

SENTRY ON THE COMMERCIAL HIGHWAY
*A STUDY ON THE TRADE AND URBANIZATION OF DIU IN THE SIXTEENTH
AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES*

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Introduction

The diverse ports of Gujarat for a very long time acted as the major nodal centres, through which its extensive textile hinterland got connected with the various marts of the Indian Ocean. While one thriving stream of its trade extended up to Southeast Asia, where spices were purchased in return for Gujarati textiles, the other vibrant commercial strand extended up to Mozambique and Mombasa valley, where Monomotapan gold, ivory and slaves were purchased in return for cotton clothes of Gujarat. Using these major commodity streams, the Gujarati merchants had developed all pervasive mercantile networks in the Indian Ocean by fifteenth century. On the eve of Portuguese arrival, there appeared along the coastal Gujarat, several ports and trading centres of varying economic significance, participating in the transcontinental trading system. However, the economic prosperity of coastal Gujarat depended on its ability in providing opening to its rich hinterland for conducting trade with the markets of South East Asia and the West Asia . The trading community of Gujarat was so strong that the merchants had an important role in the politics of the region, as well. The merchants and the workers created wealth and this wealth gave Agra its taxes.¹

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 from Gujarat, which made the Portuguese focus considerably on its various ports for the purpose of

¹Balkrishna Govind Gokhale, *Surat In Seventeenth Century: A study in Urban History of Pre-modern India*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1978, p.46.

procuring cargo.² 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. Eventually the Portuguese grafted a Lusitanian urban structure on to Diu with the view of controlling its socio-economic processes in a way that would suit their early colonial agenda.

The central purpose of this study is to see the ways and means by which the early colonial power of the Portuguese developed the Gujarati exchange centre of Diu into an urban centre and got it settled with a supportive social base to sustain the early colonial edifice in Gujarat and to intervene in its trade in a way that helped to protect their imperial interests. This is done by analyzing the nature of trade and urbanization that the Portuguese promoted in Diu and Daman and by examining the different layers of social groups which they constructed out of their descendants and collaborators mainly for the purpose of managing and conducting their business over there.

Situating the Historiography

An attempt to situate the theme of “trade and urbanization of Diu” within the existing historiography needs to look into the changing perceptions in the historical literature about the various Gujarati ports and port-cities in the recent years. Much of the initial historical treatment on the port-cities of Gujarat was formatted as components of larger discussions on the need for India’s power assertion in the Indian Ocean against the background of colonial rule of the British. To this category one may include the

² Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *“The Portuguese Empire In Asia 1500-1700: A Political and Economic History”*, Longman, London, 1993, p.61

works of R.K.Mookherji³, Ballard⁴, 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 Gujjaratis in the Indian Ocean. 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 yesterday's India was followed also by the nationalist historians like K.M. Panikkar⁵ and O.K. Nambiar, as well ⁶, 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 of *India and the Indian Ocean* emphasizes India's past role in naval and maritime matters and highlights the naval battles where Indian forces did 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. 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 supremacy passed into the hands of the Portuguese, without any decisive battles.

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, etc., 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

³ R.K.Mookherji, *Indian Shipping: A History of Sea borne Trade and maritime activity of the Indians from the Earliest Times*, 1912

⁴ G. A. Ballard, *Rulers of the Indian Ocean*, London, 1927

⁵ K.M.Panikkar, *India and the Indian Ocean: An Essay on the Influence of Sea Power on Indian History*, London, 1951

⁶ O.K.Nambiar, *The Kunajlis, The Admirals of Calicut*, Delhi, 1963

the Indian Ocean formed the central aspects of historical analysis.⁷ 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. Authors like W.H.Moreland thought Indian Ocean as a unitary concept and he believed in the idea that there was a supremacy over the Ocean and this supremacy could be transferred from time to time. He argued that from Arabs it went into the hands of the Portuguese, from them to the Dutch to English and so on⁸. M.N.Pearson had also 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.⁹ They tried to view the larger connectivities and unity of the Indian Ocean, despite its rich diversities and multiple facets.

In 1970s economy and society of coastal Gujarat became the focal theme of three major historians, causing a new historiographical tradition to evolve, although their approaches and source materials were entirely different from one another. They are Ashin Das Gupta¹⁰, M.N. Pearson¹¹ and K.S.Mathew¹², whose works focused mainly on coastal Gujarat and discussed issues of its urbanization and trade. Unlike the

⁷ 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

⁸ Ashin Das Gupta, "Moreland Hypothesis", in *Mariners, Merchants and Oceans: Studies in Maritime History* ed. by K.S.Mathews, New Delhi, 1995

⁹ M.N.Pearson, "Introduction I : The state of the subject", *India and Indian Ocean trade:1500-1800*, edited by M.N.Pearson and Ashin Das Gupta, New Delhi, 1999

¹⁰ Ashin Das Gupta, *Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat, c. 1700-1750*, Wiesbaden, 1979

¹¹ 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

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

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 unflagging attempt by the official to extract what money was available by using whatever force they could apply¹³. 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.

Pearson in his “*Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat*”¹⁴ 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

¹³ Ashin Das Gupta, *Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat, c. 1700-1750*, p.152

¹⁴ 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

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 Gopal¹⁵ 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 Gujarat¹⁶. 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 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. Commissariat in his “*History of Gujarat*”¹⁷ 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

¹⁵Surendra 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

¹⁶Farhat Hasan, *State and Locality in Mughal India: Power Relations in Western India, c.1572- 1730*, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, 2006.

¹⁷ M.S.Commissariat, *A History of Gujarat-Including a Survey of its Chief Architectural Monuments and Inscriptions*, Longmans, Green and Company Limited, Bombay 1938, Vol.1

Gujarat. Though he discusses the social and architectural monuments of the time it is mainly a chronological history of the period. Ruby Maloni¹⁸ 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 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. Maloni is of the view that the development of these kinds of the 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 traders¹⁹.

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 their arrival 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 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 sphere. Many links were formed between the local capital and foreign merchants. The local merchants had a vested interest in the

¹⁸Ruby Maloni, *European Merchant Capital and Indian Economy: A Historical Reconstruction based on Surat Factory Records 1630-1668*, Manohar,1992.

¹⁹Ibid. p. 10

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, in spite of the benefits reaped by the top layer of the business community, the local economy could not be said to be a gainer²⁰. Though Gopal supported the argument of Maloni 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 socially capitalism could not grow in Gujarat in that period as the odds against such a transformation were heavy²¹.

Gokhale highlights the urbanization process of Surat and points out that though the European accounts describes Surat as a conglomeration of diverse communities living alongside each other, Surat did develop “genuine community of its own”²². 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.²³ 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

²⁰ 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

²¹ *Ibid.*, p.244

²² Balkrishna Govind Gokhale, *Surat In Seventeenth Century: A study in Urban History of Pre-Modern India*, Popular Prakashan, Bombay, 1978, p.47.

²³ O.P.S.ingh, *Surat and its Trade in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century*, University of Delhi, Delhi, 1976, p.204

co-sharing of sovereignty.²⁴ 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 power²⁵. Even these 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*²⁶ 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.

²⁴Farhat Hasan, *State and Locality in Mughal India: Power Relations in Western India, c.1572- 1730*, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, 2006, p.20

²⁵Ibid,P.20

²⁶ Shireen Moosvi, *People, Taxation and Trade in Mughal India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2008

Most of the above historical literatures deal principally with Gujarat in general or with Surat in particular. 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)*.²⁷ 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 des cobrimento e conquista da India pelos Portugueses*, Barros's *Decades da asia: dos feitos Qui os Portuguese fizer am no descobrimento econquista dos mares e Terras do Oriente* and Diogo Do Cuoto's *Decades of 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 factory²⁸. 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 Muzaffard 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.

Sanjay Subrahmanyam stresses the religious and economic reasons for the conflict between the Portuguese and the Mughals on issues related to shipping from Gujarat.²⁹ He argues that the Mughal conquest of the western Indian region of Gujarat by the Mughals in 1572 undoubtedly contributed to the quickening of the relations between

²⁷ K.S.Mathew, *Portuguese and the Sultanate of Gujarat(1500-1573)*, Delhi, 1986

²⁸ K.S.Mathews, *Portuguese and the Sultanate of Gujarat*, Mittal Publications, Delhi, 1985, p. 26

²⁹ 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

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.³⁰ 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.

Pius Malekandathil³¹ 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 Gujarrati 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 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 looks mainly at the society and economy of coastal Gujarat, particularly Surat; however it fails to cover comprehensively the process of urbanization and trading activities of Diu, carried out within the early colonial format of the Portuguese. In order to fill in this lacuna, I have taken up the topic “Sentry at the Commercial Highways: A Study on the Trade and Urbanization of Diu in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries” for my research.

Design of the Study

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

³⁰ Ibid, p.461-462,

³¹ 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

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 dwells 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 southern 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. Marco Polo 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 woolen cloth. Dresses made from skin were exported and in return Cambay used to receive gold, silver, copper and tutty.³² Al Idrisi mentions that indigo and Indian cane was supplied to Cambay from the surrounding regions. Tome Pires describes Cambay with '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

³² 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 India.

horses, elephants and different kinds of birds'.³³ Cornelians, agates, and the beautifully variegated stones improperly called mocha stones, form a valuable part of the trade. Cambay was the outlet of the flourishing trade of Anhilwad Patan. Apart from Cambay, other important centres of trade where 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.³⁴ 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 sea- 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.³⁵ Seeing his skills in archery, sultan Muhammad Begada of Guajarat deployed him for waging many of his wars since 1484.³⁶ 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, cannoners, musketeers and archers, and very often Turks formed an important segment of his fighting force.

³³ *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

³⁴ K.S.Mathew, *Portuguese and the Sultanate of Gujarat*, Mittal Publications, Delhi, 1985, p. 26

³⁵ *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires: An Account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan written in Malacca and India in 1512-1515*, Nendeln, 1967, p.34; João de Barros, *Asia. Dos feitos que os Portugueses fizeram no Descobrimento e Conquista dos Mares e Terras do Oriente*, Lisboa, 1973, tomo II, part I, pp. 210-4

³⁶ Mahomed Kisim Ferishta, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India, A Persian History* translated by John Briggs, vol.IV, New Delhi, 1981, pp.39-41

He mobilized the forces of Zamorin , Mamluk Egypt and the Venetians and incorporated the service of Turkish fighters in 1508 to fight against the Portuguese off Diu and oust them from the Indian Ocean , as the trade of the former had already been hammered by the commerce and coercive activities of the Portuguese in the western Indian Ocean.³⁷ Though the Portuguese finally came out victorious in the encounter, Malik Ayaz was allowed to rule as governor of Diu till almost 1521, when he fell out of the good books of the sultan. During this period with the increasing encouragement being given to the trade of Diu by Malik Ayaz, we find the commercial gravity getting shifted from Cambay to Diu. The geophysical changes and the silting of the harbour of Cambay speeded up the process of transfer. With the occupation of major trade centres of Red Sea, Persian Gulf and West Asia by the Ottomans by the first quarter of the sixteenth century, Malik Ayaz of Diu expanded the commercial activities to the principal ports of the Ottomans. This accelerated the flow of cargo between the ports of Gujarat and Red Sea on the side and with the ports of Persian Gulf on the other side. In 1519, when Diu was still controlled by Malik Ayaz, 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, the textile item of *sabones* was sold at 1200 in Sofala. During this period the ivory from Africa was sold in Cambay at a price six times higher than at its original source.

The third chapter traces the contexts within which the Portuguese occupied Diu and developed it as a supportive and supplementary commercial base to control the larger trade happening between Gujarati ports and the East Africa on the one side and with West Asia on the other side. Because of the initial policy of the Portuguese to restrict their territorial possessions to the minimum, the Portuguese did not occupy Diu in 1508, when they got a chance to do so after having defeated the forces of Malik Ayaz in that year. However, later when Humayun threatened to capture Gujarat in mid 1530s, the Muzaffarid ruler Bahadur Shah in distress sought the military help and protection from the Portuguese by handing over Bassein (1534) and Diu (1535) in return.

³⁷ Ibid, p.45

By the time the Portuguese occupied Diu, the latter had already begun to replace Cambay in matters of international trade. Gujarati cotton textiles were moving frequently to South East Asia to exchange with Sumatran pepper from Aceh, which was sold in the Red Sea, thus bringing back bullion to Gujarat. The Portuguese preferred Cambay to remain as an independent port, albeit under their influence but began to develop the commerce of Diu in an unprecedented way with the help of the Kapol Baniyas of Saurashtra.

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. The Portuguese occupation of Diu by the Portuguese governor Nuno da Cunha on 25th October, 1535 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 harbor 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. The excellent trading facilities and security provided by Diu, also served as an attraction for many traders. However, Diu grew not because of its flourishing hinterland as Surat or Cambay and any other coastal Indian ports; but it developed principally as an international hub of trade. On entering Diu the Portuguese began to appropriate the East African trade from the locals and used to take Gujarati textiles directly to Mozambique and 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 during this period.

Diu regularly sent around 30,000 pardaos to Goa in 1568, after deducting all the expenses. But by 1620s, it had been largely superseded by the Mughal port of Surat, where the English and the Dutch had established themselves. Antonio Bocarro of Diu

in early 1630 wrote “the expenses of this port were formerly met from its own income and many thousands of Xerafins were left over and were brought to Goa as well as donations which inhabitants sometimes gave to help the state in its expenses”. But during this time it was necessary to make provision for Diu from Goa and in 1634, 20,000 xerafins had to be forwarded to Diu from the Viceregal treasury. As it was mostly depended on the trade, with the decline in the Portuguese’s possessions in Asia it affected Diu greatly.

Though Diu was located further away from mainland, it was fed by several interlinked satellite markets and Portuguese enclaves along the Coast of Gujarat. Through these networks of markets the Portuguese used to collect the textiles needed for trade in Africa and South East Asia. The *Carreira da Moçambique* (the fleet going to Moçambique for commerce) that used to take textiles from Diu to Mozambique was usually consisted of six to ten vessels. Textiles and other wares taken from Gujarat to east African markets were purchased by the Portuguese *casado* merchants of Moçambique or the Gujarati brokers at Senna or Tette, who used to do the retail business in the local markets; the latter principally along the river Zambesi. The Portuguese were allowed to barter these goods at the Dela Goa Bay and Querimba. Some of the mercantile teams, that used to take cargo into the hinterland almost 100 miles away from the coast, even consisted of 6 to 8 Portuguese men, a large number of indigenous collaborators from Moçambique as well as 25 to 30 *lascarins* from Goa.

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 banias. 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 banias of Gujarat eventually made use of this opportunity to emerge as the leading Indian merchants conducting business in African markets. In 1650s the banias 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.

With the increasing pressure from the Mughals and the Marathas, the Portuguese were compelled to bank upon the money and the resources of the Gujarati banias to sustain

their trade through Diu by 1650s. It was the banias of Diu, having immense wealth at their disposal, who actually came forward to take advantage out of the situation and a sizeable share of their wealth began to flow to east Africa via Diu for its trade. Obviously it was because of the fact that the Gujarati textiles formed an essential and vital commodity for exchanges in Africa that the request of *mahajan*(the assembly of banian traders) of Diu in 1686 to form a company (known as *Companhia de Comercio dos Mazanes*) was conceded by viceroy Conde de Alvor for the purpose of conducting trade with Southeast Africa.. In fact the Mazanes Association of Commerce was given the right to send two or three vessels annually to Mombasa and Melinde from Diu. However in return the banias were required to give money to the Portuguese to meet their expenses of the wars with Oman, which the Portuguese then repeatedly waged along the coast of Konkan and east Africa. Though the monopoly of the Mazanes Association was temporarily suspended in 1693, and in 1701 it was again revived by incorporating the mercantile wealth and personnel from Diu, Surat and Cambay.

As the Portuguese allowed only the banias of Diu to conduct trade in territories controlled by them, particularly in Mozambique, some of these traders from Diu started operating as agents of Cambay merchants and carried textiles and steel from Cambay to Mrima coast to procure ivory, gold and ambergris around 1696. A few of them used to send as many as 40 dhows to the various Swahili towns with the help of African collaborators, doing networking -circuits between them. Some Gujarati merchant magnates residing in India conducted their businesses in east Africa, investing huge amount of mercantile capital in various African enterprises, mainly through their commercial agents and representatives collected from Diu. The most evident case is that of. Calcanagi Valabo, who was the biggest trader in the textiles of Cambay residing in India in the beginning of the eighteenth century and who used to take up contract for commercial voyages to Moçambique and take cargo directly to Zambesi and in return to bring ivory and gold back to Diu. He also took up in 1709 the contract to collect the customs duty of Inhambane and Angoche for a period of three years by paying 33,000 *cruzados*. The Banias of Diu extended their also to Muscat , where they formed the largest foreign mercantile community in the seventeenth century, with Shah Bandar and Jedda.

Chapter four dwells upon the nature of social and spatial processes, by which a mercantile city peopled mostly by non-Portuguese social groups, but supportive of them evolved in Gujarat. The small township that Malik Ayaz established got radically transformed into a town of European model with the advent of the Portuguese. The remnants of the Sangalkotta of Malik Ayaz, a cluster of magnificent mansions of a mixed variety of architectural style, the imposing structure of the house of Nagarshett and the Hindu havelis along with the Juma Masjid and the dilapidated churches all of them speak of the urban character as well as the mixed culture of Diu. The Portuguese fortification erected here immediately after their occupation caused to emerge differentiated space within the town. The massive fortification encircling Lusitanian settlements separated it from others. On the sea-side was erected a quadrangular shaped huge fortress with watch-towers, which also had facilities for storing cargo and weaponry. In fact the rector of the church of St.Paul was the keeper of the awesome looking fortress of Diu. Near the sea was also located a smaller fortification called 'bulwark of the sea'. Adjacent to it, but on the sea-shore was located the hospital to cater to the medical 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 addition to the hospital, the *misericordia*, which was an institution dedicated to the care of the poor, widows and the handicapped was also established.

With the increase in trade, there was immense flow of Portuguese *casados* to the town and intensification in construction process and most of the civil buildings were double or multiple-storied. Concomitant to these developments, many churches were constructed making the habitation pattern of the Portuguese revolve around churches like the church of St. Francis of Assissi 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. The physicality of the city and the magnificent edifices erected in it are indicative of the immense flow of wealth into the city by way of trade. The ecclesiastical buildings were all ornamented and highly decorated. As per the quinquennial report of the church prepared in 1621, there were about 5500 Christians in Diu, out of whom about 4000 were Portuguese people affiliated to the main church. However 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 the throwing of 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 was increasingly becoming non-Christian and pluri-cultural. The Portuguese found it to be much more profitable to keep the city multi-cultural, than mono-cultural for the purpose of facilitating the conduct of trade with East Africa. At a time when the Portuguese navigational lines were increasingly attacked by the Dutch and English, the Portuguese could not conduct trade directly with Mozambique; instead they handed over this strand of trade to the banias of Diu, from whom the Portuguese collected customs duties at Diu, which was far more profitable than conducting direct trade in such insecure situations. This development necessitated the accommodation of more and more banias as residents in the city of Diu, making it more of a de-Lusitanized city. In the larger early colonial agenda of the Portuguese the city of Diu, with a predominant indigenous and non-Christian population, was entrusted with the task of creating a supportive mercantile segment for the Portuguese out of the Hindu banias and get them involved in the risky routes of the Indian Ocean for the purpose intensifying the trade of Diu and thus for augmenting the scale of profit that the Portuguese used to bag out of it through customs duties. Among the mercantile collaborators of the Portuguese, the Parsis and Hindu banias formed a formidable socio-economic group. The existence of the Juma Masjid in the heart of the town, 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. In the treaty of surrender of Diu by Bahadur Shah, it was agreed upon by the Portuguese that there would not be no proselytizing, particularly from among the Muslims. In the report of Fr. Valignano in 1580, mention was made there were many Hindus in Diu and no effort was taken to Christianize them, as the place was originally property of Bahadur Shah. A very ancient Lord Shiva's Temple is located on the "Gangeswar" coast. The existence of such mixed population against the background of their animosity towards Muslims elsewhere is pointer to the predominance of the commercial aim of this town. . It was

trade that helped to bind all the people from different religions under the same umbrella.

The Banias 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 banias being allowed to conduct trade in the interior of Africa, it was the Jesuits who came in support of the banias 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. The available details show that the various components in the society of Diu were held together by the commonality of interests stemming from the pursuit of trade. In other words it was principally a pluri-cultural mercantile society, despite the various religious institutions seen on the visible side.

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. 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.

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

Methodology and Sources

The methodology followed is deductive and analytic. The data collected from different repositories have been analyzed with the help of the field work. The sources have been collected chiefly from University library along with the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, National Archive New Delhi, Xavier Centre for Historical

Research Goa. The historical information gathered from documents are corroborated with the help of extensive field study done in Diu.

The most important problem regarding the Portuguese primary sources of the time is that only very few documents had come down to us. No records of Diu survived until late in the 17th century. Thus as my research revolves around the development of Diu in the 16th and 17th century, it is very difficult to have a detailed picture from the Portuguese sources of the period alone. The account of Duarte Barbosa and Tome Pires are the most important translated works, which throw immense light on the early history of Diu. The travelogues of Pietro Della Valle, Linschoten, Pyrard de Laval and other contemporary European Travelers provide information supplementing the details obtained from Portuguese documents. The English Factory Records also give us important insight into the maritime trade and also about the political scenario of the time. The various records of the Jesuits and Portuguese missionaries also serve as important source materials. Among the Persian sources, “Mirat-i-Sikandari” and “Mirat-i- Ahmadi” are the main ones. Mention should also be made about the Mughal sources like “Ain- i – Akbari” and also “*Lekhpadhati: Documents of state and everyday life from ancient and early medieval Gujarat: 9th to 15th century*”, which serve as alternative source of information to corroborate the evidences.

Chapter 1

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, woolen-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 is 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 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

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

² 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.1, p .245

stemming from Gujarat occupied a very important position. There had been a large demand for Gujarat 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.³

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 structure⁴, 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

³ 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

⁴ 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

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 system⁵. 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 fruits⁶. 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.⁷

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

⁵ 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

⁶ *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

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 103

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.⁸

Anil, otherwise called Indigo, which was found only in the kingdom of Cambay and Surat 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”⁹. It was being exported in large quantities by the 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.

A. 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.¹⁰ The textile manufacturing industry of Gujarat was very well known even during the time of the English¹¹. The woven and the dried textiles of Gujarat were exported to Iran, Arabia, Abyssinia, Turkey and Europe.¹²

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.¹³ 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

⁸*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

⁹Pyrard of Laval, op. cit. ,Vol.2, Part 2, p. 359

¹⁰ *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

¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 104

¹² *Ibid*, p. 104

¹³ V.A.Janaki, *Gujarat as Arabs Knew it : A Study in Historical Geography*, Maharaja Sayajirao University Baroda, 1969, p. 69

manufactured in Khambhayat(Cambay) are being exported by the merchants in large volume to other countries.¹⁴ Jewish Genizza papers refer to the thriving trade of the Jews in Gujarat, particularly in Kambayat(Cambay).¹⁵ 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 colour, carnelians etc.¹⁶ 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.¹⁷

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.¹⁸ 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. But the cotton taken from those trees were only used for quilting. Duarte Barbosa who visited Cambay before 1517, described the amazing

¹⁴ 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

¹⁵ 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

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 28

¹⁷ V.A.Janaki, *Gujarat as Arabs Knew it : A Study in Historical Geography*, Maharaja Sayajirao University Baroda, 1969, p. 9

¹⁸ *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

manufacturing industry of cotton fabrics, silk and velvets, variations of satin taffetas, gilded leather, silken mattresses produced in Gujarat.¹⁹ 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 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 work²⁰. 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, paper, ginger and cinnamon were very important items of exchange. They also mention woolen items and furs, paper and metals like iron, copper, lead and tin²¹.

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.²² Marco Polo refers to a great amount of ginger, pepper and indigo, being found in Gujarat in the late thirteenth century.²³ 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 lies under heavy cultivation.²⁴ The region between Debal and Kutch and from Kutch to Somnath and Patan was rich in producing gum, myrrh and balm. Malwa

¹⁹ 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

²⁰ *The Travels of Marco Polo, The Venetian*, translated by John Masefield, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2003, pp.384-385

²¹ V.A.Janaki *Gujarat as Arabs Knew it : A Study in Historical Geography*, Maharaja Sayajirao University Baroda, 1969, p. 23

²² 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

²³ Marco Polo, *The Travels of Marco Polo, The Venetian*, translated by John Masefield, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2003 ,p. 384

²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 384

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 Thane²⁵. This description of Gujarat seems to 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. On one hand the Venetian *zecchino*, along with the Egyptian and Ottoman sultanis and the dinars of Aden dominated the imports into south west India.²⁶ At the same time, the trade from the Persian Gulf port of Hormuz to Gujarat, western India and Bengal brought silver in plenty to the marts of these regions.²⁷ 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.²⁸ 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 silver²⁹.

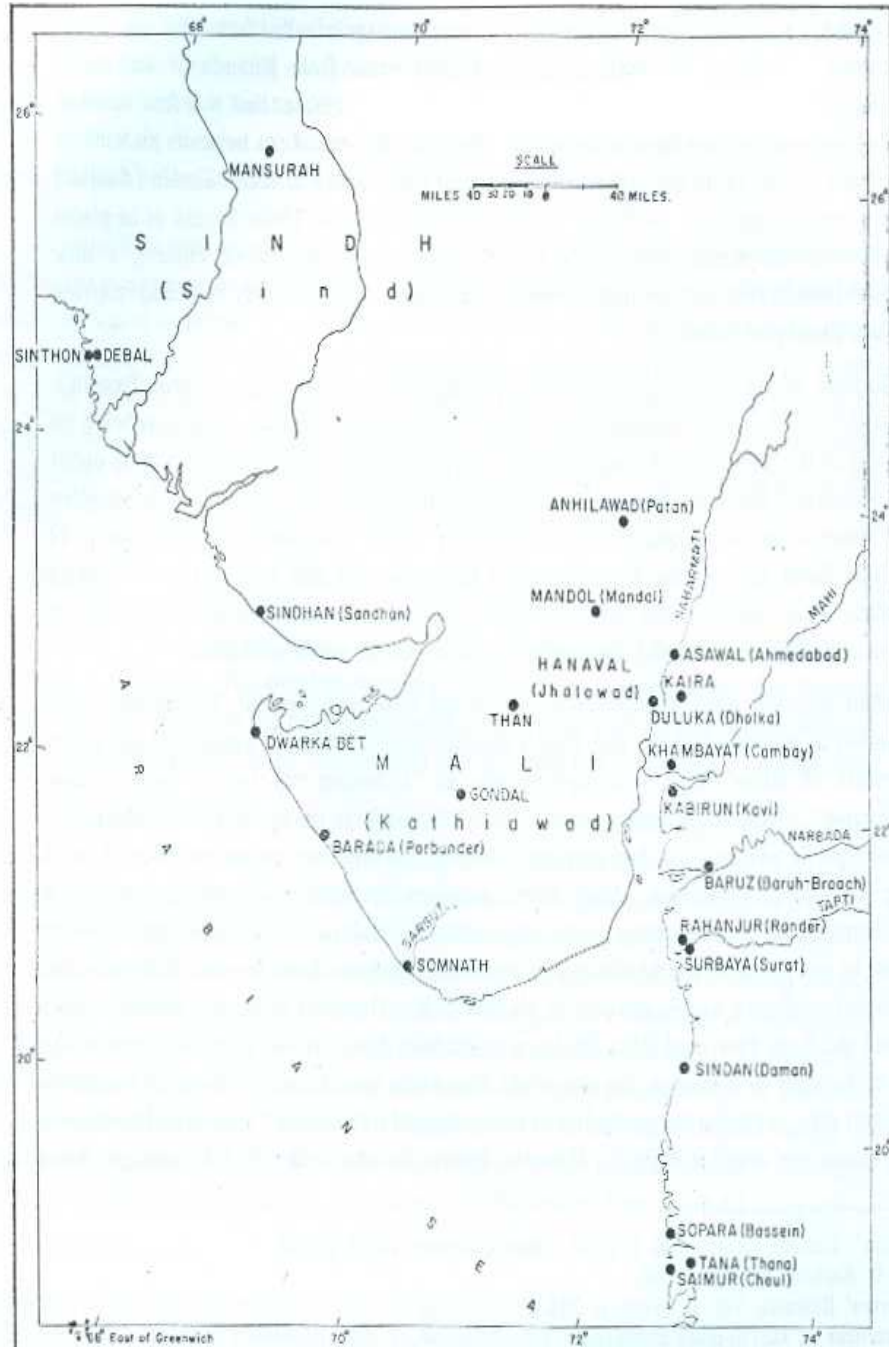
²⁵Rashidu- d Din, *Jami'u-t Tawarikh*, in *The History of India as Told by its Own Historians*, Elliot and Dawson, vol.1, Allahabad, 1972, p. 67

²⁶Sanjay 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

²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 191

²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 191

²⁹*Ibid*, p. 191



GUJARAT: AS ARABS KNEW IT

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

B. 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 Astrkhan, from where they entered the Caspian Sea to Iranian port of Bandar Shah and Baghdad³⁰. The travelers 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 pirates³¹.

The land routes for the Asian trading network started from far off Spain, it traveled 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.³² 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

³⁰ V.A. Janaki, *Gujarat As the Arabs Knew it: : A Study in historical geography*, Maharaja Sayajirao University Baroda, 1969, p. 9

³¹ *The Travels of Marco Polo, The Venetian*, translated by John Masefield, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2003, pp.383-387

³² V.A. Janaki, *op.cit*, p. 9

between Debal(Dabhol) and Cambay was desert land where the Medhs used to graze their cattle.³³

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 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 pepper³⁴. 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.³⁵ 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

³³ Ibid, p. 34

³⁴ 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

³⁵ Ibid, p. 33

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.³⁶ Cambay also carried on trade with Pegu and, as Barbosa informs, every year merchants from Cambay visited Pegu with abundance of printed Cambay cloth, both cotton and silk.³⁷ They also carried with them opium, coral threaded cloth, vermilion, 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. They also took with them a great deal of sugar in leaf.³⁸

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 markets³⁹. 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 cargo⁴⁰. Indian vessels used to regularly frequent the south Arabian ports, and by the 15th century Indian baniyas 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

³⁶ Ibid, p. 35

³⁷ Ibid, p. 35

³⁸ Ibid, p.35

³⁹ Ashin Das Gupta, *Merchants of Maritime India:1500-1800*, Varorium, 1994, p. 411

⁴⁰ *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

the Gulf was much more of a transit nature, aimed at the towns of Mesopotamia and beyond⁴¹. The trade with the Red Sea ports continued longer than that with the East African and Persian Gulf ports where with the 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.⁴²

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 activity⁴³. 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

⁴¹ Ashin Das Gupta, *Merchants of Maritime India:1500-1800*, Varorium, 1994, p. 412

⁴² Ibid, p. 60

⁴³ 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

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 Muhammad Begada, the commerce of Cambay and Gujarat as a whole flourished because of the peace and encouragement extended by the Sultan. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* claimed that craftsmen were highly pleased that the sultan offered them land to settle down in Ahmedabad and Cambay. 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 Champanir⁴⁴. 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 ports 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 Calicut⁴⁵.

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

⁴⁴ V.A.Janaki, *The Commerce of Cambay from the Earliest Period to the 19th century*, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Naroda, Geopgraphy Series No. 10, Baroda, 1980, p.41

⁴⁵ K.S. Mathew, *Portuguese and the Sultanate of Gujarat(1500-1573)*, Mittal Publications, Delhi, 1986, p.12

bazaar was that all sorts of goods and commodities such as cloth, grain, food-stuffs, drugs, sweets, 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 port 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.⁴⁶ According to *Mirat*, at Ahmadabad, the *daribapan* constituted a *mahal* and its annual income was 1,14,000 *dams*.⁴⁷ 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.⁴⁸ *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*.⁴⁹ 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 product 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 together⁵⁰.

⁴⁶M.P.Singh, *Town, Market, Mint and Port in the Mughal Empire: 1556-1707*, Adam Publishing and Distributors, New Delhi, 1985, p. 144

⁴⁷*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

⁴⁸Peter Mundy, Vol.2, p. 189

⁴⁹M.P.Singh, op.cit, p. 144

⁵⁰Ibid, pp.138-146

The banking and credit system of India was relatively well developed in Gujarat, because of the convergence of international trade in its ports. The bankers or the *sarrafs* transmitted money through their own *hundis* and also financed commerce, particularly long distance trade and international commerce.⁵¹ 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 system⁵². In a document in “*Lekhapaddhati*”⁵³ dated 1231, it is revealed that in the post 10th century, in Western India, loans could be secured after pledging land, house and chattel.⁵⁴ 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.⁵⁵

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 economy⁵⁶

⁵¹ 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

⁵² 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

⁵³ *Lekhapaddhati: Documents of State and everyday life from ancient and early medieval Gujarat: 9th to 15th century* ed. Pushpa Prasad, Oxford University Press, 2007

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 18, 23

⁵⁵ 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

⁵⁶ M.N.Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, 1976, p. 24

C. 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.⁵⁷ 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. 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. He divided the Hindus into 7 classes among which *thakurs* were placed on the first rank. From this group the ruler was chosen, followed by the Brahmins who did not take liquor and they were followed by the kshatriyas. The next position was held the husbandmen, vaisyas and the last two classes belonged to the menials. The merchant community was quite numerous.⁵⁸ 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.

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 Indians⁵⁹. 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.⁶⁰ Suleiman in his *Relations of Voyages of the Arabs and the Persians in India and China* describes the people of

⁵⁷ V.A. Janaki, *Gujarat As the Arabs Knew it: A Study in Historical Geography*, Maharaja Sayajirao University Baroda, 1969, p. 71

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p. 71-72

⁵⁹ 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

⁶⁰ V.K.Jain, *Trade and Traders in Western India-1000-1300*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publication, New Delhi, 1990, p. 224

Gujarat as Buddhists and believer of rebirth. The rulers did not view wars to be the only way of conquests,⁶¹ 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. Many Hindus in order to fulfill their vows used to crawl, or go upon their heads, as they viewed that touching the temple ground with feet was an act of disrespect.⁶² Rashidu-din⁶³ 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 rich and happy and during the four seasons, no less than seventy different sorts of roses used to blossom in this country.⁶⁴

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 circuit; 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 on 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 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, woolen cloth and dyes⁶⁵. The Muslim traders generally the Bohras and the

⁶¹ V.A. Janaki, *Gujarat As the Arabs Knew it: : A Study in historical geography*, Maharaja Sayajirao University Baroda, 1969, p. 15

⁶² *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

⁶³ *Ibid*, p. 67

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p. 67

⁶⁵ 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

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.⁶⁶

The discussion would not be complete without a brisk description of two important pre-Portuguese centres of trade in Gujarat: Cambay and Ahmedabad. Cambay was one of the most famous sea ports of Gujarat at that time and the latter was a new trading centre, flourishing and developing under the royal patronage of the Muzzafarids and because of its strategic geo-physical location.

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 Mecca⁶⁷. When Al Beruni visited India, Cambay had become the chief port of the Solanki dynasty.⁶⁸ By the first half of the 12th century, Siddharaj Solanki had been controlling the trade routes leading to the Gujarat plain.⁶⁹ 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 there was peace in Cambay.⁷⁰ The ruler Sidhraj Solanki paid great attention to the welfare of the Arab merchants and the

⁶⁶ 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

⁶⁷ 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

⁶⁸ 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

⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 14

⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 15

allowed them to build mosques in his kingdom⁷¹. 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 of horses with Persian isles, Bahrain and Hormuz. During the reign of Atabak Abu Bakr 10,000 horses worth 2200000 *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 temples⁷².

Marco Polo⁷³ 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.⁷⁴ Al Idrisi mentions that indigo and Indian cane were supplied to Cambay from the surrounding regions.⁷⁵ In the 12th century rice and wheat and Indian cane are mentioned as the chief exports of Cambay although merchandise of every kind and country was found in the town⁷⁶. 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. Gujarat is naturally one of the most fruitful provinces

⁷¹Ibid, p.15

⁷² 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

⁷³*The Travels of Marco Polo, The Venetian*, translated by John Masefield, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2003, p.386

⁷⁴ 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.

⁷⁵ Aniruddha Ray and Sinnappah Arasaratnam, *Masulipatnam and Cambay: A History of two port towns 1500-1800*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi. 1994, p. 120

⁷⁶ 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.17

in India...”.⁷⁷ Fruits like mangoes and tamarinds grew spontaneously and there were also few pomegranates, grapes and limes⁷⁸. 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.⁷⁹ Carnelians, agates, and the beautifully variegated stones improperly called mocha stones, formed a valuable part of the trade. They were found in the Rajpilee Hills and were cut and polished in Cambay.⁸⁰ 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.⁸¹ 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 and many more artillery 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.⁸²

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 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

⁷⁷James 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

⁷⁸ Ibid, p.19

⁷⁹ *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

⁸⁰ 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

⁸¹ V.A. Janaki, *Gujarat As the Arabs Knew it: : A Study in historical geography*, Maharaja Sayajirao University Baroda, 1969, p. 40

⁸² Ibid, p. 41

helped in the growth of its economy.⁸³ 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.⁸⁴ 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 developed in the old trading site of Asaval.⁸⁵ Asaval had been widely discussed by mostly all the Arab travelers. Al Beruni was the first to mention about Asaval.⁸⁶ Al-Idrisi mentions that it was a city with good trade and with a considerable population.⁸⁷ 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 Anhilawad Patan to Cambay. It was known as Asapalli and was the capital of the Bhillam principality during Karna's rule(1064-1094).⁸⁸ 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. 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

⁸³ 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

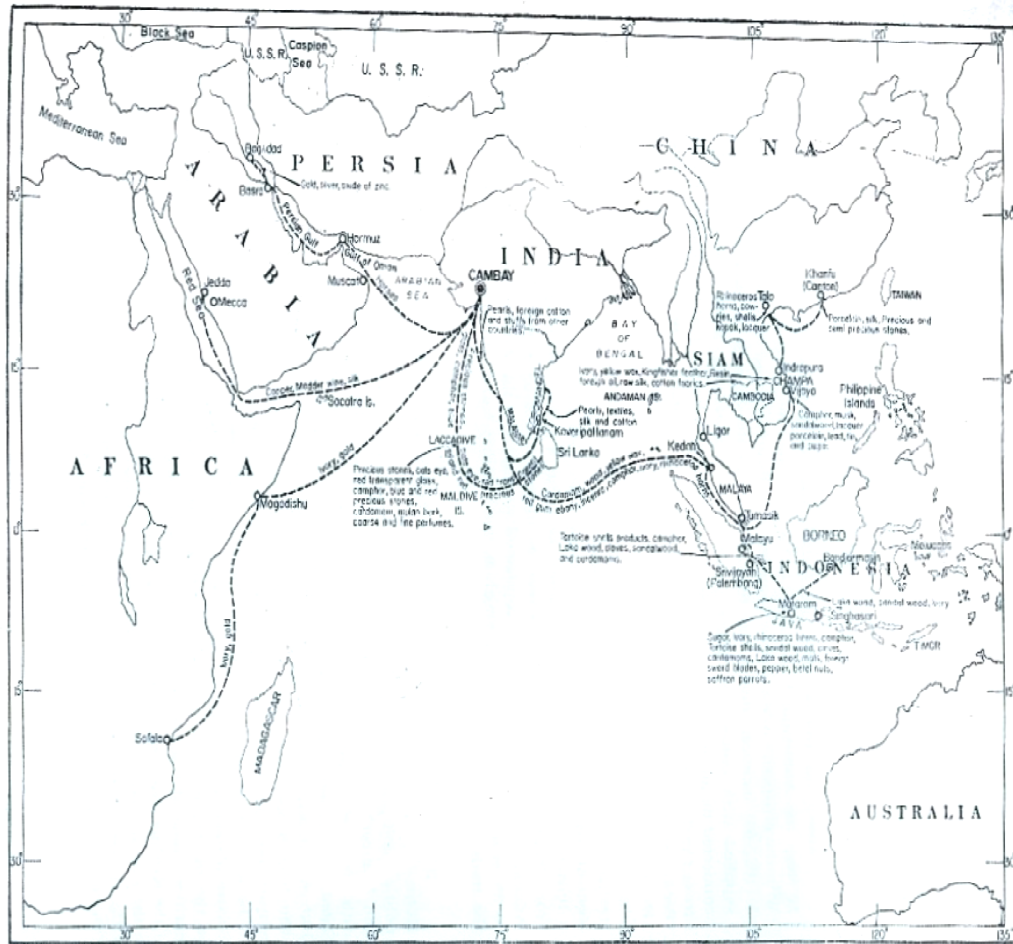
⁸⁴ Kenneth Mc Pherson, *The Indian Ocean: A History of People and Sea*, in *Maritime India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2004, p. 19

⁸⁵ V.A. Janaki, *Gujarat As the Arabs Knew it: : A Study in historical geography*, Maharaja Sayajirao University Baroda, 1969, p.41

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, p. 41

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, p. 41

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p. 42



IMPORTS OF GUJARAT FROM 10TH TO 16TH CENTURY

(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. 13)

though Karnavati was founded as a new town by this time, the contemporary writers still called it as Asawal and not Karnavati.⁸⁹

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. He was ambitious to be the founder of a great line of kings and he wanted to replace the old Hindu capital of Anhilvad Patan.⁹⁰ 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.⁹¹

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.⁹² Mandelslo remarked that the foreign bills of exchange could be procured in Ahmedabad since the baniyas had correspondents in places as far as Constantinople⁹³. 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..."⁹⁴ The strategic geographical position of Ahmedabad also helped in its growth as an

⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 42

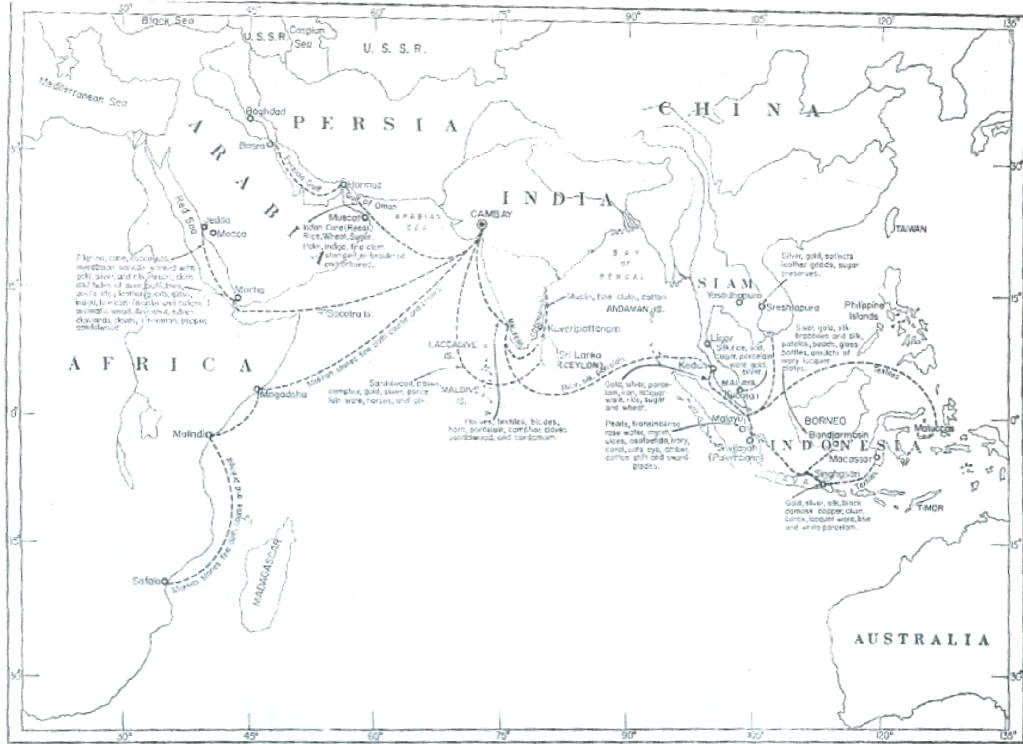
⁹⁰ Kenneth L. Gillion, *Ahmedabad* ,University of California Press, Los Angeles, 1968, p. 14

⁹¹ Ibid, pp 15-16

⁹² Ibid, p. 15

⁹³ M.S.Commissariat(ed.), *Mandeslo's Travels in Western India(1638-1639)*,Asian Education Services, New Delhi, 1995, p.28

⁹⁴ James Forbe, *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



EXPORTS OF GUJARAT FROM 10TH TO 14TH CENTURY

(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)

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.⁹⁵

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 overland⁹⁶. Firishtah wrote: "it is hardly necessary to add that this, on the whole, was the most handsome city of Hindoostan and perhaps the world⁹⁷. Most of the houses were built of brick and mortar and were tiled.

Cesar Fredericke thought that it was very well made for a city of gentiles and was astonished with the amount of trade happening with Cambay.⁹⁸ Visitors were amazed by the beauty of Ahmedabad. 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.⁹⁹ 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.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵V.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

⁹⁶ Kenneth L. Gillion, *Ahmedabad*, University of California Press, Los Angeles, 1968, p.14

⁹⁷ 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

⁹⁸ 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

⁹⁹ Kenneth L. Gillion, *op.cit*, p. 16

¹⁰⁰ *ibid*, pp.16-17

One of the most important developing port towns on the eve of Portuguese arrival was **Diu**. Diu 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 factory¹⁰¹. 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. 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 Dwarka¹⁰². Ayaz also built a fort which was later reconstructed by the Portuguese. 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 harbor so as to prevent the Portuguese ships from entering. He also constructed a substantial bridge over the creek which then ran into the island¹⁰³. He also developed a strong naval force and also army to safeguard the interests of the merchants. Consequently with the increasing accumulation of mercantile wealth, Diu evolved as one of the richest provinces of Gujarat Sultanate. A lot of textiles were taken from Diu during this

¹⁰¹ K.S.Mathew, *Portuguese and the Sultanate of Gujarat*, Mittal Publications, Delhi, 1985, p. 26

¹⁰² *Ibid*, p. 151-152

¹⁰³ 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

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.¹⁰⁴

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 *Lembrancas 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 Ayaz¹⁰⁵. Diu with its very good harbor located out of the tides of Gulf of Cambay was becoming another most important port town of Gujarat. The silting of the port of Cambay was another reason which paved the way for the growth of Diu, which was further taken forward by the Portuguese.

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,

¹⁰⁴ 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

¹⁰⁵ K.S. Mathew, *Portuguese and the Sultanate of Gujarat(1500-1573)*, Mittal Publications, Delhi, 1986, pp. 148-149

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 there¹⁰⁶. 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.¹⁰⁷

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.¹⁰⁸ But the trade of Surat came to be some significance during the time between the 10th and the 12th centuries. Some of the Arab travelers of the 10th century mention it as Surbaya and Ghorī attacked it in 1194.¹⁰⁹ 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.¹¹⁰ 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.¹¹¹ Surat had shared the profits of the east west trade along with the other Gujarat ports at least during the period of the

¹⁰⁶ *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, tr. Mansel Longworth Dames, Vol.1, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 145-148

¹⁰⁷ M.S. Commissariat, *A History of Gujarat, Including a survey of its Chief Architectural Monuments and Inscriptions*, Longman Green and Co. , Bombay, 1938, p. 265

¹⁰⁸ 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

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*,p. 26

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 11

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 29

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.¹¹² 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 industries¹¹³. 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 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.¹¹⁴

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

¹¹² Ibid, p. 28

¹¹³ 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

¹¹⁴ *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, trans. Mansel Longworth Dames, Vol1, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1989 p. 149

town depended on the best known baftas and its weaving industry. Broach exported clothes to Mocha, Mozambique and the South Java¹¹⁵.

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 Barygaza¹¹⁶. The maritime activity of Broach continued unabated and Hiun Tsiang, in 640 A.D. wrote the sole profit of the people of Broach comes from the sea.¹¹⁷ This glory continued till the early medieval period and under the Rajput rulers from Anhilwara, Broach continued to flourish.¹¹⁸ 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.¹¹⁹ Ain 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 to 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

¹¹⁵ Fransico Pelsaert, *Jahangir's India*, tr. W.H. Moreland and D. Geyl, Delhi, 1972, p.43

¹¹⁶ *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, tr. Wilfred H. Schoff, New Delhi, 1974, pp. 39-40.

¹¹⁷ V.A. Janaki, *Gujarat as the Arabs Knew it: A Study in Historical Geography*, Maharaja Sayajirao University Baroda, 1969, p. 45

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*, p.45

¹¹⁹ 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

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.

By the end of fifteenth century out of the various trading centres, Diu had emerged as a leading maritime trading centre of Gujarat, as it had a very good harbor and was outside the influence of the dangerous tides and currents of the Gulf of Cambay. Barbosa enumerates a large number of commodities, both raw materials and manufactured goods which were handled for the trade of Diu. The port brought in large amount of revenue to its rulers by virtue of the heavy and precious goods laden and unladen there. Barbosa called the governor of Diu, Malik Ayaz, as a strong industrious man with a 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 harbor.¹²⁰ 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 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.¹²¹ Malik Ayaz, generated a huge amount of revenue. He himself was a great trader himself 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 giving¹²². He made Diu the first naval and merchant port of Arabian Sea. 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 fighters¹²³. He is said to have never imposed any undue taxes and ensured

¹²⁰ K.S.Mathew, *Portuguese and the Sultanate of Gujarat*, Mittal Publications, Delhi, 1985, p. 27

¹²¹ Jean Aubin, "Albuquerque et les Negociations de Cambaye", *Mare Luso Indicum*, Vol.1,1971, p. 9

¹²² 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

¹²³ Jean Aubin, op.cit, p.7

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. But due to the prosperity, many old ports lost its prominence and one among them was Surat under Malik Gopi. The Portuguese leadership was also dissatisfied against him as he stood as a protector of Diu and it hampered their interests in the region.¹²⁴ 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.¹²⁵ Ayaz was a very ambitious and world class leader who a year before he died tried to prevent the Portuguese from building a base at Chaul, which is located near Diu.¹²⁶ 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.

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 Muzzafarid rulers of Gujarat, who in turn appointed 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.

¹²⁴ Ibid, p. 12

¹²⁵ Ibid, p. 8

¹²⁶ K.S. Mathew, op.cit, p. 36

Chapter 2

Entry of the Portuguese and the Trade Circuits of Diu

The attempts of the Portuguese to monopolistically control the Indian Ocean trade created ripples not only in the oceanic trading networks but also in the littoral states, which used to actively take part directly or indirectly in the resource-mobilizations oriented towards maritime trade. The Portuguese on their arrival in coastal western India focused on three major geo-physical zones, which then had the highest potential for maritime trade: on the one hand they occupied the major spice ports of Kerala either by conquest or by peace alliances for the purpose of controlling the highly profitable spice trade with Europe. On the other hand they extended their control over the existing maritime trading centres, which then provided maritime outlets for a multiple variety of textiles manufactured in the hinterland. The ports of Chaul (1521), which then was controlled by the Ahmednagar ruler, Bassein, Diu and Daman controlled by the Muzzafarid sultan of Gujarat were occupied in quick succession by the Portuguese in their attempts to establish hold over textile trade of coastal western India. The occupation of Goa in 1510, which was of equidistance from Malabar and Gujarat, had already enabled the Portuguese to interfere effectively in the commercial movements from both these regions. The resourcefulness of these three geophysical zones made the Portuguese develop them as the core areas of their activities on the west coast of India. In this process they eventually realized that the control of Indian Ocean trade could be made effective and possible only by ensuring hold over Gujarati trade, for which the former made continuous efforts by grabbing the major commercial enclaves of the Muzzafarid ruler.

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 spice 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. 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 appearance of the Portuguese on the trading scenario of India necessitated some readjustments in the existing pattern of trade of the region. The attempts to augment profit from spice trade made the Portuguese incorporate into their system of commerce the strands of trade with east Africa, which supplied bullions needed for purchasing spices from Malabar. This in turn made them take measures to control the trade of Gujarati, whose textiles actually decided the intensity and frequency of bullion flow to India for making this circuit complete.¹ However the Muzaffarids and their power sharers, who benefited immensely out of the lucrative maritime trade of the region strongly resisted the agenda of the Portuguese and the power sharers like Malik Ayaz, the governor of Diu, even formed a larger mercantile alliance incorporating the support of Venetians, the Mamluks of Egypt, Zamorin of Calicut and the Ottomans in 1508 to fight against the Portuguese and to sabotage their mercantile agenda.²

I. Portuguese Moves to Capture the Ports of Gujarat

The Portuguese who established their headquarters, both political and commercial, at Cochin were convinced of the fact that without having Diu and other port towns of Gujarat they could not establish a strict monopoly on trade with India and their eyes were fixed to Diu as 'key to Indian Ocean trade'.³ Diu, at the southernmost part of the

¹ 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, pp.207-210

² K.S.Mathew, "The First Mercantile the Indian Ocean: The Afro- Asian Front against the Portuguese Battle in, 1508-1509", A Paper presented in the *II Seminario Internacional da Historia Indo-Portuguesa* , *Actas*, Lisboa, 1985, pp.179-82

³ 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

curve of Saurashtra coast, was a natural port. It was well suited for anchorage of large ships and an island protected its harbor. However, it had no protected hinterland of any consequences, since Ahmedabad was quite some distance away and the route passed through the territories of various chieftains.⁴

In the early years of Portuguese trade, the ports of Gujarat, particularly Diu and Cambay, showed a great demand for copper brought from Portugal.⁵ Very often the Marakkar traders like Cherina Marakkar and the Jewish traders of Cochin used to purchase copper from the Portuguese factory of Cochin and take it to the Gujarati ports for re-sale.⁶ However the attempts of the Portuguese to appropriate the Indian Ocean trade on a monopolistic basis with the help of controlling mechanisms like *cartaz-armada* and a chain of fortresses negatively affected the fortunes of the Mamluks, the Ottomans, the Venetians, the Muzaffarids and the Zamorin of Calicut, who soon formed a joint naval force to oust the Portuguese from the waters of India. The Sultan of Cairo made a treaty with the Zamorin of Calicut, the Turks and the Sultan of Gujarat for a joint operation to drive the Portuguese away from the Indian Ocean. He appointed Amir Hussain, the governor of Jeddah and sent him as the captain of the fleet to India. There were about 1500 men in the fleet of Amir Hussain. The united fleet reached Aden in 1507 on the way to India. Sultan Begara of Gujarat appointed Malik Ayaz, to command his fleet. The rulers of Ahmednagar and Bijapur, the rulers of Chaul and Dabhol respectively extended their support to the joint fleet. The united fleet of the Indians and the Egyptians met the Portuguese fleet at Chaul in 1508. The Portuguese on their turn mobilized a sizeable fighting force to counter the attacks of the Afro-Asian forces near the coast of Gujarat and the Portuguese fleet was led by Dom Lourenco, son of the then Portuguese Viceroy, Francisco da Almeida. In this battle, the Portuguese commander died, and the Portuguese army surrendered to Malik Ayaz. But the success of the joint forces was only of a short span, as Almeida did not let his son's death to be un-revenged. He proceeded towards north from

⁴Shireen Moosvi, *People, Taxation and Trade in Mughal India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2008, p. 289

⁵ Pius Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India, 1500-1663*, New Delhi, 2000, p.113

⁶ K.S.Mathew, *Portuguese Trade with India in the 16th Century*, Manohar, Delhi, 1983, p.175

Cannanore on December 12, 1508 with 1200 men and 19 vessels, among which 400 men were from Malabar. Zamorin, despite the Portuguese threats, informed Amir Hussain in Diu of the Portuguese mobilization for attacks on Egypt and Gujarat. However, the Asian forces were unable to stand in front of the aggressive Portuguese attack under Almeida. The Viceroy after having avenged Dabhol for helping Malik Ayaz and Amir Hussain, proceeded to Diu, where he reached on February 2, 1509. In spite of the Portuguese blockade the Zamorin had sent 100 paraos to Diu. But the Portuguese completely defeated the joint forces of the Egyptians, the Venetians and the Indians and consequently, Malik Ayaz agreed to surrender Diu and give tributes to the king of Portugal.⁷

Though the Asian forces were able to stop the Portuguese advances for a short span of time, they could not keep them away from Indian waters as the joint forces were soon defeated by the Portuguese. This battle showed the entire western world the weaknesses of the Asian powers in front of their European counterpart. The booty that was collected by the Portuguese during this battle was quite considerable. They took four war ships and as many as merchant men and artillery. Moreover, they confiscated a considerable quantity of gold, silver and precious stuffs and clothes, all of which was distributed among the soldiers and the ships' crew with sultans gifts were sent to the king of Portugal, as a memorabilia for a remarkable victory.⁸

By the treaty concluded between Malik Ayaz and the Portuguese, the former agreed to pay annually a certain amount of money as tribute to the latter. However the Portuguese, focusing then only on sea-based navigational activities, did not develop the notion of territorial possessions in the East and hence they did not want to keep Diu as a part of their territory. Tribute from Malik Ayaz appeared to be the easiest form of maneuvering that they wanted to resort to in Diu in the initial phase. Meanwhile the Portuguese in the process of establishing their foothold in the major port towns of India and controlling the trade of Indian Ocean started issuing passes or cartazes from 1502 to various categories of Indian traders who were supportive of

⁷ Ibid, pp. 40-41

⁸ 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, Asian educational Services, Vol.3, New Delhi, 2000, p. 587



SITUATED AT A STRATEGIC LOCATION THE DIU FORT GAURDED THE
CITY FROM THREE SIDES

Portuguese commercial system. The Portuguese first issued cartazes to ships from Malabar and later on from Coromandel and Gujarat. Though *cartaz* system meant to a certain degree an attempt to control the trade in the Indian Ocean, it also made the native traders converge at Portuguese enclaves for obtaining *cartazes* and made them participate in the strand of commerce that ultimately supported the Portuguese trading system.⁹

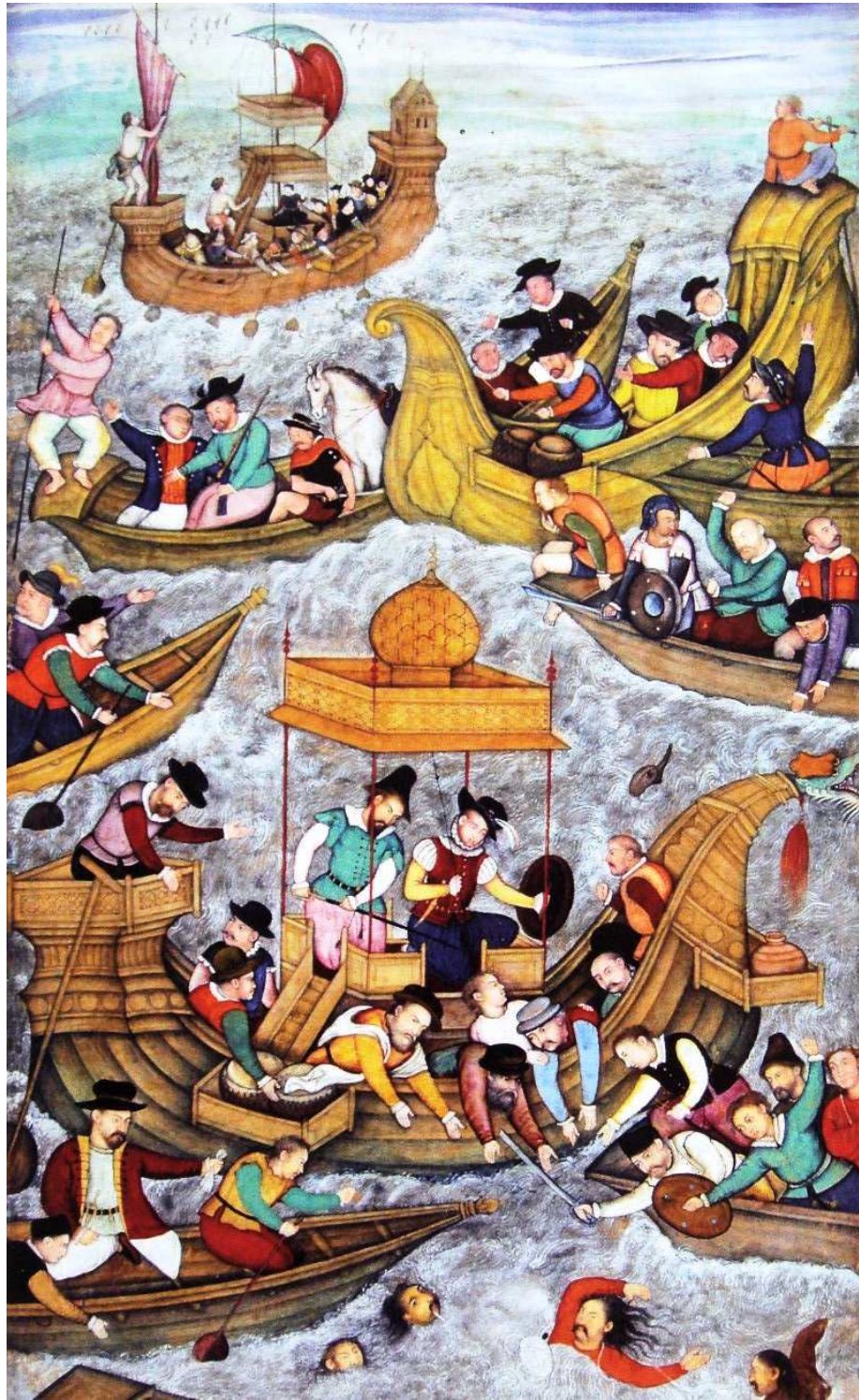
However later from 1510 onwards, with the introduction of the notion of a centralized territorial empire in the east during the time of Afonso Albuquerque, the Portuguese started occupying resourceful territories after territories and mercantile enclaves after enclaves that would constitute geo-physically an empire-like territorial possessions for them. Against the background of this new drive, the Portuguese tried to intervene in areas and issues that would yield commercial profit to them. The most opportune time that the Portuguese got to interfere in the affairs of Gujarat was when the conflict between the Muzaffrid ruler of Gujarat and Mughal ruler Humayun reached a peak point. King Bahadur Shah of Gujarat gave asylum to Mirza Zaman, a relative of Humayun, who fled after having tried to kill the ruler. This ushered in a phase of conflict between the Mughals and the Gujarati sultan. The Portuguese in lieu of giving protection to the Gujarati ruler from the attacks of Humayun, received from him the trading centres of Bassein(1534) and Diu(1534).¹⁰ On 25th October 1535, Nuno da Cunha erected a fortress at Diu , on the spot conceded by Bahadur Shah.¹¹

In fact Botelho had started working on the plan of Diu from 1524 onwards. From the moment the work began on Diu fort, the Portuguese had to fight against all odds till it was finished under Nuno da Cunha. In the fort and in the outlying work in the harbor there was accommodated a garrison of 900 men with 60 pieces of artillery, many matchlocks and abundant supplies. Later Manuel de Sousa was appointed the captain.

⁹ For details see Luis Filipe F.R.Thomaz, "Precedents and Parallels of the Portuguese Cartaz System", in Pius Malekandathil and Jamal Mohammed (eds.), *The Portuguese, Indian Ocean and European Bridgehead: Festschrift in Honour of Prof. K.S. Mathew*. Fundação Oriente, Lisbon/ IRISH, Tellicherry, 2001, pp.67-83; Pius Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India*, Manohar, New Delhi, pp. 125-127

¹⁰ Pius Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade*, Manohar, New Delhi, p.150

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.150



DEATH OF BAHADUR SHAH

SOURCE: greatbattles.iblogger.com

But it was soon realized that defeating Mughals was not an easy job and even if they did so, Bahadur Shah would be disinterested in letting them occupy Bassein and Diu. Hence the Portuguese did almost nothing to stop the Mughals and Bahadur Shah with his own troops was able to stop the Mughal force and Humayun himself had to be recalled by Delhi. The final point of contention between the Portuguese and the Gujarat Sultan came when the Portuguese refused to allow Bahadur Shah to erect a wall between the city and the Portuguese fort in Diu.¹² Henceforth the Portuguese had started considering Diu as their territorial possession without allowing the local ruler to interfere in its affairs. However, soon with the death of Bahadur Shah, the Portuguese felt that the potential threat to Diu had already disappeared.

II. Constructing a Portuguese Base at Diu

In the initial phase of the Portuguese occupation of Diu, the Portuguese had to face difficulties in adapting to the local environment and in making themselves acceptable to the local people. Diu, which was under the Gujarati Sultan Bahadur Shah felt that their ruler had been deceived, and that the intention of the Portuguese from the very beginning was to take possession of the fort and not to protect their Sultan. The Portuguese in Diu, thus, lived in constant fears from the neighbours in the city. The captain of the fort had forbidden any Portuguese from going not more than a stone's throw from the walls and a heavy fine was put on those who went against it. But despite this strict order, there were many cases of riots and conflicts that took place between the locals and the Portuguese.¹³

The Muzzafarids and the Mughals could have easily ousted the Portuguese from Gujarat. The two sieges of Diu failed(1538 and 1546); but it is interesting to note that the native opposition never showed their real strength. The Portuguese position in western Indian was vulnerable and had there been a joint action against the Portuguese from the governors of Cambay, Diu and Broach and coordinated attack from all the sections of the Indian aristocracy, the Portuguese trade and their supplies could have easily stopped and their position would have been pitiable. Only a small

¹² R.S. Whiteway, *Rise of the Portuguese Power*, Janaki Prakashan, Patna, pp. 241-244

¹³ *Ibid*, p. 253



CITY WALL OF DIU

portion of the Gujarati nobles challenged the Portuguese power in the region.¹⁴ The Indian rulers also thought the sea to be the merchant's domain. Thus the interference from the Mughals or the Gujarati sultan was always less in the initial period. Though the ships of Indian traders had to pay to the Portuguese for the *cartazes*, they still had to pay to the governors of the non- Portuguese ports. Thus neither the Governors of the ports nor the ruler of Gujarat ever lost their revenue or suffered an economic loss in the scenario.¹⁵

In Gujarat on the west coast of India, Portuguese had four very important centres viz., Bassein, Daman, Chaul and Diu. As we had seen, Diu and Bassein were ceded to the Portuguese by the Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat in 1534 and latter seems to have been acquired for the two reasons. First to secure the supply lines of Goa which suffered from a deficit of food and second to provide a means to pamper the residual seigniorial pretensions of the *fidalgos* (Portuguese nobles) who were given estates. Chaul's fort was built as early as 1521, and it was meant to act together with Diu to serve as a check on Gujarati mercantile activity between the Indian west coast and ports that were identified as inimical to the Portuguese¹⁶.

Out of these Portuguese enclaves Diu banking very much upon the trade and sustained by connectivities with the rich hinterland of Gujarat evolved as the principal Portuguese base on the Gujarati coast. Several civil, ecclesiastical and educational institutions to convert the human geography into Lusitanian were established in quick succession. Neither the Muzzafarids nor their commercial allies the Ottoman Turks could tolerate the loss of Diu to the Portuguese, who by this time had developed it as a major port in the western Indian Ocean.

In 1538 the Muzzafarids and their power sharers wanted to recapture Diu from the Portuguese and the Turks under Suleiman Pasha set sail from Suez in March 1538 on their invitation to lay siege on the Portuguese enclave of Diu. The Turkish forces

¹⁴ 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. 86

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 86-87

¹⁶ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia: 1500-1700: A Political and Economic History*, Longman, London, 1993, p. 74

and all possible resources in arms and ammunitions.¹⁷ When the Turks attacked Diu, Gujarat was already in a very disturbed state. Diu was not regularly besieged, but a Gujarat force, under Ali Khan, stationed on the outskirts of the town and cut off the supply of provision of the town. A truce was concluded but it failed to bring any peace in the region.¹⁸ The Turks made preparations for attacking Diu for the second time and took every possible step to stop this news from going out. Though the Portuguese had obtained some news about the ongoing preparations through their spy-network, the death of Bahadur Shah came as a discouragement to the Turks to carry on with the attack and believing so, the Portuguese king suspended the preparations for attacking Diu and cancelled the reinforcement which he was to send to India. Diu was attacked on June 24th, 1538 under Sifr Agha, the Portuguese appointed commander of Diu fort and Ali Khan with a large number of forces. The Portuguese realized that their force was too small to defend the fort and on 9th August they retreated from the city, a retreat which took place under disorder and confusion and in which there were considerable loss in artillery and ammunition.¹⁹ When Sifr Agha had waged the attack on the Diu fort, the fort was very poorly manned with 800 Portuguese soldiers of whom 600 were fighting slaves, 200 Goa craftsmen and a large number of women and ordinary slaves. Thus the Portuguese defense at that time was very weak. The Turkish fleet under Suleiman Pasha on the other hand consisted of 1,500 Janissaries, 2,000 Turks and 3000 other soldiers. Though Suleiman had planned to defeat the Portuguese fleet rather than taking possession of a fort, his orders were disobeyed and Diu was captured. Consequently Suleiman Pasha left with his artillery on November 6th which was followed by the removal of the Gujarati fleets from the region. On 20th November, 1538, the Portuguese had sent reimbursement from Goa, which reached Diu only in 1539. The fortress was rebuilt, stronger than before and peace was signed with the Sultan of Gujarat on 11th March, 1539. Under the treaty, a wall of 4 cubits high was to be erected between the fortress and the town, custom house receipts would be shared and one-third would be paid to the Portuguese. This

¹⁷Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *L'Economie de L'empire Portugais aux XVe et XVIe Siècles*, Paris, 1969 p. 763

¹⁸R.S. Whiteway, *Rise of the Portuguese Power*, Janaki Prakashan, Patna, 1979, p. 254

¹⁹Ibid, p. 255



ARTILLERY HOUSE AT DIU FORT



SIEGE OF DIU BY TURKS IN 1538

http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00routesdata/1700_1799/malabar/diu/diu.html

treaty though brought peace between the two was not able to cure the mistrust that had arisen because of the conflict and tension.²⁰

This siege of Diu showed the military failures from the Turkish point of view. The power of the Turks was in their artillery, their metals were heavy and their gunners were exceptionally well trained. The reason for the defeat of the Turks was its heterogeneous composition of the soldier and also the fact that each one of them had different reasons for attacking Diu and their only common bond was hatred against the Portuguese. They lacked unity.²¹ On the other hand, even the weak Portuguese forces showed much great solidarity and unity and all the members of the forts, including the women of the fort, fought with the aim of saving the fort from the hands of the Turks. Later with the lifting of Ottoman siege on Diu in 1546 by Joao de Castro with the help of city-dwellers of Goa and Cochin, the menace from the Muzzafarids and the Ottomans on the Portuguese enclave of Diu was permanently removed.²² Eventually the flame of crusading spirit among the Portuguese began to get subsided and interests of trade began to dominate their relations with commercial pockets controlled by Muslims, particularly in Hormuz and the Persian Gulf.²³

III. Wheels of Portuguese Commerce

The Portuguese system of commerce depended very much on the notion of monopoly trade for the Lusitanians and licenced (*cartaz*-based) trade for the Asians. In fact 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. As early as 1512, no less than 50 Portuguese ships were being used to enforce the regulations imposed by the *cartazes*. Even so, such control was by no means complete. Throughout the 16th century, as in later centuries many Asian traders

²⁰ Ibid, p. 266

²¹ Ibid, p. 257

²² Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India: Trade , Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, Primus, New Delhi, pp. 116-7

²³ Godinho, op.cit., p. 764

could do without the Europeans, while no European could do without the Asian. Few Portuguese country ships and more than two Europeans aboard and even fewer carried cargo wholly owned by the Europeans.²⁴ 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 Portuguese²⁵. Though, the implementation *cartazes* was most successful in the west coast of India where the purchase of a license at the nearest Portuguese fortress was standard practice throughout the late 16th century and into the 17th century, there are evidences in the history which shows that the Portuguese were not completely successful in controlling the Indian Ocean trade. Thus despite Pedro de Albuquerque's blockade of Cape Guardafui in 1514, forty boats laden with copper passed from Aden to Diu.²⁶ However, the inhabitants of Diu were exempted from paying for any *cartazes*.²⁷

The role of the *cartazes* in the commercial growth of Diu in the 16th century is immense. 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. Meanwhile 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"²⁸. These officers would charge the crew on board after making an assessment of the volume of goods that they were carrying with them.²⁹ Bayazid Bayat, a Mughal notable, while

²⁴ Sinnappah Arasaratnam, *Maritime India in the Seventeenth century*, University Press, New Delhi, 2004, p.268

²⁵ 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

²⁶ 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. 11

²⁷ R.J. Barendse, *The Arabian Seas: The Indian Ocean World of 17th century*, Vision Books New Delhi, 2002, p. 326

²⁸ Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam(ed.), *Indo Persian Travels in the Age of Discoveries*, Cambridge University Press, 2007, p. 306

²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 306



SENTRY AT THE COMMERCIAL HIGHWAY

giving description of his journey 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 paid for everyone on board and then he was allowed to travel from there. In fact, this was only one instance which shows the importance of Diu toll and its collection, being a bone of contention in the future between the Mughals and the Portuguese. But at the same time, there existed a certain amount of mutual co-operation and accommodation.³⁰ After the Mughal conquest of Sind, the Portuguese were allotted a *farman* to settle there in 1584. They were to pay 3% customs and were free of other imposts and horses were also permitted to be imported free of charge. In return, the Portuguese were to hand three *cartazes* to the ships of Mughal emperor, whose passage should not be hampered by the tax-farmers.³¹

But the *cartazes* did not imply complete peaceful exchange of goods between the traders and the Portuguese. There were many complaints being found about the abuses and ill treatment of merchants and attacks on ships by the Portuguese. The commanders of Portuguese fortress and officials preyed on local commerce and shipping- in the name of the crown instructions and privileges for the benefit of their personal business ventures.³² Being a small country and overburdened with military expenses, they were always in need of quick money. As they realized that only peaceful trade was not profitable, the Portuguese carried on piracy along with the commercial activities.³³

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

³⁰ Barendse, op. cit. ,p. 344

³¹ M.N. Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers In Gujarat, The Response to the Portuguese In The 16th century*, New Delhi, 1976, pp. 82-83

³² 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.27

³³ 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. 12

to call at Diu. In one of such instances one of the Portuguese captains used his fleet to protect the transgressing Indian trader not only from pirates but also from other more law abiding Portuguese ships. The most common means of supplementing income was forced trade. A local merchant would be forced to sell his products at low prices or to buy a product he did not want. Complaints about these abuses in Diu date from 1540 onwards and they continued to increase in frequency from late 16th century, as well.³⁴

European participation in the country trade till the close of the 16th century was almost exclusive to the Portuguese. Although there were evidences of the presence of country traders and other European nationalities before 1600, they were not that large in number. The Carracks of the *Carreira da India* that made the round voyages between Lisbon and Goa to be the only European ships plying the eastern seas. Among these two categories should be distinguished between those licensed by the crown or managed by the domiciled Portuguese and *mestizos*, i.e., the Eurasians. By 1600, the ships used on the specific voyage had ceased to be owned by the crown. From 1540 onwards these voyages were farmed out to leading officials at Goa or Macao or even granted to court favourites, who never left home but sold the grant to such officials.³⁵

These were the 'plums' of the Portuguese trading system from which fortunes were made, the most lucrative of all being the voyage from Goa to Japan via Macao. The concession of the voyage from Hormuz to Cochin was equally valuable. Similar restricted voyages were made from Goa to Sofala, Banda and Siam, the grantee or even the crown often sold such a voyage to the highest bidder, provided they did not compete with the voyages of the domiciled Portuguese especially the *casados* or married men of Goa.³⁶ At least since 1523 individual Portuguese had been emigrating to Goa and other places with the intent on carrying out country trading careers. The Portuguese country trading community in Cambay comprised of 100 families in

³⁴ M.N. Pearson, *Coastal Western India: Studies from the Portuguese Records*, Concept Publishing House, New Delhi, p.23

³⁵ Sinnappah Arasaratnam, *Maritime India in the Seventeenth century*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2004, p. 266

³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 266



IMPORTS OF GUJARAT IN THE 16TH CENTURY

(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.30)

1594.³⁷ By 1600, the Portuguese had built up a small country trading fleet and had a century of experience in controlling through *cartazes* the Asian owned and Asian controlled country shipping which far outnumbered their fleet in number, size and tonnage. The country trade, to and fro from western India, financed by Gujarat alone then amounted to 80 million rupees a year.³⁸

One of the major part of the Portuguese state's maritime resources were concentrated on the West Indian coast. The Portuguese in Asia not only managed a substantial seaborne trade, but from the early 16th century claimed lordship over the Asian seas through the imposition of *cartazes* or the transit duties. The Portuguese though derived a considerable amount from the land revenues from their settlements, Diu contributed nothing in it. For Diu, the share of land revenue in the total income derived by Portuguese was 0% as compared to 75% by the Bassein, 80% in Ceylon, 90% in Daman and 2% in Goa.³⁹ In the early 1630s, the total revenue generated from Diu was 79,800 *xerafins*, which entirely came from custom duties.⁴⁰ Thus Diu thrived only upon trade and commerce. Commodities like ghee, oil, fish, opium, arrack, betel leaves and horses along with textiles were taxed in Diu.⁴¹ All the people who lived in Diu were engaged in trade in some way or the other and under the policies of the Portuguese it turned out to be one of the most important port –town of the Indian Ocean.

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 which could compete with any contemporary developed port of the world. Ships from Malabar, Bhatkal, Goa, Dabhol and Chaul traded in different sorts of commodities with Diu. From Bhatkal came large volumes of areca-nut, coconut, jaggery, wax, emery, iron

³⁷ Ibid, p. 266

³⁸ Ibid, p. 268

³⁹ A. R. Disney, *The Portuguese in India and other Studies: 1500-1700*, Ashgate Variorum, Surrey, 2009, p. 151

⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 160

⁴¹ K.S. Mathew, *Portuguese and the Sultanate of Gujarat(1500-1573)*, Mittal Publication, Delhi, 1986, p.59

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*.⁴²

The external trade of Diu 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. 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 and also that was imported from Aden. Finer quality of opium was imported from Aden as the opium that grew in Diu was inferior in quality. 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. 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. Bahadur Shah, in 1531, purchased 1,300 *mans* of rosewater of Aden from Diu. It shows the large volume of import-trade happening at Diu.⁴³ Earlier Malik Ayaz used to re-export a large volume of commodities imported from overseas markets fetching huge profits to his treasury. 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.

In the third decade of 16th century the income from Diu alone was 117,000 *cruzados* per year. Around 1537, there were more than 45 rich merchants having Diu as their operational base and each of them had investments of not less than 50,000 to 60,000 *cruzados*. Khwaja Safar, governor of Surat alone had invested more than 600,000 *cruzados* in the trade of Diu alone.⁴⁴ 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

⁴² Ibid, p. 59

⁴³ Ibid, p.57

⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 58



CITY OF DIU IN 1572

SOURCE:http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00routesdata/1700_1799/malabar/diu/diu.html

augment the scale of their profit they resorted to various policies which helped in the development of the trade of Diu.

The enmity between the Portuguese and the local traders had a detrimental effect on the economy of Gujarat. Many flourishing economic centres began to lose their importance. Cambay which was the main trading centre before the arrival of the Portuguese began to decline with the Portuguese capture of Diu in 1535. The dwindling number of ports in Gujarat having commercial relations with overseas markets was a manifestation of decline in her sea-borne trade. This tendency was heightened because of the Portuguese policy of monopolizing certain trade routes and trade in certain merchandise.⁴⁵ But even then the presence of Gujarati ships was traced in Africa and in the ports of the Red Sea region. But then also Cambay had trading relations with Diu. The banias of Cambay continued to maintain their trading relations with Diu and the most traded articles were the calicoes and different types of clothes. Even the traders of Diu used to come up to Surat through the waterways, laden with all sorts of commodities which they exchanged with wheat, linen, rice and coffee- berries.⁴⁶ In the trade between Goa and Diu, Goa played the role of entrepot in the first half 17th century. From Goa, luxury goods derived from all over Asia was sent to Diu, where it was exchanged for indigo, cotton and textiles from Saurashtra and grains, butter and cattle from Kathiawar.⁴⁷ 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.⁴⁸ Even the struggles for succession among the sons of Shah Jahan also hampered the internal trade of Gujarat as political turmoil

⁴⁵ 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. 14

⁴⁶ Philip Baldaeus, *A True and Exact Description of the Most Celebrated East India Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel and also of the Isle of Ceylon*, in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels* comp. A. Churchill and J. Churchill Asian Educational Services, Vol. 3, New Delhi, 2000, pp.566, 573

⁴⁷ Barendse, op. cit. ,p. 355

⁴⁸ Surendra Gopal, op cit, pp. 153-154

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.⁴⁹

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 neighboring ports. The Portuguese were willing to allow Gujaratis to trade in Malacca if they had accepted their conditions and regulations.⁵⁰ 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.⁵¹

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.⁵² The Portuguese tried to overcome the fiscal crisis by resorting to customs collection rather than actual trade.

Duarte Barbosa⁵³ talks about trade between Diu and the Maratha country through the sea routes. Silk, cotton horses, opium, wheat and other items were traded between the

⁴⁹ Ibid, pp. 177-178

⁵⁰ M.N. Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers In Gujarat, The Response to the Portuguese In The 16th century*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Limited, New Delhi, 1976, pp. 103-104

⁵¹ Ibid, p. 87

⁵² 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; George Davison Winius, *The Black Legend of Portuguese India*, XCHR Studies, Series No.3, Concept Publishing House, New Delhi, 1985, p. 54

⁵³ *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, tr. Mansel Longworth Dames, Vol.1, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1989, Vol. 1, p. 159

two. Opium and horses were re-exported. Opium was exported from Bombay although a part of it was indigenous. Horses appeared to have been originally brought from the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf areas with which Diu had active trade contacts.⁵⁴ 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.⁵⁵ Also ships from Diu carried products from Cambay which like works of sequins to Hormuz.⁵⁶ 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 quiet a profitable centre for the Portuguese. Muscat's meager revenue used to reach Diu, 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.⁵⁷ However, Muscat's customs mainly depended on the trade between Basra and West Coast of India. With the loss of Muscat, 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.⁵⁸ The merchants of Diu still occasionally sent ships to Kung and Basra. Most revenues of Muscat were farmed 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.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ Surendra Gopal, *op.cit* ,p. 77

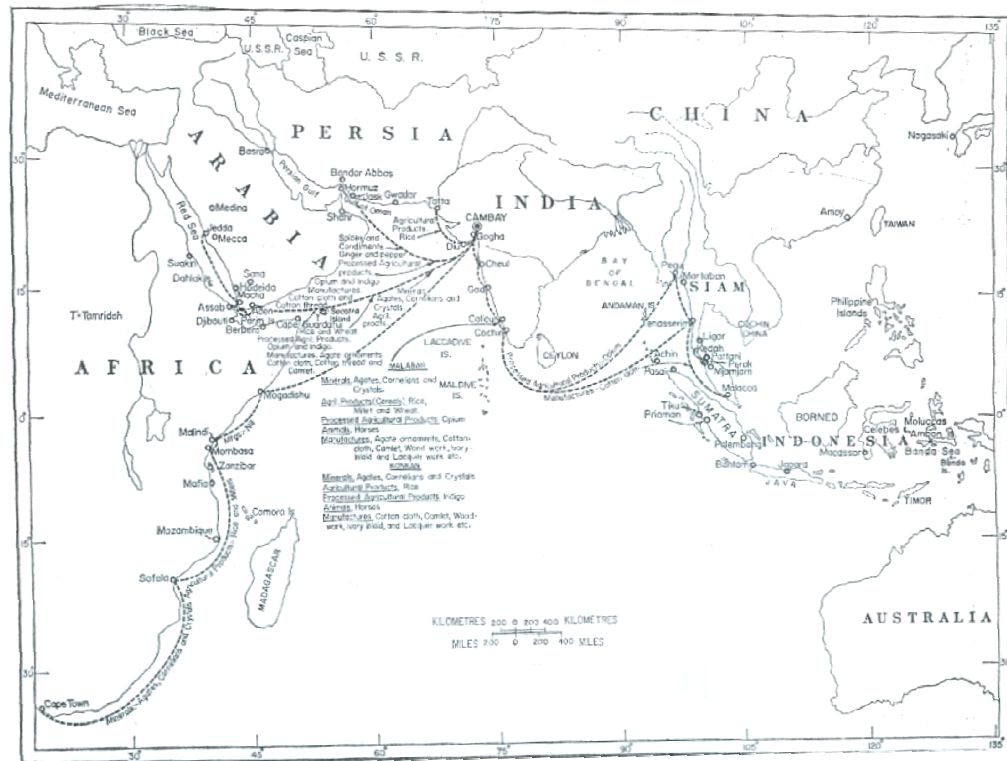
⁵⁵ K.S. Mathew, *Portuguese Trade with India in the 16th Century*, Manohar, Delhi, 1983, p. 59

⁵⁶ *The English Factories in India(1618-1621)*, Ed. William Foster, Oxford, 1923, p. 223

⁵⁷ Barendse, *op. cit.* ,p. 342

⁵⁸ *ibid*, p. 344

⁵⁹*ibid*, p. 344



EXPORTS OF GUJARAT IN THE 16TH CENTURY

(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.34)

The merchants of Chaul and Dabul carried to Diu locally manufactured textiles for sale. If they were unable to dispose of their articles, they sailed with them to the Red Sea and Persian Gulf areas. From Diu, the merchants of Chaul also purchased fine muslin, which they carried to Arabia and Persia where it was in demand for making turbans. Before proceeding to the countries of the Persian Gulf and Red Sea areas, the Chaul and the Dabul merchants used to gather at Diu, to explore first the possibility of sales in overseas markets.⁶⁰ From Chaul Gujarati merchants used to purchase copper which was brought there by the Malabar and the Portuguese. Chaul proved to be a meeting point for traders from Malabar and that of Gujarat. Ships laden with coconuts, spices, drugs, palm sugar used to reach there from Malabar and were bartered with the Gujarati merchants over there, for cotton textile and other commodities. They used to get fine muslins to be used as women's head dress and other products. The ships from the Kanara coast also came to Diu for trading purposes. Ships from Bhatkal brought sugar to Diu. Even ports south of Bhatkal like the Bera, Basia, Barkar, Udipiram and Mangalore traded with Gujarat.⁶¹ However, the trade was disrupted because of the fight between Portuguese and the Bijapuris and Malabar. ⁶² The coins of Goa and Kanara were equal in exchange rate. Moreover, the Portuguese depended heavily on the rice supply of Kanara. Large quantities of areca-nuts 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.⁶³

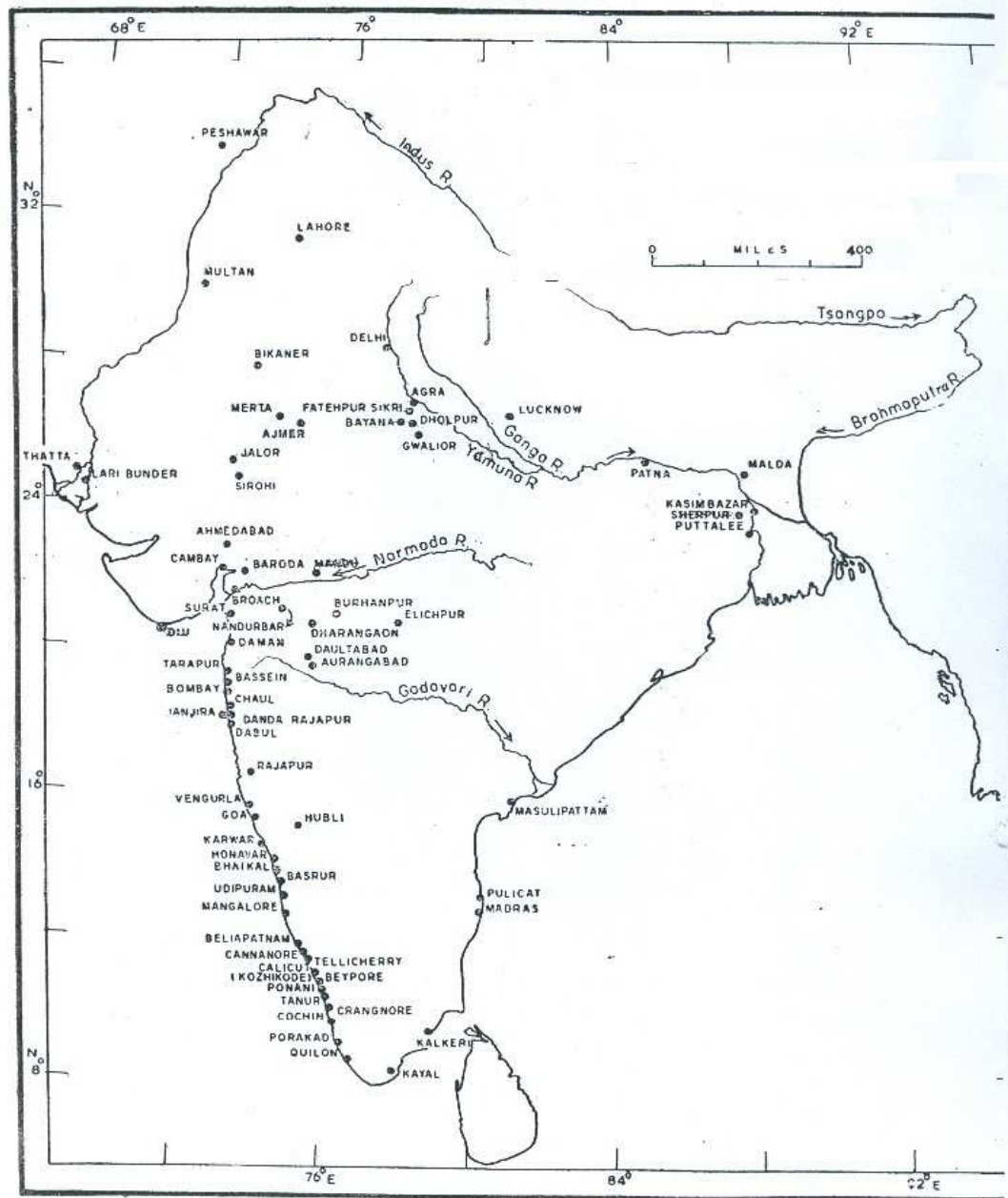
In circulatory processes of coastal western India, Dabul, Chaul, Cambay and Diu were the four important ports through which commodity movements between Gujarat and the Maratha country took place in large frequency. The export of horses from Cambay and Diu was of vital military significance as the Muslim rulers in the area were then struggling against the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara. The Portuguese ports of Goa,

⁶⁰ Ibid., p.344

⁶¹ *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, tr. Mansel Longworth Dames, Vol.1, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1989, Vol. 1, p.62

⁶² Surendra Gopal, op.cit, p. 89-90

⁶³ Barendse, op. cit. , p. 199



THE TRADING CENTRES OF GUJARAT IN THE 16TH AND THE 17TH CENTURY

Gopal, Surendra, *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.83)

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 taken to Mozambique and Sofala should be paid at Chaul, where the African ivory was also to be sold. This was to give economic stimulus to the emerging Portuguese settlement of Chaul, which was intrinsically 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.⁶⁴

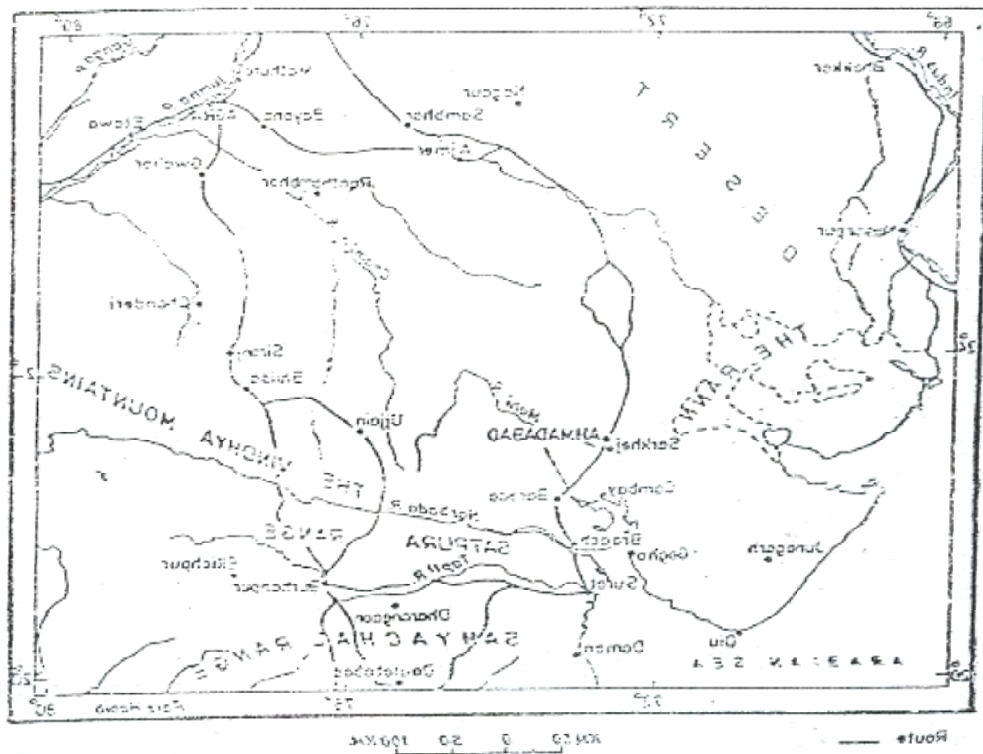
By the end of the sixteenth century the volume of African ivory taken to India was about 40,000 to 50,000. The income details of the Portuguese fortress of Diu also refer to the entry of gold in considerable degree in Diu from Mozambique and Melinde during this period. Vitorino Magalhães Godinho holds the view that by 1591 the gold export from Southeast African markets was about 716 kilograms⁶⁵. 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 the first decade of the sixteenth century that there were many Gujaratis living in the city of Melinde and 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 city.⁶⁶ For 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 tortoiseshell, ivory, gold and

⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 199

⁶⁵ Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial*, vol.I, p.207

⁶⁶ *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



GUJARAT AND ITS HINTERLAND

Shireen Moosvi, "The Gujarat Ports and their Hinterland: The Economic relationship", in *Ports and Their Hinterlands: 1700-1950*, ed. Indu Banga, Delhi, 1992, p. 124)

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 about 50% profit from Cambay cloth but the duties charged in India was too high which reduced the profit to minimal.⁶⁷

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 banias.⁶⁸ 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 banias of Guajrat eventually made use of this opportunity to emerge as the leading Indian merchants conducting business in African markets. In 1650s the banias 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*.⁶⁹

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. Even 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.⁷⁰ In 1688, the Viceroy, agreed to the petition of the mahajans and traders of

⁶⁷ Barendse, op. cit. ,p.336

⁶⁸ 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, p.13

⁶⁹ Ibid., p.167

⁷⁰ Barendse, op. cit. ,p. 333

Diu, to form a company to manage the trade of Diu with east Africa. In return the banias were to hand over lump sums to finance the war against Muscat.⁷¹

The Gujarati merchants in Mozambique traded in ivory, which remained their primary commercial focus. Slave trade formed a small but important part of their enterprise. The Portuguese displayed general mistrust towards the non-Christians. The Portuguese feared that there would be influence on the African population of the Islamic and Hindu religion and this led the former to impose curbs on the Muslim and Hindu ownership and trade of slaves.⁷² 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 banias claimed that they used to refrain themselves from proselytizing and encouraged their slaves to attend Christian services, allowed them to be baptized and reassured the Portuguese that upon leaving Mozambique an Indian 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.⁷³ However, the numbers involved were small as the Mozambique slave export trade developed fully only in the 18th century. African slaves brought to Daman were either absorbed locally or sent to Goa, but those sent to Diu were overwhelmingly re-exported to north west India notably Kathiawar where demand remained until the 19th century, when markets for slave trade also developed in Kutch and in Sind. These regions, near Diu, had trading relations with the latter even before the arrival of the Portuguese. Some slaves imported into Diu were also transshipped to the French possession of Pondicherry, through Goa.⁷⁴ Mozambique slaves retained in Diu were employed as deck hands on

⁷¹ Ibid, p. 333

⁷² 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

⁷³ Ibid, p. 18

⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 19

ships involved in the country trade, dock labour and domestic labour. As slave labour in Diu and Daman was used essentially for non productive capacities, slave prices were not dependent on commodity- price levels, as they were on the cash crop plantations of places like Zanzibar and Reunion. Moreover, sources indicate that in India traditionally the male slaves were more in demand than their female counterpart. 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 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.⁷⁵

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 was 10 *miticais* of gold for one *corja* of textiles. 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.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 27

⁷⁶ 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

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.⁷⁷ There were around three to four million guilders invested in this sector by the end of 17th century.⁷⁸

Another key trading destination of Gujarati traders was Mocha, which was known as the treasure chest of the Mughal empire. Mocha supplied large quantities of precious metals in its trade with Gujarat. By the early 17th century, Mocha became a pivotal trading destination of the Gujarati merchants in the western Indian Ocean. 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 here from Diu, Goa and other Indian settlements with indigo, Calico, 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.⁷⁹

Portuguese also traded in a herb known as *barcamam* from Diu. It was collected in November and by December it was taken to Portugal for trade.⁸⁰ The trade with

⁷⁷ Murari Kumar Jha, "The Social World of Gujarati Merchants and Their Indian Ocean Networks in the 17th Century", in *The South Asian Diaspora: Transnational Networks and Changing Identities* ed. Rajesh Rai, p. 40

⁷⁸ Barendse, op. cit., p. 45

⁷⁹ 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, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2000, p. 576

⁸⁰ K.S. Mathew, *Portuguese Trade with India in the 16th century*, Manohar, Delhi, 1983, p. 135

Macao was probably the second most important strand of trade after Mozambique's gold trade.⁸¹ 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 saltpeter 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 trade was controlled by the governor and by the Jesuits. In fact the Jesuits acted as the broker of the Indian merchant community.⁸²

IV. Vicissitudes and Fluctuating Fortunes

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.⁸³ 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,⁸⁴ the

⁸¹ Barendse, op. cit. ,p. 354

⁸² Barendse, op. cit. , p. 355

⁸³ F. C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, Vol.2, Frank Cass and co. Ltd., 1966, pp. 299-300

⁸⁴ 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

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.⁸⁵ 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.⁸⁶ By 1680, the sharpest fall in revenues among all the Asian settlements of the Portuguese was that of Diu's. Its 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.⁸⁷ 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 1684-87.⁸⁸ The loss was particularly large in places directly involved in military operations such as Diu, Muscat and Colombo.⁸⁹

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.⁹⁰ 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

⁸⁵ Ibid, p. 53

⁸⁶ Ibid, P. 53

⁸⁷ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia 1500-1700: A Political and Economic History*, Longman, London, 1993, p. 189

⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 190

⁸⁹ A.R. Disney, op.cit, p. 53

⁹⁰ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia 1500-1700: A Political and Economic History*, Longman, London, 1993, p. 189

merchandise, intending to leave a permanent factor at Surat, which could not be materialized because of the disagreements of the Portuguese with the Mughals.⁹¹ 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.⁹²

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: “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.⁹³ 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.⁹⁴ 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.⁹⁵

Another factor that affected the fortunes of Diu’s trade was the entry of the Dutch and the English as competitors, who was able to control a large share of trade on the coastal areas and in the hinterland, partially with farmans, which they occasionally

⁹¹ Ibid, p. 190

⁹² *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

⁹³ ibid132

⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 135

⁹⁵ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia 1500-1700: A Political and Economic History*, Longman, London, 1993, p. 191

received from the Mughal emperors and partially by fighting the Portuguese, who at that time saw an eclipse of their power, due to corruption of the official, maladministration and for the lack of proper technology.⁹⁶ 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.⁹⁷ 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, that would sail anywhere to avoid stopping at the Portuguese ports. Thus in this way, Diu lost half of its revenue.⁹⁸

With the mounting of pressure on the Portuguese in India, they were compelled to bank upon the money and the resources of the Gujarati banias to retain their power in India. The banias 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* 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.⁹⁹ 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

⁹⁶ Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India: Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, Primus, New Delhi, p. 75

⁹⁷ *The English Factories in India(1655-1660)*, ed. William Foster, Oxford, 1923, p. 234

⁹⁸ George Davison Winius, *The Black Legend of Portuguese India*, XCHR Studies, Series No.3, Concept Publishing House, New Delhi, 1985, p. 54

⁹⁹ 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, p.14

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%.¹⁰⁰

In the first half of the eighteenth century indebtedness of the Portuguese in Africa 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. 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*¹⁰¹. 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.¹⁰²

The above discussion shows that Diu, which was already developed as a maritime trade centre by Malik Ayaz in the early decades of the sixteenth century, was incorporated by the Portuguese as a commercial geography integral to their system of

¹⁰⁰ *ibid*, p. 15

¹⁰¹ *ibid*, p.16

¹⁰² Luis Frederico Dias Antunes, *op.cit*,p.66

trade once they occupied it in 1534. They made it evolve as their principal commercial base in Gujarat, with one arm of its trade extending up to China and South East Asia, while the other arm stretching up to Red Sea and Persian Gulf. However the economic vitality of Diu was derived from its highly lucrative trade with East Africa, which necessitated intensification of textile manufacturing in its neighbouring villages to meet the ever increasing demands of African markets, where ivory, gold and slaves were exchanged for Gujarati textiles. Though later there were fluctuations in the fortunes of the Portuguese in India, the participants of Diu's trade, particularly the banias, were immensely rich and it was the mercantile wealth of these rich Gujarati traders and bankers that sustained the feeble imperial edifice of the Portuguese both in east Africa and coastal western India emitting enough forces for the upkeep of the urbanity of Diu.

Chapter 3

Changing Social Processes, Lusitanian Structures and a Gujarati Mercantile City

The Portuguese captured Diu and launched a programme of its urbanization on Lusitanian models for the purpose of controlling not only its trade, but also the large bulk of commerce emanating from coastal Gujarat. However the rhythm of social processes initiated in Diu by the Portuguese took diverse turns at different time points, often facilitating the Lusitanization process of Diu and in the same frequency favouring its development as a Gujarati mercantile city with control-strings in the hands of the early colonial masters, the Portuguese. The Portuguese well knew that the control that they wanted to exercise over the rich trade of Gujarat through Diu could be implemented mainly through a social process, by creating supportive social groups and economic partners in the city 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 town appear to correspond to the inner dynamics and logic that they wanted to inscribe onto urban space.

I. Geo-Physical Location and the Attempts to Construct a Lusitanian Town in Diu

The Portuguese tried to construct a Lusitanian town in Diu both by spatial and social processes. The beginnings of the new urban model came with the construction of a fortress on 25th October 1535 under the command of Portuguese governor Nuno da Cunha on the site conceded by Bahadur Shah in 1534.¹ This fortress happened to be the nucleus of Portuguese urbanity in Diu. However with the siege of Diu in 1538 and

¹Pius Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2001, p.150

1546 by the Ottomans and the Muzzafarids,² the Portuguese were made all the more aware of the necessity to enlarge the fortification and settling down more Portuguese population in the evolving enclave for reasons of security. As there had been only very few Portuguese men then in Diu, the governor Joao de Castro had to bring a considerable number of city-dwellers of Cochin and Goa to Diu for the purpose of lifting the siege of the Turks. These people were remunerated for their service by granting commercial voyages and other privileges; however many preferred to settle down in Bassein, Daman and other pockets of Provincia do Norte, while a good many of them settled down in Diu. With them the number of Portuguese residents in Diu began to increase considerably.

The Portuguese governor, Lopo Soares gave the orders of building up a fort in Diu as early as 1518.³ The reasons why Diu was important in the eyes of Portuguese were many: One of the strongest reasons was that it was a major door for obtaining commodities of Gujarat, particularly textiles, that were in high demand in Europe, South East Asia and east Africa. Moreover they thought that as long as Diu was under the control of the Muslim power, it would be easy for the Turks to take control of the flourishing trade of Gujarat⁴. However these were not the only reason for which the Portuguese wanted the control of Diu. The strength of Diu was its strategic location, at the entrance of the Gulf of Cambay; it had an excellent port but had a bad entrepot, for there were few good roads crossing the entrepot.

The new settlers found the geophysical setting of the Diu quite conducive for interfering in the trade emanating from coastal Gujarat. In fact the island of Diu is located very near to the mainland of the Cambay coast, twenty leagues north of the entering of the Gulf and thirty leagues from the city of Cambay.⁵ The island is two

²Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India: Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, Primus, New Delhi, pp.115-7

³R.S. Whiteway, *Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, Reprinted in India, Janaki Prakashan, Patna, 1979, p. 190

⁴ibid, p. 191

⁵*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, part 1, p. 255

miles long by three wide⁶. The town does not possess any territory outside the boundaries⁷. Diu was the first port that one touches while coming from the western part of the Indian Ocean. However, it was then located on a barren island and dotted by palm groves⁸.

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 round⁹. He also built a tower in the sea on an under-water rock and from it drew massive iron chains called *sankal kot*, across the mouth of the harbor so as to prevent the Portuguese ships from entering.¹⁰ In 1531, when the Portuguese tried to conquer Diu, they did not face any success. The defense of the fort was too strong for them to break. On the channel in the middle of the river, between the bastion, and the city harbor, a large iron chain had been fitted. Cables of very strong cord were tied to aid the ships. Three large *naus* loaded with stones were positioned in the middle of the river ready to sink to create an obstacle to navigation. The channel also had a thick stockade to prevent the passage of vessels.¹¹

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

⁶R.J. Barendse, *The Arabian Seas: The Indian Ocean World of 17th century*, Vision Books New Delhi, 2002 p.50

⁷*Tavernier's Travels In India*, Translated by Vincent Ball, second edition by William Crooke, Asian Education Society, 2007, vol.2, p. 29

⁸R.J. Barendse, *op.cit*, p. 50

⁹K.S. Mathew, *Portuguese and the Sultanate of Gujarat(1500-1573)*, Mittal Publications, Delhi, 1986, p. 56

¹⁰M.S. Commissariat., *A History Of Gujarat- Including a Survey of its chief Architectural Monuments and Inscriptions*, Longmans, Bombay, 1938, p. 214

¹¹Francisco Sousa Lobo, "Indo Portuguese Fortification", in *Indo Portuguese Encounters*, ed. by Lotika Varadarajan, Aryan Books, New Delhi, p. 777



SYMBOL OF LUSITANIAN POWER FOUND AROUND THE CITY 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 that it was situated on a hill, near the city. The wall from sea side to the hill was 17feet thick and 20 feet high.¹²

The Portuguese had built two forts¹³. 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 earth¹⁴.

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. Thomas¹⁵.

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 locks¹⁶. 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. The greatness of the fortress wall with the bandwidth was 119 fathoms in length with three bulwarks and it was

¹² Philip Baldaeus, *A Description of the East India Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel and also the Isle of Ceylon*, Vol.3, *A Collection of Voyages and Travels* comp. A. Churchill and J.Churchill, Asian educational Services, New Delhi, 2000,p. 530-531

¹³*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

¹⁴Francisco Sousa Lobo, op. cit., p. 778

¹⁵R.S. Whiteway, op cit, p. 262

¹⁶*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, vol.1, p. 134

heavily guarded by the artillery.¹⁷ An open pit rock enters the sea but it was not of such great depth. Another flight of walls ran along the river front of the bastion of the bar and was 100 fathoms in length and narrowed up to the length of 70 fathoms. Starting from the Sao George bastion the wall of the fortress ran along the sea until the bulwark of the corner of the coast was 69 fathoms and gave the fortress a circular shape¹⁸. The St. George bastion was the oldest of all the bastions present and it used to be the residence for nobles, warehouse and barracks for the soldiers, housed arms and ammunitions and prison. The bastions were faced with cut stone and were about thirty feet apart. There were also two bridges about fifteen feet wide, which led to the double gates. The two gates were separated by the guard room and a chapel.¹⁹ The chapel, lies in ruins today²⁰. A wall was built facing the city as there was a steep rocky hill on the side of the sea. The gate facing the city was on the opposite side of the estuary of the river, protected by a tower in which there was a strong trapdoor. A secondary gate was made over the moat, which led to a gangway. The walls were further strengthened in the due course of time and then façade facing the sea was almost inaccessible. It was a steep rocky hill called Costa Brava. The front which led to the channel had a small fort on the sea to protect it. There was also provision for attack by fire from the side of the sea. The only problem of defense was from inland and was remodeled and reinforced after 1547 after lifting the siege of the Ottomans.²¹ There were several multi-storied buildings within the fortress and it was estimated that more than 3000 men could be easily lodged in the fortress²².

¹⁷*Arquivo Portugues Oriental, Historia Administrativa*, Tomo IV, Vol. 2, 1600-1699, Part I, trans. A.B. Braganca Pereira, 1937, p. 104

¹⁸*Ibid*, p. 103-106

¹⁹*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, vol.1, p. 134

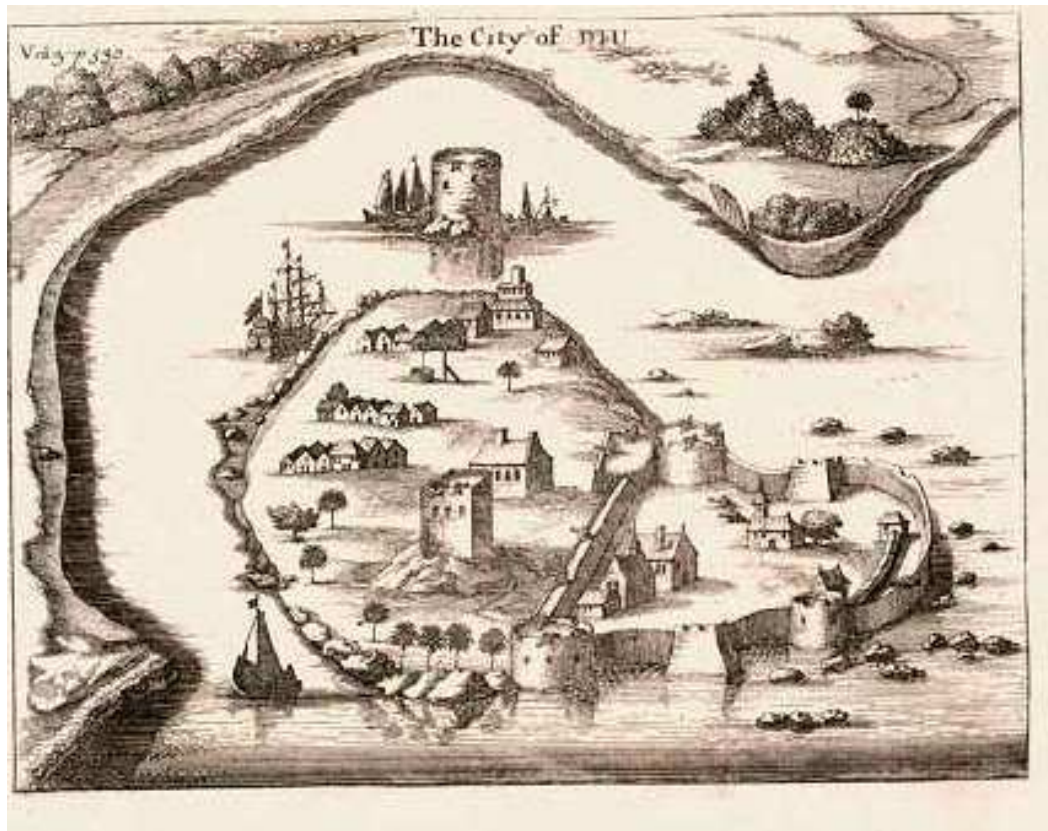
²⁰*Our Lady Immaculate Conception: Church Of Diu(1610-2010)*, Published By the St. Pauls Church Of Diu on the Celebration of its 400 years, Diu, 2010

²¹Francisco Sousa Lobo, "*Indo Portuguese Fortification*", in *Indo Portuguese Encounters* ed. Aryan Books, New Delhi, p. 778

²²*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, vol.1, P. 135; K.S. Mathew., *Portuguese and the Sultanate of Gujarat(1500-1573)*, Mittal Publication, Delhi, 1986, p. 62



FORT OF DIU OVERLOOKING THE CITY



CITY OF DIU

(Baldaeus, Philip, *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)

II. Spatial Processes

Concomitant to the enlargement of fortification the evolving city space was inscribed with new meanings and logic through intense spatial and construction processes. The city of Diu had great structures like the massive fort, 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.²³ As more and more Portuguese started coming in the city, more and more churches and other Portuguese buildings started coming up. This changed the physical appearance of Diu. These many any 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 by the Jesuits in 1610, besides the churches of Immaculate Conception and St. Andrew.²⁴ As the number of the Portuguese residents increased in the city, the importance attached to the church also increased.

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 material available.²⁵ The St. Francis Church was 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

²³ *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. 132-135

²⁴ R..J. Vasavada, "Indo Portuguese Architecture: Structural Aspects Focus on Architecture of Diu and its influence in the Region of the Erstwhile Junagadh State", *Indo Portuguese Encounters*, ed. by Lotika Varadarajan, Aryan Books, New Delhi, p. 751

²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 751

building of Italy²⁶. 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.²⁷

The St. Thomas Church, which was also 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 simple, but structurally do impose strong pylons and side walls, which support the vaulted roof²⁸.

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.²⁹The shell motifs heavily used in its construction shows the immense

²⁶Ibid, p. 751

²⁷*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

²⁸R.J. Vasavada, op.cit., p. 751

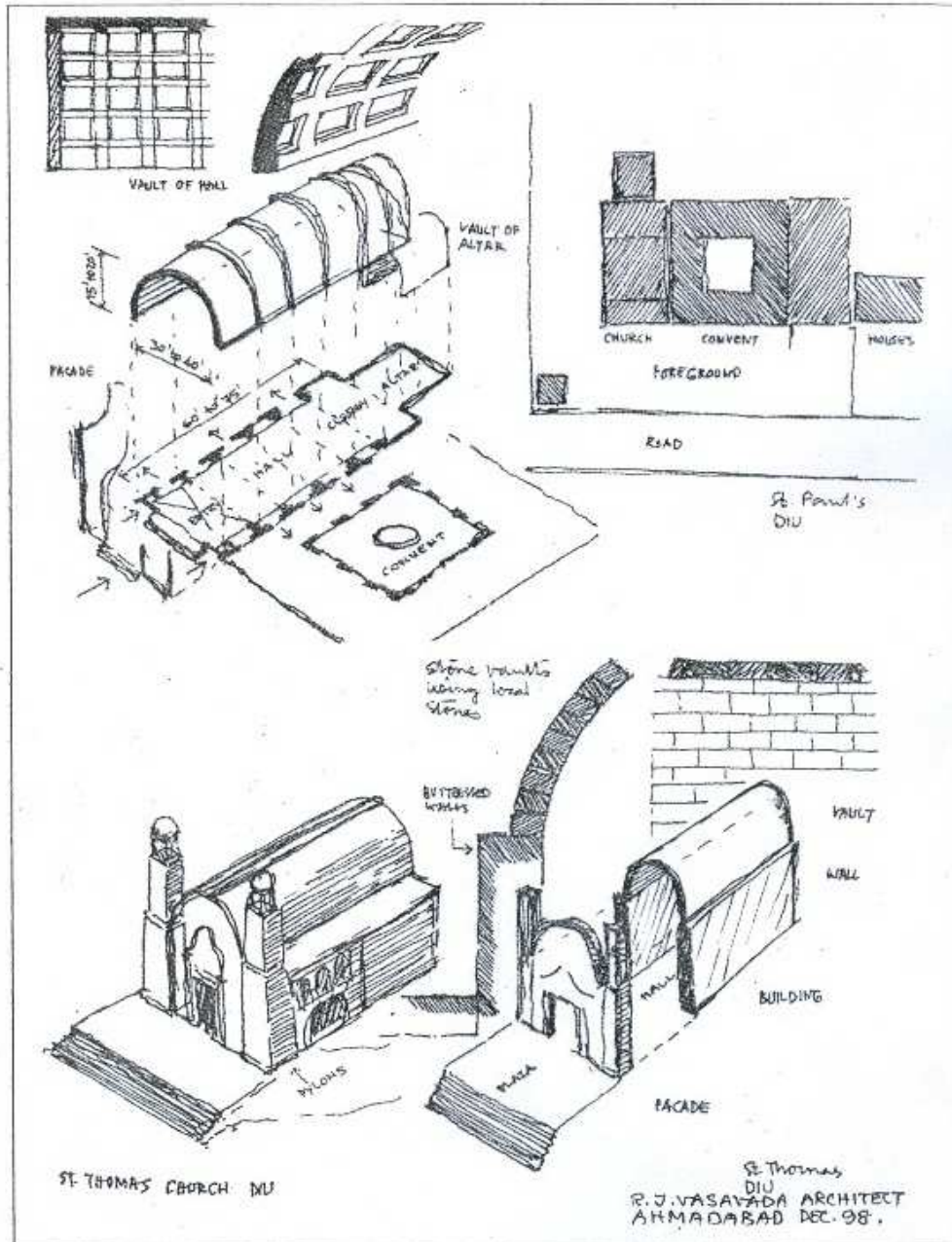
²⁹Ibid, p. 754



ST. PAUL'S CHURCH



DELICATE WORKS ARE ENGRAVED IN THE ARCHITECTURAL STRUCTURES OF DIU



Illustrations showing the basic structure of churches in Diu

R..J. Vasavada, "Indo Portuguese Architecture: Structural Aspects Focus on Architecture of Diu and its influence in the Region of the Erstwhile Junagadh State", *Indo Portuguese Encounters*, ed. by Lotika Varadarajan, Aryan Books, New Delhi, p. 752)

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 cyclones³⁰. 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.

III. Societal Processes

Though the spatial processes of Diu revolved mainly around different churches that the Portuguese erected over there, the societal processes that happened over there were highly nuanced and complex. On the one hand the Portuguese wanted to control the city and make it a pillar of their early colonial edifice in the East by intervening in its societal processes and by making attempts to construct a supportive social base in the urban space. On the other hand the need for accommodating indigenous collaborators for sustaining the Portuguese commercial and political activities made a pluri-cultural process to evolve in Diu, unlike in other Portuguese enclaves of Asia.

When Bahadur Shah of Gujarat handed over Diu to the Portuguese in 1534, the former demanded that there should be no proselytizing, especially from among the Muslims.³¹ However this desire of Bahadur Shah did not remain respected for long , because of the conflicts that evolved between the two after 1538 , particularly after the siege of Diu by the Gujarati and Ottoman forces in 1538 and 1546. 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. Fr Valingnano reports in 1580 that though there were many Hindus in Diu no efforts were made to convert them. He further says that nevertheless, the number of Catholics

³⁰*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

³¹M.S. Commissariat, *A History Of Gujarat- Including a Survey of its chief Architectural Monuments and Inscriptions*, Longmans, Bombay, 1938, p. 363

increased considerably. They were mainly outsiders attached to the military installations or who were attached to the place because of job. From another report we learn that there were 5500 Christians in Diu. 4000 of them belonged to the main parish church and the rest were attached to the church of St. Thomas. The Christian population of Diu consisted mostly of the Portuguese and their descendants. The major churches in the city like the St. Francis of Assisi erected by Franciscans in 1593, the St. Paul's Church erected by the Jesuits in 1610 and other socialization and cultural venues in the city tell us about that significant Christian population of the city. The Christian population of the city mostly comprised the Portuguese soldiers, *fidalgos* and officials and their descendants. According to Bocarro's estimation in 1642, there were 50 Portuguese families and 100 Indian Christians.³² However later because of the weather and continuous maladies and diseases many families fled to the mainland and by 1680, the Christian community on the island had practically disappeared.³³ The number of the conversion in Diu was very low, not only because of the treaty of Bahadur Shah but also because of the reason that the Portuguese realized the importance of the Muslim and Hindu merchants in sustaining their commerce of the region and for fear of their agitation against them. The Christian population of Diu was developed not only as a part of their religious system, but also as a part of their social order. In western India, except Goa, the Portuguese population was very small in Chaul, Daman, Diu and Bassein.³⁴ The number of merchants among them was considerably small and thus without the help of the non Christian merchants especially the Hindu Baniyas in case of Diu, the Portuguese would have never been able to conduct their trading activities in the region for so long³⁵. The population of Diu was essentially cosmopolitan, with people from different caste, creed and race staying within the walled city. Even among them there were different subdivisions and divisions between different sections of the society.

³² R.J. Barendse, *The Arabian Seas: The Indian Ocean World of 17th century*, Vision Books New Delhi, 2002, p. 51

³³ *Ibid*, p. 51

³⁴ M.N. Pearson, "Indigenous Dominance in a Colonial Economy: The Goa Rendas", *Mare Luso Indicum*, Libraire Droz Geneve, Vol. 2, p. 69

³⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 69-72

As we had earlier seen, before the coming of the Portuguese, there were traders of different caste and religion conducting business in Diu under the governorship of Malik Ayaz. In 1504 Varthema refers to the wealth and trade of the port and says that there were about 400 Turkish merchants as residents and due to the importance that the Turks enjoyed in Diu, he even named the city as “Diuobandierrumi” or “Diu, the port of the Turks”. Besides the Turks, merchants and traders of different races like the Hindu Baniyas, Muslims, Armenians, Parsis, Christians and many others flocked in this mercantile city. The foreign Muslim settlers tended to outnumber their Indian counterparts with possible exception of Bohras and the Khojas who excelled in trade and commerce. There existed a number of minority groups and at times there were discords and even open hostility against them from the dominant Sunni Muslims³⁶.

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 Baniyas or the traders, the bhoias, canias and chunares working as masons, coles or the sailors, cumbhares, dheres, dhobis, golas, jampras, kandois, kharvas, lohares, malis, mochis, rangara, salats, sangarias, sonis, suis, sutares, vanands, vancares, vanjahs³⁷. The baniya is a term which embraces both Hindus and Jain merchant communities. Baniyas, Jains, Marwaris and Khattris were among the more important of such mercantile castes and sub-castes in northern India, while in the south Chettis and Komatis were among the leading Hindu merchant castes. By far the most numerous of the North Indian merchant groups were that of the baniyas, 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.³⁸ The range of commercial activities that the baniya 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

³⁶ 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 and Peter Reeves, Routledge Contemporary South Asia Series, Oxon, 2009

³⁷ A.B. De Braganca Pereira, *Etongrafia da India Portuguesa As Civilizacoes da India*, Vol.2, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1991, p. 53

³⁸ *Ibid*, p. 53

peasants enabling them to meet their revenue obligations in cash. 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 the financial markets were totally dominated by the banyas, 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 banyas was brokerage and wholesaling of the commodities. Banyas 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.³⁹

The Brahmanic section that were mostly followers of the Vallabhacharya sect used to call themselves as Meshri banyas to distinguish themselves from the Shrivak section who follow Jainism and call themselves Shrivak Banyas.⁴⁰ Though separated by religion and the line of separation was rigid in south Gujarat including Diu, the Brahmanic and the Shrivak sections of the baniya community were knit together by social ties and were often seen to eat together and to inter marry.⁴¹ 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 banyas one of the most important sections of the population of Gujarat. The meshri banyas in themselves were sub divided into many groups and were often found in the region of the Gujjars.⁴² They mostly worked as clerks and traders, and held some rent free land, which they had received as reward for bringing the land under tillage.⁴³ The baniya

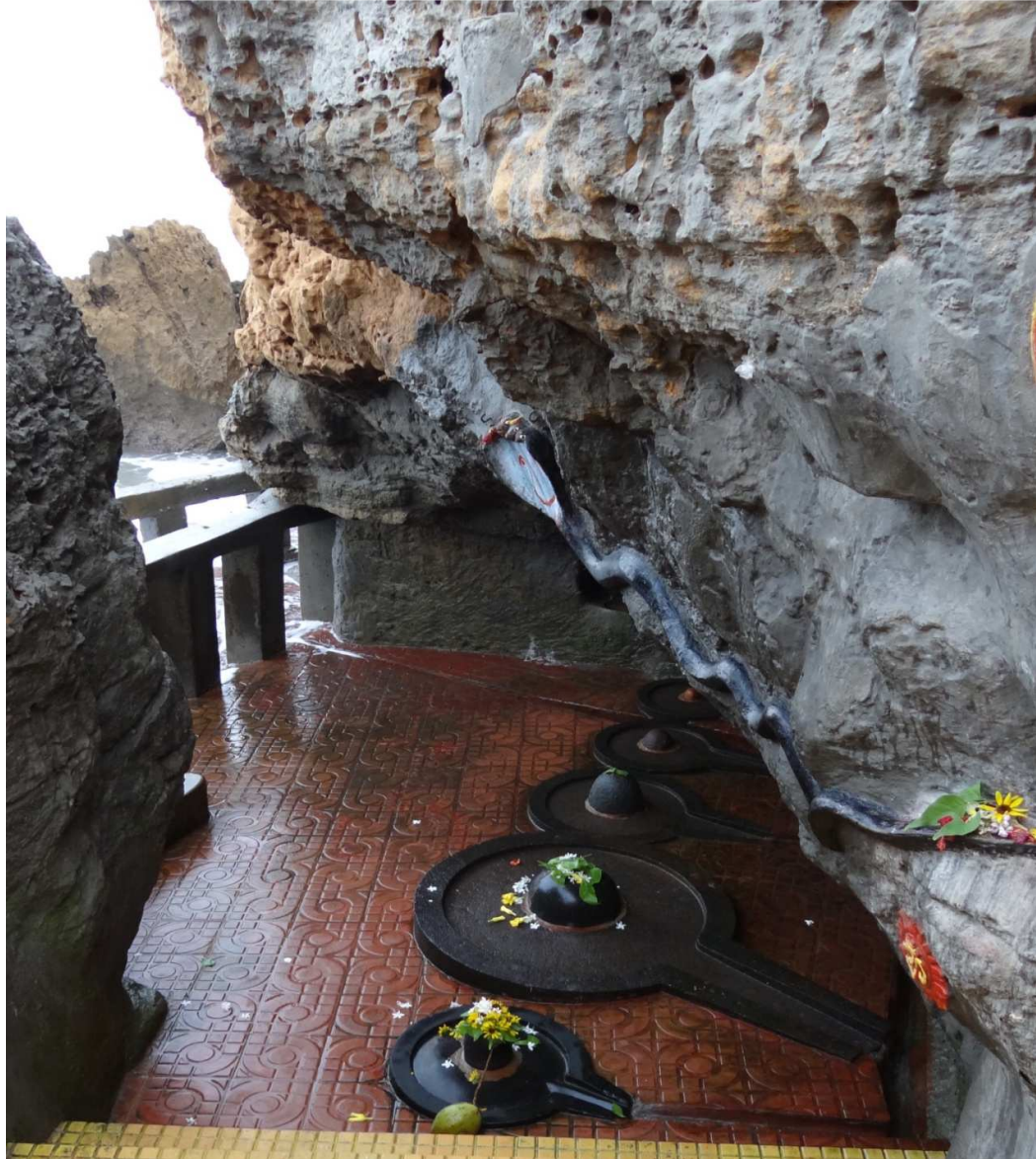
³⁹ Sinnappah Arasaratnam, *Maritime India in the Seventeenth Century*, University Press New Delhi, 2004, p. 195

⁴⁰ James M. Campbell(ed.), *Hindu Castes and Tribes of Gujarat*, Vintage Books, Gurgaon, 1988, Vol. 1, p. 69

⁴¹ *Ibid*, p. 69

⁴² *Ibid*, p. 70

⁴³ *Ibid*, p. 71



GANGESHWAR TEMPLE

merchants of Diu conducted their business in collaboration with wide variety of mercantile and banking segments.

The range of commercial activities that the baniya merchants participated in 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.⁴⁴ 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 moneylender⁴⁵. At the beginning of the sixteenth century Barbosa noted regular trading connections between the Hindu merchants of Gujarat and their agents in Hormuz⁴⁶. They became so important that they started to influence the administration of the port. 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 did not operate themselves⁴⁷.

The Gujarati banyas 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 banyas, there are evidence of guild like organization among the artisans and handicraftsmen⁴⁸. 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 banyas to

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. 436

⁴⁵ Ibid, pp. 436-437

⁴⁶ M.N. Pearson, *The Portuguese in India: The New Cambridge History of India*, Vol.1, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1987, p.159

⁴⁷ 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

⁴⁸ M.N. Pearson, "Indigenous Dominance in Colonial Economy- The Goa Rendas(1600- 1670)", *Mare Luso Indicum*, Vol. 2, p.68

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 laws⁴⁹. 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 them⁵⁰. The progress of the baniyas in the context of trade and commerce rejects many theories forwarded by many social scientists like Max Weber or Morris D. Morris who hold Hinduism responsible for the backwardness of the Indian economy.

In Diu the Muslim merchants were the second important social segment of the port city. They were outnumbered only by the Hindu baniyas. The Muslim mercantile population of Diu was in itself heterogeneous. They were as plural a collection as one would get anywhere. Muslim 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. 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; but lacked a war-like tradition as they were originally converts from a trading Hindu caste. When Diu was attacked by the Portuguese in 1531, it was defended by a Turk, Mustafa Khan Rumi⁵¹. 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 Portuguese at Chaul.⁵² 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,

⁴⁹ Ibid, P. 71

⁵⁰ Linschoten, op.cit., Vol. 1, .228

⁵¹ O.K. Nambiar, *The Kunjalis- Admirals of Calicut*, Asian Publication House, Bombay, 1963,p.99

⁵² 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

sidi, tarac⁵³, thus making the Muslim fabric a completely heterogeneous thing. The Juma Mosque in the centre of the island and erected by Jalal Khan, later known as Ahmed Shah II was the chief rallying point for the Muslim traders.

The Parsi community though small participated both in local and overseas trade and also ventured into banking and insurance occupied a prominent economic position quite out of proportion to their numbers. They emerged as the strongest business rivals to the other local communities by increasing their share in the overseas trade. The Parsis throughout Gujarat emerged as one of the leading trading and banking communities. Fr. Manuel Godinho's travelogue, *Relacao 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 fled when it was taken over by the Muslim rulers.⁵⁴ Fortunato de Almeida in his *Estado da India*, estimated the number of Parsis present to be 500.⁵⁵ Oliveira Mascarenhas in his *Atraves dos mares: Recordacoes 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.⁵⁶

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.⁵⁷ After about another 20years in 1710, they were described as carpenters, shipbuilders, exquisite weavers and embroider. They made silks, especially fine Broach and Navsari silks called bastes

⁵³ A.B. De Braganca Pereira, *Etongrafia da India Portuguesa As Civilizacoes da India*, Vol.2, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1991, p. 54

⁵⁴ Antonio Do Carmo Azevedo, "Diu: The Parsi Connection", *Mare Liberum*, Numero 9, Julho 1995, Esc. 3 500, p. 34

⁵⁵ Ibid, p. 35

⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 35

⁵⁷ James M. Campbell, *Muslim and Parsi Castes and Tribes of Gujarat*, Vintage Books, Gurgaon, 1990, p. 192

worked in ivory and agate and distilled strong waters.⁵⁸In 16th century the Portuguese writer Garcia d'Orta 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. The Parsis even differed from the rest of the population in respect of complexion and build. According to Fryer, the Parsis were whiter and nastier than the other. They were husbandmen rather than traders, not caring to go abroad. They supplied the marine with carts drawn by oxen and ship with wood and water. The Parsis are divided into two sects, Shenshais and kadmis, but this is practically a distinction without difference.⁵⁹They owed their prosperity to the collaboration with the Europeans.

Even the Parsis could attribute their success to their collaboration with the Europeans. The Indian merchants got a large amount of profit and magnify 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 trade⁶⁰. In all major settlements of the Portuguese, they were generally a minority⁶¹. 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 banyas. Meanwhile many Portuguese officials, including government and ecclesiastical functionaries, participated in the regional trade, either as active merchants or as investors of money and goods.⁶²

⁵⁸Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, vol1, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1995; James M. Campbell, *Muslim and Parsi Castes and Tribes of Gujarat*, Vintage Books, Gurgaon, 1990, p. 192

⁵⁹ 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

⁶⁰O.K. Nambiar, *The Portuguese Pirates and the Indian Seamen*, M.Bhaktavatsalam, Bangalore, 1955, p.39

⁶¹Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia 1500-1700, a Political and Economic History*, Longman, London, 1993, p. 225

⁶² 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

The banyas were in friendly terms with the Muslims so much that they redeemed the latter whenever they were found captives. However like any other section of the society, in Diu also conflict co-existed along with collaboration. Such collaborations existed not only among Hindus and Muslims, but also between the Europeans and Indian merchants. The Hindu and Jain traders wielded immense power and even the Europeans preferred to deal with them rather than the Muslims. They feared that the Muslim merchants wielded immense influence over the provincial administration⁶³. The Kapol Banyas had very good relation with the Portuguese and the two often collaborated in their trading activities⁶⁴. The Portuguese *casados* accommodated the prominent indigenous traders particularly the Gujarati traders by resorting to a strategy of ware-vessel exchange. They exchanged wares and vessels mainly to enable the banyas to evade the payment of high customs duty in Portuguese trading centres. The goods of the Gujarati merchants that were coming from South east Asia and destined to Cochin and Goa were cleared under the name of Portuguese *casados* at Cochin, where they had to pay only 3.5% as against 6% at Goa and other Portuguese trading centres. The *casados* could easily clear the custom duties even though *Estado* suffered a huge loss⁶⁵. On the other hand through the partnership and the ware-vessel exchange strategy, the Gujarati and other indigenous merchants transshipped the goods of the *casados*, as well. This had two advantages for the partners. The Gujarati traders could evade excess duties and the *casados* could use the commercial connections of local merchants to trade with the non Portuguese ports and destinations.

The Muslim merchants and rulers presumably had religious and even social ties. Of more importance, however, were the financial connections between merchants and rulers. Capital and loans were available from the merchants and both sultans and nobles used these resources for their political processes. Malik Ayaz received great

⁶³Sinnappah Arasaratnam, *Maritime India in the Seventeenth Century*, University Press New Delhi, 2004, p. 86

⁶⁴Ashin 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.427

⁶⁵Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India: Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, Primus, New Delhi, p. 189

amount of support from the merchant class, which not only helped to strengthen his position as the governor of Diu but also helped to strengthen his place in the court of Gujarat Sultan. But the Muslim merchants were often seen to manipulate their position and used to get admission into the upper political level, though the presence of Hindus were not completely absent.

The multicultural composition of the urban society of Diu was well attested to 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 found⁶⁶. From the demographic records of Diu and its neighbouring areas of 1720s, the weight of trade and activities related to the processing and 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 was divided into about 40 professions corresponding to 55.2% and 9.8% respectively.⁶⁷ 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.⁶⁸ The Muslims were engaged mostly in various agricultural and maritime activities like vegetable and grain sellers, fishermen, sailors and coolies⁶⁹. Most of them were engaged with the urban jobs like construction, manufacture, trade and other non-agricultural occupations. With the increase in population there was a visible division of labour within the residents of the city and the surrounding areas. The profession was often chosen in accordance to religion and caste, but the society of Diu was not very stringent on these factors and there was an air of co-operation and mutual dependency within the residents of the city.

⁶⁶ *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard Of Laval to the East Indies, The Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil* , Translated Albert Gray, Hakluyt society, London, Vol2, part1, p. 254, 255

⁶⁷ 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*

⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p. 67

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p. 67

The local people were also divided in accordance to the occupation of the people like the darjiwada for tailors and weavers, dhobowadas for washermen, khaniawada for masons, Loharwada, khumbharwada, Parshiwada, harijanwada and other interesting stratification⁷⁰. There was a sizeable middle class in Diu⁷¹, who was neither attached to land nor was warriors. This was a class, which consisted of handicraftsmen, artisans and workers who were engaged in different professions required for the sustenance of its urban activities. Most of these communities and social groups had their own distinctive organizations and administrative arrangements. The Parsis had their *anjuman* while the Muslims had their *jamasats*. Among all the Baniyas were so powerful that their “captain” or the head of the guild they had was a powerful figure in Diu politics. The Gujarati baniyas 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 Portuguese⁷².

There was also a considerable number of slave labour. Slave labour was prevalent in Portuguese India and Diu was not an exception. Even the Misericordia used to buy slaves for the institution without thinking that there was anything wrong to it.⁷³ Many Portuguese traders used to take part in the slave trade, as a result of which a large number of slaves were found in the coastal towns, including Diu. These slaves were employed in the farms, in the Portuguese households and were made to do 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”. Hence the Portuguese preferred slaves and their treatment of slaves was milder than that of the treatment meted out to the slaves in the west⁷⁴. As Diu participated in one of the most

⁷⁰K.S. Mathew., *Portuguese and the Sultanate of Gujarat(1500-1573)*, Mittal Publication, Delhi, 1986, p. 67

⁷¹ *ibid*, p. 64

⁷²M.N. Pearson, “Indigenous Dominance in a Colonial Economy- The Goa Rendas (1600-1670)”, *Mare Luso Indicum*, Libraire Droz Geneve, Vol.2, p.68

⁷³ Jeanette Pinto, *Slavery in Portuguese India(1510- 1842)*, Himalaya Publishing House, Bombay, p. 126

⁷⁴ *ibid*, p. 126

important slave trade of the Portuguese with the African coast, the slaves were being imported in Diu and then re exported from here.⁷⁵ In Diu, they were mostly engaged to work in decks and in households. Also, as it had been discussed in the last chapter, the demand for boy slaves were more than the men and that of the ration of women to man slave was greater in Diu.⁷⁶

A lot of African slaves were brought to Diu by the banyas, who used to fetch them from East Africa in return for Gujarati textiles. Some of these slaves were used to work in the Portuguese settlements, while a large number of them were supplied to the various slave markets of inland India. They were treated under the Islamic laws as they were less stringent than the Christian law. The town of Diu was surrounded by the settlements of refugee Portuguese slaves who formed a major part of the existing workforce for the port city⁷⁷.

As the number of people of Portuguese origin declined over eras, socially women of Portuguese origin enjoyed a remarkable position in the urban society of Diu. At the time of defense of Diu, during the time of Ottoman 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 one, was Isabel Fernandes, who was called “the old lady of Diu”⁷⁸. The women who were in the fort, led by Donna Isabel de Veiga, wife of Manuel de Vasconcellos and Anne Fernandez, wife of a physician took upon themselves certain duties, which helped the weak fort to have some more manpower⁷⁹ Women were given recognition by the

⁷⁵ 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. Gwyn Campbell, Frank Cass, London, 2004, pp. 18-19

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p. 19

⁷⁷ R.J. Barendse, *The Arabian Seas: The Indian Ocean World of 17th century*, Vision Books New Delhi, 2002 p. 116

⁷⁸ Joy L.K.Pachau “ Women in Portuguese India: Their Representation in 16th century Sources”, in *Coastal Histories: Society and Ecology in Pre Modern India*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2010, p. 96

⁷⁹ F.C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, Vol1, Frank Cass and Co. Limited, 1966, p. 428

Portuguese crown because of the services rendered by them. The welfare of an orphaned girl or widowed lady was taken care by the local municipality.⁸⁰

The wealth of Diu could be evidently reflected in the dressing of the women in Diu. The women used to wear upon their arms many rings made of elephant teeth and as Ralph Fitch says and they used to take so much pride in this that they could be rather without food than their bracelets⁸¹.

The population of the walled city was quite different from the cultivators, and they had their own organizations and even they were different from each other, in respect of profession, religion and sect and had their own religious institutions within the city and own habitation areas. This gave rise to the class formation and also class consciousness⁸². Everything in Diu was related to trade and commerce. With the increase in trade, there was immense flow of Portuguese *casados* to the town and intensification in construction process and most of the civil buildings were double or multiple-storied. Concomitant to these developments, as we had earlier seen, many churches were constructed making 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 that was set up by the Jesuits in 1610, besides the churches of Immaculate Conception and St.Andrew.⁸³ The physicality of the city and the magnificent edifices erected in it are indicative of the immense flow of wealth into the city by way of trade. The ecclesiastical buildings were all ornamented and highly decorated.

⁸⁰ 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 Press, 1998, p. 44

⁸¹ Ralph Fitch, *Purcha vol. 10*, p. 169

⁸² *Ibid*, p.65

⁸³ *Our Lady Immaculate Conception: Church Of Diu(1610-2010)*, Published By the St. Pauls Church Of Diu on the Celebration of its 400 years, Diu, 2010

IV. The Changing Nature of Administration and Appropriation of Mercantile Wealth

In fact Diu includes a single county with the villages of Diu, Simar, Naliara, Massania, Frafarium, Talium and the tank of Mainatos⁸⁴. 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 banyas 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 banyas, as well as the Muslim and Parsi traders.⁸⁵

The Portuguese state played a very important role in the commercial activities in Diu than it played in any other parts of India. The agents of the Government played the role of intermediaries in the commerce of Diu⁸⁶. Diu was essentially a port city and its revenue came mainly from the custom duties collected from its port and the revenue derived from the land was nearly zero. Diu, which had developed as an important trading destination under its capable and ambitious governor Malik Ayaz, became a prominent door for the Portuguese and their collaborators for obtaining commodities from the hinterland of Gujarat and the Mughal terrains. 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.⁸⁷ Besides, the custom houses in Diu, there were minor custom houses in Goghla, Pallarym and other small neighbouring ports.⁸⁸ Even in Diu, the custom officials collected the Diu tolls. Initially the customs

⁸⁴ A.B. De Braganca Pereira, *“Etongrafia da India Portuguesa As Civilizacoes da India”*, Vol.2, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1991, Vol.2, p. 24

⁸⁵ Om Prakash, “The Indian Maritime Merchant, 1500- 1800”, *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 47, no. 3, 2004, p. 440

⁸⁶ 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

⁸⁷ 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

⁸⁸ 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

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.⁸⁹ The revenue from Diu along with that of Daman was around 131,500 pardaos in 1574 and 3000 pardaos was generated separately from the trade of horses.⁹⁰ 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 custom duties of great amount.⁹¹ Akbar was given an 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*⁹². 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 custom duties, they also collected taxes from the cultivators, artisans, craftsmen and merchants⁹³. The total income from Diu around 1581 amounted to 100,000 pardaos after deducting the various expenditure incurred for administration.⁹⁴ 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. ⁹⁵The 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.⁹⁶

⁸⁹ 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

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 146

⁹¹ Luis Frederico Dias Antunes, *op.cit*, p.65

⁹² K.S. Mathew., *Portuguese and the Sultanate of Gujarat(1500-1573)*, Mittal Publication, Delhi, 1986, p. 146-147

⁹³ 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

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 147

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 147

⁹⁶ Luis Frederico Dias Antunes, *op.cit*, p.65

V. Urban Economy

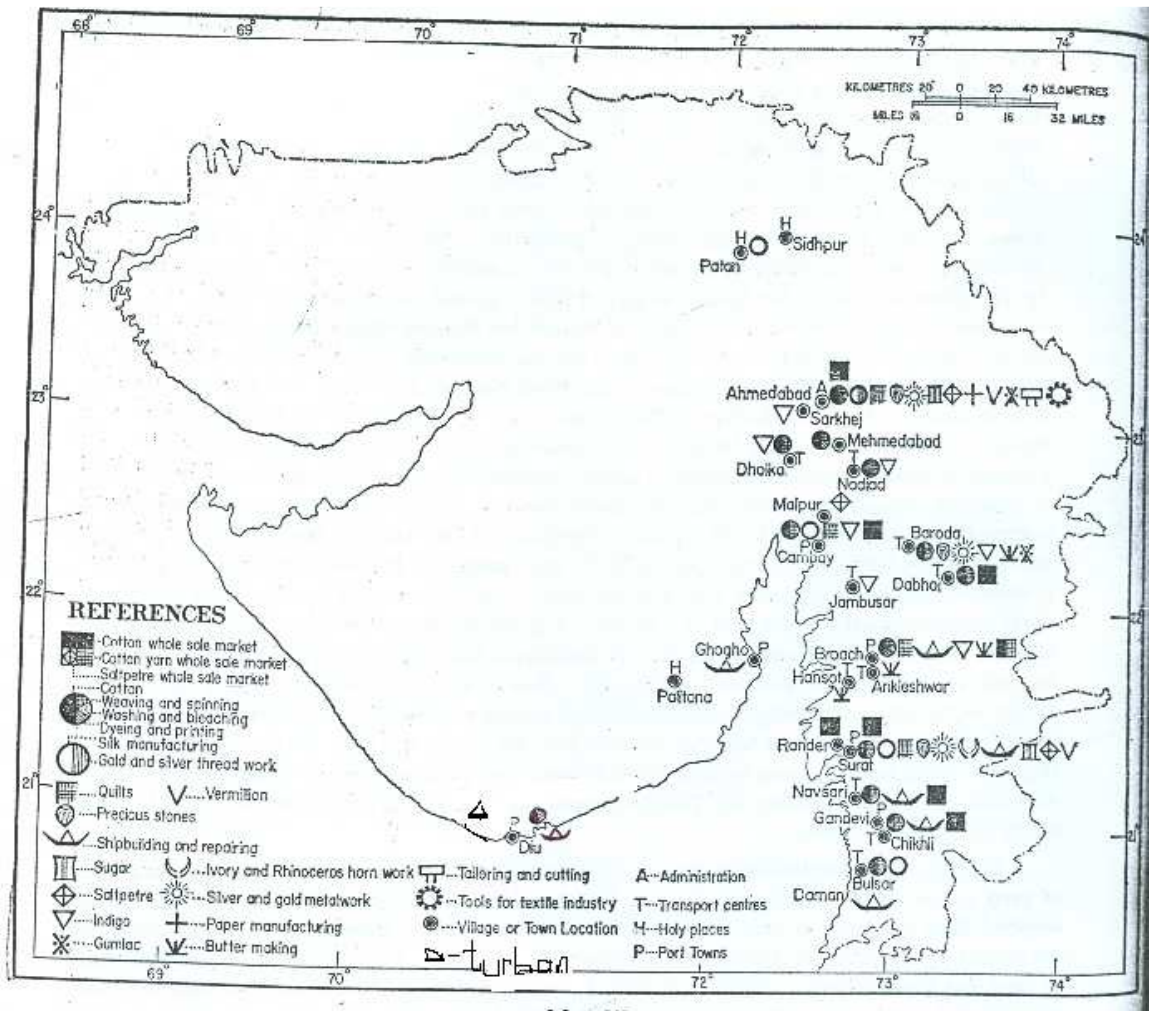
The basis of urban economy of Diu comprised the multiple production activities that helped to promote its sea-borne trade and facilitated the Portuguese control over the commodity movements of the region. Due to the salty water of Diu, the growth of agriculture was very low⁹⁷. But there was a rise of 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.⁹⁸ Diu was always known for its textile and printing on cotton textiles. These cotton fabrics of Diu were sold on local market, in West Asia and Red Sea through the harbours 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.⁹⁹

The cotton fabrics painted and printed in Diu were used in the trade of East Africa to obtain ivory, gold and slaves. The Indian fabrics that the African markets had in high demand were the

⁹⁷ *People of India: Daman and Diu*, Vol. XIX, ed. Kumar Suresh Singh, Popular Prakashan Private Limited, Bombay, 1994, p. 13

⁹⁸ Luis Frederico Dias Antunes, op.cit, p.74

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 75



THE CENTRES OF PRODUCTION OF GUJARAT

(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.26, 52)

zuarde, the cotonias, plain white cotton clothes and chintz.¹⁰⁰ The dyers of Diu were known for making excellent primary colours and shades for the yellow, red and violet hues. The water used for the dyeing was rich in calcium carbide. It played a major role in dyeing as it helped in getting various hues of the same colour.¹⁰¹ The printing blocks were mostly built of wood with a black board rubber in size and shape. These blocks provided a range of design moulds of varied sizes. Some of them were florals or animal prints or simply lines, circles or are zigzag in nature. Another type of blocks found were more influenced by the Portuguese styles like that of popular motifs drawn from tiles, bunches of grapes with vine leaves, emblems from coats of arms or symbols or monograms which were used for the personal use of distinguished families or personalities. Diu was famous for manufacture of turbans¹⁰²

The western India had important ship building centres. The reason for it was the availability of timber in the area around Bassein and also easy availability of cheap labour. Daman and Bassein were considered to be important ship building centres¹⁰³. In Diu too ships were being made. Though the industry was not as flourishing as that of Bassein and Daman yet there are evidences, which show that a number of, mostly, small ships were being constructed in Diu. Aziz Koka had a ship which was manufactured in Diu¹⁰⁴.

VI. Social Welfare and Health Care Institutions

The Portuguese in their attempts to construct a Lusiatnian city in Diu transplanted many of their urban institutions and welfare programmes to this town. One of the main urban institution that they introduced in Diu was Misericordia(House of Mercy);

¹⁰⁰ibid, p. 75

¹⁰¹Luis 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.75*

¹⁰² Extract of Ceasar Fredericke, *His Pilgrims*, ed. Samuel Purchas, Haklyut Society, London, Vol. 10, p. 90

¹⁰³ William Foster(ed.),*Letter of Father Reimao at Bassein to the President at Surat, June, 1634, English factory Records, 1634-1636, Oxford, 1923,pp.108-109*

¹⁰⁴Surendra 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. 191

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 Misericordia in India was founded in Cochin in 1527. The Misericordia was established in centres where there were hospitals and began to render help to hospital services and the poor. The members of Misericordia 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 supported the destitute and the abandoned children. In 1574, according to the budget of the *Estado da India*, an amount of 9000 *reais* 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 *reais*.¹⁰⁵ 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*.¹⁰⁶

The Misericordia was meant to be a charitable institution, a brotherhood founded to run hospitals and hospices, bury the corpse of indigents and other charitable works. 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, i.e., the bequests, the money of the citizens who died intestate and legacies of deceased persons which were awaiting transmission to their heirs.¹⁰⁷ In Diu 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 Lisbon¹⁰⁸. There was an important link with the charitable

¹⁰⁵ Pius Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India:1500-1663*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2001, P. 88

¹⁰⁶ *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, Vol.1, p. 133

¹⁰⁷ R.J. Barendse, *op.cit*, p. 99

¹⁰⁸ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia 1500-1700, a Political and Economic History*, Longman, London, 1993, p. 226

institutions like the orphanage of Batavia and the lay brotherhood of the “holy house of charity” of Diu as with other Portuguese settlements of Bassein, Goa, Chaul and Mozambique.¹⁰⁹ 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.¹¹⁰

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.¹¹¹ The Portuguese hospital used to have a garden attached to it and in this place many Indian herbs were also grown. There are evidences which show that the hospital of Diu had a garden attached to it and this hospital was active as late as 18th century.¹¹²

The Portuguese tried to intervene in the societal and cultural processes of Diu 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 Diu¹¹³. 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.

¹⁰⁹ R.J. Barendse, *The Arabian Seas: The Indian Ocean World Of the Seventeenth Century*, Vision Books, New Delhi, 2002, p. 99

¹¹⁰ *ibid*

¹¹¹ 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, 28

¹¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 22- 23

¹¹³ *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, ed. Henry James Coleridge, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2004, Vol.2, p. 463

Moreover, the Jesuits had large properties at Bombay, Bandra, Bassein, Thane, Chaul, Daman and Diu¹¹⁴. 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.

VII. Changing Urban Ethnicity and Social Engineering of the Portuguese

The urban ethnicity of Diu underwent a radical transformation over years, with the dwindling of the Portuguese population and the entry of more and more non-Portuguese traders into the city space for the purpose of taking part in its profitable trade. As per the quinquennial report of the church prepared in 1621, there were about 5500 Christians in Diu, out of whom about 4000 were Portuguese people affiliated to the main church.¹¹⁵ However 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 the throwing of commercial opportunities in East Africa to the banyas through Diu made more and more banyas settle down in the city either as the collaborators of the Portuguese or as direct investors. The establishment of the commercial company of the banyas in 1685 for the purpose of conducting trade with East Africa made more and more banyas move towards Diu and make use of the large commercial opportunities thus opened to them by mobilizing resources and personnel from the neighbourhood. As a result by 1722 the number of Catholics in Diu declined to 429.¹¹⁶ Abbe Carre who came to Diu after the attack by the Omanis, gives a detailed description of the destruction caused by them and also speaks of the degeneration that shook the once prosperous city. The churches bore marks of destruction. St. Francis church was again rebuilt and was only left with three monks. The traces of Omani destruction could be seen around the city in damaged roads and main buildings. The Omanis left the city with large amount of money and even women.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ *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

¹¹⁵ Joseph Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India: From the Middle of the Sixteenth to the End of the Seventeenth Century*, Vol.2, Church History Association of India, Bangalore, 1988, p. 388

¹¹⁶ Joseph Thekkedath, *op. cit*, p. 388

¹¹⁷ *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. 135

In the changed situation, the city was increasingly becoming non-Christian and pluricultural and the Portuguese found it to be much more profitable to keep the city multicultural, than mono-cultural for the purpose of facilitating the conduct of trade with East Africa. At a time when the Portuguese navigational lines were increasingly attacked by the Dutch and English, the Portuguese could not conduct trade directly with Mozambique; instead they handed over this strand of trade to the banyas of Diu, from whom the Portuguese collected customs duties at Diu, which was far more profitable than conducting direct trade in such insecure situations.¹¹⁸ This development necessitated the accommodation of more and more banyas as residents in the city of Diu, making it to be more of a de-Lusitanized city. In the larger early colonial agenda of the Portuguese, the city of Diu with a predominant indigenous and non-Christian population was entrusted with the task of creating a supportive mercantile segment for the Portuguese out of the Hindu banyas and get them involved in the risky routes of the Indian Ocean trade for the purpose intensifying the trade of Diu and thus for augmenting the scale of profit that the Portuguese used to bag out of it through customs duties. The banyas of Diu maintained a good rapport with the Jesuits of the city, who in turn came forward to push further the commercial activities of the banyas in East Africa, often championing their cause of commerce in important policy decision bodies. The banyas made use of this social capital for conducting trade in different parts of Indian Ocean regions, where the Jesuits had their houses. When the Portuguese private merchants raised objections to the banyas being allowed to conduct trade in the interior of Africa, it was the Jesuits who came in support of the banyas 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.¹¹⁹

The Christians were not allowed in many of the Portuguese settlements to have any relationship, either commercial or socio-cultural, with the non-Christians, a policy which they changed only when the Portuguese started facing financial crisis.

¹¹⁸ 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, p. 17

¹¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 16

However, in the Council of 1567, the Portuguese officially exempted Hormuz, Diu and Macao from this law, as in these places conducting of trade was not possible without the collaboration of non-Portuguese people. This exemption was confirmed about a century later on account of the help the Diu banyas rendered to the Jesuits in Abyssinia and similar privileges were given to the local Muslims, as well.¹²⁰ The available details show that the various components in the society of Diu were held together by the commonality of interests stemming from the pursuit of trade. In other words it was principally a pluri-cultural mercantile society, despite the various religious institutions seen on the outer visibility.

The increasing ethnic alterations happening in the city of Diu with passing of its trade into the hands of the banyas began to get reflected on the physicality of the city. The sun temple of Diu, which was originally built by the Chavadas, the so-called founders of Diu, and other Hindu shrines began to gain superior position in the changed situation. Similarly the Juma Mosque and other mosques became other cultural institutions which gave cohesion to the otherwise diversified Muslim traders of Diu.

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 Portuguese enclaves. This led to the growth of Hindu and Muslim architecture simultaneously with the Portuguese structures. By the end of the 17th century, the city became more and more cosmopolitan and the power of banyas 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.

The above discussion shows the changing character and meaning that the city of Diu acquired during the early modern period thanks to the logic of colonialism that the Portuguese inscribed onto its urban space. The Portuguese wanted to convert the

¹²⁰ C.R., Boxer, "*The Portuguese Sea Borne Empire*", Hutchison, London, 1969, p. 68-69

urban unit of Diu as a pliable tool to control the trade of Gujarat. 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 in Diu over years. Hence the Portuguese socially engineered the process as to create a loyal social base in the city out of the baniya and Muslim merchant partners. By leaving trade into the hands of the native collaborators and allowing the city to evolve as a quasi-Gujarati urban unit, 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.



ARIEL VIEW OF THE FORT

Source: <http://www.unp.me/f8/diu-53353/>

Conclusion

The discussions in the foregoing chapters highlight the way how the Portuguese intervened in the commercial and urbanization processes of Diu for the purpose of furthering their politico-economic interests in Gujarat. The occupation of Diu and its fortification with the view of creating a walled city for the protection of the Portuguese casado traders residing over there, was followed by a series of attempts to inscribe meanings of their domination into urban space through a process of spatialization and construction of elegant edifices. Through the social, spatial and political mechanisms, the city and its urban dwellers were used by the Portuguese as devices to interfere in the movement of commodities flowing towards and out of the hinterland of North India through the ports of Gujarat

1. Diu , which was earlier the capital of the Chavadas or Chapas and which later provided asylum to Vanjara after the attack of Muzaffar Khan the governor of Delhi sultans in 1406 , was developed as a port of significance by Jalal Khan on his return from defeating the Chinese junks that came to Diu from Cochin. However it was with the handing over of the responsibility of Diu to Malik Ayaz by Mauhammad Begada that it became the most coveted trading destination of western India. The Portuguese on their arrival in India realized that their trade in the Indian Ocean could be better conducted only by incorporating into their commercial system textiles, indigo and other cargo available at the ports of Gujarat, for materializing which occupation of Diu was viewed as a project of utmost importance.

2. Though the Portuguese occupied Diu in return for the help that they promised to the Muzzaffarid ruler of Gujarat against the background of Mughal invasion of Gujarat, the repeated attempts of the Ottomans in 1538 and 1546 with the help of Muzzafarids to oust the Portuguese from India made them focus on Diu and develop it as a commercial-cum -urban centre that would protect the political and commercial interests of the Portuguese along the coast of Gujarat in general, and that would enable them to interfere effectively in the circulatory processes of North India in particular.

3. The Portuguese Governor, Lopo Soares gave the orders for building up a fort in Diu as early as 1518. One of the major reasons for such a move was that the Portuguese thought that as long as Diu was under the control of the Muzzaffardis, it would be easy for the Turks to take control of the flourishing trade of Diu and raise threat to Portuguese Possession along the west coast. The strategic location of its port, at the entrance of the Gulf of Cambay was an added reason that favoured the fast growth of this commercial centre.. With the decline of Cambay , and particularly with the commercial stimulus given by the ambitious governor Malik Ayaz, Diu's commerce became synonymous with Gujarati trade and its occupation was viewed as the easiest way of ensuring easy access to the strands of trade emanating from North west India, Indo-Gangetic plains and the Deccan. The Portuguese naturally included the control of Diu as an integral part of their commercial political agenda designed for the Indian Ocean.

4. The Portuguese soldiers and private traders, who initially resided in the evolving city , were in constant fear of being attacked by the Ottomans. However the demographic size of Diu increased considerably with the advent of many married Portuguese men brought from Cochin and Goa to lift the siege of Diu laid by the Ottomans in 1546 and they were allowed to settle down in the city permanently, causing them to evolve as the social base of Diu for the purpose of sustaining it against the background of repeated attacks of the Turks.

5. This social process is followed by an intense spatial process, whereby elegant churches and magnificent edifices, conveying the messages of their domination in the matters of trade and politics of the region , were constructed. The Churches of the Jesuits and the Franciscans stand as models of renaissance architecture that the Portuguese transplanted in Diu as a part of their larger spatial processes.

6. The Portuguese used the outpost of Diu for two different purposes: They saw to it that all the vessels plying between coastal Gujarat and Persian Gulf as well as Red Sea should visit Diu to pay customs duty and to obtain cartaz of licence for their navigation. This besides fetching a considerable amount of money to the treasury ensured that all the navigational lines of vessels moving towards or emanating from coastal Gujarat should converge at Diu , causing this port to evolve as the core port of

Gujarat in the sixteenth century. In the third decade of 16th century the income from Diu alone was 117,000 cruzados per year. Around 1537, there were more than 45 rich merchants having Diu as their operational base and each of them had investments of not less than 50,000 to 60,000 cruzados. The concentration of different strands of trade in Diu in turn augmented the trading abilities of Portuguese casados, who were then mainly involved in the trade with Mozambique and East Africa, where they used to fetch ivory, gold and slaves in return for Gujarati textiles. As a result of these two different type of moves , Diu became the major door for the flow of bullions to North India in the sixteenth century, besides being the principal door through which the inland trade circuits merged into maritime circulatory processes

7. 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 holds the view that by 1591 the gold export from Southeast African markets was about 716 kilograms . 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 the first decade of the sixteenth century that there were many Gujaratis living in the city of Melinde and 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 city. For several centuries, Monomotapa was a major source for gold for the Indian traders, specially the banyas, taking Gujarati textiles to African markets. Horses appeared to have been originally brought from the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf areas with which Diu had active trade contacts. Horses were also brought to Diu from Muscat. 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 quiet a profitable centre for the Portuguese. Muscat's meager revenue used to reach Diu, partly in bullion, partly in horses, dates and fruits to Diu and Chaul.

8. Diu, along with its flourishing external trade also had a very well developed internal trading network. The merchants of Chaul and Dabul carried to Diu locally manufactured textiles for sale. If they were unable to dispose of their articles, they sailed with them to the Red Sea and Persian Gulf areas. From Diu, the merchants of

Chaul also purchased fine muslin, which they carried to Arabia and Persia where it was in demand for making turbans. Before proceeding to the countries of the Persian Gulf and Red Sea areas, the Chaul and the Dabul merchants used to gather at Diu, to explore first the possibility of sales in overseas markets. From Chaul Gujarati merchants used to purchase copper which was brought there by the Malabaris and the Portuguese. The ships from the Kanara coast also came to Diu for trading purposes. Ships from Bhatkal brought sugar to Diu. Even ports south of Bhatkal like the Bera, Basia, Barkar, Udipiram and Mangalore traded with Gujarat. However, the trade was disrupted because of the fight between Portuguese and the Bijapuris and Malabaris. The coins of Goa and Kanara were equal in exchange rate. Moreover, the Portuguese depended heavily on the rice supply of Kanara. Large quantities of areca- nuts 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. Duarte Barbosa talks about trade between Diu and the Maratha country through the sea routes. Silk, cotton horses, opium, wheat and other items were traded between the two. Opium and horses were re- exported. Opium was exported from Bombay although a part of it was indigenous. Cambay had trading relations with Diu. The banias of Cambay continued to maintain their trading relations with Diu and the most traded articles were the calicoes and different types of clothes. Even the traders of Diu used to come up to Surat through the waterways, laden with all sorts of commodities which they exchanged with wheat, linen, rice and coffee- berries. In the trade between Goa and Diu, Goa played the role of entrepot in the first half 17th century. From Goa, luxury goods derived from all over Asia was sent to Diu, where it was exchanged for indigo, cotton and textiles from Saurashtra and grains, butter and cattle from Kathiawar. The Portuguese in Diu bagged their principal income from trade and the share of land revenue from Diu in the total income derived by Portuguese was 0% as compared to 75% by the Bassein, 80% in Ceylon, 90% in Daman and 2% in Goa. In the early 1630s, the total revenue generated from Diu was 79,800 xerafins, which entirely came from custom duties levied on trade. Thus Diu thrived only upon trade and commerce. Commodities like ghee, oil, fish, opium, arrack, betel leaves and horses along with textiles were taxed in Diu. All the people who lived in Diu were engaged in trade in some way or the other and under the policies of the Portuguese it turned out to be one of the most important port –town of

the Indian Ocean. The Portuguese state played a very important role in the commercial activities in Diu than it played in any other parts of India. The agents of the Government played the role of intermediaries in the commerce of Diu .

9. The Portuguese developed a hierarchy of customs collection centres around Diu and these minor custom houses were located in Goghla, Pallarym and other small neighbouring ports. Even in Diu, the custom 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. Later the Portuguese began to bag the entire customs , particularly with the straining of relationship between the two. The revenue from Diu along with that of Daman was around 131,500 pardaos in 1574 and 3000 pardaos was generated separately from the trade of horses. 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 custom duties of great amount. Akbar was given a relaxation of one ship to cross Diu without paying any tax and it was calculated that from this single ship the Portuguese lost around 15000 cruzados , which in turn is suggestive of the revenue that they used to bag from high-value-intense vessels. It 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 custom duties, they also collected taxes from the cultivators, artisans, craftsmen and merchants . The total income from Diu around 1581 amounted to 100,000 pardaos after deducting the various expenditure incurred for administration.

10. The flourishing trade of Diu and the enormous wealth that the Portuguese accrued from it were the major reasons why there were continuous confrontations between the Gujarati sultanate and the Portuguese. There were number of sieges which took place in the port city which also helped to change the demographic map of the place. When Bahadur Shah of Gujarat handed over Diu to the Portuguese in 1534, the former demanded that there should be no proselytizing, especially from among the Muslims. However this desire of Bahadur Shah did not remain respected for long, because of the conflicts that evolved between the two after 1538, particularly after the

siege of Diu by the Gujarati and Ottoman forces in 1538 and 1546. With the increasing settling down of Portuguese families in Diu after having lifted the siege of 1546, there was an enormous increase in the number of Portuguese citizens in the city. This led to a change of the spatial process of the city space as more and more churches and other institutions which fulfilled the requirements of the new settlers started coming up. And the city space, like the population of Diu was characterized by different religions and cultures. Diu was a city which had Hindus, Muslims, Abyssinians, Europeans and people from various cultures coming and staying together for the sake of trade. Trade gave it a different identity and helped it to change from a small Hindu settlement under the Chavadas to that of one of the most important trading destinations of India. After 1630s when there was a decline in the Portuguese power in India, the trade of Diu dwindled to a certain level but was able to continue, thanks to the ability of the Portuguese to incorporate the mercantile expertise and banking networks of banyas of Diu for conducting their business.

11. The most important section of the population of Diu consisted of the banyas. The financial markets were totally dominated by the banyas, 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 banyas was brokerage and wholesaling of the commodities. Banyas 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. The range of commercial activities that the baniya merchants participated in 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 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. The Gujarati banyas 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 banyas, there are evidence of guild like organization among the artisans and handicraftsmen. The Portuguese trade in the African coast depended mostly on the banyas. The support which the banyas showed towards the Portuguese during the war with Omanis, earned them the right to worship, a privilege which was hardly seen in the other Portuguese settlements like Chaul and Goa. The increasing ethnic alterations happening in the city of Diu with passing of its trade into the hands of the banyas began to get reflected on the physicality of the city. The sun temple of Diu, which was originally built by the Chavadas, the so-called founders of Diu, and other Hindu shrines began to gain superior position in the changed situation. Similarly the Juma Mosque and other mosques became other cultural institutions which gave cohesion to the otherwise diversified Muslim traders of Diu.

12. The Portuguese wanted to convert the urban unit of Diu as a pliable tool to control the trade of Gujarat. 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 in Diu over years. Hence the Portuguese socially engineered the process as to create a loyal social base in the city out of the baniya and Muslim merchant partners. By leaving trade into the hands of the native collaborators and allowing the city to evolve as a quasi-Gujarati urban unit, 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.

Thus, in short, the urban unit of Diu along with its social and spatial processes was used by the Portuguese to cement their politico-economic position in the region and generate resources for the sustenance of their larger early colonial edifice in the Indian Ocean. The urban society and the physicality of Diu were allowed to evolve only as a part of their early colonial agenda, which comprised the tasks of controlling the trade emanating from Gujarat on the one side and of furthering the political and commercial interests of the Portuguese in the region on the other hand. Combining these dual functions, the Portuguese urban unit of Diu operated as a sentry in the waterways of north-western Indian Ocean.

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