Maritime Histories, Indian Ocean and Port-Towns: Changing Dynamics of Urban Spaces in Pre-Modern India

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Abstract*:*

Maritime histories is a very important tool in the study of the development of Port towns in Pre-modern India - as it enables researchers to come closer to the crucial dynamics of the urban historical process, embracing aspects such as international politics, navigation, oceanic currents, oceanic society, maritime transportation, sea-borne trade and commerce, port-hinterland relations and heritage aligned with it. The changing social character of these port towns are also indicative of the changing roles that were ascribed to them and the type of meanings that the new power wielders inscribed onto their urban spaces. In the transition phase of eighteenth century, the English towns of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, which had a large number of Indo-Portuguese population and were relatively lying on the commercial periphery in the second half of seventeenth century, emerged as principal maritime exchange centres and towns in maritime India attracting traders, artisans, and financiers from other economic enclaves of India. This paper is an attempt to explore the dynamics of change and evolution of these port towns, not only as a conduit for providing trade and commerce, but also as a space for communication and the development of tangible and intangible heritage.

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1. Introduction

Maritime India, along with its multiple exchange centres and port-towns began to get new meanings with the increasing movement of commodity, people and ideas since 1500, when it was frequently made to get adapted and re-adapted to the needs and requirements of the circulatory processes in the Indian Ocean and to the types of colony-related perceptions maintained by various European powers. The augmented participation of several economic players, power houses , cultural institutions and groups, both from Europe and Asia, in the circulatory processes of this maritime space intensified multiple but nuanced processes causing new meanings to get inscribed on to its exchange centres and port-towns. With the entry of the Portuguese and later the Dutch and the English into the circulatory processes of the Asian waters as well as with the increase in the consumerial classes in the Asian gun powder empires like the Saffavids of Persia, the Mings of China and the Mughals of India, there was a change in the pattern, direction and value of exchange activities in the Indian Ocean, giving the old sets of ports and port-towns new meanings and roles to play and ushering in new logic for their urbanity. Some of them were relegated to intermediate or peripheral positions on the basis of their significance and role in the new turn of events and consequently new sets of ports and port-towns were created and re-created as to suit the new economic and political requirements of the emerging global empires of the Portuguese, the Dutch and finally the English causing new types of formulations for the cultural processes in these port-towns.. The central purpose of the paper is to examine the changing meanings of power and culture that were inscribed onto the 'spaces' of exchange centres and port-towns of maritime India over years because of their participation in the circulatory processes of the Indian Ocean as well as trans-cultural movements and the type of social engineering with which these meanings were made legitimately justifiable before others by the various colonial powers. The changing socio-economic and

cultural dynamics of the major coastal towns of India are analysed in detail as to see why their physicality looked different at different time periods.

2. The Evolving Urbanscape in Maritime India: Historical Setting

Since the beginning of second millennium AD, the idea of maritime India corresponded only to a slender and thinner geography in the vicinity of Ocean space being fed by it, as a large part of India then remained hinterland-oriented, with much more land-centric activities against the background of the processes of quasi-feudalization and ruralisation. There was a relative isolation of the hinterland processes from coastal economy and the few coastal towns that slowly appeared along "oasis of commerce" (Malekandathil, 2013), or for reasons of dispersed lines of maritime trade. However, during the period up to 1500 AD these scattered exchange centres and urban units along maritime India were slowly getting integrated with the different layers of commodity-hinterland, because of the increasing demand from the Western and the Sinic worlds for more and more Indian wares. With the increase in transactions and the increase in the ability of ports to attract more parts of hinterland for getting commodities of trade, there appeared among these ports a tendency of getting themselves structured into a hierarchy of ports. In this phenomena one among them used to evolve as the central and pivotal exchange centre because of its superior economic significance and its superior political role in attracting a large bulk of overseas trade, while other ports were made to depend on it by converting them into its feeding subordinate satellite units or as its minor distribution centres. Malekandathil (2010) argued that the geo-physical conditions and the bulk availability of cargo which were in high demand or the desire of the rulers to make their trade centre as the prime point for convergence of trade and wealth, which was a pre-requisite for concentration of power in their hands, made certain ports to occupy pivotal position and keep others as secondary and tertiary ones, while many as subordinate minor feeding ports.[1] Consequent to the type of hierarchy of ports that evolved in each

region of maritime India, there concomitantly appeared a graded phenomenon with regard to the cultural formulations in these ports.

In the 13th century there appeared against the background of intensified maritime trade in spices, a long chain of trade centres and semi-urban centres along the coast of Kerala, out of which Quilon (Koulam Mali) operated as its premier port and city,[2] with Shingly (Cranganore), Pantalayani Kollam (Koyilandy), Mount Eli (Ezhimala), Jurfatan (Cannanore) Harqiliya (Kasargode) as satellite ports (Lambourn, 2008). Similarly in Gujarat, Lambourn said another set of maritime trade centres and urban enclaves emerged, out of which Cambay occupied the prime position with Bitlawad (Petlad), Dulsa (Dholka), Asawal (Ahmedabad), Barij (Bareja), Mandal, Nahrwala (Patan) , Baruda (Vadodara), Dhabuhi (Dabhoi), Qadhaman (Gathaman) and Kudra (Godhra) as satellite ports. In between Gujarat and Malabar sprang up along the western coast ports and smaller urban centers like Sopara, Thana, Sindabor (Chandrapura in Goa) and Mangalore for reasons of trade connections established by the Jews linked with Cairo Geniza and the Arabs.[3] Many of these trade centres and urban units operated almost as "oasis of commerce", and "oasis of multiculturalism," considerably scattered and disparate, with relatively less connectivity with the remote hinterland and interior production centres (where production was still oriented considerably towards local consumption). These specialized centres of maritime exchange acquired urban vibrancy with the dynamics they got out of their ability in mobilizing resources and cargo from their proximate hinterland for conducting trade with long distance destinations, whose networks of commodity movements often remained relatively scattered and operated as if through. On the east coast of India (Digby, 2009), the ports of Kayalpatnam, Nagapatnam and Motupalli acquired considerable urban character almost for the same reasons of trade-dynamics emanating during this period. They were also enclaves of trans-cultural interactions on the east coast.

However, on the eve of the arrival of the Portuguese, Calicut controlled by the Zamorins (Ayyar, 1938; Schrieke; 1955; Gupta,

1967; Malekandathil, 1999), and Cambay, controlled by the Muzaffarids of Gujarat (Idrisi, 1960; Goitein, 1973; Masefield, 2001) became the most prominent coastal cities on the western littoral of India with traders from different cultural contexts, playing key role in the long-distance movement of commodities to the Mediterranean world. The Vijayanagra ports of Pulicat, Bhatkal and Basrur acquired the features of secondary towns (Rao, 2001), while Goa (Barros, 1973), as prime transit trade centre for war horses,[4] and Masulipatnam as supply centre of textiles (Arasaratnam & Ray, 1994), had started exhibiting urban features of considerable degree. The intensity of commercial activities were confined chiefly to the major specialized centres of trade in maritime India, particularly in Kerala, Gujarat, Konkan and Coromandel, from whose immediate hinterland were made available those items of cargo that the overseas markets largely needed. In most cases the primary and secondary production centres catering to the requirements of these maritime trade centres were located principally in their immediate vicinity and the integration of many of the smaller but evolving maritime exchange centres with the deep interior regions being still obstructed by rigid boundaries of regional polity, language and hurdles of wilderness during the period before 1500 (Malekandathil, 2016). However with augmentation of maritime trade of the prime ports like Calicut and Cambay, there were concomitant efforts from the local power holders and merchant groups to facilitate movement of commodities from the interior production centres to these maritime centres of exchange, leading towards relatively stronger processes of integration of hinterland with many of these coastal cities. The type of dynamics stemming from trade and the coast-hinterland connectivities defined the nature and the uniqueness of the physicality that each of these maritime towns had developed. The most vibrant ports and the evolving ones along maritime India with plurality of cultural practices in domains of food, dressing and religious traditions remained inter-connected and inter-linked by their commercial circuits and cultural connectedness; however their frequency and intensity depended considerably on the commercial significance and political uses of these ports which had by this point of time evolved in a "graded connectivity" keeping in tune

with the evolving format of port-hierarchy operating in different economic regions of maritime India.

Nevertheless, thus the spatial assertions in different parts of these port-cities were done to a great extent on the basis of the type of social stratification that evolved out of the perception of sea and people engaged in sea-ward activities as agents that would bring pollution.   The high castes and superior social groups that controlled the major economic activities of production and at times distribution did not want to be polluted by mingling with seafaring people. They started living as much away as possible from the zones of pollution, but obviously within a range that would facilitate their involvement in the exchange activities of the port. But in the name of pollution they would not have liked to break their ties with the port, which was the major channel for their wealth generation and consequently for their social standing, as well. Instead, they used to keep the sea- side earmarked for the lower castes and service groups or left it vacant for them, while the upper castes and elite segments occupied the hinterland part of the city. Neither the merchants nor the rulers had built large establishments on the water-front.[5] While depicting the general features of Indian port-cities that appeared before the arrival of the Europeans, Arasaratnam (1992) says: "the service staff was near the ware-houses, then came the merchants' city dividing according to faith and origin. Brahmins and Nairs were in the estates. The low castes and the untouchables were on the coast, well out of the sight of Brahmins and Nairs". The native settlements used to evolve around markets or temples or the shrines of the different merchant communities as different cultural cubicles within the urban space. The port-cities that appeared in maritime India before the sixteenth century used to expand more into their hinterland part, while the sea-side was increasingly kept vacant.[6]

3. The Portuguese, Instruments of Coercion and Changing Patterns of Urbanization

Trade in the Indian Ocean experienced a reorientation with the entry of the Portuguese, who intervened with certain amount of

coercion in the trading activities of several ports of maritime India for the purpose of promoting monopolistically their Atlantic-oriented trade. The control mechanisms and use of force that the Portuguese resorted to for their trade monopoly included the *cartaz* system, which involved the process of checking of vessels as to see whether any monopoly items including spices were taken for trade to non-Portuguese ports, the patrolling of armada fleet along the coast to obstruct the movement of vessels and cargo to Red Sea-Mediterranean ports, and the long chain of marine fortresses along the coast to monitor the movements of cargo from hinterland to ports through fluvial routes and also from smaller ports to larger destinations (Boxer, 1969, Pearson, 1976; Mathew, 1979; Rothermund, 2014). The pattern of exchange in the Indian Ocean was so re-oriented that all the vessels plying in the Indian Ocean were required to visit the Portuguese ports either for trade or for purchasing the *cartaz* for obtaining permission to conduct their trade elsewhere. Consequently there was the augmentation of the frequency of vessels visiting Portuguese ports, obviously stimulating their trade intensifying the process that led the Portuguese ports to evolve as pivotal ports in different segments of maritime India, relegating the former pivotal ports into background and converting them as secondary and tertiary feeding ports in the newly evolving port-hierarchy. The introduction of force to establish trade monopoly of Portuguese crown with the help of patrolling fleet reduced at least temporarily the scope for their commercial competitors and enemies to conduct trade with the various ports of India, in the way they wanted.[7] Consequently the trading activities of the traditional Asian merchants were confined to those ports and exchange centres , where the Portuguese had less influence, particularly in ports like Calicut of the Zamorins, Dhabol of the Bijapuris, Masulipatnam of the Qutb Shahis, Pulicat of the Vijayanagara rulers etc.

The initial urban experiments that the Portuguese carried out in India as well as in Asia was in Cochin, which was their chief base since 1500 (Greenlee, 1938), and the capital of *Estado da India* during the time between 1505 and 1530.[8] The triangular tip of land that was lying vacant till then near the sea-side of Cochin was granted to the Portuguese in 1500 by the local ruler of Perumpadappu

swarupam for their habitation and establishment of their factory.[9] In course of time a fortress was erected with granite structures,[10] for protecting their wealth and weaponry and this settlement enclave of the Portuguese eventually got urbanized with the introduction European urban institutions, religious structures and cultural practices into this space. Thus an exclusively Lusitanian city with European urban institutions and specific cultural traditions particularly those related food, dress , language and religion eventually sprang up in Cochin along with the already existing native city of Cochin simultaneously in close proximity. This phenomenon of dual urbanization clearly reflected the traits of partnership that the Portuguese and the king of Cochin forged between themselves not only for conducting the Indo-European trade in spices, but also for countering the forces of the Zamorin of Calicut, who happened to be the common enemy for both. The native city of Cochin represented initially a 'space of partnership' for the Portuguese which housed the palace of the king, his temple and a large segment of commercial collaborators including their Muslim mercantile allies.[11] Culturally the native city looked like a microcosm of the native cultural world, while the Portuguese part of the city reflected the Lusitanian cultural world and represented the space of new forms of power, with bulk availability of gunnery and artillery for containing the threat from the Zamorin.[12] In the initial years of the first decade of the sixteenth century, both the urban quarters co-operated and complimented one another in aspects of trade and protection, despite their separateness and distinctiveness. Consequently at a time, when spices formed the most coveted commodity for the Europeans, Cochin supplied the largest volume of pepper from the East, which eventually caused it to evolve as the pivotal port in the port-hierarchy that the Portuguese eventually formulated in South Asia with Cannanore and Quilon as feeding ports.[13] The Portuguese managed to take from Cochin about 30, 000 quintals of pepper in1505 (Quirini, 1863), whose value was around 79,800 *cruzados* in Cochin; however in Portugal it fetched for them 6, 60,000 cruzados,[14] while the profit that the Portuguese got out of this transaction was considerably high after having deducted the various heads of expenditure out of the remaining 580,200 *cruzados*.[15] The sixteenth century was often

viewed as "the century of spice-trade" (Malekandathil, 2013), and very often trade in other commodities including textiles from the ports of Konkan and Gujarat was conducted to collect gold from Monomotapa and East Africa for the purpose of balancing the deficit of Portuguese trade in spices. The Cochin-Lisbon commercial axis that the Portuguese made to evolve in the initial years of the sixteenth century incorporating these triangular networks necessitated close co-operation between the mercantile segments of native Cochin and the Portuguese for the purpose of procuring necessary cargo from the spice- hinterland, which made the ties of co-operation between the two to take spatial articulation allowing dual urban phenomenon to take origin and expand in Cochin.

However with the occupation of Goa in 1510 and its eventual conversion into the capital of the Portuguese *Estado da India* in 1530 (Godinho, 1982), a new type of meaning was given to the city that they formulated in their power centre. The re-formatted city of Goa was not allowed to follow the dual urbanization pattern followed in Cochin; in its stead the already existing native city of Ela on the banks of river Mandovi along with its anterior cultural remnants was totally erased and an exclusively Lusitanian city of Goa with the Portuguese cultural traditions was grafted onto it suiting its position as the power centre of the Portuguese. In 1518 Goa was raised to the status of a city with its administration being carried out by the *camara municipall* (municipal council). Almost all the structures and the material remains of the old native city and the local cultural traditions were all wiped out from the evolving exclusive Portuguese city, erasing the memories of the past, and causing a homogenized and standardized urban behaviour to evolve with the help of uniform dress code, food code, and language code,[16] implemented with the help of legislations of five Goan Provincial Councils held during the period between 1567 and 1606,[17] and the inquisition. The result was cultural homogenization and standardization that reduced all aspects of differences, which in turn facilitated easy integration of city-dwellers as supportive social base for the Portuguese enterprises. In course of time Goa evolved as an "European cultural island" on the west coast of India, networked by similar 'islands of European urban culture'

along the rim of maritime India. The flow of wealth from trade , besides sustaining the cultural standardization and homogenization projects in the power centre, changed the physicality of the city causing several magnificent and elegant structures and edifices, both civil and ecclesiastical, to evolve in Goa, which spatially, culturally and visibly translated into the urban space the meanings of domination and power that the Portuguese wielded.[18] The convergence of different streams of commodities like textiles from the Deccani hinterland, particularly from the production centres of Bijapur, Vijayanagara and Golconda kingdoms because of intensified connectivities between port and scattered hinterlands, gold, ivory and slaves from the ports of East Africa in return for textiles, horses from Hormuz and Muscat for further trade in Deccani kingdoms and the various European wares which the *carreira* vessels used to bring annually, augmented the mercantile character of the port-city of Goa, causing it to become a significant centre of wealth concentration (Varghese, 2010). Through the channels of trade cultural elements of rich diversity also started entering the city of Goa, causing African sub-culture to evolve as a thinner layer within the predominant Lusitanian city. Though native traders used to bring cargo to Goa, they settled down in places which were culturally and geographically kept far away from the city and the Portuguese perception of urbanization in Goa was intrinsically linked with their perception of sea as *mare clausum,*[19] or as closed sea, a perception which enabled them to look at themselves as the sovereigns and masters of the seas and others as subordinates, [20] which necessitated the maintenance of separateness and aloofness from local people and native urban segments, besides the maintenance of their own ethnic exclusiveness within their spatial (Malekandathil , 2009).

In course of time, multiple types of urban formats were shaped by the Portuguese in different regions of maritime India on the basis of political and commercial meanings that the Portuguese attached to each region. At the core power centre, they developed an exclusive Lusitanian city, where magnificent and elegant churches and structures were erected with the wealth from Portuguese private traders and subsidy from the crown and these architectural pieces

were projected as visual language of power. However the enclaves that the Portuguese developed as urban centres in the intermediate zone were made to evolve under the format of dual urbanism, in which a Lusitanian city with all its power-denoting institutions was inscribed onto the parallel space adjacent to the native city, as it happened in Cochin. In Quilon, Cranganore and Cannanore, the major pepper ports of the sixteenth century controlled by the Portuguese there appeared a pattern of dual urbanism, or spaces of two "culturally different islands", which initially was experimented in Cochin, their pivotal port in Malabar. In these pepper ports, on the one hand, there was the Lusitanian city or lower city that was established along the water front and expanded more towards the sea exclusively meant for the Portuguese population and their descendants with predominant Lusitanian cultural practices , while the native city or the upper city evolved near the port but extending towards the hinterland part of the city, consisting of local merchants, artisans, bankers, local power wielders, different categories of native religious institutions etc., with predominant non-European cultural traditions.[21] Thus in Cochin there was the exclusive Portuguese city of *cidade de Santa Cruz de Cochim* (Fort Cochin), or *Cochim de baixo* (lower Cochin), which was established by king John III in 1527 and extended towards the water side, in contrast to the native city of *Cochin de cima* (upper Cochin or Mattancherry),[22] which housed the palace of the king of Cochin, the residential enclaves of his mercantile collaborators, including the Jews, the Muslims, the Konkanis and their religious institutions. In the Portuguese city of Cochin, the core area of urban life revolved around *Rua Direita* (Straight Street), where the principal buildings of Cochin including municipal chamber, *Misericordia*, hospital, Se Cathedral, Madre de Deus College, Monasteries of the Franciscans, Dominicans , Augustinians and various churches, etc., were located. [23]

Similarly we find exclusively Lusitanian city emerging in Quilon on the water-side , which was called *Coulão de baixo*(lower Quilon) in contrast to the already existing native town which was then developing more towards the hinterland-side, and was called *Coulão de cima* (upper Quilon) by the Portuguese (Malekandathil, 2003). In the pepper port of Cranganore too the Portuguese kept

themselves away from the existing native town, which they called upper town or *Cranganore de cima* (Bocarro, 1992), and settled down in a space much closer to the sea-side that came to be called the lower city or *Cranganore de baixo*. The Portuguese city of Cannanore was located near the sea-side, while the native city of Cannanore which was inhabited mostly by the Muslims was located a bit away from the Portuguese city, but with an opening to the bay.[24] As we had seen earlier the Portuguese perception of sea as *mare clausum* or as closed sea, a perception which provided them a justifiable reason to look at themselves as the sovereigns of the seas and others as subordinates, enabled them to legitimately develop an exclusive urban enclave for themselves with magnificent and power-denoting structures, while keeping sufficient separateness and aloofness from native urban segments. This pattern of dual urbanism was extended in the second half of the sixteenth century to other intermediate towns of the Portuguese on the west coast of India, where an exclusively Portuguese township was made to emerge on the sea-side as lower city parallel to the already existing native town (the upper city) in such places as Chaul, Thana, Daman and Bassein by the second half of sixteenth century.[25] The native city of Daman was located on the opposite side of the river, inhabited mostly by indigenous traders, mostly Muslims and supportive social groups (Sen, 1949). The Portuguese city of Bassein had dense ecclesiastical networks with the houses of the Franciscans, the Jesuits, the Dominicans and the Augustinians, while the native city or '*Baçaim de cima*' (upper Bassein) had the local collaborators and social groups (Teixera, 2014). Though we may find economic and cultural linkages between both the cities and reciprocal relations evolving over years, both the types of cities represented entirely two different cultural worlds and attitudes. The Portuguese coastal cities which were grafted onto the vicinity of the existing native cites, had the role of facilitating the pumping process of cargo from the hinterland to the ports for the crown trade and acted as mechanisms that sustained the imperial edifice of the Portuguese. Over a period of time 'the native city' located near 'the Portuguese city' ceased to be 'space of partnership,' as they increasingly started becoming the abode for commercial competitors and feeders for alternative channels of trade, ushering

in nuanced types of relationship between both the spaces marked by phases of increasing levels of conflicts, negotiations and compromises.[26]

However, the mode and meaning of urbanization were undergoing considerable changes in the coastal geography lying between Chaul and Daman, which was controlled by the Portuguese under the name of *Provincia do Norte* (Northern Province) , which besides being an agrarian tract had a long chain of sea- ports exporting textiles to East Africa in return for gold, ivory and slaves. Though the practice of giving land to the Portuguese individuals in Northern Province started in mid 1540s (under the *foreiro* or donatorial-system) (Baiao, 1927; Pereira, 1935; Andrada, 1994), there was huge flow of Portuguese *casados* to these ports with the increasing attacks on the Portuguese navigational lines and on their major port-towns of Goa, Cochin, Cranganore and Quilon by the Dutch and the English at different junctures of the seventeenth century. The Portuguese individuals, who received *foreiro* land on a quit-rent basis in Northern Province got it cultivated with help of slaves from East Africa and local labour force,[27] and pumped wealth from their possessions in the country side to the towns of Thana, Chaul , Daman,[28] and Bassein,[29] where they lived and maintained their household along with a horse (sometimes two) and guns, with the help of the returns from the land (Ferrão, 1995). In course of time these port-towns existed as "European cultural enclaves" surrounded by a world motored by the Maratha political and cultural dynamics.

The immense flow of wealth from 'land adventurism'in *Provincia do Norte* and also from maritime trade led to the evolution of a three-tier urban system in this region: At the base level stood the different *parganas* or the space of agriculture in the Northern Province from where wealth in the form of agrarian surplus flowed to the secondary-tier or intermediary urban centres called *Kasbahs*, which finally was pumped into the apex urban centres of the Portuguese in the Northern Province like Chaul,[30] Bassein and Daman (Sailo, 2009), out of which Bassein, the capital of the Northern Province, stood at the top. Bassein had by 1610 emerged as the most profitable Portuguese possession in Asia with an

annual income of 144,000 *xerafins*, out of which deducting an expense of 47,891 *xerafins*, the Portuguese pocketed a profit of 96 108 *xerafins* (Cunha, 1995). By 1634 Bassein became the second highest income yielding possession of the Portuguese in Asia (Goa being the first), with 122469 *xerafins* as income and 63 574 *xerafins* as profit, while the expenditure was 58895 *xerafins*.[31] By mid-seventeenth century, when Goa was increasingly falling into decadence, the city that retained predominant Lusitanian culture and way of Life was Bassein, because of its affluence and immense wealth flowing from the agrarian tracts of the Northern Province as well as from its maritime trade, as a result of which its city-dwellers used to call themselves "Dom" (a title indicating nobility) and emulated aristocratic practices. Manuel Godinho writes in the middle of the seventeenth century that 'there were in Bassein so many people of both sexes entitled to be addressed as "Dom" that the city itself came to be called "Dom Baçaim" (Correia-Afonso, 1990). This evidently is indicative of the new socio-economic and cultural meaning that the city of Bassein and its dwellers had got against the background of dwindling fortunes in other Portuguese enclaves including Goa.

From the second half of the seventeenth century on, with the increasing attacks on Portuguese navigational lines by the Dutch and the English, trade from many of these port-towns ceased to be a Portuguese monopoly, putting an end also to the exclusively Lusitanian character of many of these towns.[32] Thus by 1680, the Portuguese population and the Christian community on the island of Diu had considerably decreased (Barendse, 2002), and its trade began to increasingly pass into the hands of the Hindu Banyas, who emerged as the leading Indian merchant group because of their acceptability before the Dutch and the English as their major mercantile collaborators and thanks to their ability to bridge with different economic players and power holders in the Indian Ocean conducting trade with Muscat , Mocha, and east Africa, either individually or through their commercial company of *Companhia de Commercio dos Mazanes* (Antunes & Lobato, 2006; Alpers, 1976; Antunes, 1995). Against this background, the core area of the city of Diu started shifting away from the Portuguese part of it and moved

more and more towards the native part of the city, which had separate quarter for Muslim traders and another for Banya merchants known as *Bairro dos Baneanes* (Banyan quarter) with many impressive Banya houses with three floors and their own temple by the end of the seventeenth century (Antunes, 2014). In Daman too, the presence of the Portuguese traders decreased considerably and its trade was increasingly appropriated by Hindus or Muslim merchants, like Baxira Mucali, who used to pump in 1720s immense wealth into east Africa for buying land, palm-fields and Ahmed Souly, who also used to invest huge mercantile capital in east Africa during late 1720s for his multiple enterprises.[33] In 1749 (Basak, 2017), the total number of Portuguese in Daman was only 235 and 20 clergy, while the Hindu population in the city was 5130 and Muslims numbered about 1635. The core centre of the city of Daman was also drifting slowly away from Lusitanian quarters to the native quarters of the city over years.

Even in Goa, which was the power centre of the Portuguese in Asia, the exclusive Lusitanian character of the city began to slowly disappear from the beginning of seventeenth century on with the inflow of large number of Saraswat Brahmins into the city as its leading traders, bankers and revenue farmers (Pearson, 1981). The magnates like Mangoji Sinay (from Salcete) who took up the right of customs collection on tobacco, silk and cotton being brought to the city,[34] Vitula Naique, who was the *rendeiro* for the collection of customs duty charged at *Passo de Santiago*,[35] Krishna Sinay and Nana Chati who were active as *rendeiros* or tax-farmers and bankers in the city of Goa,[36] were the key commercial players among them in Goa in the first half of the seventeenth century. With the increasing inflow of Saraswat Brahmins to Goa and the migration of Portuguese *casados* out of the city of Goa against the background of repeated attacks from the Dutch, many pride-evoking epithets and metaphorical usages like "*Goa Dourada*"(Golden Goa), "Rome of the East" etc., were fabricated and attached to Goa and circulated among the Portuguese *casados* and the title of "Defender of the East " was given to St.Francis Xavier (whose incorruptible body was preserved in the city) in the process of reducing the centrifugal tendencies of the city-dwellers and keeping the scattered and dispersed Portuguese residents of different Lusitanian enclaves of

Asia move towards the power centre, ensuring the process of integration and cohesion necessitated for the uninterrupted flow of resources to the power centre. [37]

4. The Dutch and the Re-Formulation of Urban Meanings

The urban dynamics of the principal pepper ports of Kerala, which were earlier controlled by the Portuguese, got recast with their occupation by the Dutch in 1660s. The Dutch(with their main base in Batavia) while maintaining the notion of *mare liberum* (open seas) and arguing for keeping sea open for all for trade traffic, [38] also began to follow the policy of openness and accommodativeness in the newly occupied port-towns of Kerala, which were then lying on the periphery areas of their control. While the non-Dutch were kept aloof, sufficiently away from the exclusive Dutch part of their cities in the core areas of their control like South East Asia (Raben, 1995), where co-operation of indigenous mercantile groups and Luso-Indians was sought to the maximum in the peripheral trading zones like Malabar, where the number of white Dutch population in their newly occupied port-towns of Kerala was very less and hence there was their inevitability for incorporating Luso-Indian and indigenous groups in each town for their commercial endeavours.[39] Thus in the Dutch city of Cochin more than half of the city-dwellers were non-Dutch, with a great many native people and a considerable number of *topassen* (or Luso-Indians), Jews, Konkani and Tamil Pattars residing in the city.[40] In the Dutch city of Cannanore, the number the Dutch settlers did not exceed more than two figures.[41] The available sources show that though the Dutch urban units remained separate from the native ones, against the background of changing commercial and administrative requirements they not only physically reduced the size of the Dutch cities of Kerala to almost one –third (sometimes two-third) of the original Portuguese cities , but also incorporated as city-dwellers the supportive Indian and Luso-Indian merchants for the purpose of creating their substantial social base for their power processes and commercial endeavours.

The Dutch enclaves along the east coast of India were principally textile trade centres. With the increasing demand for Indian clothes, there was a change in the commodity composition of maritime trade in the Indian Ocean in the seventeenth century and "Indian cloth started (increasingly) functioning as currency in Africa, a wage good in South East Asia, and a fashion article in Europe" (Riello & Roy, 2009), and the Dutch textile trading ports gathered region-specific urban features over time). Urbanity in Masulipatanam on the east coast and Surat on the west coast was the cultural product of cumulative efforts of multiple local players and equally multiple categories of European actors. But in the exclusive Dutch enclaves of Pulicat and Nagapatnam the vibrancy of urban structures stood on the supporting feeder-pillars of weaving villages, many of which eventually took quasi-urban features over time. The urban dynamics of Pulicat depended on the degree of integration that the Dutch realized for the market-cum-production centres of Trenamele, Karrij, Trimmerij, Arekata (Arcot), Kaveripaka, Chettepette (Chetpet), Vellorepaliam, Treveloer (Tiruvallur), Eijengoeloer (possibly Ayyangarkulam), Cangiewaron (Kanchipuram), Octremeloer, Singelepette (Chingleput or Chengalapattu) and Pondemillij (Poonamallee), Desur, Wandiwash and Pattancherry with it (Chaudhuri, 2019). In the same way the Dutch, who captured Nagapatnam from the Portuguese in mid-seventeenth century, articulated new meanings to the city by inviting the local textile traders to taste a bit of commercial capitalism by persuading them to form joint-stock companies for the local textile suppliers and merchants.[42] In these places the European cultural presence was thinner, though they operated within the commercial frames of VOC and whose weight of power they tried to assert.

5. Towards Social Engineering and Primacy of British Presidency Towns

The eighteenth century Indian Ocean world experienced changes of unprecedented nature because of the intensity of contestations happening over the control of resourceful geographies of maritime India and also over the circulatory processes in the Indian Ocean.

The victory of weapons of war from 1750s onwards fetched for the English vast resourceful terrains of coastal eastern India for their control, keeping the French on the margins and reducing their influence to tiny enclaves,[43] while the ports of coastal western India were increasingly falling under English commercial influence. However, in most cases the circulatory processes in the changed situation began to revolve around the evolving English towns of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta and their subordinate commercial centres and enclaves along the coast, which interestingly had a large number of Luso-Indians and Portuguese descendants, either in the core area or in their vicinity.[44] There were about 3000 Catholics and Luso-Indians in Madras in 1663 (Thekkedath, 1988), which rose to 7000 in 1707 and 17,000 by 1787 (Hambye, 1997). Hambye further argued that in Bombay there were about 11,000 Catholics and Luso-Indians in 1713 with *Padroado* priests catering to their spiritual needs. He also noted that since the establishment of the English base in Calcutta there was a large scale migration of the Indo-Portuguese from the various Portuguese enclaves of Bengal to Calcutta, where the number of Catholics increased from 10,000 in 1724 to 25, 000 in 1774, (out of whom the Indo-Portuguese were 3181 in 1837 (Campos, 1998)).

As the emerging towns of Bombay as well as Madras and the neighbourhood of Calcutta were earlier controlled by the Portuguese, the social character of these towns and their manoeuvrability for the colonial requirements of the English depended on the skills of social engineering that the latter resorted to in creating a supportive social base for them out of these Luso-Indians residing within the presidency towns.. Madras, where the English had set up their factory in 1640 and which became their main urban base in Coromandel was in the vicinity of the erstwhile Portuguese trading centre of Mylapore (Roche, 1975; Love, 1996), while Bombay, which emerged as the chief English port-town on the west coast was a Lusitanian enclave that the Portuguese king gave in 1661 as a part of the dowry for the marriage of his daughter Catherine of Braganza with Charles II of England.[45] Meanwhile Calcutta, where the English East India Company developed their commercial base with the acquisition of trading licence from the

Nawab of Bengal in 1690 (Skinner, 1832 & Nair, 1984), was in the neighbourhood of Portuguese enclave of Hughli. Luso-Indians were descendants of the Portuguese, Catholic in faith and following invariably the Portuguese language tradition and culinary practices, whereas the English were Protestant in faith following English language and etiquette, which created more differences than points of similarity.

The descendants of the Portuguese and the Luso-Indians formed the major segment of residents in these emerging Presidency towns and the English drew out of them commercial intermediaries for their enterprise, wives for their men and fighting forces for their wars of expansion, making Luso-Indian segments integral to their commercial and political processes in India.[46] A large number of Portuguese descendants were incorporated as soldiers for the wars of expansion of the English in Madras,[47] Bombay and also in Calcutta, where there were about 180 Luso-Indians of Bengal fighting as soldiers for the English in 1750s.[48] As marriageable English ladies were not available in India, at that point of time the English East India company servants, following either Anglicanism or Presbyterianism, began to take wives from the Indo-Portuguese community.[49] In the evolving system of partnership many of the Indo-Portuguese traders were allowed to have commercial establishments in these Presidency towns like Manoel de Souza, one of the leading brothers of an Indo-Portuguese family who had his commercial base in Bengal in 1790s while his another brother was conducting business in Madras (Antonio de Souza) and the third (Miguel de Lima e Souza) in Bombay, playing vital role in the trade emanating from the three presidency towns (Pinto, 2003). Similarly the Faria Company had commercial establishments in Calcutta and Bombay, besides Portugal, Brazil and Moçambique (Souza, 1991). With the increasing practice of taking economic partners and military collaborators from the Luso-Indians and the English marrying the Portuguese descendants of these cities, their children were brought up in English ways, Anglo-Saxon customs and at times in Protestant faith, causing eventually to emerge a sizeable Anglo-Indians in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta out of the Luso Indians (Malekandathil, 2013). Meanwhile the Portuguese, who had lost political control over these towns tried to continue to

cater to the spiritual needs of the residents of these towns through the Portuguese ecclesiastical system of *Padroado* and their priests,[50] which also enabled them to retain some sort of control over them, at times challenging the very authority and primacy of the English over them. The English, who viewed the continued presence of Portuguese missionaries in their terrain as a source of threat for their political domination, wanted to keep the Portuguese *Padroado* missionaries totally away from their Presidency towns. Consequently the English sought the help of the dignitaries and missionaries of *Propaganda Fide*, an ecclesiastical institution set up by Pope Gregory XIV in 1622 for doing evangelization work principally in non-Portuguese spaces of Asia (Dominic, 1972), to dissociate and de-link the Luso-Indians and Catholic population of these towns from the Portuguese *Padroado* control, which in turn ultimately facilitated the English in the long run to create a supportive and reliable social base out of them in these cities and recruit easily collaborators and partners for their projects in India. As the Catholic missionaries of *Propaganda Fide* , who came to these presidency towns were to be agreeable and acceptable to the English, very often *Propaganda Fide* sent missionaries from Ireland, Germany or Italy, who invariably introduced English cultural practices, Anglo-Saxon ways of life and English education among the Indo-Portuguese population that in the long run facilitated the Anglicization of the Luso-Indians mutating their identity and leading to their eventual transformation into Anglo-Indians.[51]

The foregoing discussion shows the various meanings that used to get evolved in maritime India thanks to the impact of different circulatory processes emanating from the Indian Ocean. True that the nature of the converging points of various maritime circuits, made a large set of ports to evolve along the coast; but their content and value varied on the basis of frequency of movements , nature of cargo traded, the nature of the availability of the commodities in demand and the type of political control, which ultimately caused some sort of port-hierarchy to evolve along the coast, with one central pivotal port being supported and sustained by a chain of feeding satellite ports in the vicinity, causing subsequently a gradation to evolve in their urbanization processes.   The

Portuguese who re-structured the format of port-hierarchy in maritime India with the help of their tools of coercion, added a new meaning to maritime India by developing interconnectedness on the one hand between Goa and other ports under their control in a graded way through the frequent movements of vessels both for administrative and commercial purposes (connected either with spice trade or with ancillary trade for financing their spice trade). On the other hand with the ever increase in demand for cargo, there was a correspondingly continuous process of integration of more and more production centres and hinterland with the maritime centres of exchange, which intensified the flow of cargo to the ports and ultimately provided the material base for the urbanization of Portuguese towns and native towns in and around Cochin, Quilon, Cranganore, Cannanore, Chaul, Daman and Bassein. These towns had a pattern of dual urbanization with a lower city exclusively for the Portuguese and an upper city for the natives and they evolved in a graded way, subordinate ultimately to the city of Goa which as their power centre was made to evolve as an exclusively Lusitanian city after having erased the remnants of past native culture and memory. In the seventeenth century with the increasing demand for textiles in Europe and Asia, the nature and meanings of trade circuits got changed, also changing the social content and value of the towns. The ethnic exclusiveness of sixteenth century Portuguese towns slowly started dwindling in the seventeenth century and increase in textile trade was followed either by the necessity of incorporating more and more native artisans and financiers for running the business. This was evidently seen in the absorption of native artisans and collaborators into the cities controlled by the Dutch or in the absorption of native financiers and bankers into the European city like Goa or in the absorption of specialized native traders of Muslims and *banias* into the European cities like Daman and Diu respectively or in the incorporation of Indo-Portuguese partners into the Dutch enterprises of Cochin, Quilon and Cranganore.

The changing social character of these port towns are also indicative of the changing roles that were ascribed to them and the type of meanings that the new power wielders inscribed onto their urban spaces. In the transition phase of eighteenth century, the

English towns of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta, which had a large number of Indo-Portuguese population and were relatively lying on the commercial periphery in the second half of seventeenth century , emerged as principal maritime exchange centres and towns in maritime India attracting traders, artisans, and financiers from other economic enclaves of India. The Luso-Indians and Portuguese descendants living in these presidency towns were made to become the partners of English colonial process by drawing out of them wives for the English men as well as trading and fighting collaborators for the English. The possible hold and control that the Portuguese continued to exercise over the Luso-Indians of the English Presidency towns through the *Padroado* institution and its Catholic missionaries was cleverly done away with by the English by inviting the *Propaganda* missionaries from Ireland, Belgium , Germany and France to work among them and by encouraging them to participate in the cultural project of introducing English education and Anglo-Saxon cultural practices among them , which ultimately helped to anglicize them and to mutate the Luso-Indian identity of the urban dwellers and get them transformed into Anglo-Indians. The end result of this process was the creation of a supportive social base for the emerging Presidency towns of the English facilitating their colonial processes along maritime India in the eighteenth century. However this was done through a long and constant churning and re-defining process done on earlier economic players, particularly the Portuguese descendants, whose identity they mutated into Anglo-Indians with the increasing hold of the English over the exchange activities in the Indian Ocean and over its resourceful geographies. The long thread of connectivity extending from 1500 to 1800 and binding together the different types of socio-economic groups that evolved as beneficiaries of the circulatory processes, kept on experiencing considerable transformation, defining, re-defining and integrating them to be a part of the newly evolving system in the urban spaces of the English Presidency towns, but adding distinctiveness and uniqueness of their own to maritime India.

Endnotes

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[1] In fact Ashin Das Gupta had also earlier referred to the existence of a port-hierarchy in Gujarat, where one principal port dominated the neighbouring maritime ports at different time periods, causing the latter to evolve as feeding and supplementing ports for the central one. Ashin Das Gupta, *Indian Ocean Merchants and the Decline of Surat, c.1700 -1750*, Wiesbaden, 1979, p.1. However its inner dynamics or the way how the port-hierarchy functioned over time in any coastal region were not much elaborated upon till date.

[2] They were Bud (Buddfattan or Pudupattanam), Hili (Mount Eli), Harqiliya (Kasargode), Fandarina (Pantalayani Kollam), Manjalur (Mangalore), al-Shaliyat(Chaliyam), Fakanur(Barkur), Nur Dahbatan (Dharmapattanam). We find that the Rasulid Sultans of Yemen used to give stipends, as a form of salary, out of the customs house of Aden to the *qadis* (judge) and *khatibs* (preachers responsible for delivering sermon (*khutba*) at Friday noon prayers) of these trading centres around 1290. See Elizabeth Lambourn, "India from Aden: Khutba and Muslim Urban Networks in Late Thirteenth Century India", Kenneth R.Hall (ed.), *Secondary Cities and Urban Networking in the Indian Ocean Realm, c.1400-1800*, New York, 2008, pp. 70-2; 87-88. Many of them were also centres of trade for the Jews from Cairo as is evidenced in the Cairo Geniza papers. S.D.Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973, pp. 62-4

[3] In his letter of c.1145 A.D., Mahruz b.Jacob refers to Kanbayat (Cambay), Broach, Tana, Mangalore, Malibarath (Koulam Mali), Kayakannur (Lower Kannur) as the important centres of Jewish trade on the western seaboard. S.D. Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*, pp.63-64. The information about the trading activities of these Jews is obtained from the letters preserved in Cairo Geniza. In fact Geniza is a place where discarded writings on which the name of God was written and deposited in order to preserve them from desecration.

[4] Tome Pires says that the duties collected on the objects of maritime trade in Goa and the neighbouring districts came about 400,000 *pardaos*. Cf. Tome Pires, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires: An Account of the East Sea to Japan written in Malacca and India in 1512-1515*, edited and tran.by Armando Cortesão, vol.I, New Delhi, 1990, p. 58

[5] This information is gathered on the basis of field-study conducted in these port-cities, which is corroborated further with the help of written primary sources. Thus for example in Cochin the geographical space

extending from the port area (i.e.,Calvethy) towards the seashore was left rather vacant, which, as Fei Hsin remarks in 1436, was inhabited mostly by the *mukkuvas*. See Fei Hsin, *Hsin Ch'a Sheng lan 30*, 'Kochih', in as translated by W.W.Rockhill, "Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with Eastern Archipelago and the Coast of Indian Ocean during the Fourteenth Century", *T'oung Pao*, vol.XVI, 1915, p.452. See also Pius Malekandathil, " Changing Perceptions of Sea and the Shaping of Urban Space in Medieval Kerala," in K.Madavane(ed.), *Histories from the Sea: Proceedings of the International Conference 30-31 January 2007*, Published by French and Francophone Studies, School of Languages, Literature and Culture Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 2009, pp.51-3.

[6] The recurring sea-disturbances, occurrences of tsunami-like situations and occasions of sea-encroachments were other important reasons, besides pollution-based perceptions of sea that made the elite segment of people to keep reasonable distance away from sea-side for their habitation.

[7] For details see Pius Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India, 1500-1663*(A Volume in the South Asian Study Series of Heidelberg University, Germany), *New Delhi, 2001,* pp.125-126;148-50; 220-221

[8] The capital was shifted from Cochin to Goa in 1530. Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial*, Vol.I, Lisboa, 1981, p.34

[9] William Brooks Greenlee (ed.), *The Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India*, p.143; F.C.Danvers, *The Portuguese in India,* vol.I,p.72; Luis de Albuquerque(ed.), *Cronico do descobrimento e conquista da India pelos Portugueses*, Coimbra, 1974, p.25

[10] ANTT, *As Gavetas*, 14, Maço 3, doc.14; .Antonio Galvão, *Tratado dos descobrimentos*, Porto, 1972, pp.97-9; Walter de Gray Birch(ed.), *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque.Second Viceroy of India*, New York, 1875, pp.6-7. Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da India*, tom.I, Lisboa, 1921, pp.393-5.

[11] The king of Cochin initially gave accommodation to the Portuguese in his own palace in times of crisis, besides granting site for their factory and settlement. He liberally gave them loan for the purchase of spices and used to stand as surety, when the Portuguese experienced shortage of capital. The Portuguese on their turn were always there to defend the king of Cochin in his battles against the Zamorin of Calicut. For details of these reciprocal ties and mutual support see K.S.Mathew and Afzal Ahmad, *Emergence of Cochin in the Pre-Industrial Era: A Study of Portuguese Cochin*, Pondicherry, 1990, pp.iii-x; K.M.Panikkar, *A History of*

Kerala, p.213; Pius Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India*, pp.37-40;150-151

[12] When the Zamorin attacked Cochin in 1503, Afonso Albuquerque and his cousin Francisco re-instated the king of Cochin on throne. The extended attacks on Cochin by the Zamorin were foiled by the timely action of Duarte Pacheco. For details see C.Achyuta Menon, , *The Cochin State Manual*, Ernakulam, 1911, pp.65-69; K.M.Panikkar, *A History of Kerala(1498-1801),* Annamalainagar, 1960, p.54

[13] The Portuguese established commercial contacts with Cannanore in 1501 and with Quilon in 1503. However the evident instruments of Portuguese state reached Cannanore with the erection of St.Angelo fortress (1508) and Quilon with their fortress St.Thomas completed in 1519.For details see Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da India*, tom.I, Lisboa, 1921,pp.583; 728; tom.II, pp.577; Antonio da Silva Rego, *Documentação para a Historia das Missões do Padroado Portugues do Oriente*, vol.I, Lisboa, 1948, p.403

[14] The price of pepper per quintal in Malabar was 2.66 *cruzados*, whereas the price for the same weight of pepper in Lisbon was 22 *cruzados.* For details see Pius Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India*, p. 285

[15] In 1509 the volume of pepper taken to Lisbon from the spice ports of Kerala like Cochin, Quilon and Cannanore was 40, 000 quintals, having the value of 106,400 *cruzados* in Kerala; however its value in Lisbon was 8, 80, 000 *cruzados*. This shows the magnitude of value of Kerala's trade at this point of time. However, during the period between 1510 and 1580 the volume of pepper-trade fluctuated: it stood between 15, 000 and 20, 000 quintals, whose market value was between 39,900 *cruzados* and 53,200 *cruzados* respectively in Kerala. Pius Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India*, pp.167;179;266

[16] The Provincial councils forbade many indigenous customs and cultural practices like the singing of voivo, using of *bindi,* consumption of salty rice, wearing of saree, etc., and introduced the dress code, food code in the city fearing that what they wore and ate might have had religious connotations. Later in 1683 Portuguese language code was also introduced in Goa making it compulsory for all to learn Portuguese for getting permission to perform any social and religious function including marriage. The old religious and cultural practices were replaced by Christian and Lusitanian practices with the help of legislations passed in the provincial councils of Goa, through language code. The local language was made to disappear and the language of the colonial masters, the Portuguese, was made to become the official

medium of communication, through dress code the local dress pattern was erased for Portuguese dress culture and through food code the local consumption culture was made to disappear for the Lusitanian ways and modes of food consumption. For details, Pius Malekandathil, "City in Space and Metaphor: A Study on the Port-City of Goa, 1510-1700" in *Studies in History,* vol.25, No.1, 2009, pp.25-6

[17] Teotonio R.de Souza, "The Religious Policy of the Portuguese in Goa, 1510-1800', in K.S.Mathew, Teotonio R.de Souza and Pius Malekandathil(ed.), *The Portuguese and the Socio-Cultural Changes in India, 1500-1800*, Fundação Oriente, Lisbon/ IRISH ,Thalasserry, p.443

[18] Pius Malekandathil, "City in Space and Metaphor", pp.17-28

[19] *Mare clausum* refers to any sea or other navigable body of water which is under the jurisdiction of a particular country and which is closed to other nations. This perception of sea was held by the Portuguese and the Spaniards during the period of geographical discoveries.

[20] For details see C.H.Alexandrowicz, An Introduction to the History of the Law of Nations in the East Indies, Oxford, 1967; Cornelius van Vollenhoven*, Three Stages in the Evolution of International Law*, The Hague: Nijhoff, 1919; Arthur Nussbaum, *A Concise History of the Law of Nations*, 2nd ed., New York, 1947; K.S.Mathew, "Portuguese Trade with India and the theory of Royal Monopoly in the Sixteenth Century", *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Waltair, 1979, pp.389-96: Richard Tuck, *Philosophy and Government: 1572-1651,* New York, 1993.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Pius Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India,* pp.74-5

[23] Ibid., pp.75;110-111

[24] See the city-plan of Cannanore given by Antonio Bocarro, *Livro das Plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades* , vol.II, pp.188-9; See also Paulo Varela Gomes, "Portuguese Settlements and Trading Centres", in Anna Jackson and Amin Jaffer(ed.), *Encounters. The Meeting of Asia and Europe, 1500-1800*, London, 2004,pp.126-33; Zoltan Biedermann, "Colombo and Cannanore: Two Portuguese Port-Cities in the Sixteenth Century", in K.S.Mathew and Joy Varkey(ed.), *Winds of Spices: Essays on Portuguese Establishments in Medieval India with special Reference to Cannanore*, Tellicherry, 2006, pp.241-51

[25] The native city of Bassein had 30, 000 inhabitants. See R.J.Barendse, *The Arabian Seas: The Indian Ocean World of the Seventeenth Century*, p.56

[26] This is reflected in the way how the Muslim and Jewish merchants of Cochin joined hands with the king of Cochin to send regularly commodities to the ports of Red Sea in 1604/5 undermining the

monopoly trade of the Portuguese. HAG, *Livro das Monções*, No.6 A (1604-1605), fols.71, 77, 79; ANTT, MSS Vicente, 14, fols.161. Letter of Philip II of Portugal sent to D.Alexis de Meneses dated 15-5-1605. In Daman the Muslim traders and in Diu the Banya traders eventually started dominating the commercial activities relegating considerably the Portuguese *casado* traders.

[27] The slaves were very often brought from East Africa by the traders of Chaul, Daman and Diu. See also Jeanette Pinto, " The Decline of Slavery in Portuguese India with Special Reference to the North", in *Mare Liberum*, Numero 9, Julho 1995, p. 236

[28] Daman was obtained from the Muzaffarid rulers of Gujarat in 1559. Diogo do Couto, *Da Asia*, Decada VII, liv. 3, cap. i-iii

[29] Bassein was obtained from the Muzaffarid ruler Bahadur Shah of Gujarat in 1534. For details see Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da India*, tom.II, p.689; S.S.Pissurlencar, *Regimento das Fotalezas da India,* Bastora/Goa, 1951, p.302

[30] Chaul was captured from the rulers of Ahmedanagar in 1521. For details see Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da India*, tomo II, pp.659-61; J.Gerson da Cunha, *Notes on the History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein*, Bombay, 1876, pp.3, 60-5. John Freyer, *A New Account of East India and Persia being Nine Years'Travel, 1672-1681*, vol.I, New Delhi, 1991, p.190

[31] Ibid., p.362

[32] Alexander Hamilton speaks of poverty of the city –dwellers by the last quarter of seventeenth century. See Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies, 1688-1723*, p.117

[33] Luis Frederico Dias Antunes and Manuel Lobato, "Moçambique ", p.316

[34] Mangoji Sinay was also a *rendeiro* of tobacco, silk and cotton during this period. HAG, *Conselho da Fazenda*, Mss.1163, fol.19v; Mss 1164, fol.62v ; M.N.Pearson, *Coastal Western India*, p.101

[35] To know more about the diverse types of commercial activities of Vitula Naique see HAG, *Conselho da Fazenda*, Mss.1161, fols.88-89, Mss.1162, fol.144; See also Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Merchants, Markets and the State in Early Modern India*, Delhi, 1990, pp.87-100.

[36] ANTT, *Junta da Real Fazenda do Estado da India*, Lo.6, Petição 12 November 1654; Ibid., Provisão 15, ec.1654; Ibid., Provisão 29 Dec.1657. M.N.Pearson gives a long list of Saraswat Brahmins who held different types of the *rendas.* For details see M.N.Pearson, *Coastal Western India*, p.101

[37] Pius Malekandathil, "City in Space and Metaphor,"pp.28-33

[38] It was in 1609 that Hugo Grotius published *Mare Liberum* and formulated the principle that the sea was international territory and that

all nations were free to use maritime space for sea-borne trade. The Grotian notion of *mare liberum* gave the Dutch the legitimation and justification needed for attacking Portuguese monopoly and to establish Dutch monopoly in its stead. For details see Peter Borschberg, *Hugo Grotius "Commentarius in Theses XI":An Early Treatise on Sovereignty, the Just War, and the Legitimacy of the Dutch Revolt*, New York, 1994,pp.20-199

[39] This information is gathered on the general picture of the Dutch in Kerala given by M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofsz, *De Vestiging der Nederlanders ter Kuste Malabar,* 's Gravenhage, 1943; Hugo s' Jacob, *De Nederlanders in Kerala, 1663-1701,* 's Gravenhage 1976; *The Rajas of Cochin 1663-1720: Kings, Chiefs and the Dutch East India Company,* New Delhi, 2000; Ashin Das Gupta, *Malabar in Asian Trade: 1740-1800,* Cambridge, 1967

[40] Ashin Das Gupta, *Malabar in Asian Trade*, 1740-1800, pp.103-23; Hugo s' Jacob, *The Rajas of Cochin 1663-1720,* pp. 52-7, 58, 67, 75-80.

[41] Binu John Mailaparambil argues that there were very few Dutch-men in Cannanore, very often less than two figures. See Binu John Mailaparambil, *The Lords of the Sea: The Ali Rajas of Cannanore and the Political Economy of Malabar, 1663-1723*, Leiden, 2012

[42] Ibid., pp.135-6

[43] The period from 1690s till 1750 witnessed a phase of relative ascendancy of the French in the Indian Ocean regions, with superior position on the east coast of India and controlling Pondicherry, coastal Andhra and Chandranagore in Bengal.

[44] Pius Malekandathil, *The Mughals, the Portuguese and the Indian Ocean*, pp.194-7; 214-8

[45] The king of England later gave it to the English East India Company. Achilles Meersman, *The Ancient Franciscan Provinces in India*, *1500-1835*, Bangalore, 1971, pp.224-8; M.D.David*, History of Bombay*, 1661-1708, Bombay, 1973.

[46] For details see Jangkhomang Guite, *Catholics in a Protestant Enclave: The Catholic Community and the English Company in Madras, 1640-1750,* Ph.D. thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 2008, pp.66-223; Jangkhomang Guite, "Black Portuguese' ín the 'White Town ' of Madras, 1640-1750", Yogesh Sharma and Pius Malekandathil, *Cities in Medieval India*, New Delhi, 2014, pp. 688-706

[47] For details see Jangkhomang Guite, *Catholics in a Protestant Enclave,* pp.66-223

[48] J.J.A. Campos, *History of the Portuguese*, p.191

[49] E.R. Hambye, *History of Christianity in India*, vol.III, p.461 The marriage between English company servants and the Luso-Indians became so

frequent and rampant that even the company officials began to object to it.

50 For details on *Padroado* system see C.R.Boxer, *The Portuguese Sea-borne Empire*,*1415-1825*, London, 1969, pp.228-9 See Antonio da Silva Rego, *Le Patronage Portugais de l'Orient, un aperçu historique*, Lisbon, 1959; Fortunato de Almeida, *Historia da Igreja em Portugal*, 4 vols., Oporto, 1967-71;Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri(eds*.), Historia da Expansão Portuguesa*, vo.I, Lisbon, 1998, pp.369-86; Isabel dos Guimarães Sa, "Ecclesiastical Structures and Religious Action", in Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto(ed.), *Portuguese Oceanic expansion, 1400-1800*, New York, 2007, pp.255-82

51 J.J.A. Campos, *History of the Portuguese*, p.126. This practice was seen in all the presidency towns. An Irish Jesuit priest by name Robert St. Leger was sent as bishop to the newly formed diocese of Calcutta (Apostolic Vicariate) in 1834. The absence of Portuguese missionaries in Bengal and the increasing use of English language and cultural practices by the English Jesuits and later Belgian Jesuits resulted in anglicizing this community of Calcutta. The same happened in other presidency towns, as well. For details see Pius Malekandathil, *The Mughals, the Portuguese and the Indian Ocean,pp.* 190-196; 214-218

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