processes, though happened as a part of Gujarat and within its web of socio-economic and power relations, cannot be properly understood without locating them within the larger pre-colonial projects of the Portuguese, which ultimately aimed at surplus extraction by furthering commerce and political control. In the process of allowing native partnership in the trade of Diu and Daman, the Portuguese started accommodating banias, Muslims as partners, which necessitated them to share substantial part of these two cities (unlike other Portuguese urban enclaves along the west coast of India) for accommodating the culturally different groups like banias in Diu and Muslims in Daman. The end result was that these two Gujarati towns in the long run remained to be culturally and socially different with more connections with inland India

than with the Lusitanians, even though politically and administratively they continued to be a part of *Estado da India*.

Glossary

<i>Aldeias-</i>	Villages
<i>Alfandega -</i>	Custom House
<i>Arroba -</i>	Measurement of Weight; One fourth of a Quintal
<i>Cafila -</i>	Fleet of small indigenous ships trading under Portuguese Armada
<i>Carreira da India-</i>	Lisbon India Voyage
<i>Cartaz-</i>	Licenses issued by the Portuguese to trade in the Indian Ocean
<i>Casados-</i>	Portuguese married settlers in Goa
<i>Chauth –</i>	Land revenue levied by the Marathas
<i>Covado -</i>	Measurement of length about 3.4 a yard
<i>Cruzado-</i>	Monetary unit
<i>Dam-</i>	Copper coin, equal to ¼ th of a rupee
<i>Dastak-</i>	Pass or permit
<i>Farman-</i>	Decree issued by the Indian rulers
<i>Fidalgo -</i>	Portuguese gentleman
<i>furza -</i>	Customs-house
<i>haq-i-langar -</i>	Anchorage dues
<i>Hundi-</i>	Credit note or Bill of exchange
<i>Khandi -</i>	20 maunds
<i>Larim/ Lari -</i>	Silver coin
<i>Latty-</i>	English custom house at Surat
<i>Mahmudi -</i>	Currency of Gujarat
<i>Mestico -</i>	People born to Luso-Indian parents

<i>Misericordia-</i>	Portuguese House of Mercy
<i>Mustajiran-</i>	Revenue farmers
<i>Mutassadi-</i>	Mughal Custom officer
<i>Nau/ Nao -</i>	Portuguese ship
<i>naul-</i>	It was an authorized cess sanctioned imposed on the freight-goods
<i>Ovidor -</i>	Judge
<i>Padroado-</i>	Patronage
<i>Qazi -</i>	Muslim Judge
<i>Real (pl. reis) -</i>	1/60 of a Tanga
<i>Regimento-</i>	Standing Order
<i>Respondencia-</i>	Loans utilized to purchase freight goods at variable rates of interest.
<i>Senado da Camara-</i>	Municipal Council
<i>Tanga-</i>	Coin, equal to 60 <i>reis</i>
<i>ushur/ushr/ mahsul</i>	-Assessment of the customs-dues
<i>Xerafin -</i>	Standard coin also called <i>pardau</i> =300 <i>reis</i>

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