

NARRATIVES, ROUTES AND INTERSECTIONS IN PRE-MODERN ASIA



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GOA AT THE INTERSECTION OF WORLD TRADE ROUTES IN THE PRE-MODERN AGE

Strangers at home and at home with strangers

Teotonio R. de Souza

I wish to present Goa as a port of call (*porto de escala*), meaning an intermediate stop, where ships picked up supplies and fuel, a sort of entrepôt for storage of imported goods and distribution centre. It was not a home port, nor a final destination. It needed obviously an administrative set-up to ensure efficient and smooth running services, earning the confidence of all parties and making all feel safe and at home. That is what Goa had been under various pre-Portuguese rulers. Under the Kadambas and Vijayanagara, Gove is mentioned as the capital of the Banavasi and other neighbouring regions, including controlling political centres across Ghats in the Deccan.¹ Under the Portuguese rule it gained in scale, such as was required by the administrative headquarters and colonial capital of the *Estado da Índia*, that extended from East Africa till the Far East.

The Bhojas, Mauryas, Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas, Shilaharas, Kadambas, Yadavas, Bahmanis, the Vijayanagar and the Bijapur dynasties ruled Goa of different sizes at different times. Since ancient times, Goa maintained commercial connections with cultures of Mesopotamia and the Indus valley, as well as with East Africa. Goa's global trade and traffic increased manifold when the Portuguese captured it from the Muslim rulers in 1510. We have a good survey of Goa's coastal and overseas trade, from the earliest times to 1510, by V.T. Gune.² Pius Malekandathil has recently updated our knowledge of the maritime trade with the Islamised Arab and Sassanid Persian merchants and the political economy of Goa under Silaharas and Kadam-bas, during 800–1500.³

How the city of Goa evolved into a major port of call and as a business station between Europe and the East in 1530 was analysed by K.S. Mathew in *Goa through the Ages: An Economic History* (pp. 137–45); M.N. Pearson continued the analysis for Goa-based seaborne trade in the seventeenth–eighteenth centuries (pp. 146–76), and Celsa Pinto treated Goa-based overseas and coastal trade during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (pp. 176–212). All these authors have made extensive use of archival documentation and published studies.

There is no point in my repeating here the data that can be culled from the authors and studies that I have just cited. I can also refer those interested in the specifics of the Portuguese Goa-based seaborne trade around early seventeenth century to an article I published in *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*.⁴ I shall rather limit myself to raising some issues about trade agents, trade organisations, politics of trade, urban institutions that Goa acquired during the early modern period under the Portuguese, who made Goa an international nodal trade port. These issues may suggest new aspects that require attention of younger researchers. Looking for the role of the foreigners, spies, smugglers and shady politics can also be a welcome approach to perceiving the functioning of an international trade network.

I propose that we imagine Goa as an historic nest of foreigners attracted by its commercial opportunities. None of us gathered here will be unfamiliar with the notorious Portuguese Inquisition in Goa. But while it is usually associated with religious fanaticism, it is rarely seen as an instrument of urban control. It assisted the Portuguese officials in gathering information about foreigners. I wish to suggest the reading of a study by J.A. Rodrigues da Silva Tavim about the Jews in Portuguese India in the sixteenth century.⁵ The Jewish ability to handle various languages made them expert international informants, double agents and traders. S.D. Goitein revealed to us their trade activities in India using the documents of the Cairo geniza.⁶ Some of them proved to be strategic informants of Vasco da Gama, as commercial, diplomatic and military advisors to early Portuguese empire builders.⁷

However, following the influx of the Dutch and the English in the Indian Ocean, many suspected as foreign spies were packed off from Goa to Europe with the help of the Goa Inquisition. One can also glean in the lists of those accused in the *autos-da-fé* many natives from within and beyond the Goa borders. It was a mechanism to ward off violence and ensure security for trade. My analysis presumes that colonial interests are incompatible in the long run with the native interests. Enlisting and exacting some partial collaboration permitted the colonial port cities to survive as long as they did. Politics of cloak and dagger, or rather elimination by poisoning the enemies and rivals, could tell better the story of Goa as a world mart.⁸

While all foreigners are also strangers at an initial stage, Goa was also a known base for smuggling and clandestine operations, which necessarily implied dealings between strangers and local inhabitants, or between local inhabitants who were *at home* with undisclosed foreigners, and as such 'strangers'. *At home* may be understood as friendly, but also supposedly *at ease* to deal with, in accordance with the interests of the dominant elite or elites.

The foreigners, meaning other Europeans, including the Dutch who had rebelled against Spain, but also the English and the French, were all under watch and suspected of spying. Two well-known foreigners, namely J.H. van Linschoten and Jacques Mocquet, in Goa have left their travel accounts. In the category of foreigners were also included the Castilians, who according to the promise made by the Philips of Spain would not be appointed to serve in the administration of the Portuguese territories overseas during the period of the unification of the two kingdoms. The Goa municipality's correspondence with the king has references to Antonio Giralte, whom the viceroy had removed from the office of Public Revenue Inspector of Goa, replacing him with Vicencio de Brune, '*pessoa estrangeira*', a foreigner or non-Portuguese national. There was a swift response from the crown to the municipality, disapproving the action of the viceroy.⁹

Smuggling was a serious menace to the security and survival of the ports of call. There is yet another side, a tanatographic perspective about the strangers at home. We may yet have to investigate how many of those were buried in Goa, as gleaned from the epitaphs found in the forts, churches and cemeteries of Goa. Many of them survived fortunately due to efforts of J.H. da Cunha Rivara and Ricardo Micael Teles, who recorded them. Were they Portuguese nationals serving in Goa as officials or businessmen, or Portuguese or foreign missionaries serving under Padroado, or undisclosed foreigners or strangers, who stayed for good in Goa by choice or otherwise? One could also find six epitaphs in the cemetery at Cabo, where lay some who were serving in the British garrison that occupied Goa during the Napoleonic wars.¹⁰

We know through Duarte Barbosa, an early Portuguese chronicler, that the city of Goa captured by the Portuguese in 1510 from Adil Shah was inhabited by respectable moors and wealthy white foreign merchants, as well as by Hindus, both land cultivators and fighters. It was a land with much trade and had a good harbour that was visited by many ships coming from Mecca, Aden, Hormuz, Cambay and Malabar, bringing many horses that were sold for 200 to 400 *cruzados* each, providing 40 *cruzados* on each for the state treasury. In exchange for horses and pearls that came from Hormuz and were sold to the sultans of the Deccan and

Vijayanagar, the ships took back sugar, pepper, ginger, variety of spices and sundry other goods.

Entry into the island and the city was strictly guarded, and there were magistrates, clerks and guards who would check the identity and place of origin of every incomer, and noted down their distinguishing physical marks. That was how the entry and exit from the city was regulated. The island was rich in land and sea revenues.¹¹ The capital city of Goa captured by the Portuguese was at Elá, where they developed their capital that came to be known as Velha Goa. The Muslims preferred to conduct their trade from there, two miles away from the earlier Hindu-dominated port city. Ibn Batuta, who took part in the capture of Goa for the nawab of Honawar, mentioned two cities, one Hindu and the other Muslim.

The grave situation created by the smugglers in the West Coast of India was presented by Anthony Disney at the Indo-Portuguese History Seminar at Cochin in 1989.¹² Despite all the apparatus of organisation Goa was a base for large-scale clandestine activities that successfully evaded state control and its customs, often with official connivance! Jacques de Couttre, the Flemish jewel merchant who lived in Goa and visited several regions of India and South East Asia, attributed to smugglers the loss of Hormuz, an important port of call. *Passadores* smuggled goods in Goa up the River Mandovi and overland through the *Ghat* passes into Bijapur.

Disney described one particularly notorious *passador* residing in the small island of Jua, strategically located in the Mandovi River, where considerable quantities of illicit goods were often stored for shipment in the mainland. We are told that two brothers were between them, the owner and captain of that island, and helped their smuggler-clients, which included Cambay Baniyas and several prominent figures among the local Portuguese, some of them connected with lucrative China-Japan trade.

Some of the *devassas* (judicial inquiries) revealed that items like spices, gold, silver reales and pearls were objects of smuggling, and the smuggling activity was so well organised that it was backed by insurers from among the resident New Christians (converted jews), such as Francisco Menezes de Crasto. The *manchuas* (small boats) owned by the viceroy and archbishop were often used by their servants and friends for smuggling purposes. Many white settlers or *casados*, and even a *vedor da fazenda*, like Nuno Vaz Castelo Branco, had their *quintas* (holiday homes) along the banks of the River Mandovi, which served as landing places for goods taken from the ships before they reached the customs in Pangim.¹³

Beside *passadores* there were *pimenteiros* (smugglers), who were more difficult to check in their smuggling of pepper in particular, but also other high-value goods, including horses, pearls, slaves through ports all along

the West Coast of India, across the Red Sea, the Hadramaut coast and as far as the Persian Gulf and Mozambique, and on the other coast along the Bengal ports, Malacca and Macao. They used the more swift and elusive oar-vessels and small galliots, and often bought *cartazes* (passes) from the local commanders as a legal cover. They would find ways of bypassing ports of call and arrange rendezvous at sea with other smuggling vessels. They were also effectively armed to defend themselves if chased, and often had the backing from the native rulers who held share in the benefits, and as the viceroy Count of Redondo revealed in one of the *devassas* 'the majority of fidalgos and casados of Goa were public robbers of the customs', but were skilful in covering their tracks by utilising the services of third parties.

Mocquet arrived in Goa in May 1609 as a French tourist and spy, who had managed to infiltrate the entourage of the viceroy designate Count of Feira. It was a case somewhat similar to the earlier successful attempt of the Dutchman Linschotten who joined the entourage of the archbishop designate D. Vicente da Fonseca. The viceroy had died during the journey, and he had embalmed his body as official apothecary. He was not impressed by the Portuguese Catholicism in Goa. He preferred the honest natives to the arrogant fidalgos and their cruel treatment of slaves. He returned with the ship that brought back to Portugal the viceroy André Furtado de Mendonça, who was ill (suspected of poisoning) and accepted the medical care of Mocquet who wanted to get back to Europe. An English pilot joined the voyage as co-pilot, but Pyrard was assigned to a different ship. The governor died near Saint Helena, and he was the second governor to be embalmed by Mocquet, assisted by a barber-surgeon. The ship *N. Sra da Penha de França* touched Cascais on 2 July 1610.

Mocquet left a very tragic picture of the Indo-Portuguese society, far from harmonious.¹⁴ He mentions with gratitude the good reception he had in Goa from the French Jesuit priest based in Goa, Fr. Etienne de la Croix, who had earlier helped the other French traveller Pyrard de Laval with some cash and willingness to intervene before the viceroy to get him out of jail.¹⁵ Similarly, the two Englishmen caught in Hormuz and brought to Goa were helped by their Jesuit countryman, Thomas Steven.

Let me return to the issue of non-integration of the complex and conflicting interests in colonial Goa. That was precisely the central argument of my doctoral dissertation entitled originally 'Goa in the Seventeenth Century: A Socio-economic History'.¹⁶ In several of my later studies I have extended the analysis right up to the end of the colonial rule.

It cannot be forgotten that the life of a maritime trading port is vitally dependent upon the supply lines, not just by sea, but also from the hinterland. Most of the studies of the colonial cities, including Goa, either

touch the issue of this latter dependence very superficially or ignore it altogether as of little consequence. Very little serious attention has been paid, for instance, to various cases of local rebellions in Goa as expressions of the native discontent with the colonial policies. The murder of half a dozen Jesuits in Cuncolim in 1583 was one such early and serious case. It has been presented generally as Hindu reaction to the Jesuit conversion drive in Salcete.

As I pointed out in my research, Cuncolim was one of the rare villages that lived on more than agriculture for subsistence.¹⁷ It had its own petty industry, including gun-manufacturing capacity. In the letters of Afonso de Albuquerque one reads that guns of good quality were manufactured in Cuncolim, and he finds them comparable to those the Portuguese brought from Bohemia.¹⁸ The anger of local elite that murdered the Jesuits was provoked by the destruction of their local temple that was located at cross-roads of trade routes that linked Goa with the hinterland through the Ghat passes.¹⁹ The trade fairs held during the temple feasts were vital for their economic activity.

I have analysed elsewhere how the Portuguese had been sufficiently content with their maritime trade during most of the sixteenth century, and consequently did not interfere with the agriculture-based economy of the local inhabitants. This situation started to change from the beginning of the seventeenth century. The threats posed by the arrival of the Dutch and the Englishmen led to the building of the new fortifications at the entrance of the Mandovi River, but resulted simultaneously in an increasingly frequent investment by the *casados* (married white settlers) in the rural lands, violating the assurances given to the village communities in the *Foral* of Afonso Mexia in 1526. During this process the religious parish priests posed themselves as protectors of the native interests against the intrusion of the white *casados*. In reality the religious orders were themselves upset in their unrivalled white domination of the rural areas until then.²⁰

In addition to the violation of the exclusive land proprietary rights of the Goan natives in their village communities, there were complaints about coconuts being taken forcibly by the captains of the Aguada and Reis Magos forts that defended the bay entry to the capital city. The natives were paid only one-third of the market price. The native labour was also regularly recruited for digging trenches of the Tivy fortifications in the northern Bardez taluka of Goa, and to watch the coastline against any enemy intruders. The village communities were made to pay 36,000 *xerafins* to cover the cost.²¹ A representation of the village communities of Salcete Province to the king in 1643 discloses how Viceroy Pero da Silva had ordered galleons to be built in Goa and the contractors were allowed

to cut down jackfruit trees and other fruit-bearing trees for timber without paying just compensation to the native owners. The note makes it a point to suggest sabotage by stating that the galleons caught fire and were burnt when they entered the bay.²²

The preceding incident of sabotage should convince us that history cannot be written only on the basis of what documents say, but it is important also to analyse the circumstantial evidence to read what documents do not say or leave unsaid. It is important to read in the gaps, often left unexplained by activities of financial corruption or political espionage. One such case was analysed by Sanjay Subrahmanyam in a study entitled '*O inimigo encoberto: a expansão mogul no Decão e o Estado da Índia*' (The hidden enemy: the Mughal expansion in the Deccan and the Portuguese State of India).²³

It is the Mughal policies of expansion in the Deccan that often kept the Portuguese on the West Coast on their toes. The Portuguese relations with Ahmadnagar at the time of Chand Bibi and the eve of the rise of the Marathas formed part of this tangle from the close of the sixteenth century. Bijapur had become at this time a great mart of European private traders, like Flemish Jacques de Coutre, a jewel trader. The correspondence of the Portuguese viceroy Count of Vidigueira suggests that Prince Murad was eliminated by 'a foreign hand' (his own). The Count is not likely to have made false claim, because he proved capable of eliminating a renegade Portuguese recruited by Ibrahim Adil Shah in 1620 to manufacture cannons for him.²⁴

There is much to be read in between the lines and the silences in the Portuguese sources. My late guru, Professor A.R. Kulkarni, acknowledged this fact when he quoted me to explain why the Portuguese, who kept a vigilant eye upon Shivaji's growing power, have nothing to say about his much-publicised coronation in 1674. Pissurlencar's argument about this case is far from convincing, namely that there is a gap in the Portuguese documentation for the years 1669-77. It is far from true.

A.R. Kulkarni quoted me as 'one young scholar from Goa'. He wrote:

The silence can be explained only as an intended black out. This is not difficult to believe. The religious fanaticism of the Portuguese had always considered the Hindu religious rites as devilish and any public celebration was banned within the limits of the Portuguese jurisdiction. Hence the coronation ceremony performed by Hindu priests and attended by them in large numbers was surely regarded by the Portuguese as a grand pagan act, which they could neither approve [*sic*] nor talk about without feeling guilty of blasphemy or fearing the stern hand of the Inquisition.²⁵

As a net result of the violent conversion drive, the arrests and punishments of the Inquisition and the repeated forced levies from the village communities to cover the war costs against the neighbouring rulers, a sizeable number of Goan inhabitants, both Hindus and Christians, had moved out of Goa and settled down in various regions of the Konkan and beyond in the Indian sub-continent. It would be ultimately their pressure that would end the Portuguese colonial rule in Goa in 1961.

The Indian military intervention is generally invoked as the real cause, but let me point out to those who are unaware that Goa Liberation Council created in Bombay (present-day Mumbai) in 1954 was a civic organisation representing nearly 100,000 Goan expatriates eking out their living in Bombay. The leadership of the Goa Liberation Council was largely with the Catholics, including the Archbishop-Cardinal of Bombay, a Goan by origin. More interesting still is the fact that the Operation Vijay, as the military action to occupy Goa, was under operational command of nine high-ranking Goan officers, including only one Hindu. All of them were chosen for their familiarity with Portuguese language, besides their acknowledged military experience in various branches of India's armed forces.²⁶

Major General Pazarat Correia who led one of the expeditionary battalions that was sent from Portugal to Goa in 1954 at the height of tension created by the *satyagraha* movement, and later served in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau before taking part in the Revolt of 25 April 1974, which ended Salazar regime in Portugal, wrote in a recent publication of the *Liga dos Combatentes no Ultramar*:²⁷

The citizens of Goa, Daman and Diu were not incorporated in the Portuguese Armed Forces. . . . There was just one company of infantry in Panjim and that was meant for mere protocolar functions. Let us acknowledge honestly that Goans, and people of Daman and Diu, did not in reality benefit from the statute of Portuguese nationals, with rights and duties of Portuguese citizens, including the duty of performing military service. They were subjected to foreign occupation, and as such, the duty of defending them militarily and the territory belonged to the occupying power. If they were or not Indian citizens, that was a different issue which they had to decide. But Portugal, when it did not permit a different solution that was not invasion, even that right of option was denied to them.

To conclude, Goa's history as a node of international network of trade precedes and follows pre-modern times. Goa's ruling elites can still be studied

as 'strangers at home and at home with strangers'. In post-liberation Goa we witnessed a chief minister accused of gold smuggling along with his brothers. He continues to be popular in the promotion of football and politics, was elected to represent Goa in the Parliament in 1996 and continues to be active in local politics till date. In the past decade some Goans made hay in selling iron ore to the Chinese to build their Olympic stadia at immense profit, without caring for tragic consequences to the ecology of the territory.²⁸ To give a truly surreal touch to Goan internationalism, the Goa government is now facing a delicate task of expelling two elected MLAs who have been denounced as holding Portuguese nationality in a country that does not permit dual nationality.²⁹

Notes

- 1 P. Pissurlencar, "Um Passo do Cronista Barros elucidado à Luz duma Inscrição Sânscrita," *O Oriente Português*, no. 18 (1937), pp. 35–48. Refers to three copper plates issued by Madhav Mantri, governor of Govapura, serving Vijayanagar king Harihara II, in 1391, where we come across reference to 'Gova sinhasane', as capital of Konkan. He captured Goa from the Bahmani rulers in 1366, and ruled in Goa at least till 1387. Goa remained under Vijayanagar until 1470, when it was retaken by Bahmani sultan Muhamad Gawan, general of Muhamad Shah II. A copper plate of this year refers to him as 'Raiá of Goa' (king or ruler of Goa); P. Pissurlencar, "As primitivas capitais de Goa," *O Oriente Português*, no. 1 (1931), pp. 1–20; K.G. Vasantamadhava, "Gove-Karnataka Cultural Contacts from 1000–1600 A.D.," in P.P. Shirodkar, ed., *Goa: Cultural Trends* (Panaji: Directorate of Archives, 1987), pp. 22–33; Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India: Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean* (New Delhi: Primus Books, 2010). Chapter 2 deals with Maritime Trade and Political Economy of Goa, 800–1500 (pp. 19–37).
- 2 Teotonio R. de Souza, ed., *Goa through the Ages*, II (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Co., 1989), pp. 117–36.
- 3 Malekandathil, *Maritime India*, pp. 19–37. Cf. Chandrapura (Chandor) on the bank of River Paroda (a tributary of the Zuari) was the oldest known port of Goa. The discovery of Roman coins and amphorae sherds from Pilar near Gopakapattana port indicates that Roman ships called in ports of Goa during the Satavahana period. The Shilaharas and Kadambas were maritime powers and had trade contacts with West Asia and East African countries. The depiction of a naval battle in the memorial stones (twelfth–thirteenth centuries) exhibited in the Archaeological Museum, Old Goa, reflects the maritime activity of this region.

A rare inscription on copper plates belonging to the reign of Kadamba Jayakeshi I was sent to Portugal by the Goa government in 1727. It was published by P.S.S. Pissurlencar along with several other pre-Portuguese inscriptions of Goa, in "Inscrições Pre-Portuguesas de Goa," *O Oriente Português*, no. 22 (1938), pp. 381–460. This particular inscription dated 1053 CE is transcribed from original plates in Sanskrit and translated into Portuguese in pp. 386–98.

- 4 T.R. de Souza, "Goa-Based Portuguese Seaborne Trade in the Early Seventeenth Century," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 12, no. 4 (1975), pp. 433–42. Cf. also T.R. de Souza, "Marine Insurance and Indo-Portuguese Trade History: Na Aid to Maritime Historiography," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 14, no. 3 (1977), pp. 377–84.
- 5 J.A. Rodrigues da Silva Tavim, "Os judeus e a expansão portuguesa na Índia durante o século XVI. O exemplo de Isaac do Cairo: espião, «língua» e «judeu de Cochim de Cima»," in *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Calouste Gulbenkian*, Vols. 31, 32 (Paris, 1994), pp. 137–260.
- 6 S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Gueniza*, Vol. 1 (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967).
- 7 Dejanirah Couto, *L'espionnage portugais dans l'empire ottoman au XVI^e siècle*, off-print of *La Découverte, le Portugal et l'Europe: Actes du Colloque*, Paris, 26–28 May 1988, ed. J. Aubin (Paris: F. Calosute Gulbenkian, Centre Culturel Portugais, 1990).
- 8 Mocquet embalmed two viceroys who died during his voyage to Goa and return from it. Recently published correspondence of Judge Jorge de Amaral e Vasconcelos (1649–1656), ed. Amandio J. Morais Barros, Porto: Afrontamento, 2011. There was much demand in Goa for the bezoar stones, or 'pedras cordiais', sold by the Goa Jesuits, as antidote to poisoning.
- 9 *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, Fasc. 1-Parte 1, ed. J.H. Cunha Rivara (New Delhi: AES Reprint, 1992), p. 116, Fasc. I-Parte 2, p. 42. The Goa municipality complaints about the decision of the viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque who had removed Antonio Giralte from the office of Vedor da Fazenda and given it to a foreigner, Vicencio de Brune. Cf. *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, Fasc. 3, pp. 577–8: The king writes to the viceroy and the municipality expressing his disapproval of the action of the viceroy and orders that all salaries paid to Vicencio de Brune should be replaced by the viceroy from his personal account, and Antonio Giralte should be duly compensated for his losses.
- 10 Ricardo Micael Teles, "Fortalezas de Goa e as suas Legendas," *O Oriente Português*, no. 38 (1937), pp. 7–34; A.B. De Bragança Pereira, "As capitais da Índia Portuguesa," *O Oriente Português*, no. 1 (1931), pp. 122–70; A. Delduque da Costa, "A tentativa da reconstrução de Gôa em 1777," *O Oriente Português*, no. 1 (1931), pp. 104–20. It was decided in 1684 following the invasion of Goa by Sambhaji.
- 11 Duarte Barbosa, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, ed. Mansel Longworth Dames, Vol. 1 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1908), pp. 174–5. This is a travel account of the sixteenth century. We have followed the recent critical edition in Portuguese by Maria Augusta da Veiga e Sousa, *O Livro de Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. 2 (Lisboa, 2000), pp. 20–7.
- 12 Anthony Disney, "Smugglers and Smuggling in the Western Half of the Estado da Índia in the Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries," *Indica*, 26, nos. 1–2 (March–September, 1989), pp. 57–75.
- 13 *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental*, Fasc. 3, pp. 323–4. The crown advises the viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque against the requests of the Goa municipality that suggested recalling all the New Christians as harmful for the interests of the state. The king sees no reason why they should not have the right to trade just like

- anyone else. Only it suggests keeping an eye on those who misbehave and sending information that may enable taking proper action (p. 507).
- 14 *Voyage à Mozambique & Goa: La relation de Jean Mocquet (1607-1610)*, ed. Xavier de Castro, Prefaced by Dejanirah Couto (Paris: Ed. Chandeigne, 1996), pp. 7-21. Mocquet was arrested in Mozambique suspected of foreign spy, because the island was under Dutch attack at that time. Mocquet could recognise among those who arrested him some whom he had helped during the voyage. He has harsh words for the Portuguese: 'ces Portugais, la plupart race de juifs, sont de ce naturel malin et méconnaissant' (p. 61).
 - 15 *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval*, Vol. 2, eds., Albert Gray and H.C.P. Bell (New Delhi: AES Reprint, 2000), p. 22.
 - 16 Teotonio R. de Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History* (Panaji, Goa: 1556 & Broadway Book Centre, 2009), pp. ix, 46.
 - 17 <http://www.goacom.com/culture/history/cuncolim.html>.
 - 18 *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque*, Vol. 1, ed. Bulhão Pato (Lisboa, 1884), p. 203.
 - 19 T.R. de Souza, "Ghat Passes and Ghat Routes in South Konkan," unpublished paper presented at the 301st Punyathithi Seminar on Shivaji, University of Poona, 9-10 February 1982. Cf. Shankar N.V. Joshi, *Marathi Rajvathitil kahi Ghatmarg Chaukya va Sankirna* (Pune: Bharat Itihasa Sanshodaka Mandal, 1954).
 - 20 de Souza, *Medieval Goa*, pp. 44-7.
 - 21 *Ibid.*, pp. 203-4 (App. A-11: *Monções* 54, fls. 55-57).
 - 22 *Ibid.*, pp. 193-8 (App. A-8: AHU, *Caixas da Índia*, n. 15, doc. 110).
 - 23 S. Subrahmanyam, "O inimigo encoberto: a expansão mogol no Decão e o Estado da Índia," in *Povos e Culturas: Portugal e o Oriente - Passado e Presente*, Vol. 5 (Lisboa: CPCEP, 1996), pp. 115-68.
 - 24 *Ibid.*, p. 166.
 - 25 A.R. Kulkarni, *Medieval Maratha Country* (New Delhi: Book & Books, 1996), p. 120, n. 3.
 - 26 Valmiki Faleiro, *Patriotism in Action: Goans in India's Defense Services* (Panaji, Goa: 1556, 2010).
 - 27 *Revisitar Goa, Damão e Diu* (Lisboa: Liga dos Combatentes, 2010), pp. 215-16, 218.
 - 28 <http://bit.ly/11rIWoa>.
 - 29 <http://bit.ly/1grwryG>.