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City in Space and Metaphor: A Study on the Port-city of Goa, 1510–1700

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The physical formatting of a city is done not by accident but by definite purposes and logic that its dominant groups intend to transcribe in space. The Portuguese, who developed Goa as their seat in Asia, transferred a large set of meanings of power into its urban space by resorting to architectural process as a language of domination. Wealth accumulated by casado traders and urban elites was made to get diverted to the erection of elegant and magnificent edifices and structures in the city that would evoke awe and impression among the onlookers in a way that would supplement and reinforce their claims of monopoly and domination in Indian Ocean trade. The structural formatting of the city went hand in hand with the creation of an ethnically exclusive Lusitanian social base at the power centre. The Portuguese city-dwellers, who brought immense wealth to the city out of private trade, formed the foundational base of the Estado da India, as well. In the seventeenth century with the mass exodus of city-dwellers from Goa to the peripheries of the empire following recurring pestilences and attacks from the Dutch and the English, non-Portuguese elements, particularly the Saraswat Brahmins, began to dominate the trade and banking sectors of the city causing eventually a change to happen in the ethnic nature of the social base at the power centre. Consequently the Portuguese authorities wove different metaphors and imageries around the city so as to make it appear appealing and sensitive and to keep the Portuguese residents back in the city, which in turn augmented the ability of the Portuguese state to use the urban space continually for furthering and perpetuating its political control.

Cities are the spatial manifestations of deeper societal processes that emerge from multiple levels of activities connected with production, exchange and exercise of power. In the past, urban space was often intentionally charged with meaning by status and power groups for the purpose of facilitating and perpetuating their control and hegemony over others. This process took a decisive turn in the early colonial and colonial port-towns, which the European political actors made increasing use of not only for extracting those products that were not available in Europe but also for furthering their political control over the region. In fact, the most important requirement of colonization was a port, with the help of which the early European powers and the later colonizers used to penetrate into the production centres as well as the neighbouring economies and then exercised control over
the process of extraction as well as distribution. They used to modify and restructure the port activities of shipping, exchange and navigation with a view to serving their politico-economic purposes in the region. In the course of these processes, cities were made to emerge in and around the principal port-settlements of India in a way that would ultimately facilitate their activities of creation and expropriation of surplus, besides ensuring their continued domination of the region.¹

Though different ports and port–towns appeared in Goa at different time phases like Sindabor (Chandrapura or Chandor), Gopakapattanam, Mormugão,² etc., the port-city of Goa (present day Old Goa), which was developed by the Portuguese as their power centre in Asia during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, stands out as a unique model of Lusitanian urban construction in Asia. The existing port-town of Goa was re-structured and re-formulated by the Portuguese through a chain of spatial and metaphorical articulations for the purpose of addressing the multiple needs of their state. This period witnessed the increasing use of the port of Goa as a mobilizing device for generating wealth needed for the erection of multiple visually impressive edifices after erasing the existing ones and for shaping a commercially oriented urban elite group and status group at the power-base, which in turn was meant to control the entire city administration through the mechanism of a city council. The Estado da India, in its turn, made increasing use of the resource-mobilizing ability of the status groups and the mercantile elites for the purpose of meeting its diverse politico-economic needs in the Indian Ocean. Subsequently different mental images and metaphors were repeatedly constructed and resorted to as to make the imagination and the sensitivities of the people get concentrated on the city of Goa, facilitating their material resources to flow to it in a way and degree that would enable the Portuguese state to continue its extraction process uninterruptedly.

The central purpose of this article is to see the diverse mechanisms and processes by which the port-city of Goa was constructed and developed in space and its metaphors for the purpose of realizing the larger designs of the Portuguese state. This is discussed, on the one hand, by analyzing the multiple spatial processes that went into the shaping of the city in visual form and on the other hand, by examining the images and symbols constructed about the city of Goa in the minds of the people for the purpose of facilitating and legitimizing the use of its urban

¹ For detailed discussion see Baker (2003); Harvey (1973); Harvey (2001); Gregory (2000); Souza (2003); Rossa (1997); Pearson (1981).
² Sindabor and Gopakapattanam were pre-Portuguese port-towns, while Mormugão was made a port during the time of the Portuguese. For details see Cosmas Indicopleustes (1962: 3–5); Pereira (1973: 30–31); Pissurlencar (1934: 394); Pissurlencar (1938: 387–93); Chakravarti (2000: 155–58).

space for serving the multiple political and commercial interests of the Portuguese crown. The emerging picture shows the changing functional roles thrust upon this port-city vis-à-vis the altering socio-economic conditions, within which the Portuguese state continuously defined, shaped and re-shaped Goa as an urban centre.

Emergence of the Port of Goa

By the end of the first millennium and beginning of the second millennium AD, Gopakapattanam (known after the arrival of Portuguese as Goa Velha), located on the banks of river Zuari, was the major port in Goa, where the Kadamba rulers of southern Konkan had based their political headquarters. At approximately the same time a small maritime exchange centre known as the port of Ela, out of which the Portuguese colonial city of Goa later evolved, seems to have appeared on the banks of river Mandovi as a satellite port feeding Gopakapattanam. Though both these ports were then located on the banks of two different river systems (Zuari and Mandovi), they were mutually connected by waterways and land routes, whose remnants, now known as ‘Kadamba road’, are still visible. However the economic importance of Ela on the banks of Mandovi seems to have been much more tangible with the capturing of the port of Gopakapattanam by the sultan of Honawar in 1342 and with its increasing Islamization. In the changed situation, merchants from the Muslim world increasingly started frequenting the port of Gopakapattanam changing the ethnic composition of this port-town considerably, while the non-Muslim traders started concentrating on Ela. Later, in 1369, the Vijayanagara rulers conquered this region, consequent to which the port of Ela and the neighbouring island of Diwar began to get increasing prominence. Their preference for Ela must have been because of its relative distance from the port of Gopakapattanam, which by this time had been controlled mainly by Arab merchants.

Nevertheless, a wide variety of reasons including the silting of the port of Gopakapattanam, the proximity of Ela to the timber-yielding Ponda forests ensuring regular supply of timber for shipbuilding activities, the closeness of the new

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4 However the port of Gopakapattanam did not disappear from the commercial map of Goa, as even in 1471, when general Khwaja Muhammed Gawan conquered Gopakapattanam, it was referred as ‘the major port of the land and as the cause of envy for all islands and ports of India’.
6 Vasant Madhav, the minister of the Vijayanagara ruler Bukka I, defeated the forces of Bahmani Sultan and occupied Goa in 1369. See for details, Barros (1771: II–5–v, 135); Saletore (1934: 258). The Vijayanagara minister Vasant Madhav (1379) played a key role in the reconstruction of the temple of Saptakoteshwar in Diwar. Heras (1932: 7–11); Figueiredo (1964: 154–55); Pissurlencar (1931: 1–20).
port to the heartland of the Vijayanagara empire, etc., also seem to have acted as other supportive factors that contributed to the emergence of Ela as the principal port of the southern Konkan. Its prosperity depended greatly upon the wealth coming from trade in horses brought from Arabia for meeting the war needs of the Vijayanagara kingdom. With the evolution of Ela as the prominent port for the exchange activities of the south Konkan and with the reinforcement from the satellite feeding port of Raibandar (Raya+bandar), there appeared a shift in the economic centre of gravity from Zuari-based Gopakapattanam to Mandovi-based Ela. Later, the port of Ela passed into the hands of the Bahmani sultans, from whom it was taken by Yusuf Adil Shah in 1498. By this time the name of Ela seems to have got changed into Juwa-Sindabur, as referred to by Ibn Majid in the fifteenth century. The historical context makes us think that the port referred to by Ibn Majid must have been Ela, even though the word ‘Juwa’ of Juwa-Sindabur might have been derived from Govapuri alias Gopakapattanam. Eventually the place name ‘Juwa’ or Goa clung to the port of Ela replacing all other connotations that it had earlier. On the eve of Portuguese arrival, the port of Ela was evidently referred to as Goa, through whose doors the trading networks of the Bijapur kingdom had found maritime exposure since 1498. In the beginning of the sixteenth century with the increase in the import of horses from Hormuz to Goa for further distribution in the kingdoms of Vijayanagara and to the Deccan rulers, Yusuf Adil Shah used to bag about 1,00,000 pardaos per year as customs duties from the port of Goa.

In the evolving urban lay-out, edifices and diverse urban institutions were made to appear around the palace of the Bijapuri sultan in Goa, keeping it at the core and making other settlements in the second and third rings of the pre-Portuguese city with its spatial extent touching the place now known as Ela.

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7 Malekandathil (2004: 12).

8 During this period the number of Muslim settlers in this region increased considerably. A large number of Muslims, about 400 (navayats), from Onor (Honavar) and Baticala (Batkal) came and settled in and around Ela in 1479 following their persecution by the Vijayanagara rulers for having supplied horses from Arabia and Persia to the Bahmani Sultan. Barros (1771: II–5–i, 434); Correia (1921: II, 55); Figueiredo (1964: 220–21).

9 This is inferred from the reference to Juwa-Sindabur of the Tuluva coast (located in the southern part of Konkan) found in the famous navigational treatise of Ibn Majid of the fifteenth century. It must have been evidently a reference to Ela-Goa. See Tibbetts (1971: 450, 454). However, there are also some others who argue that the place name of ‘Goa’ was a later Lusitanian construction as to have a similarity in the names of power centers by making the name of the capital of Portuguese India (Goa) sound like the metropolitan capital (Lisboa).


11 The remnants of this structure are still visible in the vicinity of St. Cajetan’s church of Goa.

12 This is inferred on the basis of field study conducted in this region. It is interesting to note that the region still continues to be known as Ela.

A Lusitanian City in the Process of Making

The Portuguese captured the port-city of Goa from the Bijapuris in 1510 along with the entire island encircled by the river systems of Zuari on the one side and Mandovi on the other side. Immediately after the capturing of the port city what the Portuguese did was to destroy the existing native urban structures, as a part of the strategy to erase memories about the past and to wipe away all traceable visual remnants of the old regime. In its stead a new town was made to evolve with new memories and fresh logic. One of the first steps that Afonso Albuquerque took after the conquest of Goa was to create a new social base in the city by making the category of city-dwellers to evolve out of the exclusive white Portuguese soldiers. For this, he gave permission to many Portuguese soldiers, the vital apparatus of a state, to forego their profession and to get married to Indian women, particularly widowed Muslim women, and made them settle down in the city. In 1512 there were 200 Portuguese casados (married settlers) in Goa, who formed the major chunk of the civil population of the Estado da India. In the process of their transformation from moving soldiers into permanent city-dwellers was also involved a radical change in their economic activities as well, in which sustenance (of soldiers) by allowance from state was replaced by maintenance of the citizens by their own entrepreneurial skills and initiatives. In fact, even Afonso Albuquerque was concerned about the means of livelihood for the Portuguese casados (married Portuguese citizens) of the city, who were deprived of state allowances with their marriage and he found small-scale trade to be a feasible alternative. Hence he allowed the married city-dwellers to conduct petty trade, and also to set up shops as well as manufacturing units including shoe making, baking and tailoring in the city of Goa for the purpose of their sustenance.

The city of Goa began to experience the accumulation of sizeable wealth with the increasing participation of the city-dwellers in long distance trade in the post-Albuquerquian period, particularly after the arrival of Lopo Soares de Albergia as governor in India in 1515. The new governor earmarked the eastern space of Indian Ocean for the private trade of the married Portuguese citizens, which commercial opportunity the city-dwellers of Goa made maximum use of for ventilating their private initiatives. The Portuguese private traders having residence in the city of Goa emerged as a significant trading community in the

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14 Azevedo (1987); Panikkar (1929: 84).
17 Coelho (1892: 237–39); Almeida (1925: III, 570–78).
Indian Ocean as early as 1520s and began to appropriate a major chunk of commerce till then carried out at Goa by the native merchants like Krishna, Raluchatim and Loquchatim. The chief commercial activities of the city-dwellers of Goa were linked with the major routes of commodity circulation in the eastern space of the Indian Ocean—the Goa–Bengal–Malacca–Goa, Goa–Coromandel–Malacca–Goa and Goa–Malacca–South East Asian routes—and the most important ones among them were the economic zones of South East Asia. From the Indonesian Archipelago, the Portuguese casado traders used to bring sophisticated spices like nutmeg, mace and cloves in large bulk to Goa, out of which a major share moved further to Lisbon in the Crown vessels for circulation in Europe. The Crown encouraged this trade of the Portuguese private traders, as it reduced the Crown’s burden in the process of procurement of cargo. Elaborate policies were chalked out by the crown for incorporating the entrepreneurial skills of Goan merchants for the purpose of obtaining the South East Asian spices, needed for Indo–European trade. The monopoly of the crown over Malacca and the Moluccas was terminated in 1533 and 1537 respectively, creating a liberal space for the Goan casado traders and enabling them to go to the sources of spices in South East Asia.

The above mentioned case indicates how the early colonial state made use of the city dwellers of Goa for mobilizing resources and for procuring cargo needed for its European commercial activities. In fact, the creation of a mercantile class from the Portuguese casados of the city of Goa was the need of the times, not only for the purpose of strengthening the trade of the crown but also for substituting the prominent and the traditional merchant groups like the Muslims and the banias, who had earlier occupied a dominant position in the Indian Ocean trading world. For realizing this, the Portuguese state resorted to a wide variety of trade-promoting mechanisms like quintaladas, commercial voyage licenses and other trade concessions, which were in fact initially developed as a compensatory way of rewarding the underpaid state functionaries, but later promoted as a ‘mechanism for participatory commerce’. By this system, the state was required to pay less while the individuals had to earn the rest by their own personal initiatives. But in course of time they turned out to be productive commercial ventures for the enterprising Portuguese traders that yielded enormous profit to them and wealth to the city.

As the city-dwellers of Goa became increasingly important for the sustenance of the state trade, a construction process of city space and urban demography befitting this goal became inevitable. Increase in the white urban population in Goa was an important concern of the state, which was followed by the expansion


of the spatial segments suiting the needs of the urban elite and the intentions of the penetrating state. In this process the city space of Goa was enlarged to absorb a large number of people who fled from the mother country to India following the recurring famines and frequent outbreaks of pestilence in Portugal from the 1520s onwards. As the city of Goa ensured an European urban milieu and ample opportunities for a decent living by participation in trade, it turned out to be a shock absorbing device for the Lusitanians moving out of Portugal during the famines of 1521, 1522 and the great pestilences of 1524 as well as 1530–31.22 Following this migratory trend, there appeared a radical change in the structure and composition of the urban population of Goa. The number of Portuguese city-dwellers in Goa increased to 1,000 in 1529, out of which 800 were married ones or casados,23 evidently involved in trade related professions. By the mid-1540s the demographic strength of the city of Goa rose to 4,600 out of whom 1,600 were married Portuguese city-dwellers and 3,000 were Portuguese soldiers.24 In fact by allowing the migrants from Portugal to settle down in the port-city of Goa, the Portuguese state not only managed to overcome, to a certain extent, the problem of chronic paucity of manpower; but also ensured sufficient number of Portuguese people in the city of Goa to make it evolve as an exclusively Lusitanian urban centre, suiting its position as a power centre. The integration of the new comers from Portugal into the colonial frames of the city of Goa was realized by conferring on them different types of trading opportunities with a view to ensuring livelihood for them and also ensuring regular cargo for the Lisbon-bound vessels of the crown. The system of licensed trade, voyage concessions and other trade privileges, which formed the major economic devices that were chalked out for their sustenance, enabled the newcomers to co-operate and expand by the 1540s with the first generation of casado traders of Goa, who had already established a vast commercial network in the Indian Ocean regions by this time.25 Thus the urban space of Goa became a platform for the forging of networks between these two groups that in turn facilitated their speedy expansion into the most profitable markets of Asia; its impact was visible in the indices of trade and profit. There was considerable

22 During the times of famines and pestilences many Portuguese citizens turned to Indian colonies as better centres for safe living. The outbreak of the great pestilence of 1530–31 in Lisbon made many flee the capital and the royal city was completely deserted. For details on the famine and pestilence in Portugal, see Serrão (1978: 31), Vol. III. The German eye-witness says that the Portuguese king and the royal family fled to Palmeda, while the inhabitants left the city. Kellenbenz (1961: 12–13). For the migration of the Portuguese to India, see Sergio (1976: 191); Malekandathil (2001: 171).


increase in the amount of money collected by way of customs duty in Goa, where it was 1,350 pardaos annually for spices in the 1,540s and 2,500 pardaos for the food grains.26 Since the customs duty was 6 per cent of the value of the cargo, the total value of cargo transacted in the city would be 2,2500 pardaos and 4,1670 pardaos respectively, which in turn would give a tentative picture of the value of trade in the city on luxury and non-luxury items.

Corresponding to these socio-economic developments, there appeared a chain of spatial processes, causing a Lusitanian city to evolve in the form of semi-circular rings around the port, but with the dynamics emanating from it. The initial edifices that appeared in the evolving city included—besides the clustered houses of the casados—the church of St. Catherine erected in 1510 after the conquest of the land, the Franciscan monastery, the hospital and the school, which were meant for catering to the needs of the growing urban population. The old palace of the ‘Sabaio’ converted into the Governor’s palace became the central institution in the city.27 With the eventual increase in population, Goa was raised to the status of a city in 1518 by the royal charter issued by King Manuel I of Portugal. The establishment of the city as a legal entity was followed by its administration being entrusted into the hands of a municipal council, consisting of members elected from the residents of the city.28 This development, in due course of time, enabled the urban and merchant elites to appropriate a considerable amount of power through the mechanism of the city council, which they also used for realizing and implementing their commercial aspirations and social wishes. The hold over municipal offices, supported by the immense legislative powers exercised through the device of the city council, also enabled them to ensure legitimacy, continuity and stability to the private trading networks that they had developed over decades.

Correspondingly, the weight of the Portuguese power was also inscribed into the urban spaces of Goa in an impressive way through architectural and institutional formats. Initially, the visibility of the Portuguese power was made perceptible by converting the old palace of ‘Sabaio’ (the old palace of the Bijapuri sultan) into the Governor’s palace, causing it to emerge as the core centre of the city. With the shifting of the political headquarters of the Estado da India from Cochin to Goa in 1530,29 this palace became the permanent residence for the Portuguese viceroys. The position of being the power centre of the Portuguese in Asia necessitated the

26 Fernandes (1905: 23–27).
29 Godinho (1982: 34), Vol. III.

Restructuring and redefinition of the city of Goa befitting its political importance. Attempts were repeatedly made from the 1540s onwards to articulate meanings of power into the urban space through architectural devices that in turn were meant to evoke great amount of awe and impression among the indigenous people.  

Spatial Processes, Urban Elite and Homogenization

The spatial processes and the programme of construction works in the city of Goa took a decisive turn from the 1540s onwards. This depended greatly on the generation of sizeable wealth from the agrarian territories of Bardez and Salcete that were added as districts to the existing space of Goa in 1543 and from the intensified intra-Asian trade carried out by the Portuguese casados of Goa. From the mid-1540s onwards, a considerable share of the trade surplus of the casados was transferred for beautifying their habitation and also for building magnificent churches or civic structures in the city space of Goa, evidently with the logic of making the power and prestige of the Portuguese state visible and impressive. It was a time when the Portuguese increasingly resorted to visual forms of architecture for stamping domination and for asserting their hegemonic position. Consequently, there were about 14 relatively bigger churches in and around the city of Goa by 1548, most of which, however, were erected after 1540.

The process of spatialization in the city of Goa received complex meanings with the establishment of different ecclesiastical institutions and establishments that necessitated new definitions of authority and control. The creation of the bishopric of Goa in 1534 with resident bishops from 1538 onwards helped to get the moral and spiritual power concentrated in the city augmenting the spheres of domination. The bishop’s house and the cathedral church were constructed closer to

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30 The slow and gradual process of stamping of Lusitanian urban notions onto Goa following the shifting of Portuguese power centre to this city is traceable from the sketch of the city provided by João Castro in 1540s and other sketches provided by Luis da Silveira. For the sketch of João Castro see Mathias Mundadan (1989). For later sketches and plans of the city see Silveira (1972: 360–83), Vol. III. The beginning of construction processes involving strong and durable city structures could be traced back to 1518 when the foundations of the Franciscan monastery was laid in Goa. For details ANTT, Corpo Cronologico, I–23–133, 142.

31 In 1543 the Governor Martim Affonso obtained from the Adil Shah the perpetual donation of Salcete and Bardez to the Crown.


33 For details on the erection of diocese of Goa, see Melo (1955: 11–13). The preliminary works of the Cathedral Church of Goa were completed by 1534 and what remained in-complete in that year were the tower and the sacristy. ANTT, As Gavetas, 20–1–53, the letter of Vicar General Pe. Miguel Vaz addressed to the king of Portugal.

the residence of the Viceroy, as a part of the larger strategy to keep both the spiritual and temporal power centres nearer and to make them converge at convenient points for greater assertions. The Jesuits who came to Goa in 1542 under the leadership of St Francis Xavier occupied the northern part of the city where they erected São Paulo College. However, the Franciscans (1517) and the Dominicans (1548) occupied the prime areas of the city, while the Augustinians who came to Goa only in 1572 had to construct their monastic structures on the slopes of the mount farther away from the port area. These religious order became the major devices for creating various institutions, rules and regulations regarding Catholicism in the city space. Later, when these monastic houses became the provincial headquarters of the above mentioned religious orders in Asia, they also became the core economic centres, as well, for distribution and re-distribution of wealth obtained from various sources.

The Jesuits had considerable cultivable land in the Salcete region, while the Franciscans had it in Bardez and the Dominicans as well as Augustinians had their source of income from Tiswadi, from where wealth started flowing in different forms to their provincial houses located in the city. The convent of Santa Monica of Goa (1606), which was the only nunnery in medieval India, had a lot of villages in Goa and shops in Bassein near Bombay that it had acquired as patrimony from the ladies who entered the convent. Regular flow of wealth to the convent in the city from these villages and business establishments placed the convent as the most economically and socially powerful institution in the city, which even the municipal council at times viewed as a serious economic challenge emerging in the urban space. In the process of distribution and re-distribution of wealth and resources to different parts of Indian Ocean regions (obviously for the missionary enterprise), these religious houses emitted certain centripetal forces that also made a considerable share of spatial processes revolve around the monastic religious houses. Consequently settlement enclaves of various social groups, which were attached materially and spiritually to these monastic houses of the city of Goa, began to appear around them, making it ultimately evolve as an ‘urban space embedded with multiple city-microcosms’ and conditioned by the geographical formats of praças.

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35 In 1596 the income of Jesuits as rent from the 13 single-floor and a few multiple-floor structures as well as a few shops in the city and as revenues from their estates in the islands of Goa, Chorão and Divar, besides those from Salcete, amounted to 6686 xerifins and 438 reis. The tax that the Franciscans collected from Bardez amounted to 874 xerifins and 400 reis. The Augustinians who had fourteen houses for rent, six shops in the city and a palm grove in Tiswadi used to get 619 xerifins and 200 reis. The major source of income for the Dominicans included 52 single-floor and multi-floor houses that were given on rent in the heart of the city and 12 salt-panes as well as farmland in Batim, from where they used to get 1238 xerifins and 400 reis. See Matos (1994: 152–54); Mathew (1988: 126–28).

A study on the Port-city of Goa, 1510–1700 / 23

A great amount of wealth that flowed to the religious headquarters in the city was also channelized for the construction works of diverse religious edifices and charitable institutions as well as for their ornamentation and sustenance. However, the greatest share of wealth that went for the consumption of space and construction processes came from the purse of the merchant settlers of the city. The Portuguese *casados* and urban elite diverted a sizeable amount of wealth bagged by way of their private trade for the purpose of constructing elegant and magnificent structures and edifices in the city. A remarkable increase in the private trade of Goa is attested to by the stark rise in the rate at which customs duty on different items of trade was farmed out in the city of Goa during the period between 1540 and 1600. The right to collect customs duty on spice trade was farmed out in 1541 for 1,350 *pardaos*, which in 1595 was farmed out for 7,755 *xerafins*, evidently suggesting more than 500 per cent increase in the private trade in spices in Goa during this period. Meanwhile, the right to collect customs duty on food grains brought for trade was farmed out at a sum of 2,500 *pardaos* in 1541, which amount rose to 11,630 *xerafins* in 1595, evidently indicating more than 460 per cent increase in the rice trade of Goa. Simultaneously the trade in pearls, silk, horses, textiles, betel-leaf, food-stuffs, etc., also increased in Goa by this time, following which about 58 per cent of the total income of the *Estado da India* used to come from the customs houses or the *alfandegas* of Goa. In 1592 the volume of trade in pearls in Goa was such that the right to collect customs duty on it was farmed out for a sum of 800 *xerafins* per year. The right to collect customs duty on the trade in betel-leaf was farmed out in 1541 for 3,265 *xerafins*, which shot up to 7,050 *xerafins* in 1594. Concomitantly the annual tax collected from the silk-weavers of Goa also rose from 1,140 *xerafins* in 1548 to 3,400 *xerafins* in 1595, evidently suggesting increase in the production of silk and in the number of people involved in the weaving occupation. A large number of horses were imported from Hormuz to Goa for further distribution in the principalities of the Deccan, where they were in high demand for meeting the war needs. The income derived from the trade in horses at Goa was 34,914 *xerafins* in 1598, which, however, dropped to 30,809 *xerafins* in 1599. These details, besides showing the nature of needs and the transactionability of the city-dwellers, are indicative also of the increase in the volume of trade and size of profit accumulated by the local traders in the city. The economic value of the city space can also be inferred from the huge amount of salary given to the captains monitoring the major trade passes of the city of Goa like Benestarim (60,000 *reis*), Panjim (50,000 *reis*), Naroa (40,000 *reis*) and Passo seco (40,000 *reis*), through which commodities flowed in large bulk to the

37 Fernandes (1905: 23–27).
38 Matos (1999: 11–19).

city from across the borders.\textsuperscript{41} In fact, the wealth that used to get accumulated at the various custom houses from the different types of cargo entering the port-city of Goa was immensely great, amounting to 1,48,622 xerafins in 1597, which increased to 1,51,234 xerafins in 1600.\textsuperscript{42}

It was during the period between 1550 and 1620, which coincided with the phase of intensified private trade of the city-dwellers of Goa, that most of the magnificent edifices and churches of this city were being constructed. A considerable share of the trade surplus from the \textit{casados} and urban elite was transferred for the long construction works of such elegant buildings and religious houses like the Cathedral Church (1562–1619),\textsuperscript{43} the Francis Assisi church (1602), Bom Jesus Basilica (1594–1605), the monastery of the Dominicans and the Augustinian monastery and church (1597–1602).\textsuperscript{44} A large number of tomb stones of the wealthy \textit{casado} traders and \textit{fidalgos} belonging to this period and seen on the floors of the churches of Goa speak loudly of their involvement in the building process or maintenance of these institutions and edifices in the city.\textsuperscript{45} The Franciscan college of St Bonaventura, the Jesuit college of St Paul, the Augustinian college of the People, the Royal Hospital, the grand edifice of the Inquisition, the Municipal House, the House of Misericordia and the Palace of the Viceroy protruded into the sky as symbols of dominion and as language of political assertion.\textsuperscript{46} In all these

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  \item \textsuperscript{41} See Botelho (1868), Godinho (1982: 224–82); AHU, Codice 500, \textit{Orçamento do Estado da India}, 1588.
  \item \textsuperscript{42} BNL, \textit{Fundo Geral}, 1978, fols. 2–78.
  \item \textsuperscript{43} Though the structure of the Cathedral Church was raised by 1619, it was not finally completed till 1652.
  \item \textsuperscript{44} The construction work of Bom Jesus Basilica was initiated in 1594 and was blessed in 1605 by Frei Dom Alexix de Menezes. The monastery of the Dominicans, which was erected in 1548 towards the east of the present day St Cajetan church, had a beautiful church overlaid with a golden wash. The Dominicans spent about 40,000 \textit{pardaos} in 1549 for erecting the monastery; Rego (1952: 464–65), Vol. IV. However after the suppression of all the religious orders in Portugal and Goa (1834), the monastery and church structures of the Dominicans were demolished in 1841 on the order of governor Lopes de Lima against the backdrop of the anti-religious and anti-ecclesiastical spirit of the times. The construction work of the grand Augustinian monastery started in 1597 and was completed in 1602. After the suppression of the Augustinian order in Portugal and its colonies, including those in India, in 1834 the edifice remained unattended to and different parts of the church started falling apart in 1842, the façade and half of the tower in 1931 and a major portion of the tower–structure in 1938; Moreira (1996: 99), Vol. III–IV; Almeida (1968: 168–70), Vol. II; Caçegas (1678); Hartman (1967: 21), Vol. XXX. For details on the religious policy of the Portuguese during this period, see Souza (2001: 437–48).
  \item \textsuperscript{45} All the magnificent churches of Goa including that of the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Jesuits and the Augustinians still have the beautifully lettered granite tomb stones of such \textit{fidalgos} and wealthy \textit{casados} on their floors, most of them being nicely decorated with coat of arms and symbols of wealth and nobility.
  \item \textsuperscript{46} The college of St Bonaventure was erected in 1605. (However, in the nineteenth century following the suppression of the Franciscan Order in 1834, the college was demolished in 1870).
\end{itemize}

structures were clearly seen the attempts of the state and the city-dwellers to articulate visually their wealth and to convey architecturally the meanings of power of the Portuguese state in an impressive and awe-evoking manner to their neighbours and politico-economic collaborators. Nevertheless, these spatial processes in the city of Goa attained wider political significance and increasing meaning of domination with the rupture of the power equilibrium in the Deccan following the fall of Vijayanagara (1565).

However, in the evolving scenario of Goa, the core area of urbanization eventually shifted from the politically and administratively important structures to the commercially important streets. By the 1570s, the core area of city life in Goa turned out to be the street space named *Rua Direita* (Straight Street), which was occupied on both sides by lapidaries, goldsmiths, the rich, and the wealthier merchants and craftsmen, while each class of artisans and traders stayed together in separate localities. Entrance to the city from the port was made possible through the city gate called the ‘arch of the viceroys’, on entering which one was led either to the right to the Archbishop’s house which was the seat of spiritual power or to the left to the residence of the Viceroy, which was the base of the temporal power, with the street in between earmarked as *Rua Direita*, where the hectic trading activities took place. As in Lisbon, *Rua Direita* was made to become the commercial nodal centre of the city of Goa. According to Barreto de Resende, there were 3,500 Portuguese houses in the city of Goa, out of which 800 were made of stone and lime. They had beautiful windows and balconies, and were covered with tiles, with alluring frontage and bordering the street in beautiful symmetry.

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48 Santos (1999: 133–34); On the concept of Goa as capital of *Estado da India* see Santos (1995).

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The evolution of the social space in the city of Goa took a significant turn with the increasing attempts to do away with its pluralism and elements of heterogeneity. The differences in customs, traditions and practices were made to disappear in the name of religion and in their turn Portuguese practices including Lusitanian food culture, dress culture and entertainment culture were introduced from the 1560s onwards. A large number of legislations made in the five Goan Provincial Councils held during the period between 1567 and 1606, which forbade the Christian settlers of Goa from resorting to indigenous customs like singing of voivo, using of bindi, retaining of Hindu names, cooking of rice without salt, wearing of saree or dhoti, planting of Tulsi, attending Hindu weddings, etc.—because of their suspicion of being non-Christian in origin—turned out to be principal devices for homogenizing the behavioural pattern of the urban dwellers of Goa. Laws were passed to make it compulsory for all the people in Goa to wear European dress instead of indigenous dress including the saree, to use spoon and fork instead of eating with hands and to emulate Portuguese food habits. Later, in 1684 Portuguese was introduced as the compulsory language that every Goan should learn, and the clearance of Portuguese language test became mandatory for getting permission to perform any social and religious function including marriage. The introduction of Portuguese food and dress habits as well as language code brought about a great amount of homogeneity and standardization in matters related to urban behaviour in Goa. The job of surveillance and strict implementation of the Lusitanian practices was effectively taken care of by the court of Inquisition, which began as a religious court in 1560, but was later developed as a political tool to get people to conform to the system, ensuring and facilitating behavioural uniformity and homogeneity needed for easy penetration. Concomitantly various legislations passed in the municipal council of Goa effected a great amount of standardization in all spheres of city life and administration, facilitating the city to evolve in a way manoeuvrable and usable for the Portuguese state.

The administration of the city affairs passed into the hands of the urban elite, through the mechanism of the city council with members elected from the Portuguese married settlers. The merchant elites and the status groups used to get themselves elected as the representatives of the urban dwellers of Goa to the municipal council, where they decided on all matters related to urban cleanliness,
sanitation, property acquisition and space management, food supply and hoarding, management of welfare institutions like misericordia, local trade, law and order within the city, matters affecting morality of the city-dwellers, etc. This in turn provided immense opportunities and possibilities for the urban elite to transfer their desires as well as aspirations into the process of urban legislations and to get them translated into the urban space as prescriptions. Thus the hold over Municipal offices, supported by the legislative powers of the city council, also secured for them legitimacy, continuity and stability to the private trading ventures that they had developed over decades.\textsuperscript{55} However, the Portuguese state managed to keep the city of Goa integrally incorporated within the colonial frames and functions of the state through the medium of commercial privileges lavishly bestowed upon the urban elite.\textsuperscript{56} Several navigational channels kept by the Crown rather monopolistically till the 1570s were begun to be liberalized and handed over to the private casado traders of Goa. The latter began to undertake frequent commercial voyages to South East Asia, China and Japan, as Livro das Cidades e Fortalezas que a Coroa de Portugal tem nas partes da India evidently indicates.\textsuperscript{57} The casados of Goa acquired a great amount of wealth out of these commercial voyages for about three decades.\textsuperscript{58} In fact the Crown–granted charters and commercial privileges turned out to be political devices that helped to keep the merchant elite, along with the urban space, remain constantly manoeuvrable for the Crown for meeting the needs of the early colonial state. We also hear about tax concession being given by the Crown to the merchants trading on the sides of Rua Direita in the city of Goa, who were exempted from paying one-fourth duty.\textsuperscript{59} Through these and various other sets of commercial privileges, what the crown intended to achieve was to get the Portuguese private traders and the status groups of the city integrated with the state, for the purpose of furthering its political control and for creation of surplus. A glimpse into the amount of surplus that the Portuguese state used to appropriate from Goa can be gleaned from the fact that in 1634 the total income from Goa was 6,24,667 xerafins while its expenses for the same year were about 4,81,799 xerafins, showing a difference of 1,43,866 xerafins that went to the Portuguese state treasury as surplus.\textsuperscript{60}

Meanwhile, the urban elite also began to make increasing use of different devices including the Court of Inquisition to do away with their commercial rivals and competitors from the city of Goa, and to keep their hegemonic position unchallenged. There were occasions when stories were fabricated and accusations were

\textsuperscript{55} Malekandathil (2006: 13–14).
\textsuperscript{56} ANTT, Corpo Cronologico II–234–7; J.H.da Cunha Rivara (1992: 1ff), Vol. II.
\textsuperscript{57} Luz (1953).
\textsuperscript{58} Thomaz (1984: 87).
\textsuperscript{59} Rivara (1992: 23), Vol. II.
\textsuperscript{60} Cunha (1995: 362).
falsely made against the commercial opponents so as to keep them detained by the Court of Inquisition, making their wealth and business remain frozen and incapacitating them to pursue their trading activities any further.\(^61\) Thus we find that about 84 people, who were executed by the Court of Inquisition during the period between 1561 and 1590, were principally traders belonging to the New Christian segment (Cristãos Novos),\(^62\) a fact which is evidently suggestive of the functional role that this institution was made to play in the midst of commercial competition, obviously favouring the urban elite of Goa.

**Construction of Metaphors and the Political uses of the Urban Imageries**

By the beginning of the seventeenth century new metaphors and imageries had begun to be woven around the urban space of Goa, aiming to create a magnified perception of the city, transcending the very limits of time, space and its geography. Pride evoking epithets and metaphorical usages like Goa Dourada (Golden Goa), ‘Rome of the East’,\(^63\) etc., were fabricated and circulated in the process of elevating the city from the boundaries of time and space to the heights of concepts and ideas, which were capable of constantly conveying the image of superiority and domination. Several proverbs like ‘whoever hath seen Goa need not see Lisbon (Quem viu Goa não precisa de ver Lisboa)’\(^64\) were fabricated and circulated to boost among the city-dwellers a sense of the greatness of the city of Goa and to keep them attached to its urban space. The metaphorical usage of Goa Dourada or ‘Golden Goa’\(^65\) evidently refers to its affluence and fabulous wealth, with the help of which the majestic and beautiful churches and the elegant civil structures of the city were constructed and decorated in glittering golden colours. Construction works of most of these structures were being undertaken or completed during the period between 1570 and 1610, when a lot of wealth flowed to the city of Goa from the pockets of the Portuguese private traders and urban elite, giving a grandiose, golden and majestic look to the entire urban space. Though this was the historical background against which the metaphor ‘Golden Goa’ was evolved,
the metaphor was increasingly used at a time when there was shrinking of wealth\(^{66}\) and dwindling of trade following large-scale emigration of people from the city of Goa with recurring pestilences as well as epidemics and frequent attacks from the Dutch.

In fact the city of Goa experienced a phenomenon of mass exodus of inhabitants, leading to a drastic reduction in its urban population, from the second decade of the seventeenth century onwards. With the increasing water pollution, because of the porous nature of the soil, there were recurring outbreaks of pestilence and epidemics, making the city uninhabitable. During the period between 1604 and 1634 about 25,000 Portuguese soldiers died in the Royal Hospital of Goa.\(^{67}\) The plague that broke out in the city in 1625 was extremely severe, from which the citizens found it extremely difficult to recover.\(^{68}\) Though in 1580 the number of Christians in the city of Goa was 60,000\(^{69}\) and there were as many as 20,000 Hindus by the end of the sixteenth century,\(^{70}\) the city’s population decreased considerably by the seventeenth century. This is indicated to a great extent by the fact that the city had only about 3,000 houses in 1620, which according to Francisco Bethencourt represented a maximum number of only 45,000 people.\(^{71}\) On 3 December 1687, Fr. Inacio do Rosario wrote that a major part of the city of Goa then remained deserted and abandoned.\(^{72}\) This is indicative of the catastrophic fall in the urban population of Goa due to the recurring epidemics and pestilences. In 1639, a serious epidemic struck Goa, laying low Viceroy Pedro da Silva himself.\(^{73}\) In the midst of recurring epidemics, many city dwellers began to flee away from the city of Goa en bloc to safer trading centers, some of which were located in the Bay of Bengal and in the peripheral zones of the empire. The power centre of Goa appeared to be running short of enough people for its sustenance. The situation became worse with the frequent attacks on the city and its neighbourhood by the Dutch, which eventually turned out to be severely critical with annual blockades during

\(^{66}\) The Portuguese writers and other European travelers began to engage in the discourse of Golden Goa more from the seventeenth century on, as most of the edifices and structures in Goa took the final shape only then. However it happened to be the phase when trade started declining because of the frequent attacks from the Dutch.

\(^{67}\) Pearson (1990: 93).

\(^{68}\) Penrose (1960: 104).

\(^{69}\) Couto (1788: X–1–I, 48).

\(^{70}\) Souza (1993: 111). In 1623 it was pointed out by a Portuguese that about 1,50,000 Hindus continued to live under the Portuguese protection in Goa; Pearson (1990: 118). Hindus formed so important a segment of the urban life of Goa that even in the seventeenth century 80 per cent of the holders of rendas were Hindus, while the Christians held only 20 per cent (Ibid., p. 113).

\(^{71}\) Bethencourt (2005: 115–16). Pearson says that the population in the city of Goa had declined to 20,000 late in the century. Pearson (1990: 134).

\(^{72}\) Rivara (1886: 229).

\(^{73}\) Velinkar (2003: 8–9).
the period between 1637 and 1644. With the urban population increasingly deserting the city, attempts were being made even to shift the base of Portuguese power of India from the city of Goa to Mormugão, where a fort was already built in 1624 to counter the attacks of the Dutch.

In the changed situation, a new social base was increasingly shaped in the power centre. It was followed by the loosening of the clench of cultural homogenization that the Portuguese had earlier maintained in the city with the help of religion and more heterogeneous elements including Bania, Konkani and Jewish merchants began to control the strategic transactions of both the money and commodity markets in the city. The major actors in this development were the Saraswat Brahmins who began to emerge as the most significant trading segment and economically powerful group in the city of Goa. One of the leading merchants in the city of Goa in 1630s was Rama Queny (Rama Keni), who managed to get himself appointed as the chief officer for the purpose of collecting pepper for the Portuguese India Company. Though he was permitted to keep only 60 candis of pepper every year for sale in the city, he used to collect a great amount of pepper brought from Cochin. He is said to have been the principal merchant of the city of Goa by 1633, a position that he seems to have attained by his involvement in the pepper trade. Even the Portuguese India Company had to purchase pepper from Rama Queny for its Lisbon-bound vessels. Eventually, he stepped into trade in saltpetre and he was mentioned as the principal contractor in the city of Goa in 1634 for supplying saltpetre to the Portuguese.

During this period we find many Saraswat Brahmins and the banias coming to the city and settling down as traders, bankers and revenue farmers. Mangoji Sinay from Salcete took up the right of customs collection on tobacco, silk and cotton being brought to the city, while Vitula Naique was the rendeiro for the collection of customs duty charged at Passo de Santiago, which was the main ford between Goa and the mainland. He was also one of the prominent suppliers of saltpetre to the Portuguese. Krishna Sinay and Nana Chati were other prominent rendeiros or tax-farmers in the city in the 1640s, who were also the leading bankers

74 Penrose (1960: 104), Mandelslo (1931: 73).
76 Historical Archives of Goa (Henceforth known as HAG), Livro das Monções, No. 17 (1632–33) fol. 216; No. 18 (1633) fol. 81.
77 HAG, Conselho da Fazenda, Mss. 1162, fol. 144. Rama Queny took up the contract for saltpetre from Vittula Naik. I express my gratitude to Dr Agnelo Fernandes, Goa for providing me with interesting information in this regard.
79 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; (Pearson 1981: 101).
80 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 Subrahmanyam (1990: 87–100).

of the city. Meanwhile many traders from different cultures started settling down in the city, diluting the Portuguese element in the city. We also find Nana Sinay conducting trade and banking business in the city of Goa as a commercial representative of Gema Bhai Vena operating from Sanguiser near Bombay. Nana Sinay took up the contract to collect customs duties on coral brought to the city in 1655. It ultimately seemed that the urban space left vacant by the exodus of the Portuguese citizens was increasingly taken over by Konkani merchant groups, who gave a different ethnic content to the social base of the power centre.

It was at this juncture of mass exodus of Portuguese residents from the city of Goa and with the increasing flow of Saraswat Brahmins and banias to this city as bankers and tax-farmers that there evolved the strategy to increasingly use highly fascinating urban concepts like ‘Golden Goa’ and ‘Rome of the East’ (of course immensely inflated imageries, but churned from the historical processes of the sixteenth century), to dissuade the residents from fleeing away from the city of Goa, which also happened to be the power centre for the Portuguese state. With the repeated use of the concept of ‘Golden Goa’, the bygone days with splendor and glory of the city of Goa were made to remain fresh in the memory of the Portuguese residents, instilling in them a sense of pride as well as a desire to get attached to the city and to reside in it. These metaphors were ascribed to Goa as a part of the strategy to project before the Portuguese casados the value and significance of being residents of the city and to make them as much attached to it as possible.

The image of the city of Goa as the ‘Rome of the East’ was fabricated against the background of its being the ecclesiastical capital of Asia with the provincial headquarters of different Religious Congregations and the seat of the Archbishop located in the city. Meanwhile, increasing movements of missionaries and circulation of missionary information between Portugal and Asia were also realized through the city of Goa, making it the core area for everything ecclesiastical in Asia. Against this backdrop the usage of the imagery of ‘Rome of the East’ for...
Goa sensitized the religious fascination of the residents helping them to get weaned away from their centrifugal tendencies and get integrated with the city emotionally and physically, which the state actually wanted for strengthening the city’s position of being the power centre. The entire process took a decisive turn with the increasing pilgrimages being organized to the shrine of St Francis Xavier preserved in the Jesuit House of Goa after his beatification in 1619\textsuperscript{85} and canonization in 1622.\textsuperscript{86} In fact, the incorrupt physical body of St Francis Xavier, who died near China in 1552, was brought to Goa in 1554.\textsuperscript{87} With the circulation of stories about his miracles in different parts of Asia, particularly after his canonization in 1622, believers in large numbers started flocking to his mortal remains, during the first weeks of December, seeking his intercession and miraculous interventions.\textsuperscript{88} In subsequent years, pilgrimages were repeatedly organized, with the state as the sponsor or facilitator, to the shrine of St Francis Xavier kept at Bom Jesus Basilica, making the people move towards the centre, more as a religious ceremony, but eventually converting it into a political device. The intent was to keep the scattered and dispersed Portuguese residents of different Lusitanian enclaves of Asia moving towards the power centre for the purpose of strengthening its Lusitanian social base and ensuring the process of integration and cohesion necessary for the uninterrupted flow of resources from their far off settlements.\textsuperscript{89}

\textsuperscript{85} Archive der Gesellschaft Jesu, Rome, the Brief of Pope Paul V titled \textit{In sede principis} issued on 25–10–1619.

\textsuperscript{86} Schurhammer (1977: 679), Vol. II, Appendix II. See also Schurhammer (1962: No. 6234, 473); Rayanna (1982).

\textsuperscript{87} When the body of Francis Xavier was brought to Goa in 1554, it was kept first in the church of Ribandar for a night and then in the college of St Paul in the city. See Manuel Teixeira (1912: 900–09).

\textsuperscript{88} During the three day exhibition in 1554 about 6,000 people visited the body. Engelbert Jorissen (1997: 235). The body of Francis Xavier was transferred to the church of Bom Jesus in 1610 and since the canonization (till 1708), people used to go in large numbers on pilgrimage to this church annually to visit the incorruptible body during his feast day (that fell initially on 2nd December but was later changed to 3rd December); Malekandathil (1999: 110). From 1708 till 1782, there was no public exposition at all, though it continued to attract thousands and thousands of pilgrims every year.

\textsuperscript{89} The pilgrims used to walk all the way on foot from their settlements (if they were located on the terrestrial part of India or travel up to the port of Goa in vessels if their settlements were located in maritime zones) in large groups and used to break their journeys during the night. Field-study in the region indicated that most of them used to walk with sticks in their hands. The span of the pilgrimage consisted of several days with cooking being done by themselves on the way-side or in the temporary tents set up by local people and parish churches or governmental agencies. The central part of the pilgrimage consisted in visiting the body of Francis Xavier, which was exposed without any protective cabin till 1655. It was in 1660 that the casket containing the body was shifted to the new chapel (the present day site). However it did not deter the pilgrims from visiting Bom Jesus church. The Portuguese state, in its turn, used this annual pilgrimage of people to the shrine of Francis Xavier from all over Asia as a pliable device for keeping them attached to its power centre.

By assigning the epithet ‘Defender of the East’ to the saint, the residents were made to believe that as long as the mortal remains of St Francis Xavier were preserved in the city, the saint would protect the residents from all external attacks including the ones from the Bijapuris, the Dutch and the Marathas and keep the city invincible and undefeatable. There was a general belief among the city dwellers of the seventeenth century that the Marathas, despite their severe attacks in 1683, failed to conquer Goa because of the presence of the body of Francis Xavier in the city. The stories of invincibility of the city of Goa were circulated to boost the confidence of the city-dwellers. Concomitantly, King Pedro II of Portugal officially declared Francis Xavier to be the ‘Defender of the East’ in 1699, projecting and cementing the popular belief in the invincibility of the city of Goa. Through these epithets the Portuguese casados living in the peripheries of the empire were made to increasingly invoke the saint and the city of Goa where his body was kept, which in turn helped to augment the flow of pilgrims to Goa. The Portuguese state on its part made use of the ‘incorrupt body’ of St Francis Xavier and the annual pilgrimage to the shrine as political devices for exercising its hold and authority over Portuguese citizens from peripheral zones, who were otherwise loosely attached to the state. Simultaneously, by coining epithets and imageries of various connotations the city of Goa and its various institutions were made appealing and dear to the residents of the city. However, the major concern of the state in coining the metaphors was to dissuade the Portuguese citizens from going away from the city and to get them integrated with the core area of power as its social base. However, the metaphors and the imageries woven around the city of Goa also provided the required amount of sensitization needed for keeping the urbanity of the place vibrantly alive and attractive, despite the dwindling demographic phenomena and the consequent vicissitudes.

Thus we find that the port-city of Goa, which evolved out of the Bijapuri port of Ela, was shaped by a continuous process of spatialization and coining of metaphors and imageries suited for realizing the designs of the early colonial state.

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90 Nazareth (1894: 189). This belief was in currency even in 1961 when the Indian soldiers entered Goa to liberate it from the Portuguese; the governor general Vassalo de Silva and the top Portuguese officials expected a miracle to happen and they were under the impression that the saint would miraculously come to their rescue and save Goa from getting integrated with the Indian union. During the exposition of the body held between 14th and 18th December 1961, the viceroy prayed at the feet of Francis Xavier for protecting Goa from an ‘Indian invasion’, even though the last day of exposition ironically coincided with the entry of an Indian army and the liberation of Goa. For information, see Fernandes (1994: 63); Rayanna (1982: 212).


92 Nazareth (1894: 206). The process of adding epithets to Francis Xavier continued in the succeeding centuries, as well, as it happened in 1748, when Pope Benedict XIV declared Francis Xavier to be the ‘Patron and Protector of Indies’. Nazareth (1894: 257, 622).
On the one hand, the city of Goa was shaped as the principal habitat for the citizens of the Portuguese state called Estado da India by absorbing more and more migrants from the mother country. And on the other, the city administration was entrusted into the hands of the urban elite through the device of the municipal council that in turn took care of the process of standardization in urban behaviour with the help of its chain of legislations. By the mechanism of royal charters, commercial privileges as well as economic concessions, the urban elite was continuously kept in good humour which made them operate and function within the frames of the early colonial state.

The spatialization process in the urban unit of Goa reflected the logical processes and mechanisms by which the Estado da India shaped and reshaped the city through the medium of the urban elite. By allowing the casados and residents of the city to develop their private initiatives and to conduct trade, the Crown besides ensuring the availability of required volume of cargo needed for Lisbon-bound vessels, also saw to it that sufficient resources were mobilized from them for the erection of elegant buildings in the city as to construct a power-space with highly impressive and awe-evoking structures, both civil and ecclesiastical. The state remarkably made use of the agency of the city dwellers to first get wealth accumulated in their habitat—by means of private trade legitimized by the system of licenses, trade concessions and commercial voyages—and then get it transferred for the construction process of monumental structures and elegant edifices in the city articulating their concepts of power.

In the seventeenth century with the emigration of Portuguese residents from the city and increasing inflow of Konkani Saraswat Brahmins and bania merchants into it, threatening the very ethnic nature of the social base at the Portuguese power centre, several imageries and metaphors were woven around the city of Goa as to make the Portuguese residents remain in the city. This move was further supported and reinforced by the mechanism of pilgrimage to the shrine of St Francis Xavier, which the state managed to develop as a political device to make as many Portuguese residents as possible move towards the power centre ensuring increased Lusitanian presence in the city for being its social base. This in turn augmented the ability of the state to use the urban space continually for furthering and perpetuating its political control.

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