Tidal Conflicts: An Analysis of the 16th Century Portuguese Naval Wars in Goa

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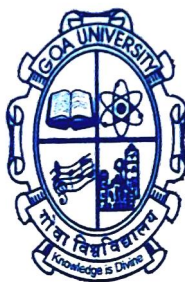
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DECLARATION BY STUDENT

I hereby declare that the data presented in this Dissertation report entitled, "Tidal Conflicts: An Analysis of the 16ᵗʰ Century Portuguese Naval Wars in Goa" is based on the results of investigations carried out by me in the Discipline of History at the D.D. Kosambi School of Social Sciences and Behavioural Studies, Goa University, under the Supervision of Mr. Vinod Kankonkar and the same has not been submitted elsewhere for the award of a degree or diploma by me. Further, I understand that Goa University or its authorities will be not be responsible for the correctness of observations / experimental or other findings given the dissertation.

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Place: Goa University

COMPLETION CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation report "Tidal Conflicts: An Analysis of the 16th Century Portuguese Naval Wars in Goa" is a bonafide work carried out by Ms Esther Gonsalves under my supervision in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of M.A in History in the Discipline of History at the D.D. Kosambi School of Social Sciences and Behavioural Studies, Goa University.

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3.1 Arrival of Portuguese in Goa

PREFACE

Out of the several topics that caught my attention, studying about the naval wars fought in Goa during the 16th Century is what piqued my interest. This topic had always been at the back of my mind for a very long time. My decision propelled into confirmation while I was studying the course titled as "The Indian Ocean World" during my first year in M.A. History at Goa University. I found the perfect opportunity to act on my thoughts when research and dissertation was introduced during the course of my studies. After reading books after books on this particular topic, the interest never died down, instead my curiosity kept on escalating. I realized that understanding the importance of naval resistance is just as important as studying about military resistance on land. Therefore, this topic was finally finalized as a part of my dissertation. I wanted to explore the rarely explored aspect of Goan history.

When speaking of maritime history of Goa, it is always the trade which is discussed. It is one of the most researched topics while studying Goa's history. However, the other aspects of maritime history of Goa are neglected. There are only a few notable scholars that have made an effort to study about Goa's naval history. Naval History of Portuguese Goa is a topic that is the least discussed while speaking about the history of Goa. The Portuguese had various strategies that were very different from what was followed by the earlier dynasties in the naval battles that were fought in Goa. This topic, interestingly, has many layers to it and an attempt has been made to understand and uncover these layers through this research.

<u>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</u>

FIGURES

GLOSSARY

Sahyadri	Western Ghats
Sahyadri Khand	A sanskrit text
Goparashtra	A name signifying 'a country of cowherds' and used to denote Goa in ancient texts
Gomati	Ancient name for River Mandovi
Shurparaka	Sanskrit word for winnowing fan
Sindabur	Used to denote Chandrapur by ancient Arab travellers
Sunaprant	The Golden land on the West Coast
Aparant	The land beyond the Sahyadris
Anjediva	An island near Karwar on the Konkan coast
Bhar al-Arab	Sea of Arabs or Arabian Sea
Dovornem	Headrest for goods
Ghodemodni	A Goan fold dance symbolizing the victory of warriors in battles
Ashwa	Sanskrit word for horse

Ghodyachi Paaz	A laterite pathway from where horses were taken to be traded
Saptamatrika	A group of seven mother goddesses
Kelbai	Local deity
Ravalnath	Guardian deity
Yuktikalpataru	A medeival work composed by Raja Bhoja of Dhar
Dhou	One or two masted arab sailing vessel
Vhodi	boat
Bhogika Amatya	Minister of Revenue and Finances of the Bhojas
Sarvatamtradhikari	Chief Administrator of the Bhojas
Rahasyadhikari	Private Secretary of the Bhojas
Paschimasamudradhipati	Lord of the Western Ocean
Khazan	Low lying lands
Caravela	A small, fast Portuguese sailing ship.
Galleons	A Portuguese warship
Cartaz	A permit or pass issued by the Portuguese to ships for safe passage

Fustas	A narrow, light and fast ships which uses oars or sails
Naus	A transhport ship
Cruzados	A monetary unit

ABSTRACT

The naval history of Goa is counted as one of the most neglected aspect of maritime history of Goa. The Portuguese naval power in the Goan waters was at its height during the sixteenth century. This period represents the establishment as well the beginning of the decline of a great maritime/naval power in the Indian Ocean. This research aims to analyse the naval battles fought by the Portuguese against the indigenous powers that rose up in resistance to the Portuguese conquest of Goa. There are a number of literary sources that provide links to interpret the naval power that the Portuguese held in the initial years of their rule many of which are archival records. It is through them that one understands that the Portuguese were indeed very advanced in ship-building and weaponry. There are many factors, such as geographical, organizational, demographic, ship-building, weaponry and artillery that influenced the strategies and warfare techniques of the Portuguese in the Goan waters which have been discussed in this dissertation. Their experience in rough waters allowed them to have a tactical approach towards dealing with different situations differently. The topic has great scope for further studies in understanding the impact that these naval wars had on the Portuguese rule and territorial expansion in Goa.

Keywords: Naval battles, artillery, strategic importance, navy, caravelas, Portuguese naval tactics.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

In the annals of maritime history, the 15th and 16th century stands as a pivotal era marked by the confluence of western powers seeking dominance over lucrative and important trade routes which also led to the colonization of a number of countries in the Eastern world. The Portuguese, under the guidance of Vasco de Gama, were the first Europeans to enter the Indian Ocean region and land at the shores of Calicut in 1498. Thus, began a new episode in Indian history. This also marked the beginning of a new era of maritime history. One such important turn of events in the 15th century marked the rise of an unprecedented power in the east who rooted themselves in Goa for nearly 450 years. The discovery of the sea route to the east by the Portuguese opened new doors for the western powers to assert dominance in this part of the world. Within a few years, the Portuguese had managed to take control and expand the Portuguese empire in India by conquering important coastal territories such Goa, Daman and Diu. Out of these territories, Goa - a coastal enclave, became a melting pot for the ambitions of the Portuguese. Declared as the capital of *Estado da India* (the Portuguese Empire in India), the triumphant conquest of Goa by Afonso de Albuquerque was considered as a jewel on the Portuguese crown. Being situated on the western coast of India, Goa had a close relationship with the seas. Due to its strategic location and trade networks on the west coast, a number of empires tried to gain control over it. The Portuguese, too, were added to the canon of the 'Conquerors of Goa'. Out of all their activities, their naval engagements to guard and sustain their territories in Goa emerged as a compelling study to undertake. It is widely known and proven that the Portuguese established themselves in India and Goa based on their powerful navy and naval organization. The factors that made the Portuguese superior

in terms of establishing naval control is the advanced ship-building knowledge and weaponry possessed by them. They made a lot of developments when it came to navigation. Their ships were built in such a manner that they could withstand the rough conditions of the Atlantic Ocean. They had vast experience and knowledge in nautical science, tidal currents/ocean currents, wind velocity etc. When they navigated the Indian Ocean, they quickly grasped the importance of having power of the seas to control the regions in India. They established themselves as 'Lord of Navigation' in the Indian Ocean[1]. They worked on improving this to their benefit and fought battles with the indigenous people of the land to establish control over those regions. They became a very dominant force. They asserted strategic control and dominance over the western coast of India and its waters. However, even after they established themselves as the master of the sea, their power over the land was limited to a few coastal states. Among these coastal states was the land of Goa which was regarded as a 'Travellers Paradise' and a 'Trade haven' since the ancient times.

The Portuguese conquered Goa and were able to sustain it for over a period of 450 years. The Portuguese had eyed Goa for a long time and when the opportunity came knocking on their doors, they did not let it slip away. However, to attain this kind of control over the territory of Goa they had fight a number of battles. Out of these, the naval battles fought in Goa played a major role in helping the Portuguese achieve this goal. It a widely accepted notion that the Portuguese were extremely well organized in fighting battles at sea using their formidable ships and advanced weaponry.

 These naval wars fought during the 16th century played a huge role in deciding the fate of the Portuguese in Goa. In order to gain control of Goa and sustain their rule over it, they

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[1] K.M. Panikkar, *Asia and Western Dominance.* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1953), 45.

had to fight numerous wars. They were decisive battles fought with the aim to secure control over the conquered territory. The result of these wars had some impact on the land as well as the rulers. The study of a few of these wars is what will be covered in this research. It will encapsulate and dig deep deep into understanding exactly how they were able to put their navigational and naval knowledge to use in the Indian waters and highlight their tactical minds. This dissertation makes an attempt to analyse the naval battles that were fought in the year 1510, 1512 and 1570 along with the impact that they had on the Portuguese rule in Goa.

1.2 Aim and Objectives

1. To explain the strategic location of Goa and its importance on the western coast of India.
2. To assess the naval strategies and tactics used by the indigenous powers as well as the Portuguese in both, offensive and defensive manoeuvres.
3. To highlight the nature of the indigenous navy and shipping technology.
4. To understand the circumstances that led to the arrival of the Portuguese in Goa.
5. To analyze the naval wars fought by the Portuguese in Goa during the 16th century.
6. To analyze the impact of these wars on the indigenous powers and the expansion of the Portuguese empire in Goa.

1.3 Hypotheses/ Research question

The principle concern of the present research was to analyse the naval wars that were fought between the Portuguese and indigenous powers during the 16th century in Goa. This research was undertaken to critically interpret the gathered information from various

visual, cartographical and literary sources. The research tries to answer the questions posed such as, which were the naval wars fought by the Portuguese in Goa and how did these wars impact the Portuguese control and expansion in Goa.

1.4 Scope

This research is very relevant in order to comprehend the establishment of the Portuguese in Goa and the response of the indigenous powers. There were many wars fought by the Portuguese and the indigenous rulers for gaining control over this piece of land called Goa, yet, very little is studied about them. This research tries to put forth the reasons and conflicts that the Portuguese and the indigenous powers engaged in during the 16th century. This will help to further understand the true nature of the wars and their impact on Goan history.

This research covers the part of history that is restricted to the 16th century and includes three vital naval wars fought in Goa during this period. These include the wars of 1510, 1512 and 1570. This research tries to analyse the factors that let to the arrival of the Portuguese on the shores of Goa and how they fought various naval battles to expand their territories. This will also speak about the indigenous powers and their naval capacity while engaging in conflicts against the Portuguese.

1.5 Literature Review

Any dissertation or research work heavily relies on the sources. Clear understanding of primary and secondary sources provide legitimacy and authenticity to the work. Literature review is an important tool that helps in making research more credible. It helps in gaining expert view and a general understanding of the topic. In this research, the

researcher tries to gain innate knowledge on the topic at hand. Some of the primary and secondary sources that have been referred to for the better understanding of this topic are listed below.

Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque – Second Viceroy of India by Walter de Gray Birch in 1877 is very important as a primary source in understanding about the Portuguese attack on Goa. However, the most important information from this is about the fortresses that the Portuguese attacked and captured. Out of the four volumes, volume one and two are most important when reading about the naval wars of 1510 and 1512. It gives information on the arrival of the Portuguese in India, conquest of Goa, battles and wars fought during the time of Afonso de Albuquerque, kind of weapons that existed in Goa at the time; the idea of weapons such as swords, shields etc.[2]. It also gives some inputs on the Portuguese arms and ammunition such as guns and their advanced weaponry.

India and the West: The First Encounters written by Joseph Velinkar in 1998, gives in detail notes about how the confrontation, meeting and exchange of cultures between the east and the west came to be. Even though, the book deals with the cultural history of Salcete at the micro level, it has immense information on Portuguese exchange before and after they invaded Goa. In the chapter titled as 'Swooping to Conquer', he gives information on the arrival of Portuguese and siege of Portuguese on Adil Shahi territories. He gives relevant data on how the Portuguese established themselves in Goa. According to him, it is difficult to understand what Albuquerque was planning to do with Goa[3]. However, he feels that there is enough evidence to at least prove that Albuquerque

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[2] Walter de Gray Birch, *Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque – Second Viceroy of India vol 2.* (London: Haklyut Society, 1877), 89.

[3] Joseph Velinkar, *India and the West the First Encounters*. (Mumbai: Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, 1998), 27.

had clearly and carefully planned his attack/invasion of Goa. This leads him to thoroughly analyze the failure of the first Portuguese conquest of Goa followed by a successful second conquest in 1510.

An Historical Sketch of Goa written by Denis L. Cottineau de Kloguen in 1910, gives information on the condition of Goa since the year 1461. It gives a general understanding on the authors view on Goa during his visit. He explains the prevailing situation that existed in Goa before the arrival of the Portuguese in Goa. The book begins by explaining the prevailing conditions in Goa during the mid-15th century. He then proceeds to give a general view on how the Portuguese asserted their power in Goa. He also gives a detailed description on the Governors/Viceroys of Goa up until the year 1827[4].

The Rise of Portuguese Power in India 1497-1550 written by R.S. Whiteway in 1989, speaks about the rise of Portuguese power in India and how the Portuguese had established themselves in the eastern part of the world. The author gives a detailed description of the condition of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean during the early 16th century. The whole book is a very important source for the study of Portuguese in Goa and for the general understanding of the kind of artillery and commanding power they had over the land and the seas. In the second chapter of the book specifically titled as 'Arms and methods of Warfare – voyages – piracy – land journeys' give a distinction between the kind of weapons the Portuguese and the Indians had during the time. He also explains about how the Hindus of the extreme south and the Mohammedans had different rules of fighting. According to him, the Hindus had a number of rules in war and breaking any of those rules would bring dishonor to them. On the other hand, the Muhammadans were

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[4] Denis L. Kloguen de Cottineau, An Historical Sketch of Goa. (Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation, 1831), 17.

more than ready and prepared to take advantage of any chance that they could find in defeating the enemy. He then speaks of the Portuguese artillery power and gives a clear picture of how the introduction of gunpowder in Europe during the 14th century had taken the Europeans a notch further in having advanced systems of weaponry. He reaches to the conclusion that the Portuguese had better weaponry and well protected defensive armour at least better than that of their opponents during the time[5]. The same chapter also gives information on the voyages and ships used in those voyages. This leads us to understanding about the importance of ships for trade but most importantly in naval wars/battles. He also gives brief information on the management and rule of the viceroys of Goa from 1510-1550 and their role in Portuguese advancements in Goa. Even though, the book does not speak specifically about naval history of the Portuguese in Goa, it does give a lot of inputs on factors that led to the rise of the Portuguese in India.

The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1510-1700: A Political and Economic History written by Sanjay Subramanyam in 1993 is another book which gives innate knowledge on the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean. Even though it speaks about the role of Portuguese in Goa, it also gives a general view on the politics of the time. He speaks on the relationship between the Portuguese and the moors. He analyses the first voyages made by the Portuguese mainly of Vasco de Gama and of Pedro Alvares Cabral[6]. This text does not give much reference to naval power in Goa but it critically analyses various texts in order to understand the conquest of the east by the west.

The Portuguese, Indian Ocean and European Bridgeheads 1500-1800 edited by Pius Malekandathil and T. Jamal Mohammed is a collection of research papers that speak

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[5] R.S. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India 1497-1550.* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1899), 33.

[6] Sanjay Subramanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1510-1700: A Political and Economic Coastal Forts History.* (New York: Longman Publishing, 1993), 56.

about European powers and the Indian ocean. There are a few papers that are of great help to this study. The papers titled as:

'The Portuguese in India and the Indian Ocean: An Overview of the 16th century' by M.N. Pearson gives a rounded view of the Portuguese and their efforts in the 16th century. It is not a detailed account but, a general context of what was happening in the Indian ocean during the 16th century. According to him, the Portuguese were quick to understand the importance of the Indian Ocean. He talks about how the port cities were important in terms of trade and how they too were placed at a strategic location and they linked the whole Indian Ocean region together. He states that "they functioned as nodes in the vast seaborne network of the Portuguese maritime empire"[7]. Apart from the trading activities, and spread of Christianity, this paper gives a substantial amount of introduction to why the Portuguese felt the importance of having superior naval power.

'Precedents and Parallels of the Portuguese Cartaz System' by Luis Philip F.R. Thomaz gives insight into how important the cartaz system was to the Portuguese as a way to establish superiority and sovereignty in the Indian Ocean.

'Outgoing Carreira Ships in the Indian Ocean (1550-1575)' by Joseph Velinkar gives an idea of the crewmen on the ships that made a round journey from Goa to Lisbon. He speaks about trade and the cargo that were on the ships. It also gives information about the travels made by various ships and the crew that they carried.

'Contributions of foreign rulers in delaying dominance by foreign powers in Malabar region' by K.K.N Kurup mostly speaks about the reaction of the local rulers to European powers especially in the Southern part of India.

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[7] Malekandathil, *The Portuguese, Indian Ocean,* 50.

'Decline of the Portuguese Naval Power: A study based on Portuguese Documents' by K.M. Mathew speaks about the decline of Portuguese navy in the Indian Ocean. The researcher has given factors for the same.

An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa written by Jose Nicolau da Fonseca in 1986 consists of relevant information that is useful for my study. According to Fonseca, the Portuguese had one of the most foremost ships and armadas in all of the Indian Ocean. He states that the Portuguese owed the foundation of their power in the east to their powerful navy[8]. He gives a general understanding of the advent of the Portuguese on the western coast of India. He also speaks about the amount of artillery and guns carried on the ships. Apart from that, he gives insight into the tactics used by the Portuguese in controlling piracy in the Indian Ocean. He also talks about the importance of various fortresses built by the Portuguese.

A History of Goa written by Joao Antonio Jacinto da Costa in 1982, gives a general understanding on the age of discovery in the 15th and 16th century. It also provides a general understanding on the Portuguese in India and their conquest of Goa[9].

History of the Konkan written by Reverend Alexander Kyd Nairne in 1894, talks about the various wars fought by the Portuguese in the Indian ocean. It also gives details on kind of weapons used by the Portuguese in fighting those wars. The book dives into the details of how the Portuguese established themselves in India mostly on the coastal states of India.

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[8] Jose Nicolau Da Fonseca, *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa.* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1986), 37.

[9] Joao Antonio Jacinto Da Costa, *A History of Goa.* (Mapusa: Joao Antonio Jacinto Da Costa, 1982), 187.

A Concise History of Goa written by Olivinho J.F. Gomes in 2010, speaks about Goa and covers a wide variety of topics related to Goa. It generally talks about Portuguese invasion in India especially Goa.

Ship-building and Navigation in the Indian Ocean Region AD 1400-1800 edited by K.S. Mathew in 1997, is a collection of research papers. They cover topics based on ship building. They include:

'Navigation in the Arabian Sea during the 16th century – a comparative study of the Indigenous and Portuguese navigation' by K.S. Mathew gives information on the vessels used by the Indian people and compares them to the vessels used by the Portuguese. The author speaks about the wars fought between the Portuguese and indigenous leaders. In terms of their strength and artillery.

'Military Structure of the Portuguese Navy in the Indian Ocean – the first half of the 16th century' by Vitor L.G Rodrigues speaks about how the Portuguese naval power was established and then became superior because of their military actions at sea[10].

The Maritime and Coastal Forts of India written by M.S. Narvane in 1998 gives a distinction between the 'maritime' and 'coastal' forts in his book[11]. He also studies about the impact that these forts had on the entire western coast of India. He goes for a more general to specific approach. He first speaks about the entire coastline of the Indian subcontinent. We also find detailed information on all the coastal forts on the western coast. However, being specific to the topic at hand, this book also provides innate

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[10] K.S. Mathew, *Ship-building and Navigation in the Indian Ocean Region AD 1400-1800.* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt Ltd, 1997), 140.

[11] M.S. Narvane, *The Maritime and Coastal Forts of India.* (New Delhi: APH Publishing Corporation, 1998), 140.

knowledge on the coast and coastal forts of Goa. This also specifically speaks on the Portuguese forts of Goa.

Goan Society through the Age written by B.S. Shastry in 1987 is a collection of seminar papers. It contains a research paper titled as 'Military studies in Goa During the Portuguese Rule' which speaks of the development of military studies and services in Goa during the Portuguese rule. It speaks of various courses introduced in military institutions in Goa[12].

History of the Portuguese Navigation in India 1497-1600 written by K.M. Mathew in 1988 is a very important sources for the undertaken study. It is one of the most important books to refer to while reading about Portuguese naval history in Goa. He tries to explain how Portuguese navigation is a vital link to global exploits. It touches upon some of the most important aspects of Portuguese navigation. The book is divided into two parts. Part one speaks about the nautical knowledge of the Portuguese and the tools and techniques that they used to navigate from early times. Part two speaks about their quest to find a sea route to India. He clearly states through his writings that the Portuguese supremacy in India prevailed for as long as they had a powerful navy and naval organization and that their hold over the regions started declining because of their ignorance to the naval development in the 18th century[13]. He gives a lot of information regarding the naval battles that were fought in Goa. He tries to give a whole picture of their rise to power and their decline as well. He concludes by saying that it was their immense knowledge that led to leaving a lasting imprint on the modern Indian navy.

Medieval History of the Deccan Vol II written by S.K. Sinha in 1968 provides a general idea on the relationship and conflict between the Portuguese and Adil Shah of

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[12] B.S. Shastry, *Goan Society through the Age.* (New Delhi: Asian Publication Services, 1987), 222-233.

[13] Mathew, *History of the Portuguese Navigation,* xi.

Bijapur. It mainly speaks about how the Portuguese tried to take away the spice trade monopoly from the Arab traders who had already established themselves at the western ports of India namely Cochin, Calicut, Goa and Dabul[14]. This also continues into the episode of Portuguese conquest of Goa.

Discoveries, Missionary Expansion ad Asian Cultures edited by Teotonio R. de Souza in 1994 is a collection of seminar papers which include:

'The Discoveries versus the Discovered: Psychological perspectives on Portuguese-Goan prejudices in the 16th -18th Centuries' by Anthony da Silva argues that discovery did not fend well for the people who were discovered. They often became objects in the scheme of things. The paper also highlights the psychology of the Portuguese discoverers and their zeal to find a sea route to India[15].

Indian and The Indian Ocean 1500-1800 written by M.N Pearson in 1987 consists of a chapter titled as 'India and the Indian Ocean in the sixteenth century' which gives information on the importance of the 16th century in the Indian Ocean. According to Pearson, "This was the century when the Portuguese were the only European power operating in the ocean." (Pearson, 1987)[16]. Many historians have looked at the Portuguese entry into the Indian Ocean as a significant episode, altering the Indian Maritime History. Pearson argues that this assumption by the historians is invalid. He argues that this assumption distorts the facts of the matter. However, he does state that it was the Portuguese who introduced politics in the Indian Ocean for the first time. Most of the

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[14] S.K. Sinha, *Medieval History of the Deccan Vol II.* (Hyderabad: The Government of Andhra Pradesh Hyderabad, 1968), 115.

[15] Teotonio R. De Souza, *Discoveries, Missionary Expansion ad Asian Cultures.* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1994), 45.

[16] M.N. Pearson, *Indian and The Indian Ocean 1500-1800.* (Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1987), 71.

remaining chapter talks about trade, the seafarers and their activities in the region, the politics at sea. This book gives a general understanding about the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean.

India and the Indian Ocean written by K.M Panikkar in 1945 gives a general idea on the research topic. He gives innate knowledge on the geographical importance of the Indian Ocean region. He also explains why the arrival of the Europeans in the 15th century in the East was a significant episode in the history of medieval India[17]. He tries to clearly indicate the motives and need of the western countries such as that of Spain and Portuguese in wanting to find a sea route to India. Panikkar also speaks of the Portuguese Sea Power in the Indian Ocean. He speaks briefly on the battle of 1504, between the Zamorin of Calicut and the Portuguese. However, not much can be gathered specifically on the kind of arms used by the naval power at sea. But, nonetheless, it is one of the most important sources for this research.

Portuguese Sea Forts: Goa, with Chaul, Korlai and Vasai written by Amita Kanekar in 2015 speaks about the forts built, captured and reconstructed by the Portuguese in their colonies in India. "The Portuguese forts that dot the Arabian Sea coast of the Deccan are dramatic remnants of a maritime empire long dead" (Kanekar, 2015)[18]. The Portuguese "built strongholds that would overlook the ocean and protect the ships carrying goods, merchants, troops and missionaries led to a new a distinctive maritime architecture" (Kanekar, 2015)[19]. Albuquerque once told a Malabar king in reassurance that "the King of Portugal did not built forts to take land but, to keep his goods and people

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[17] K.M. Panikkar, *India and The Indian Ocean – An Essay on the influence of Sea power in Indian History.* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1945), 44.

[18] Amita Kanekar, *Portuguese Sea Forts: Goa, with Chaul, Korlai and Vasai. (*Mumbai: Jaico Publishing House, 2015, 1.

[19] Kanekar, *Portuguese Sea Forts,* 1,

secure" (Kanekar, 2015)[20]. Kanekar also states that Goa was a prosperous trading centre of European arms. She further goes on to talk about Portuguese fort architecture and gives examples of forts built by or which were under the Portuguese. she speaks about how the naval carpenters and local craftsmen played an important role in the building of these sea-forts. They went on developing their methods of building these forts; from clay to wood to stone. Earlier they were built in a European manner but then the plans and methods changed overtime due to the 'birth of new age weaponry'. This meant that there was production of "efficient gunpowder, cannon manufacture, cannon balls made of cast iron and explosive mine" (Kanekar, 2015)[21]. She gives examples of Goan forts and fortresses that played an important role and they were Cabo de Rama, Mormugao fort, Fort of Reis Magos, Fort Aguada, Santo Estevao, Corjuem, Chapora, Tiracol etc.

Portuguese Shipping and Shipbuilding in Goa 1510-1780 written by Xavier Mariona Martins in 1994 gives a lot of details on the Portuguese ships and ship-building. This study requires analysis of the reasons why the Portuguese has superior power in the Indian Ocean. One of the reasons being the Portuguese ships which were battle ready. This also throws light on the types of ships used by them in increasing their naval power and for other reasons such as trade as well. Apart from this, the author speaks of the kind of artillery they carried on the ships[22]. It also gives information on the general conditions of the people onboard the ship.

Portuguese Sea Battles Vol I, II, and III by Saturnino Monteiro speaks specifically about the Portuguese naval battles that were fought by the Portuguese and the others all

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[20] Kanekar, *Portuguese Sea Forts,* 14.

[21] Kanekar, *Portuguese Sea Forts,* 18.

[22] Xavier Mariona Martins, *Portuguese Shipping and Shipbuilding in Goa 1510-1780.* (Taleigao: Goa University, 1994), 50.

over the region. These books give a lot of information regarding the plan of attack and tactics followed the both, the Portuguese and their rivals.

The Portuguese in India Vol I by Fredrick Charles Danvers gives a detailed account on the Portuguese and their rule over the various territories of India. It also gives a lot of information on the topic.

The article titled as *Exploration of the Portuguese Shipwrecks in Goa Waters* written by Sila Tripathi speaks about Portuguese navigation and the ships through the shipwrecks discovered in Goan waters. These shipwrecks are studied from the point of view of Marine archaeology and oceanography. However, it also gives information on the artillery kept on board the ships[23]. But, one limitation regarding the limitation of the study is that it speaks more about the shipwrecks of the 17th century. Therefore only a few parts of the study are relevant to the undertaken research.

The article titled as *Control of the Seas: A Historical Exegesis of the Portuguese Cartaz* written by Ruby Maloni speaks about the importance of the Cartaz for the Portuguese to be in control of the seas. It is one of the most important aspects of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean. The cartaz is a document issued by the Portuguese to allow safe passage for ships to carry out their voyages in the Portuguese controlled waters. According to Maloni, "the Cartaz clearly represented an institutional constraint on the freedom of navigation on the high seas" and "an essential component of the ideological foundation of the Portuguese maritime empire in the east." (Maloni, 2011)[24]. She also states that a similar system existed even before the advent of the Portuguese but it was the Portuguese who used it smartly and greatly for their benefit in order to strengthen their

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[23] Sila Tripathi, "Exploration of the Portuguese Shipwrecks in Goa Waters". *Journal of the Institute for Research in Social Sciences and Humanities*, No.1. (2006): 31-47.

[24] Ruby Maloni, "Control of the Seas: A Historical Exegesis of the Portuguese Cartaz". *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, (2011), 476.

power at sea. They were extremely successful in doing so for a very long period of time. Most of the system was mainly developed as a result to get monopoly over spice trade because "The Estado da India was dependent on the Cape route for supply of men, ships and weapons, necessary to maintain the Carreira da India and prevent losses" (Maloni, 2011)[25]. She also states that the cartaz system was centralized in Goa during the governorship of Afonso de Albuquerque. This shows just how important Goa was to the Portuguese. It also gives examples of various instances when the Asian ships were caught at sea without any cartaz and the repercussions that followed. The author speaks highly of the power that the Portuguese had through this particular system not only in the political realm but also defence, social and economic aspect. This system was also followed by the Dutch and the British in India. This was a very strategic concept in global trade and power politics at that time. Even though, this article provides little to no knowledge about the weapons and artillery used by the Portuguese at sea, it does provide with a few details on how they used strategies and systems to their benefit in order to become the powerful at sea.

The article titled as *The Decline and Fall of Portuguese Sea-power, 1583-1663* written by Armando da Silva Saturnino Monteiro speaks about the reasons for the decline of the Portuguese in India. This article tries to analyse the reasons for the fall of the Portuguese and most of the debate blames the Spaniards for this occurrence. The article analyses whether this is true or not. However, this article is important for its innate information on the Portuguese gunnery and arms used by them in fighting the Spaniards, Dutch and the English and also the wars fought by them during the latter phase of the 16th century[26].

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[25] Maloni, "Control of the Seas: A Historical", 479.

[26] Armando da Silva Saturnino Monteiro, "The Decline and Fall of Portuguese Sea-power, 1583-1663". *The Journal of Military History*, No. 1. (2001): 9-20.

The article titled as *Strategic Importance of the Indian Ocean* written by Ravindra Varma, gives reasons for regarding the Indian Ocean as a location of great importance. According to the author, Indian Ocean is the third largest ocean in the world after the Pacific and Atlantic Ocean. "The other two oceans are like gigantic highways from Pole to Pole. Indian Ocean is on the other hand 'an embayed ocean' a land-locked sea" (Varma, 1967)[27]. He makes a comparison between the Indian ocean and the other oceans especially the Pacific and Atlantic Ocean. He considers Indian Ocean ideal because it takes kindly to sailing ships, the predictability of the wind, the uniform temperature of the surface water and the currents as well. Most of the articles then shifts to speaking about the 20th century which is irrelevant to the research.

The article titled as *Some Aspects of the First Conquest of Goa by the Portuguese* written by B. S. Shastri, as the name suggest, gives information regarding the causes and circumstances that led to the conquest of Goa at the hands of the Portuguese during the 16th century[28]. There are slight references to the naval might of the Portuguese in the Arabian Sea.

1.6 Methodology

Conducting a research on the Portuguese naval wars in Goa during the 16th century requires a thorough and methodical approach to gather accurate and comprehensive data. An attempt has been made to use various stylistics and approaches to fulfil the purpose of the research. Primary and secondary sources play an important role in this process. The primary sources include books, letters, travel accounts, archival records. The secondary

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[27] Ravindra Varma, "Strategic Importance of the Indian Ocean". *The Indian Journal of Political Science,* No. ½. (1967), 52.

[28] B.S Shastri, "Some Aspects of the First Conquest of Goa by the Portuguese". *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, (1978), 385-392.

sources include journal articles, newspaper articles, books and other e-sources. They form the basis of any research work/dissertation. This research focuses on the Portuguese naval battles that were fought during the years 1510, 1512 and 1570. The key focus of the study will remain on textual and cartographical analysis. Textual analysis includes a number of secondary sources that are related to the topic. The texts include various scholarly works such as books, journal articles, newspaper articles, seminar papers, PhD thesis and e-books. Apart from this the researcher has also made use of cartographical analysis that uses maps to locate places strategic points and areas in Goa. The reading and critical analysis of these texts will provide the researcher with a better position to answer the questions that arise with such analysis.

Research facilities and resources from the Goa University Library, Goa State Archives, Xavier Centre of Historical Research and Krishnadas Shyama Goa State Central Library will be utilized for the research. Apart from this, personal computers and the computer lab at the Goa University Library will be used to gain e-sources such as jstor.org, sage journals, e-books etc.

This particular research aims to be completed within a span of the next four months. The next months will be spent in analyzing and compiling all the data acquired through various sources in the previous months. Out of these four months, three months will be used in reviewing the various sources and material gathered previously, while a month will be required for final corrections and verification of the data. The researcher aims to complete approximately two chapters in a month depending upon the progress of the research.

1.7 Scheme of Chapters

This dissertation consists of seven chapters.

1. Introduction

2. Goa - A Strategic Stance

      2.1 Etymology of Goa

      2.2 Goa's Strategic Significance

3. Pre - Portuguese Goa

      3.1 Arrival of Portuguese in Goa

4. Battle of 1510

5. Battle of 1512

6. Battle of 1570

Conclusion

Bibliography

Chapter 1 - The first chapter lays a foundation for the entire dissertation. It consists of an introduction to the topic undertaken for research, relevance and scope of study and literature review of the primary and secondary sources related to the topic.

Chapter 2 - The second chapter titled as 'Goa - A Strategic Stance' gives detailed information on Goa. It tries to analyse the important position that it held in the Indian Ocean region and explains exactly how strategic it was for the Portuguese in terms of governing the vast extent of the western coast of India.

Chapter 3 - The third chapter will consist of information on the kingdoms that existed and ruled Goa prior to the arrival of the Portuguese. It will mainly deal with putting forth information regarding the Goan kingdoms that exercised control over the sea.

It will also contain a subtopic titled as the 'Arrival of the Portuguese in Goa' which will briefly deal with the 15ᵗʰ and 16ᵗʰ century, striving to put forth the factors that influenced the Portuguese to undertake expeditions and exploration to the East, especially in Goa.

Chapter 4 - The fourth chapter will consist of a general note on naval wars and then proceed to specific naval wars. The chapter is titled as 'Battle of 1510' and discusses about the war fought for the conquest of Goa. It will discuss about the factors, strategies and tactics that helped the Portuguese. It will also speak about the impact of the war on Goa and the Portuguese.

Chapter 5 - The fifth chapter titled as 'Battle of 1512' consists of information on the naval battle that took place at Banastarim. It discusses about strategies used by the Portuguese and their enemies and the impact it had on Goa and the Portuguese.

Chapter 6 - The sixth chapter titled as 'Battle of 1570' deals with understanding how the Portuguese fought a battle with a coalition of the rulers of the Deccan region who wanted to defeat the Portuguese. This chapter will also discuss the impact that this war had on Goa and the Portuguese empire in Goa.

Finally the research concludes with a conclusion and a bibliography.

CHAPTER 2: GOA - A STRATEGIC STANCE

The small and scenic state of Goa is one of the most important coastal states located on the West coast of India. It is embedded in the Konkan region, which is described as a strip of land running along the western side that includes Maharashtra, Goa and Karnataka. The state of Goa covers an area of about 3,702 square kilometres while being situated at 14° 53' 57" N and 15°47' 59" N latitude and 73° 40' 54" E and 74° 20' 11" E longitude. It is surrounded by both land and water which run along its boundaries. It is bounded by the state of Maharashtra in the North, the Sahyadri mountain range (Western ghats) and parts of Karnataka in the east, Northern Karnataka in the south and the Arabian sea along the west. Goa is widely known as "The Tropical Paradise of the Tourists"[3] due to its vast green landscape covered with lush green forests, serene blue waters and a golden sandy coastline that runs along for nearly 120 kilometres[4]. Not only has Goa been blessed with significant ancient past but it has also been blessed with natural bounties. The geography of this region has largely helped in the making of this historical state. Being one of the smallest states in India, it collects and cherishes a rich and vast amount of history. As stated earlier, Goa has been noted and recorded as a very important place in various texts.

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[3] Pratima Kamat, "Historical Geography and Natural Resources", *Essays in Goan History*, ed. Teotonio R De Souza (New Delhi: Concept Publishing, 1989), 1.

[4] Pratima Kamat, *Tarini and Tar-Vir: the unique boat deities of Goa.* (Panaji: Goa Institute for Culture and Research in History, 2008), 1.

2.1 Etymology of Goa

The etymological roots of the term 'Goa' dates back to several thousand years. Goa has been referred to as *Goem* in Konkani and *Gowa* or *Gova* in Marathi[3]. According to V.T. Gune, hindu texts such as the Bhishmaparva of Mahabharata gives reference to the people of *Gomantas* therefore, tracing the land to be called as *Gomantaka*. The Mahabharata also makes a reference to Goparashtra which means 'the country of cowherds'. Another hindu text, the Harivamsa Purana, gives reference to a mountain called as *Gomanchal* where a brutal battle occurred between Lord Krishna and *Jarasandha*, the Lord of Magadha, where the latter had to face defeat[4]. However, Mitragotri states that there is no mountain range called as *Gomanchal*, instead, the Purana gives reference to *Gomant* where the battle was fought. This term draws debatable attention. Vishnu Purana gives reference to *Goparashtra* while the *Sahyadri Khand* gives reference to both *Gomant* as well as *Gorashtra*[5]. V. R. Mitragotri speculates that *Guva* is most likely the oldest name of Goa given by the original settlers denoting the land of areca-nuts[6]. The most common syllables 'Go' have, repeatedly, been used at the beginning of the words. Many scholars believe that the term 'Go' means cow in Sanskrit, therefore, in this sense, a cowherd country[7]. The etymological roots of most of these point to pastoral and agricultural prosperity of the land. Apart from this, *Gomant* was also a word used to denote Goa[8]. *Gomati* was the ancient name of River Mandovi and therefore just like India traces its etymological roots

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[3] V.T. Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory: Goa, Daman and Diu.* (Panaji: Director of Archives and Archaeology, 1979), 1.

[4] Gune, *Gazetteer*, 1.

[5] V.R. Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa: from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagra.* (Goa: Institute Menzes Braganza, 1999), 1.

[6] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History*, 1.

[7] Gune, *Gazetteer*, 1.

[8] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History*, 2.

to River *Sindhu* or Indus; it is likely that Goa traces its name *Gomant* to *Gomati*. The term *Gomantak* is largely associated with the legend of *Parashurama* as *Goma* means arrow and *anantak* means terminus[9]. The shape of Goa appears to be that of a winnowing fan, which is called as *shurparaka*, therefore Goa was also called as *Shurparakadesh.* However, some scholars believe that *Shurparakadesh* was used to denote the North Konkan region and *Gomantaka* was used to denote the South Konkan region[10].

Apart from the regional textual references to Goa, there are accounts of foreigners, travelers and geographers using various terms for the same. It is thus concluded that Goa was not only known to the Indians but to the rest of the world as well, mainly as a commercial entrepot. The author of the book titled as the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea refers to Goa as *Nelkinda*. Ptolemy, a geographer, refers to Goa as *Melinda,* and Pliny calls it *Nekanidon[11]*. The Arab merchants referred to Goa as Kuwe or Kuwa. There also is a reference to *Sindabur* or *Sandabur* which is believed to represent Chador or Chandrapur in Goa[12]. Goga was another term used to describe the island of Goa by the 16th century European traveller, Ludovico de Varthema. Apart from this, Goa was also called as *Sunaprant* (The Golden Land on the West Coast) and *Aparant* (The Land beyond the Sahyadris)[13].

The early history preceding the rule of the Bhojas (3rd Century CE) is shrouded due to the lack of evidences. Due to this the Bhojas are considered to be the first rulers of

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9 Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History*, 3.

10 Kamat, "Historical Geography", 4.

11 Sila Tripathi, "Why were historical period ports of Goa located away from the coast? The decline of Gopakapatana", *Indian Journal of Geo-Marine Sciences* 43, (2014), 1357, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/304792387

12 Tripathi, "Why were historical period ports, (2014), 1358

13 Prajal Sakardande, *Goa Gold Goa Silver - Her Heritage from Earliest Times to 2019.* (Panaji: Broadway Publishing House, 2019), 7.

Goa. Since then, there are many inscriptions which give references to Goa using different terms. These inscriptions belong to different dynasties and rulers. The Shiroda copper plate inscription of the Bhoja king makes mention of one *Devraja of the Gominas* which may be a reference to hailing Devraja as the ruler of Goan people[14]. It also makes a reference to *Chandraura,* an important seat of power in Goa which is traced to be Chandrapur, the earliest known capital of the Goa. The Kolhapur charter of the Shilahara King *Jatiga* gives reference to him for gaining the Lordship of Gomantha Durg[15] or the fortress of Goa. Another term, that is, *Kalyan-gude* can be considered as the Kadamba appellation of Goa which means 'abode of welfare'[16]. Apart from this, terms such as *Gollihalli, Gopaka, Gove* also appear in the Kadamba inscriptions[17].

With the arrival of the Portuguese, there were various Portuguese chroniclers who undertook the mission of tracing the etymological roots of Goa. Diogo do Couto traced the etymology to the term *Goemoat,* a local word which stands for 'a fertile and refreshing land'. Another chronicler named Leonardo Paes is of the opinion that the term 'Goa' is derived from the name of the Kadamba king, Guhalladeva who he considered to be the first Kadamba ruler of Goa. Francisco D'souza is of the opinion that the term Goa is derived from the word *Goubat* who is the local deity of the people of Goa[18]. The Portuguese are highly credited for coining the term 'Goa' to make it rhyme with their metropolis, Lisboa[19].

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[14] Kamat, "Historical Geography", 5.

[15] Gune, *Gazetteer*, 1.

[16] Kamat, "Historical Geography", 5.

[17] Sakardande, *Goa Gold Goa Silver*, 6.

[18] Kamat, "Historical Geography", 5.

[19] Kamat, "Historical Geography", 8.

Even though, the derivation of the terms are greatly debatable to this day, they do mark the richness and popularity of the land since ancient times. Most of these terms such as *Gomanchal*, *Gomati*, *Goemoat* and many more, if analyzed innately, speak of the location of Goa, the agricultural produce that relates to trading commodities and its geographical features. They, more or less, signify the identity of the land.

2.2 Goa's Strategic Importance

As stated earlier, Goa has been a focal point for the western coast of India. It is placed between the states of Gujarat and Malabar which are, historically, two of the most well activated economic zones[20]. Goa became a link between north-west and south-west India. Even though many scholars have written a good amount of books on the maritime history of India highlighting the part played by Gujarat and Malabar in the trading activities, Goa was mostly neglected and sidelined or merely given references. The role played by the state of Goa in the exchange was not highlighted sufficiently. Due to this, a number of scholars and historians had developed a false notion that maritime history of India became significant only with the arrival of the Portuguese in India. This needed to be corrected as there are instances and evidences which prove that local or regional maritime activities, by regional sea-farers and mariners from Goa, in the Indian Ocean, existed way before the coming of Portuguese.

Over the years, scholars have tried to bring out the truth regarding Goa's ancient maritime past. It is no longer neglected, instead, it is appreciated for achieving great feats at an international level. The image painted by the Portuguese regarding Goa compelling

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[20] Pius Malekandathil, "Globalization - Pre Modern India". ed. Nagendra Rao (New Delhi: Regency Publications, 2005), 143.

to believe that Goa developed because of Portuguese intervention, is now being cleared. In fact, it can be stated that the "Portuguese grafted their maritime-cum-commercial superstructure on the already existing substratum, whose foundations were laid centuries ago by the silent mariners and sea-farers of the region"[21]. An important feature of Goa's location in the Indian Ocean is that it radiated the network of routes towards all the important regions of the Indian Ocean.

Goa is an amalgamation of cultures and links, gravely crafted through its connection with other cultures and places. This was a result of the commercial enterprise established between Goa and the rest of the Indian Ocean world. Goa has accumulated a large amount of rich maritime traditions over the centuries due to its involvement and participation in a variety of sea-oriented activities such as trade, ship-building and navigation which helped them built cordial relations with other communities in other regions of India and the Indian Ocean[22]. The land of Goa has been one of the most strategic and commercially important stretch of land on the western coast of India. The significant location of Goa has played a crucial role in the historical context. Having stated earlier that Goa is a land that is bound by the western ghats on its east and the Arabian sea on the west, it forms an ideal location for a number of other reasons.

An extension of the bigger world

It would be negligent if one does not cover the importance of the Indian Ocean while speaking of a coastal state that shares its coastal boundaries with it. The Indian Ocean region takes that centre stage in global history. It has been described as the 'World's

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[21] Malekandathil, "Globalization", 143-144.

[22] Malekandathil, "Globalization, 143.

Oldest Oceanic World', the 'Newest Old World', the 'Cradle of Globalization', and the 'First Global Economy'. The Indian Ocean region prides itself for being able to have some of the earliest known civilizations such as the Mesopotamian, Egyptian and the Indus Valley civilizations, emerge on its banks. The history of sea-faring and navigation in the Indian Ocean goes back to very early times. The Indian Ocean accounts for occupying nearly 27% of the maritime space of the world and 14% of the total expanse of Earth[23]. It is the third largest ocean in the world and it is the only ocean in the world named after one of its littoral countries.

It has been stated by a number of scholars that the Indian Ocean is an ideal water body for carrying out commercial activities. It is considered as the worlds most complex ocean out of the other major ones, yet calmer to navigate around as compared to the Atlantic and Pacific Ocean. The Atlantic and the Pacific oceans are like gigantic highways flowing from pole to pole. Indian Ocean, on the other hand is "an embayed ocean"; a land-locked sea[24]. Compared to the two large oceans, the surface waters of the Indian Ocean are of almost uniform temperature[25], the winds in this region are more predictable and less harsh[26], the currents are not treacherous and they present fewer maritime hazards. However, it must not be mistaken that the Indian Ocean does not have rough conditions, it does. According to Dr. Sila Tripathi, a retired Principal technical officer at the National Institute of Oceanography and a marine archaeology enthusiast, is of the opinion that there were a number of ships lost at sea during the Portuguese period

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[23] Michael Pearson. *The Indian Ocean.* (London: Routledge, 2003), 14.

[24] Ravindra Varma, "Strategic Importance of the Indian Ocean". *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 28, no. 1/2 (1967), 51, http://www.jstor.com/stable/41854203

[25] Ravindra Varma, "Strategic Importance, 51.

[26] K.M. Panikkar, *Asia and Western Dominance.* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd, 1953), 21.

and that this was caused due to "severe storms, hidden rocky reefs and sand bars"[27]. The whole of the Indian Ocean World integrated into one unique world. However, all of them were not the same. The societies were linked with one another yet, different with their approach towards the sea. The interchanging of ideas and commodities opened up this world to new activities.

South West Monsoon

The south west monsoon winds become a crucial feature of the Indian Ocean. It decides the routes and conditions for the voyages undertaken by traders and mariners. But how does it exactly do that? With the understanding of various texts written about the Indian Ocean, one common recurring fact is that the monsoon winds, rainfall and oceanic currents determine pattern of trade, location of ports, the flow of rivers, the depth and shallowness of the coastal waters and the shape and structure of the coastline[28]. These winds have a significant influence on the ocean and the regions surrounding the ocean.

It is very important to understand that the position of India became very strategic due to the presence of two seasonal monsoons during the year in the Indian Ocean region, i.e. Southwest - from May to September and Northeast - from November to March. It was very important for the traders and navigators to understand this pattern while navigating through the ocean. According to climatologists, this phenomena, where the annual reversal of wind and rainfall regimes are as complex as it is in the realm of the Indian Ocean, is found nowhere else on the planet. This makes it very unique in its own league.

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[27] Sila Tripathi and A.S. Gaur, "Exploration for Shipwrecks off Sunchi Reef, Goa, West Coast of India". *World Archaeology* 32, no. 3 (2001), 356. https://www.jstor.org/stable/827927

[28] Sinnappah Arasaratnam, *Maritime India in the 17th Century. (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994), 1-2.*

According to Arasaratnam, "the system of rivers flowing across the coast into the ocean on the eastern and western sides was influenced by these monsoons"[29]. During the monsoons, due to sudden rush and rise of the water, vast amounts of alluvial deposits gather near banks and in the ocean. This creates sand-bars where the water remains shallow making it difficult for the ships to navigate. For instance, the bar at the harbour entrance to the port of Panjim is not sheltered and is therefore exposed to the rough conditions and turbulence that is caused due to the south west monsoon winds. Thus, during the monsoon periods which spans from May to September, the harbour remains closed[30]. During this time, large amount of sand is deposited due to the force at which River Mandovi flows. This is also a reason as to why the ships cannot enter the Mormugao harbour during this period. However on the other end, the port of Mormugao is well sheltered from the sea winds and provides safe harbour for ships[31]. It is located at the bay which is formed by the River Zuari. Another striking occurrence of such a situation arose during the Portuguese conquest of Goa in 1510 when Afonso de Albuquerque, along with his fleet, had to draw back after facing defeat from Adil Shah and his army in the month of May. While retreating to *Anjediva* (near Karwar), their ship got stranded due to the presence of a sandbar which was created due to the heavy rainfall which led to siltation in the River Mandovi[32].

K.N. Chaudhuri showed the importance of the monsoon regime as the key to production and long distance exchange across the entire geographical space between the Red Sea and China. Monsoon drew the frontiers of cereal cultivation or agriculture and

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[29] Arasaratnam, *Maritime India, 7.*

[30] A.B. de Bragança Pereira, *Ethnography of Goa, Daman, and Diu*, translated by Maria Aurora Couto. (New Delhi: Penguin, 2008), 4.

[31] Pereira, *Ethnography of Goa*, 4.

[32] Sakardande, *Goa Gold Goa Silver*, 111.

dates of navigation for the merchants. Monsoons determined the seasonal direction of the trade. During monsoons, traders were forced to dock and these places developed as entrepots, allowing the Westerners to procure goods from distant lands without the trouble of travelling to them. As a result, market places developed closer to these entrepots. Therefore, the navigation and exchange was rendered easier than across the Pacific and Atlantic because of monsoon system of winds and currents. They gave merchants, indigenous to the region, a potential for regular trans-oceanic sail and commerce unparalleled in other oceans.

Land bound by sea and mountains.

Goa is ensconced between the Sahyadri mountain range, also called as the Western Ghats, on the east and the Arabian Sea on the west. Goa lies in the midst of such defensive features. The western ghats are known as the 'Great wall of Goa' due to its nature of being defensive and also because they act as a barrier for the monsoon winds that flows from the ocean to the hinterlands of India resulting in heavy rainfall for the coastal state of Goa. It is laden with thick and confusing pathways. It is on a considerable elevation which separates the mainland of Deccan and India from Goa.

It is the geographical features that play a significant role in the making of Goa. The peaks of the western ghats were ideally suited for the construction of formidable military bastion such as citadels or fortresses[33]. In this way, the elevation would allow the enemy to be tracked and destroyed from a distance whilst defending from any attack and carrying out a counter-attack, simultaneously. These were hill fortresses that guarded the

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[33] A. P. Jamkhedkar, "Maritime orientation of the Deccan and the Portuguese bid for Goa in early sixteenth century". *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Mumbai* 88, (2018), 18.

passes that linked the coast with the plateau[34]. A reference to this is made in the Commentaries of Afonso de Albuquerque which states that:

"Between this kingdom of Goa and that of Daquem, on the side of the interior country, there runs a range of mountains, very lofty and very extensive, which is called the Gate,* and divides these two kingdoms one from the other. This range of mountains had certain passes by which it was entered, and in these the Hindoos had their towers with garrisons for their defence" (Birch, 1877).

This above excerpt from the Commentaries gives reference to how the western ghats played an important role in dividing the territory of Goa and Deccan. They acted as a barrier and consisted of passes to cross them and therefore, the mountain was called as the 'gate' or arguably the 'Gateway to the kingdom of Daquem' (Deccan). On the west side of the sandwiched state lies the vast expanse of the Arabian sea. It gathers its name from the Arabs who called it as Bhar al-Arab or Sea of Arabs, gradually transforming into Arabian Sea, due to them being involved in the trade that happened in the region.

Trade and trade relations

The Konkan region has been a very active sea-borne trading zone from a very ancient past. Out of the Konkan territories, Goa emerged as one of the leading maritime hub on the west coast of India. It enhanced Goa's prosperity, immensely. According to Agnelo Fernandes, Goa was a great centre of trade even before the Portuguese conquered it. There are many archaeological, and literary texts to confirm this. He further adds, "It was the most ideal centre through which the cargoes available on the Western Coastal states

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[34] Shaunak Ghosh, Maritime Orientation of the Deccan and the Portuguese Bid for Ga in the Early sixteenth century. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Mumbai* 88, (2018), 19.

both, in South and North, could be gathered through fleets and easily supplied to interior mainland and the merchandise from the interiors could be transported to Goa through gaps in Sahyadris, for export"[35]. This gives a clear impression that there was a huge network that connected all the dots and made the trading practise run smoothly from the shores to the hinterlands.

Many scholars have attempted to analyse the routes that the traders must have followed to carry out trade with the places beyond the western ghats by making use of the buddhist caves and other religious centres, *dovornem* or headrest sites and other sites as well. The ports and harbours were connected to ghats and passes. Buddhism played an important role in terms of trade. It is very clear that Buddhist monks and traders carried out trade in Goa. Archaeological sites in Goa such as the caves of Rivona, Aquem, Mushir, Lamgaon and Arvale in Goa are near the river creeks from where ships would embark on their voyages[36]. This is not coincidental. This bares testimony to the existence of a proper network to carry out trade.

Apart from this there is evidence of traders and merchants from different parts of India and the world who settled in Goa. For instance, there's oral reference to Gujarati traders settling in Goa, in a place called 'Gujjarwado' which then corrupted into Gujira/ Cujira (presently located in Tiswadi Taluka). However, the truth of this claim needs to be examined. Another example maybe of the Greek traders who settled in Goa for the sake of procuring and distributing various commodities. The evidence to support this claim stems from the Buddha statue that was discovered at Colvale by Fr. Henry Heras. It

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[35] Agnelo Fernandes, "Goa's Role in the International Trade in 16th and 17th Centuries." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 48 (1987), 2.

[36] V.T. Gune, "Goa's Coastal and Overseas Trade- From the earliest ties till 1510 A.D.", *Essays in Goan History*, ed. Teotonio R De Souza (New Delhi: Concept Publishing, 1989), 119.

displays the influence of Hellenic or Greek artistic style and therefore, it is possible that the Greek settlers made the statue after they converted to Buddhism[37]. The Greeks had trade relations not only with Goa but with areas in South India such as Muziris and Khaber or Kaveripattanam as suggested by the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea[38]. Coins, bricks, gold, iron and any more items were found during archaeological excavations in Goa. For instance, pottery, bricks, small pieces of iron, gold was discovered in areas of Chandrapur and they date back to more than a thousand years. These archaeological findings give insight into inland as well as international trade due to the type of commodities and items gathered through the discoveries.

Gradually, Goa became an important place of halt for traders and a port of call. Spice trade and Horse trade were among the most popular commercial activities in the region. Their incessant demand existed due to political altercations and constant warfare. Sturdy Horses from Arab were brought to the Goan ports making Goa very crucial in the process. Horses were imported from West Asia, Persia and Arabia and sold to local rulers as well as the Deccan rulers[39]. The Arabs would bring and sell their horses as they were better and stronger than the Indian horses. As a result, many of the cultural linkages with horses are seen, even today, in various rituals, idols, folk dances, and etymological roots of Goan villages. For example, Ghodemodni, a Goan folk dance, symbolizes the victory of warriors in battles. One of the most important features of this dance is the wooden horse that is worn as an attire. This dance, to quite an extent, maybe a reference to horse trade in Goa. Apart from this, there is reference to a village named *Ashvem* in Madrem.

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[37] Malekandathil, "Globalization, 149.

[38] Malekandathil, "Globalization, 149.

[39] Pratima P. Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade.* (Panaji: Goa Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 2009), 83.

The term *Ashwa* means horse therefore, this may lead to suggest the presence of horse trade in this village or through this village. A laterite pathway in Bicholim known as 'Ghodyachi Paaz' also signifies horse trade[40]. There are a number of warrior deities such as 'Boat Dev' of Keri which is depicted seated on a horse and other deities such as, Ravalnath of Mhaus, Saptamatrika and Kelbai of Zarme, Dhamshe and Sanvarde, which have horses carved on the sculpture[41]. Marco Polo, a Venetian merchant who had visited the Persian Gulf in around 12th Century BCE, made notice of the fine quality horses that were highly in demand, in India. Many kingdoms such as that of the Bahamanis and Vijayanagara during 14th and 15th Century BCE, fought one another to get control of Goa due to the ports and trade, especially horse trade. The ruler who was incharge of the port controlled the lucrative trade, therefore many wars between kingdoms were fought during this time. This was a period of political turmoil in Goa.

Spices was another major commodity that propelled Goa into the international trade. This was also one of the major incentive for the Portuguese to find a sea route to India. Understanding the importance of the west coast, the Portuguese sought that that state was an ideal location to control the crucial north-western sector of the Arabian Sea[42]. According to Celsa Pinto, a noted academician and historian, states that the location of Goa was important as far as trade was concerned because it brought the Portuguese in close proximity with regions such as Gujarat and Deccan for textiles and indigo, Malabar for spices and Kanara for rice[43]. Goa exported textile, salt, rice, betel nuts coconuts, areca-nuts, and spices to Malabar, Gujarat, Chaul, Dabul, Hormuz, Eden and Cambay and

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[40] TNN. "The Cultural History of Goa , On Horseback", The Times of India, Nov 1, 2014, <u>A cultural history of Goa, on horseback | Goa News - Times of India (indiatimes.com)</u>

[41] Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst* , 83.

[42] Celsa Pinto, *Trade and Finance in Portguese India- A Study of the Portuguese Country Trade 1770-1840.* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1994), 30.

[43] Pinto, *Trade and Finance*, 30.

imported pepper, cinnamon, ivory, gold, silver, pearls and precious stones from other places. One of the most profitable trade relationship was shared between Goa and Mozambique where rice and textiles from Goa was sent to Mozambique[44]. Trade earned Goa its economic prosperity also because of the taxes levied by the rulers on trade and commerce.

Apart from this, Goa became important for the Portuguese to keep an eye on the strait of Hormuz as it was an important choke-point. Choke-points are important or critical waterway and routes that help in transporting trading commodities to the other regions across. Aden and Hormuz dominated the maritime commerce of the Middle East by controlling the entrance to the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. With this the Portugugese gained control over the trade route between India and Europe. Goa was one of the three important enclaves of the Portuguese in India and even though they were miles apart from each other they brought unity to the region mainly because of their historical experience with the Portuguese.

Ports

The location of the ports are largely determined by the physical, geographical, geological, climatic factors. Ports play an incredibly significant role in establishing relations and in economic development of the area. A similar case is found in case of Goa. In the maritime history of Goa, the ports of Goa have played a very crucial role in oceanic trade since the earliest of times. This may well have been because of the navigable rivers that provide

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[44] Shyam Bhatt, Trade in Portuguese Goa: The Nineteenth Century scenario. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 61 (2000-2001), 866, https://www.jstor.org/stable/44148160

access to the entrepots, well located anchoring that provide proper anchoring facilities for the ships, landing and market facilities which serve the mariners and traders[45]. According to Sila Tripathi, it is evident through the port of Chandrapur that the ancient ports may have been located away from the coastline and it is with time and due to the increased demand for products and size of vessels that new ports came to be established near the coastline. Some of the major ports of Goa include Port of Chandrapur, Port of Gopakapattana, and Port of Ella. The port of Chandrapur flourished for a long time under the rule of the Bhojas, Rashtrakutas, Chalukyas and Shilaharas and even the Kadambas. After the decline of the port of Chandrapur, the port of Gopakapattana became to be very significant until the port of Ella became one of the biggest ports in Goa. It also had a big street market called as *Rua Direita*.

These ports were intertwined with politics as well. The rulers who ruled Goa wanted to do so in order to take control of the ports and trade in Goa. They had well maintained laws and systems that enabled them to exercise their power on sea and on ports. For instance, the ruler had a strong naval power which worked to safe guard the territory and also the trade that was carried out in the Indian Ocean. Due to this kings such as Jayakeshi I and Shivachitta Permadideva. Another example is of the Cartaz system of the Portuguese and the port customs rule which solidified the Portuguese empire in the Indian Ocean. It is very well put together that the state of Goa provides an "ideal location along the western seaboard of India where the coastline has a number of estuaries, bays, inlets, promontories and islands in the Arabian Sea which made Goa an emporium of Indian Ocean trade that functioned from Chandrapur, Ballipattana, Gopakapattana, and Ella Goa the ancient and port capitals of Goa"[46].

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[45] Tripathi, "Why were historical period ports, 1357.

[46] Kamat, *Tarini and Tar-Vir*, 2.

Shipping Technology

There are several records and texts that speak about the shipping technology of the Indians since the ancient times. Ships and boats have been use in this region since the time of the Harappan civilization. Archaeological evidences prove this point. One of the texts that sheds light upon the methods, material and types of vessels made and used is called *Yuktikalpataru,* a work composed by Raja Bhoja of Dhar[47]. This work mentions about two categories of ships namely, *Samanya* (ordinary) and *Visesa* (special)[48]. They had a number of ships listed under them, for instance, *ksudra, manthara, dirgha, bhima* and many more[49]. The ships in the Indian Ocean region were very different from what the travelers normally witnessed. The ships in this region were stitched with rope rather than nailed around the frame[50]. This may have been done to increase the flexibility of the hull. This means that the ships would be less likely to break if at all they were nearing a sandbar. Indigenous people made use of various kinds of ships in the Indian Ocean region. The ocean included Indo-Arabic ships called *dhou* as well as South East Asian ships and both of them were different in the way they were made and appeared. Beside these, there were different kinds of Goan vessels such as Bundle rafts (*tarane*), Dugouts (*Balao* and *Poneo*), *vhodi* and *vhode*. The ship building areas were close to the ports. And the carpenters were highly skilled. The techniques that they used for ship-building shows how advanced they were in terms of understanding the need of the hour and finding ways to

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[47] Sila Tripathi, "Use of Timber in Ship-building Industry: Identification and Analysis of Timber from Shipwrecks off Goa coast, India". *Current Science* 89, no. 6, (2005), 1022. https://www.jstor.org/stable/24110758

[48] C.C, Joseph. *The Ship-building and Navigation in India and the Portuguese during the Sixteenth and Seventeeth Centuries.* (Kalapet: Pondicherry University, 2010), 21.

[49] Joseph. *The Ship-building*, 21.

[50] Sanjeev Sanyal, *The Ocean of Churn - How the Indian Ocea Shaped Human History.* (Haryana: Penguin Books, 2016), 100.

navigate through the sea without causing much damage to their own ships. Apart from these, old sculptures and hero stones also depict boats on them. Iconography helps in understanding the type of boats used by the earlier people of Goa. This also proves that boat-building and ship-building were a common practise since the ancient times.

According to K.S. Mathew, "The port-city of Goa, was a centre of shipbuilding even prior to Portuguese occupation of Goa"[51]. Pre-Portuguese Goa, as stated earlier, was an international port that had trade links with a number of countries. The had strong links and provided various facilities to the ships that halted at the port. They had maintained a well equipped shipyard situated at Old Goa[52].

Goan trade was expanding lavishly and was performed on a grand scale. To add to this, skillful labour and availability of material such as timber gave impetus to the ship-building industry in Goa. It is also recorded that more than twenty vessels were built at a time, at the port-city. Also, one of the major motives of Afonso de Albuquerque when he captured Goa in 1510 was to take over its shipping industry which was one of the best at the time[53]. He even mentions about the ships and the skillful work of the carpenters of Goa[54]. Goa was one of the leading Ship-building centres of the Portuguese in India.

These were some of the most crucial points discussed to establish the strategic importance of Goa in the Indian Ocean region.

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[51] K.S. Mathew, "Trade and Commerce in 16th Centiry Goa", *Essays in Goan History*, ed. Teotonio R De Souza (New Delhi: Concept Publishing, 1989), 139.

[52] Xavier Mariona Martins, *Portuguese Shipping and Shipbuilding in Goa 1510-1780.* (Taleigao: Goa University, 1994), 151.

[53] Sila Tripathi, Shipwreck Archaeology, of Goa: Evidence of Maritime Contacts with other Countries. *Current Science* 86, no. 9 (2004), 1238, https://www.jstor.org/stable/24109932

[54] Martins, *Portuguese Shipping*, 118.

Fig. 2.1 Ghodemodni

Photo Credit - Divya Naik

CHAPTER 3: PRE PORTUGUESE GOA

Goa is a land of great ancestry, but its pre-history is scarcely known, even in an elementary way. It is stated by many authors that the history of ancient Goa has been clouded with a lot of mystery and inaccuracies due to the lack of evidences and sources that would help in reconstructing it. As a result of this, a number of assumptions, tentative speculations and conclusion have been drawn in the process. Nonetheless, attempts have been made by a number of scholars in reconstructing the ancient past of Goa with the various sources that are available. For instance, one cannot properly analyse the political history of Goa during the pre-bhoja period due to the lack of evidences that cause obstruction in tracing that part of history.

There is a huge debate among scholars regarding the first rulers of Goa. Many give credit to the Bhojas for being the first dynasty to establish their rule in Goa. However, evidences found at Chandrapur prove otherwise. According to V.T. Gune and V.R. Mitragotri, the Satvahanas may have ruled some parts of Goa[1]. The Satvahanas were powerful in the Deccan region of India. It is possible that their rule extended over Goa because there were Satvahana coins, red ware pottery, earthen ware and bricks that were found at Chandrapur. Apart from this a few coins, black glass and roman amphorae were discovered in the water tank at Pilar Seminary[2]. These ancient finds in this region give us a glimpse into the glory of the Satvahanas during the ancient time. This discovery pushed Goa's political history a few centuries back. It is also possible that the Nagas, the Chutu

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[1] V.R. Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa: from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagra.* (Goa: Institute Menzes Braganza, 1999), 29.

[2] Cosme Jose Costa, *The Heritage of Govapuri.* (Pilar: Xavierian Publication Society, 2018), 9.

dynasty of Kuntala region[3], the western Kshatrapas, Abhiras, Kalachuris and Kaikeyas may also have taken control over parts of Goa during the pre-bhoja period[4]. Some of them were independent and local dynasties while some of them were feudatories of other dynasties that ruled the neighbouring states such as Maharashtra and Karnataka. While most of the evidences indicate to a flourishing dynasty in Goa, they do not suffice due to the availability of very few sources and a high need for further historical explanation and investigation to throw light on the pre-bhoja history of Goa.

The recorded history of Goa can be traced back to 4th century CE as there are a number of epigraphical, literary and archaeological sources to analyse the rule of the dynasties that ruled Goa after 4th Century CE. Since then, Goa has been ruled by the Bhojas, Konkan Mauryas, Chalukyas of Badami, Rashtrakutas, Shilaharas, Kadambas, Vijayanagara, Bahamani and Bijapur Sultanate before the advent of the Portuguese in Goa in the year 1510. All of the past dynasties and rulers of Goa have had a lasting impact on the culture and history of Goa. But, what about their role in naval command at sea? In order to understand about the naval power and influence of the pre-portuguese dynasties in Goa, one first needs to comprehend the political history of Goa. This chapter analyses whether the rulers of Goa from the Bhojas to the end of Adil Shahi rule, roughly covering a period from 4th century CE to 15th century CE, had naval supremacy at sea and to what extent exactly. This chapter will further compare indigenous and Portuguese naval power in the Goan waters.

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[3] Bhatt, History of Goa, 250.

[4] Cosme Jose Costa, *The Heritage of Govapuri*, 1.

Bhojas

The Bhojas ruled Goa from the 4th Century to 7th Century CE[5]. This information is brought to light with the help of a copper plate that was discovered at Shiroda which is also called as the Shiroda copper plate. This plate refers to a king named Devaraja Bhoja. This makes him the first known king to have ruled Goa during 4th Century CE. This copper plate was issued from *Chandraur* which has been identified with Chandrapur of the Kadambas (Chandor in Salcete Taluka) indicating that Chandrapur was a high seat of power in Goa since the ancient times.

The Bhojas are considered to be the feudatories of the Satvahanas and it was the Satvahanas who allowed the Bhojas to rule from Chandrapur as it was also a commercial center. Apart from this, the other territories that Bhojas had control over include, Salcete, Antruz, Bardez, and part of Belgaum and North Kanara region along with other neighbouring lands[6]. Another striking feature of this copper plate is the seal indicating an elephant which is the royal emblem of the Bhojas[7]. The Shiroda copper plate and the Bandora copper plate found at Bandora in Ponda taluka sheds light on land grants given to the Brahmanas by the Bhoja kings. It also speaks of the various ministers who were a part of the the king's administration, ministers such as *Bhogika Amatya* (Minister of Revenue and Finances)*, Sarvatamtradhikari* (Chief Administrator) and *Rahasyadhikari* (Private Secretary)[8]. There are various references that speak about the Bhojas having a well established administrative system and a hold over piracy and commercial activities such

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[5] Gune, *Gazetteer*, 65.

[6] Pratima Kamat, Goa: The Tryst with Trade (Panaji: Goa Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 2009), 47

[7] Bhatt, History of Goa, 251.

[8] Gune, *Gazetteer*, 69.

as trade and commerce at sea[9]. V.T. Gune also states that there is information available on the taxes levied by them on river navigation. River navigation means transporting of people and goods from one point to another. In order to control piracy they must have a naval fleet or sea-men to help them in such activities. Scholars such as Nandakumar Kamat also claim and believe that the Bhojas were the naval commanders of the Satvahanas[10]. This claim is yet to be cleared.

It is mentioned that the Bhojas were defeated by the Konkan Mauryas[11]. A lot of information is available about the administrative system of the Bhojas through the various inscriptions found in Goa as well as Uttar Kannada. However, many gaps are yet to be filled in order to understand about the importance of navy, naval vessels and weapons possessed by the Bhojas in Goa.

Konkan Mauryas

The Konkan Mauryas defeated the Bhojas and took control over the territory of Goa. The Konkan Mauryas claim their descent from the great Mauryas who ruled northern India during the 3rd and 4th Century BC[12]. They were an extended branch that came to exist in the Konkan region after the decline of the Mauryas of Pataliputra. The Konkan Mauryas are suggested to be the feudatories of the Kalachuris[13].

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[9] Luis de Assis Correia, *Goa through the Mists of History from 10000 BC - AD 1958 - A Select Compilation on Goa's Genesis,* (Panjim: Maureen Publishers Pvt. Ltd, 2006), 89.

[10] Nandakumar Kamat, Pre-Portuguese History of Goa, *Boletim do Instituto Menezes Braganca,* No. 176 (1996), 199.

[11] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History,* 32.

[12] Nagendra Rao, From periphery to the core? : Political structure of Goa in the pre-Portuguese period, 7.

[13] Rao, From periphery to the core, 7.

The proof of the existence of this dynasty in Goa comes to light from two copper plate grants assigned to the rulers, Chandravarman and Anirjitvarman, which were discovered at Sivapura and Bandora in Goa, respectively. Apart from the above mentioned rulers, there are no traces or references to other Konkan Maurya kings that ruled Goa. They had their capital at Chandrapur probably because the Bhojas too ruled from that area and also because Chandrapur was of immense importance due to its port location and trade that transpired in the region. Anant Krishna Dhume refers to the Konkan Mauryas as a great maritime power. According to him, the Mauryas of Konkan always had an eye on the territory of Goa for its strategic location. Avantika Lal, in her article, 'Naval Warfare in Ancient India', expresses that the Konkan Mauryas did in fact have a strong navy and coastal forts built during their rule[14]. However the extent of their naval reach in not specified or known.

The Konkan Mauryas were involved in trade and commerce and therefore wanted to take control of Goa to secure a safe position and hold over the ports of Goa. It was not a hidden fact that the Goan sailors and sea men were excellent navigators and adept in high sea navigation since the ancient time. Luis Correia makes mention of a 'Goan fleet manned by armed ship-fighters' who had freed the Arabian Sea from pirates who terrorized the trading ships in 150 CE[15]. This statement by Correia causes a lot of speculations as evidences of any kind from this time period in and around Goa have not yet been found.

Dhume also proceeds to say that the Konkan Mauryas ruled Goa for nearly forty years before they were defeated by the Chalukyas of Badami. The information regarding the

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[14] Avantika Lal. "*Naval Warfare in Ancient India*", World History Encyclopedia, August 15, 2018, Naval Warfare in Ancient India - World History Encyclopedia.

[15] Correia, *Goa through the Mists,* 91.

defeat of the Konkan Mauryas is found in the Aihole inscription of Pulakeshin II where we learn that his father, Kirtivarman, had expelled the Konkan Mauryas from Goa in 578 A.D[16].

Chalukyas of Badami

The Chalukyas of Badami was the first major dynasty to have established their control over Goa after the Bhojas and the Konkan Mauryas. It is very clear through the understanding of the history of Goa that almost most of the dynasties of the Deccan region of India wanted to control the Konkan coast and especially Goa because of its strategic location and ports that raised a good amount of economy. The Badami Chalukyas were not any different. The Chalukyas of Badami had their capital at Revatidwipa (Redi in Sawantwadi region).

There are a few references to the naval power of the Chalukyas. For instance, there is a mention made about a hundred ships used by Pulakeshin II, one of the prominent rulers of the Badami Chalukyas in Goa, to attack Puri which was a capital of the Konkan Mauryas in the North Konkan region. He defeated the Mauryas in Puri and annexed the whole of the North Konkan region to his empire[17]. This indicates to a weakened navy of the Konkan Mauryas by the time the Chalukyas had taken charge. The identification of Puri has been a topic of intense debate. Some identify Puri with Gharapuri or Elephanta near Bombay, Rajapuri in Kolaba or Rajapur in Ratnagiri district[18]. Puri was considered to be 'the Fortune of the Western Ocean'[19]. The context of this epithet is unclear. Perhaps indicating to the riches and wealth drawn by the trade in

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[16] Gune, *Gazetteer*, 72.

[17] Gune, *Gazetteer*, 77.

[18] Gune, *Gazetteer*, 77.

[19] Gune, *Gazetteer*, 77.

this region or their glory through their maritime activities. In another example, Luis Correia mentions about King Vantuvallabha who set up a fleet of ships to guard the newly built port named as Sindapura (after Vantuvallabha's family name *Sin*)[20] at Agacaim near River Zuari as this was an area where horses were imported and brought to Goa. As stated in the earlier chapter, horse trade took place in and through Goa. It is clear that horses were needed by kings during wartime. King Vantuvallabha took advantage of this trade and built a cavalry division who were trained to fight on horseback. However, Correia also mentions about a fleet of ships established by Vantuvallabha to protect the port of Sindapura[21]. This is an indication towards an establishment of a fully functioning naval fleet in order to protect the port.

Shilaharas

The rule of the Shilahara dynasty in Goa was a very important phase in Goan history. They ruled Goa from the 8th - 10th Century CE. The '*Garud*' was the insignia or the emblem of the Shilaharas. The Shilaharas were the feudatories of the Rashtrakutas of Malkhed who ruled Goa during the 8th Century. The Shilahara dynasty had three branches namely, the North Konkan Shilaharas, the South Konkan Shilaharas and the South Maratha Shilaharas[22]. Goa came under the rule of the South Konkan Shilaharas when the Rashtrakuta king, Krishna I, handed over the region to Shanaphulla, the first ruler of the Goa Shilaharas. This information is gathered from the *Balipattana* and *Kharepattan* copper plates issued by the Goa Shilaharas. It is also evident through these copper plates that Gopakapattana might have been the capital of Goa Shilaharas during the rule of

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[20] Correia, *Goa through the Mists,* 95.

[21] Correia, *Goa through the Mists,* 95.

[22] Gerald A. Pereira, *An Outline of the Pre-Portuguese History of Goa*, (Goa: Gerald A. Pereira, 1973), 28.

Shanaphulla. Gopakapattanam must have been named as their capital because it flourished as a port even before the rule of the South Konkan Shilaharas and much would have been done during their time to keep the port intact as this port continued to be significant even during the rule of Goa Kadambas. But, later it was shifted to *Balipattana* which remains to be unidentified. The reason stated for the shift in the capital is that Balipattana became more central when the king extended his empire[23].

After the defeat of the Rashtrakutas at the hands of the Chalukyas of Kalyani, the Goa Shilaharas became the feudatories of the Kalyani Chalukyas[24]. The South Konkan Shilaharas were considered to be the earliest branch of the Shilahara dynasty that ruled from 770 CE - 1020 CE. There is a debate regarding the South Konkan Shilaharas being associated with the 'Kings of *Simhala*'. In this case a few scholars believed that the South Konkan Shilaharas were connected to the kings of Ceylon due to the reference of *Simhala*. However, according to Gerald Pereira, *Simhala* might have a been a reference to the island of Goa which held a high status because of its ports and trade[25]. Even the *Degamve* inscription of the Goa Kadambas describes the Kadamba conquest of Goa as the 'Conquest of Lanka'. This is rather very peculiar for if 'Lanka' over here is said to be Goa then why was it called 'Lanka'? Does it have anything to do with the crossing of seas using a navy in the process? A perspective to be given here is that, in the epic, Ramayana, the Ocean played a very important role as the characters had to cross the ocean and make way to Lanka. This may mean that the Kadambas may have had to use their naval authority in order to surround the area to carry out an attack on the Shilaharas. But, what about the naval power of the Shilaharas in this case? It is not possible to neglect the naval authority of the Shilaharas as the kings of this dynasty had taken up the title of

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[23] Gune, *Gazetteer*, 85.

[24] Gune, *Gazetteer*, 82.

[25] Pereira, An Outline of, 28.

Paschimasumudradhipati. Still unclear, another perspective can be that the Kadambas thought of themselves as the saviors of the land and considered the Shilaharas to be armies of Ravana or the enemy. Therefore the debate is put to rest by concluding that *Simhala* does in fact mean the Island of Goa, however, the context behind calling it the 'Conquest of Lanka' may still be unclear.

There were about ten rulers that belonged to the house of Goa Shilaharas. Shanaphulla, Dhamuriyara, Aiyaparaja I, Avasara I, Adityavarman, Avasara II, Indraraja, Bhima, Avasara III and Rattaraja were the rulers of Goa under Shilaharas[26]. Not much is recorded regarding the naval strength of the Goa Shilaharas in any of the copper plated that belonged to them. However, there is reference to the North Konkan Shilaharas or the Thana Shilahara king, Aparajita, having the title '*Paschimasamudradhipati'* simply means 'Lord of the Western Ocean'[27]. The kings took up titles not only to prove their legitimacy but also to indicate their supremacy in the region. The reason to justify the epithet used by this king is not clearly indicated in any literary text or inscriptions of the time. However, with this epithet, it becomes clear that this king had a sway over the western ocean and an influence on maritime activities. This title may have been both, practical and symbolical with regards to their connection to the sea and an emphasis on their role as the protectors of their coastal territories. Apart from this, 'Lord of the Konkan' was another title that was taken up by the Shilaharas of Goa. It is also clear through this that after Goa did come under the rule of the North Konkan Shilaharas after the short rule of the South Konkan Shilaharas.

The Narendra Inscription describes the conquest of Goa by the Kadamaba king Shashtadeva I:

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[26] Gune, *Gazetteer*, 85.

[27] Gune, *Gazetteer*, 89.

"As he took Kavadidvipa (North Konkan), and many other regions, built a bridge with lines of ships reaching as far as Lanka (i.e. the Goa territory) and claimed tribute among grim barbarians, exceedingly exalted was the dominion of the Kadamba sovereign, which many called a religious estate for the establishment of the worship of Rama"[28].

What is important to be noticed here is the line of ships that extended from the Kavadidvipa (north konkan region) to Goa which over here is called as Lanka. The mention of these many ships indicate the presence of a strong Kadamba navy during the rule of Shashtadeva I. V.T. Gune states that the then North Konkan Shilahara king, Chittaraja, was given back his hold over North Konkan region after he accepted the supremacy of Shashtadeva I. Therefore the North Konkan Shilaharas came to exist in Goa alongside the Kadambas, until they were subdued by the Kadamba king, Shashtadeva II and their territories were taken away.

Not much is recorded or known about the naval power and the naval administration of the Shilaharas besides them playing an important role in trade and commerce. But, from what is gathered, one can interpret that they did rather have a good naval hold over the region.

Goa Kadambas

The Kadambas of Goa are one of the most prominent and influential dynasties that ruled over Goa from 10th - 13th Century CE. The Goa Kadambas are associated with the early Kadambas that ruled in the region of Karnataka since 4th century CE. After the decline of the early Kadambas in the 7th century, different branches of the family settled in various

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[28] Sten Konov and F. W. Thomás, *Epigraphical Indica vol XIII,* (New Delhi: The Director General Archaeological survey of India, 1982), 298.

regions throughout the country. Some of them include, Belur, Bayalnad, Bankapur, Kogali, Nagarkhanda, Kalinga, Kadambalige and Hanagal[29]. One such branch of the Kadambas settled in Goa, thus receiving the title of Goa Kadambas. The Marcella copper plate of Shashtadeva II indicates that "Kantakacharya, the founder of the Goa Kadambas, was a man of consequence at Chandrapur"[30]. Chandrapur, at this point, was under the sway of the Kadambas while most of the other territories were under the Shilaharas which would be the case for the next fifty years until the rule of Shashtadeva II who grazed the Shilaharas out of Goa. It is clear that the ancient city of Chandrapur was the capital of the Kadambas of Goa. They ruled as feudatories of the Chalukyas of Kalyani who did not neglect their power instead used it for their gain. The Chalukyas of Kalyani were able to defeat the Rashtrakutas with the help of the Goa Kadambas. However, the point to be discussed here is that the Kadambas emerged as a great maritime power[31].

Kantakacharya who has also been identified as Shashtadeva I or Chatayya is said to have "fame like endowed kings that went beyond the seven seas"[32]. It is a normal practise for prashastis and inscriptions to have been written in the earlier times to highlight the importance and power of the ruler. The above statement may have been a comment on how important Shashtadeva I was known across the seven seas. It might also indicate the wealth and prosperity he possessed[33]. A third interpretation can also be of the naval power that he possessed but very less is known about it. However, a suitable explanation for the statement can be made with regards to the Arabs. The Arabs, during this time, were a great maritime power and had also established themselves on the west

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[29] S.G. Kadamb, *The Kadambas of Goa*, (Panaji: Braodway Publishing House, 2010), 18.

[30] George M Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula*, (New Delhi: Asian Education Services, 1990), 167.

[31] Rao, From periphery to the core, 11.

[32] Moraes, The Kadamba Kula, 167.

[33] Moraes, The Kadamba Kula, 168.

coast of India. It is likely that some of them happened to be in Chandrapur and Gopakapattana. The talks about Shashtadeva I must have travelled far and wide due to the exchange and communication between the Arabs and other people. Still unclear, many interpretation may be put together for this debate.

Another interesting incident cited in the Goa charter of Jayakeshi I which might give us an insight into the naval power and the connection of the Kadambas with other chiefs and merchants could be of the incident where Guhalladeva I had embarked on a journey to visit the Somanath temple in Sourashtra (widely known today as Gujarat) but was found to be stranded due to the wrecking of his ship and therefore had to take shelter at Gopakapattana where he was helped by the Arab trader, Madhumad (Mohammad). The fact that he could undertake such a long journey from Goa to Sourashtra indicates that he had control over the west coast and the Arabian sea, also showing that he had a strong naval power to protect such a vast area. He might've only improved the naval legacy that was left behind by his grandfather, Shashtadeva I. Also, the help rendered to him by the Arab trader is indicative of the fact that he had good relations with the traders and merchant community in the region. As feudatories, the defence of the territories was their responsibility. Next in line was Guhalladeva's son, Shashtadeva II, who had inherited a rather well established kingdom from his father[34]. As stated in the above paragraphs, the Narendra inscription of Jayakeshi II gives knowledge about the "line of ships reaching as far as Lanka"[35], probably naval ships, that Shashtadeva II had lined up from Kavadidvipa till Lanka which here means Goa. This further testifies that he had inherited the naval legacy left behind by his ancestors[36].

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[34] Kadamb, *The Kadambas,* 98.

[35] Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula*, 174.

[36] Kadamb, *The Kadambas,* 105.

Apart from this, the inscription further states that King Mamuri, the Shilahara feudatory of Shashtadeva II refers to him as the "Lord of the Ocean" while offering his daughter in marriage to the Kadamba king[37]. This indicates towards possessing a strong naval power and hold over the west coast.

Most of the information regarding the naval strength of the Kadambas is perceived through the copper plates, the mention of ships and fleet and the titles that they assumed for themselves. There are inscriptional evidences which suggest that Shashtadeva II and most of the Kadamba rulers after him assumed the title of the 'Lord of the Western Ocean' and since then many inscriptions found in the later period begin with bestowing blessings upon them. *"...genius of the mighty Kadamba kingdom, everlasting may the Lord of the Western Ocean flourish!"*[38]. The Panjanakhani inscription gives reference to '*Padavalendra*' which according to S.G. Kadamb is the equivalent of '*Paschima Samudradhisvara*' in Kannada. If not the 'Lord of the Western Ocean' then definitely the 'Lord of the West Coast' would be suitable for the epithet and because the west coast comprises of the landed region as well as the sea, it would be similar to being in authority over the the western ocean. It is evident through most of the inscriptions which speak of Jayakeshi I that he was the supreme naval authority when it came to leading his ships in war. He had organized and stationed a powerful navy that worked under his authority. R.N. Gurav in his study mentions that Jaykeshi I had armies which were active on high seas and he also had an array of battleships[39], he also is reported to have "always put himself at the head of his powerful fleet which was ever ready with numberless fortified vessels to sail through the seas"[40]. It needs to be highlighted that Jayakeshi I might have

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[37] Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula*, 180.

[38] Kadamb, *The Kadambas,* 197.

[39] R.N. Gurav, *The Kadambas of Goa and their Inscriptions,* (Dharwar: Karnataka University, 1969), 83.

[40] Kadamb, *The Kadambas,* 119.

set up a naval base at Neura. The name itself stands for a 'Town of Boats' derived from Nav - boat and Urak or Verak - town. It had a bustling harbour known famously as Velakula harbour (today known as Velfaly), now turned into khazan lands. Fr. Cosme Costa states that the navy of the Kadambas would anchor at this harbour, perfectly enclosed by creeks on the banks of River Zuari[41]. It is quite likely that the presence of such a powerful navy at harbours and ports led to establishment of merchant navy while also securing trade and commerce.

The functioning of the navy and the naval administration is not quite clear as there is no reference to any naval commander or anyone in charge of the navy in any of the inscriptions. Or it can be that the King or the governor appointed by him was incharge of the navy. There are references to Saddam, a governor of the city appointed by Jayakeshi to help in the administration. He is said to have helped Jayakeshi in maintaining the naval fleet at the time[42]. It can rightly be said that Jayakeshi was the pioneer of naval supremacy at the time and had thorough knowledge of naval warfare. Shivachitta Permadideva came to be referred to as *'Paschima Samudradhisvara'* for the first time, thereby, continuing with the title of 'Lord of the Western Ocean'[43]. This is indicative of his tight hold on the West coast and and naval authority in the western ocean/Arabian Sea.

The Kadambas enjoyed nearly three hundred years of rule and Supreme naval authority over Goa and the Arabian Sea. The decline of ten Kadambas began with the end of the rule of Shashtadeva III. The Kadambas dynasty in Goa lost their former glory by mid 13th century. They were being attacked by a number of other dynasties and rulers. In

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[41] Costa, *The Heritage,* 32.

[42] V.T. Gune, "Goa's Coastal and Overseas Trade: From the earliest times till 1510 A.D", *Essays in Goan History*, ed. Teotonio R De Souza (New Delhi: Concept Publishing, 1989), 129.

[43] S.G. Kadamb, Sources of History of the Kadambas of Goa, (Bhatlem: Broadway Publishing House, 2013), 247.

the final battle between the Kadambas and the Yadavas, the Yadavas emerged victorious and they tried to disband the Kadamba navy and did so very gradually. After some some the Yadavas too fell victim to invasions by the rulers of the Delhi Sultanate and this weakened their hold over the territories. By the end of the Kadamba rule in Goa, there was a lot of chaos due to the invasions and plundering of port cities and towns by other rulers. For instance, Allaudin Khilji sent his general, Malik Kafur, to plunder Goa. Due to this the Kadambas had to shift their capital from from Gopakapattana to Chandrapur and yet again shift back to Gopakapattana as a result of an invasion over Chandrapur by Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq[44]. It is clear with this attack that they did not look out for territorial gain but attacked Goa with the aim of loot and plunder. Gopakapattana was one of the most, if not the most, wealthy and prosperous ports on the west coast of India.

There is a reference to Ibn Batuta being appointed as the commander of an expedition to Goa, by the orders of the Sultan of Honavar in 1344 CE. He describes the attack in the following manner:

"We reached Sandabur on the Monday evening. The inhabitants were prepared for the battle and had set up mangonels, which they discharged against the vessels when they advanced in the morning. Those on the ships jumped into the water, shields and swords in hand and I jumped with them, and Gd granted the victory to the Muslims….the infidel Sultan of Sandabur, from whom we had captured the town, now advanced to recapture it"[45].

This piece of information is very relevant in terms of the understanding the decline of the Kadambas. Once a great naval power, they were not able to have a hold on their territory

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[44] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History,* 41.

[45] Gibb H.A.R, *Ibn Batuta - Travels in Asia and East Africa 1325 to 1254,* (New Delhi: Asian Publicational Services, 2011), 240.

as the west coast was breached by the Sultan of Honavar. The Kadambas tried to attack and recapture their port city but the result of the battle is not available as Ibn Batuta left to continue his journey.

It is undeniably true that the Kadambas vastly sustained themselves as a formidable naval force on the west coast of India for almost 300 years which in itself is a great feat to achieve. With the fall of the Goa Kadambas there were two new powers that emerged significantly as rulers of Goa, the Vijayanagara and the Bahamani kingdoms.

Bahamani and Vijayanagara

The Bahamani kingdom was a Muslim kingdom founded in 1347 CE by Sultan Alauddin Hasan Shah Gangu[46] as a breakaway house of the Delhi Sultanate in the Deccan. The Bahamani Sultans ruled most parts of Karnataka and the Deccan region for nearly more than a century and a half.

The Vijayanagara empire was a South Indian kingdom that emerged as a prominent empire in 14th century CE. In fact, the kingdom had been founded in the year 1336 by Hukka (also known as Harihara I) and Bukka to fight against the Mohamedan expansion towards the south. According to Gerald Pereira, "Vijayanagara, the City of Victory, was a centre of hindu revivalism against the Mohamedan onslaught"[47]. It was one of the most prominent dynasties to challenge the Muslim dynasties that wreaked havoc in the territories that they conquered. King Harihara I of the Vijayanagara kingdom was bestowed with the title of 'Purva-Paschima-Samudrapati' which translates to "Lord/Master of the Eastern and Western Seas". This indicates towards a strong naval

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[46] Romesh Bhandari, *Goa*, (New Delhi: The Lotus Collection, 1999), 36.

[47] Pereira, *An Outline of,* 72.

hold over the seas. The region of Goa also came under the sway of the Vijayanagara empire in 1347 CE. However, the glory was short lived as the Bahamanis conquered Goa in 1356 CE and ruled nearly for the next ten years. The Bahamani Sultans and the Vijayanagara rulers were always at loggerheads with each other. This turned into a severe enmity between them with regards to having control over Goa. As stated earlier, Goa was a great trading port and was crucially important for the trade in horses. These horses which were imported from the middle east were one of the finest kinds of horses. As a result they were in high demand. This is what caught the attention of the rulers of the Deccan and South India. These horses were used in warfare. A number of battles were fought between the Vijayanagara and the Bahamani empire for nearly a century. It was a series of huge conflicts that rose during that period. Both the empire had a strong navy to support them. For instance, Mahmud Gawan who was Bahamani General was sent to attack and conquer Goa. It is said that along with foot soldiers he had an armada of 120 warships that attacked the enemies from the river, forcing them to retreat and then take possession of Goa thereby emphasizing the role of navy and ships in Goa[48]. In fact when the Portuguese captured the island of Goa in the sixteenth century, they captured ships, vessels, gunpowder, canons and other weapons belonging to the Bahamani rulers.

Adil Shah of Bijapur

The Adil Shah of Bijapur established his control over Goa in the year 1489 CE. He took the reigns of Goa from the Bahamani rulers and did his best to fortify the city of Goa. He ordered the construction of high and strong walls. The city also had huge bastions and towers that were built around the city. The land ruled by Adil Shah was very

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[48] Correia, *Goa through the Mists,* 122.

prosperous due to the harbour that was exceedingly good and earned a lot of wealth from the trading activities in the region. It was very protected and he placed a captain with many men at arms to guard the harbour[49]. He had made arrangements for keeping a sound navy. Adil Shah had a navy which was commanded by a Polish Jew[50]. According to Fr. Cosme, "His navy consisted of sailors/soldiers of various Balkan nationalities such as Croatian, who settled on the outskirts of the city of Gandaulim"[51].

From the above survey of the political history of Goa, an analysis can be made of the naval power that each of the dynasties had over the Goan waters. Even though much of the pre-kadamba dynasties and their naval power remains to be shrouded, there is still a lot to take away from the evidences that are found all around Goa. The native population, prominently the Indians, the Arabs and the Chinese to some extent, who lived in the vicinity of the Indian Ocean region held long-term authority over the Indian waters, including the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal. The Portuguese arrival in the Indian Ocean region by the end of the 15th century, however, presented a challenge to this native hegemony in the Indian Ocean.

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[49] Mansel Longworth Dames, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa Vol 1,* (New Delhi: Asian Educationa; Services, 1989), 175.

[50] Costa, *The Heritage of Govapuri*, 48.

[51] Costa, *The Heritage of Govapuri*, 48.

3.1 Arrival of Portuguese in Goa

The Arabs' ability to conceal knowledge about India and navigation in the Indian Ocean region was one of the most fascinating features of the era before the Portuguese arrived in India. The Arabs had a control over the spice trade that transpired in the Indian Ocean region. They had monopoly over it. The traditional route of getting these Indian spices to Europe was a long and a slow one. By the time they reached Europe they would become a very expensive commodity. One of the main point of exchange took place at Constantinople which in 1453 was taken over and the route was blocked by the Turks. This hindered the spice trade in Europe. For many years spice trade in this region suffered a setback. This is when the Europeans felt a need to find a new route to India that does not involve passing through land. A need was felt to find a new sea route to India not only to gain the rewards of a direct link to carrying out spice trade but to have maritime control over world's economy[53]. Thus, with the Age of exploration began the race for maritime and colonial expansion in the East. It was a cut throat battle between Spain and Portugal. Spain had taken the risky operation in lure of wealth. On the other hand, the Portuguese began planning and exploring the the idea of navigation at a very early stage. In 1419, Dom Henrique, popularly known as Prince Henry the Navigator, set up a a school for navigators and sea-men which later became the Naval Academy of Sagres. This academy trained and recruited navigators, cartographers and highly spirited seamen to undertake voyages and explorations to the East. Henry realized that the ships used for daily use in the region cannot be taken up for long voyages and therefore the academy helped in designing and making Caravels. A Caravel is a type of ship which is strongly built, it is

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[53] Sugandha. *Evolution of Maritime Strategy and National Security of India.* (New Delhi: Decent Books, 1976), 130.

fast and light in comparison to other large vessels, and is capable of sailing very close to the shores[54]. The Caravelas became the mainstay of Portuguese naval power[55]. He also made a lot of improvements to the galleons. Galleons are huge, heavily built, slow moving warships capable of carrying heavy artillery such as canons[56].

Before Vasco de Gama successfully landed on the shores of Calicut, a number of attempts were made earlier by the Portuguese too reach India. Bartholomew Dias navigated along the western and southern shores of Africa and reached to a point known as the 'Stormy Cape' which would later be called as the 'Cape of Good Hope'. He could not continue his journey and had to return back. In 1496 when Dom Manuel became king, he continued the search for sea route to India and in doing so appointed Vasco de Gama to lead the exploration. Vasco de Gama set sail on 8th July 1497 with three large ships named San Gabriel, San Rafael and San Minguel along with other small ships, from Portugal to India. His major achievement is that he was able to navigate the Cape of Good Hope and reach Mozambique on the other side of Africa. It was here that he met an Arab trader named Ibn Majid, often known as the 'Master of Astronomical Navigation' through Portuguese records, was so impressed with this feat that he provided Vasco de Gama with the knowledge of reaching India unknown to the fact that this would be a turning point in the history of the world. Using the information, maps and directions provided by Ibn Majid, he reached Malindi from where he directly set sail to India. There are debates regarding pilots that showed way to the Portuguese to reach India. No one at this point had the slightest idea that the Portuguese would overthrow the ruling Arab traders from

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[54] K.M. Pannikar, *Asia and Western Dominance: A Survey of the Vasco de Gama epoch of Asian History 1498-1945,*(New Delhi: Life Span Publishers, 2019), 26.

[55] Saturnino Monteiro, Portuguese Sea Battles: The Fist World Sea Power 1139 - 1521 Vol I, (Portugal: Saturnino Monteiro, 2010)

[56] Pannikar, *Asia and Western Dominance*, 26.

the seas and establish their monopoly over trade and the Indian regions. Even though, Vasco de Gama is credited for finding a sea route to India, it is rather very ignorant of this European perspective because the ships were piloted towards India with the help of the Arab traders using their knowledge and skills. Vasco de Gama set foot on the Indian soil somewhere between 17th and 20th May in 1498[57].

With the arrival of the Portuguese at the scene and the various battles fought by them against the local rulers over the years, the control of the western part of the Ocean was now in the hands of the Portuguese. They were the first European power to travel to Indian by sea. It is said that they had discovered a sea route to India. This phrase is largely from a European point of view as the route had existed for a long time but they were unaware about it, therefore for the Portuguese, it was a discovery. With many aspects of the Portuguese in India and the Indian Ocean the most important aspect of this period is that the Portuguese revolutionized the use of naval strength and warfare on the Indian waters.

It is said that "The Estado da India was born, lived and died by sea" is an indication towards the sea borne empire of the Portuguese and the use of ships that propelled them to great lengths. Their ships were huge and capable of navigating the vast and rough seas and the Atlantic Ocean. They were built in such a way that they would get through the most difficult and roughest of conditions at sea. Due to the Indian Ocean being much calmer compared to the Atlantic and Pacific, their ships were able to handle the change in condition and navigate easily through the seas. The 15th century was a very crucial period for the Portuguese as there was a shift in ship-building techniques and artillery on board the ships. The ships were now larger, faster and more durable.

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[57] Amba Prasad, Discovery of the Sea route to India, *India Quarterly* 38, no 3/4, (1982), 351.

A breakthrough for the Europeans in the 13th century was that they had learnt the art of making and using gun powder which increased their military prominence. It is said that they acquired this knowledge from the Arabs. They also learnt to use them in canons. This knowledge was used by the Portuguese in the later years when they began colonizing various regions. The Europeans not only developed the use of powder but they also over the course of years developed ship building, fortification techniques, military and naval strategies. Gunpowder changed the way in which the Europeans now fought battles on land and at sea. It is quite evident that the Mongols might have had the knowledge of using gunpowder because Babar, the first Mughal King of India, used canons which require gun powder, during the First battle of Panipat in 1526. Many of the scholars regard the Mughal dynasty along with other Islamic dynasties such as the Safavids and the Ottomans as 'Gunpowder Dynasties'. This gives a pretty clear idea that many dynasties apart from the Europeans had knowledge of using gunpowder for military purposes. Whether the Indians knew of the gunpowder is a question to be answered. Many scholars are of the belief that guns and canons did not exist in India before the arrival of the Portuguese and the Mughals. However, However there are references to the Zamorin of Calicut having two small canons but his soldiers were not trained to use them[58]. In fact when the Portuguese captured the island of Goa in the sixteenth century, they captured ships, vessels, gunpowder, canons and other weapons belonging to the Bahamanis. The kings may have made use of swords, shields, spears but they were also aware about the use of guns and gun powders as well as mangonels. After the Portuguese captured Goa from Adil Shah of Bijapur, they built a Gunpowder factory in Goa at Panelim whose remnants today can be seen in the open museum of the Archaeological Survey of India, Old Goa.

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[58] Abhijit Ambekar, *Canons of Goa: Their history, location and styles,* (Panaji: Broadway Publishing House, 2010), 1.

After taking control of the Indian Ocean region and establishing their supremacy over the seas and oceans in this region, the Portuguese also came up with various systems to ensure that their rule and discipline was maintained. The Cartaz system was one of the most important ones. A Cartaz or a permit was issued by the Portuguese and given to other ships in the region for safe passage and filling in custom duties at the port or custom house. This was for the traders that carried out trade practices in the region. Apart from this, The Portuguese set up a navy. Laws were made for sailors and naval officers onboard the ship to maintain discipline. These were related to the information regarding the ship, recruitment, cargo, travelers, muster roll, arms and ammunition to be carried, officers duties and so on. Apart from this there was a proper naval administration. The Captain was at the helm of the ship leading the fleet and supervising discipline on board. They were also responsible to put down any form of mutiny or revolt that happened on the ship. There was a hierarchy that they had to follow. The Captain, Pilot, Master of the ship, Boatswain and Sub-boatswain, Clerk, Quarter-Master, Men of Arms, Sailors and ship-boys were all a part of this hierarchy.

Comparatively, one can say that the Portuguese and the dynasties that ruled Goa before the arrival of the Portuguese have one thing in common, they all made Goa a strong naval base from where most of the naval activities were carried out. Many scholars believe that the Portuguese were superior because they had a strong navy and better weapons/artillery. But, the fact that the Pre-portuguese dynasties also had strong ships and control over the seas for more than a thousand years is also not to be neglected. The Portuguese were able to establish their naval supremacy because they possessed advanced methods and techniques of using gun powder and had thorough knowledge of using armed ships. They were also able to make use of Goa's strategic location in building strategic forts along the coast of Goa. Even though this was for their own interest and to

keep a watch on the enemies, it was their tactical mind that set the foundation of superior naval authority which governed the region for many years.

Chapter 4: Naval War of 1510

The war for the conquest of Goa between the Portuguese and Adil Shah of Bijapur is not only one of the most significant events in the history of Goa but, in Indian history as well. This is a largely discussed and researched topic among historians. This chapter makes an attempt to understand the role of the Portuguese navy in the conquest of Goa in the year 1510.

The conquest of Goa was done in two parts. The first conquest of Goa took place earlier in the year 1510. The earliest European conquest of Goa was undertaken by Afonso de Albuquerque. Afonso de Albuquerque was a Portuguese noblemen and and ambitious military general who embarked on his journey to the east during the late 15th century. He was also appointed as the Second Governor of Portuguese India in the year 1505 by King Dom Manuel of Portugal. He is known as one of the builders of the Portuguese Asia Empire. It was because of his initiatives of conquering territories and strategic acumen that the Portuguese were soon able to establish their empire in the east. He did his best to uphold the interest of Portugal and with this in mind also conquered most of the Indian Ocean region. The Portuguese wanted to control the maritime trade routes and to fulfil this, he captured Malacca and Goa as they were extremely strategic points in the Indian Ocean region as far as trade was concerned.

First Attempt

Afonso de Albuquerque had been fighting a huge naval battle in Calicut and this can be noted with the sheer number of ships and men stationed on the ships to fight the enemies in Calicut. When he was repulsed and returned back he had left two caravelas behind to form a blockade for the harbour. Facing this daunting defeat, he sent a Franciscan Friar,

Frey Luis, to the kingdom of Narsingha, popularly known as Vijayanagara, to urge the king to help in defeating the moors by coming down with his army to tackle the threat and co-operate with the maritime power of the Portuguese[1]. He had nearly twenty large ships, a few small ships and a captain on most of them. There were around twenty three captains travelling with Afonso de Albuquerque. Some of the captains who travelled with him included Dom Antonio de Noronha, Garcia de Sousa, Luis Coutinho, Joao Nunez and Diogo Fernandes de Beja. He had been sailing towards the the island of Anjediva on the Kanara coast from where he had initially planned to head towards Cape Guardafui[2]. Albuquerque was preparing for a battle against a Grand Sultan in the Red Sea region[3]. At this point he had around seventeen naus, one bergantim, two caravelas and three galleys. He was determined to take up the expedition in the Red Sea region.

"On this determination being arrived at, Afonso Dalbo-querque left the fortresses of Cochim" provided with captains, and men, artillery, gunpowder, and stores, and everything else that they required, and a fleet of vessels along the coast to rely upon in case anything should happen, and set out from Cochim on the tenth day of February in the year one thousand five hundred and ten with a fleet of twenty-three sails[4].*"*

However, his plans were interrupted and kept on standstill as he was approached by Timoja (also known as Timayya or Thimappa) and Malu Pai Vernekar to capture Goa from the clutches of Adil Shah of Bijapur. It is stated that Albuquerque had reached as far as Mergeu when he got a letter sent to him by Timoja[5]. According to the Portuguese,

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[1] Walter de Gray Birch, *Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque – Second Viceroy of India vol 2.* (London: Haklyut Society, 1877), lxiv.

[2] Om Prakash, *Portuguese in India*, (Delhi: Anmol Publications Pvt Ltd, 2002), 186.

[3] K.M Mathew, *History of Potuguese Navigation in India 1497-1600*, (Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1988), 191.

[4] Birch, *Commentaries of Afonso*, 80.

[5] Birch, *Commentaries of Afonso,* 81.

Timoja was a corsair or a sea pirate but, he held a position of high honour in the Vijayanagara empire[6]. He is believed to be the admiral of the Vijayanagar fleet and was a man of high stature[7]. Albuquerque, and in fact the Portuguese in general, disliked the moors and wanted to destroy them. It was an age old rivalry that went back to the 8th century when the Umayyad Caliphate had taken over the Iberian peninsula. There were many scenarios in Goa that went against the Bijapur Sultanate and its ruler in Goa. A lot of discussions were held between Albuquerque and his other captains on whether to accept Timoja's offer or not. Albuquerque called his council of captains, fidalgos and pilots of his fleet on the 13th of February in 1510 and finalized the plan that they would attack Goa. The Portuguese were now keen on getting Goa.

There are many reasons for Albuquerque agreeing to take up Timoja's offer. Albuquerque must have realized the strategic importance of Goa on the west coast of India and how it not only connects the hinterland trade but also major parts of the Indian Ocean trade in the Indian Ocean region. Timoja informed him regarding the political tensions that takes the centre stage in Goa and also how the King had made plans to use Goa's position as a 'base of extensive operations' that would help in expelling the Portuguese from India[8]. Another reason told to him by Timoja was that a captain of the Grand Sultan came to Goa and was urged by the Muslim king of Goa to settle there. The captain wrote to the Grand Sultan to send him soldiers as he wanted to establish a strong grip on the land of Goa. He also came to realize that they had built ships and galleys that were modeled after the ships and galleys of Portugal especially designed after the ship

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[6] Birch, *Commentaries of Afonso,* 81.

[7] B.S Shastri, "Some Aspects of the First Conquest of Goa by the Portuguese". *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, (1978), 385.

[8] Birch, *Commentaries of Afonso,* 82

named *Flor de Mar*[9]. Apart from this, he was also informed that the S*abaio* was dead and that his son *Hidalcao* or Adil Khan had little experience as he was very young.

Albuquerque, taking command over the Portuguese fleet, immediately set sail towards Goa and reached its shores on 28th February, 1510[10]. Albuquerque extracted more information about Goa from Timoja before he carried out a full fledged attack on the Rumes/Turks. Timoja explained the conditions of the land to Albuquerque. He told them that he had some connection with the Hindus of the land and it is through their letters that they are able to understand the actual state of Goa. A battle was to ensue. This battle that was being planned needed strategies that consisted of both, attack by sea and land as well.

The Portuguese came up with a plan to carry out a two fold attack. They had realized that the city of Goa was highly protected with bastions, moats, high walls running along its length and all its five river passes such as that of Panjim, Banstarim, Daujim, Agacaim and Gandaulim were also well guarded. The two fold attack was a strategy by which there were two layers to this attack. Albuquerque ordered his men to first conquer the fort of Panjim and then march towards the City of Goa. Breaking the fortification of Adil Khan's kingdom was the first step taken up by them. With this, the fort of Panjim was attacked by the Portuguese. The fort of Panjim was the principal fort in his kingdom because it provided entrance to the bar[11]. A lot of exchange of ideas between the captains and Albuquerque resulted in Albuquerque selecting Antonio de Noronha, his nephew and a Portuguese naval captain, to lead the ships to cross the bar. This was done to pre-check the conditions in Goa. They could not risk taking their large ships through a river of which they had no knowledge about. They had to check for the depth and therefore could

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[9] Birch, *Commentaries of Afonso,* 82.

[10] Mathew, *History of Potuguese*, 191.

[11] Birch, *Commentaries of Afonso,* 88.

not use large boats for the matter. Antonio de Noronha along with his nephew then took two *galleys* and Timoja went along with his *fustas.* They crossed the bar and reached a point where now they and their vessels were clearly visible to the Muslim guards that were atop the fort of Panjim. They immediately sprang into action and took on their enemies. The *moors* soon began attacking the vessels[12]. The Portuguese vessels in the river fired shots at the soldiers guarding the fort of Panjim and then attacked them on land as well before the Muslim soldiers abandoned their stations. This was one of the first conflicting encounter between the Portuguese and the moors in Goa. The moors used their artillery and guns to fire at the Portuguese soldiers but they mostly missed their aim because their guns were high and the shots passed by their heads. On the other hand, the Portuguese captain Antonio de Noronha ordered his fleet to take the ships right to the fortress where the soldiers can jump back onto the shores and carry out an attack via land. The moors submitted to the Portuguese as their weapons were not having much affect on them. They abandoned their stations and retreated to the city. Finding the fort to now be deserted, the Portuguese scavenged through it and checked the fort thoroughly. They found weapons such as swords, shields and other pieces of artillery in the fort. After this, the captain ordered the fort of Panjim to be set on fire[13]. According to K.M Mathew, this episode of the first naval encounter of the Portuguese in Goa was more of a resistance rather than full fledged naval war.

"D. Antonio had gathered all the spoil which he had gained from the Moors of Panji, which consisted of a large number of lances, swords, shields, and eighteen pieces of

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[12] Birch, *Commentaries of Afonso*, 89.

[13] F.C Danvers, *The Poprtuguese in India*, 187- 188.

artillery, he ordered the buildings of the fortress to be set on fire and betook himself again to the boats, and made his way back to the ships[14]."

With triumph over the fort of Panjim and a successful mission, Albuquerque then ordered Antonio de Noronha to reconnoitre the city and see how the city, fortresses and bulwarks were placed[15]. He went along with a line of boats and large vessels. After a few days, Afonso de Albuquerque, along with his fleet and captains, was able to conquer the City of Goa and the keys of the city were handed to him. After giving few instructions regarding the treatment of Moors and Hindus in the area, the first thing he did was inspect the palace of the Sabaio and the fortresses of the region. The Portuguese seized a huge quantity of arms and ammunition, forty large field guns, cannons, and gun powder[16]. He also seized their vessels at sea which included forty big *naus* and sixteen *bergantins*[17].

An informant, who is identified to be from the region of Kudal, informed Albuquerque of some Muslim force being present at Banda. He also informed Albuquerque that they were planning to attack and reconquer the Portuguese acquired territory of Goa. Upon receiving this information, Albuquerque again used the two fold strategy and sent in forces by both land and sea. The group that went via land were led by George de Cunha and the group that was sent by sea was led by Diogo Fernandes. The plan to suppress them was unsuccessful and therefore they were called back by Afonso de Albuquerque. He soon started making preparations to defend his newly acquired territory. He set up an infantry force on land and armed the sea with a ship[18]. Arrangements were made to guard all the passes that led to the city of Goa. The passes were of Banastarim,

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[14] Birch, *Commentaries of Afonso*, 90.

[15] F.C. Danvers, The Poprtuguese in India Vol 1, (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1894), 188.

[16] Mathew, *History of Potuguese*, 191.

[17] Mathew, *History of Potuguese*, 191.

[18] Mathew, *History of Potuguese*, 192.

Agassaim, Panjim, Old Goa and Gaundalim. Captains were placed at all these passes and were supplied with artillery and soldiers. With regards to naval force at guarding the seas, galleys, *gales* under the captaincy of Simao de Andrade, *galeotas* under the Simao Martins and *bateis* under Bernardino Ferreira and Pero de Fonseca were kept close waiting for emergency operations and to render help at times of need[19]. Dom Antonio de Noronha was appointed as captain of a fleet that consisted of boats, *caravelas*, *galleys*, *paraos* and other small vessels. They were entrusted with the job of visiting all the passes and rendering help to the soldiers if needed.

When the Muslim force, under the leadership of Faulad Khan, reached Banastarim, the Portuguese captain stationed at that pass attacked the Muslim soldiers with their artillery and compelled them to retreat back. The Muslim soldiers made a number of attempts to get into Goa. They tried negotiating with Afonso de Albuquerque as well. They sent him a message suggesting that they were ready to give him any other place or region if he would forsake his plans to have a hold on Goa. However, this suggestion was immediately declined by the Governor at that time. As a result of this feedback, the Adil Shah's forces made more efforts to get the Portuguese out of Goa. They created a blockade at the mouth of the river of Goa while Albuquerque was gathering a stronger force on land. But, when Albuquerque learned of this blockade, he began making preparations to increase his naval power by bringing in more ships and boats to defend the passes in the region.

However, by 17th May, 1510, the Muslim forces were able to find a weak spot at Banastarim and were successful in taking control of that area. But, it was as if Afonso de Albuquerque had already made preparation to counter attack and foil the Muslim plans of reconquering the Goan territories. Albuquerque had placed nearly eight of his captains at

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[19] Mathew, *History of Potuguese*, 192.

the weak points of the broken Banastarim wall. Dom Antonio de Noronha fleet and ships were also successful in breaking the rafts of the Muslims who had entered the pass at Agassaim. The Portuguese navy played an important role in keeping the Muslims at bay. However, the weather made it difficult for them to move from the place and therefore the Portuguese remained anchored at the mouth of the River for almost three months[20]. They found that they were not only in the enemy territory but they were also exposed to the artillery of Adil Shah's army who kept firing at them from the Adil Shah palace which was captured by the Portuguese earlier[21]. Albuquerque planned for a night attack on the Muslim forces. During this a grave battle was fought between the two forces at the Mandovi river. The Portuguese ships set sail to reach further into the Goan water without being spotted by the Muslim forces, but they were caught even before they could get to Ribandar. However, they kept pushing forward to Ribandar because that is where two of their galleys were anchored. The Portuguese had a tough time as they were being followed by a large number of Adil Shah's ships. Under the orders of Afonso de Albuquerque, Antonio de Noronha, with a few vessels and men, went along to help them. They reached the area where the fight was to take place. According to Saturnino Monteiro, some of Adil Khan's *paraus* were commanded by a Turk named Sufolarim[22]. He had planned to attack the Portuguese from two sides and therefore, divided his fleet into two divisions and ordered each of them to position themselves near Divar and on the other side of the river, respectively. The plan was to sabotage the Portuguese at least from one side while they were busy fighting the other. But Antonio de Noronha found a plan to counter attack this ploy. He too divided his fleet into two divisions, one division consisted

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[20] Santurnino Monteiro, Portguese Sea Battles: The Fist World Sea Power Vol I, (Portugal: Santurnino Monteiro, 2010), 290.

[21] Monteiro, *Portguese Sea Battles*, 290.

[22] Monteiro, *Portguese Sea Battles*, 292.

of four vessels while the other consisted of six vessels. The first division would chase Sufolarim while the other would battle the fleet stationed on the other side. He ordered the captains to not fire shots at the same time but, to fire them one after the other to keep on the continuous show of artillery fire. The battle begun as soon as the rival parties laid eyes on each other's vessels. During the course of the battle, very little damage was done to the Portuguese fleet and the vessels. Saturnino Monteiro also states that "Our ships suffered very little damage because the fire of the Indians was so poorly aimed that most of their shots passed harmlessly overheads"[23]. The Muslim forces on the other hand suffered major setback as they lost most of their soldiers and oarsmen. Not pleased with the condition of this battle, Sufolarim tried to retreat back to the city but could not due to the low tide. His ship was caught by the Portuguese forces[24]. The battle ended by afternoon. The Portuguese emerged victorious in this river battle at Mandovi. Antonio de Noronha had received harsh wounds in the battle and succumbed to his injuries a few days later.

Seeing the havoc caused by the Portuguese ships, the Muslims thought of destroying the ships along with the fleet by setting fire to them in the river[25]. While they tried to defend their newly conquered Goan territory, they did not realize that there were some Turks that who were successful in crossing over. Gradually the Muslims were able to soon make their way into the city again. While the Portuguese were retreating back to reach the island of Anjediva they were stranded near Ribandar due too the sandbar that was caused due to the onset of monsoons. They were at a short distance from the fort of Panjim and there were chances that Adil Shah would try to attack them and so he did. Nearly fifty cannon balls were fired at him from the fort in one day. Once the monsoons were clear, Albuquerque retreated Anjediva from where he went to Cannanore and then

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[23] Monteiro, *Portguese Sea Battles*, 293.

[24] Monteiro, *Portguese Sea Battles*, 294. Very few books have given a refernce to this naval battle.

[25] Mathew, *History of Potuguese*, 193.

set sail towards Cochin. It if at Cochin that he finally began reshaping and organizing his fleet with the reinforcements that had come from Portugal.

Second Attempt

Plans were being made to reconquer Goa. They could not delay the process of reconquest as Albuquerque had heard about Adil Shah forming alliances with Gujarat, Calicut and even Egypt to strengthen and fortify Goa[26]. They set out on the expedition to capture Goa again. He had around thirty four huge vessels with him along with men soldiers.

When Albuquerque along with his fleet reached Goa, they crossed the river bar and anchored at Ponganim[27]. Albuquerque needed to know the conditions in Goa before he carried out a full fledged attack and therefore he captured a few moors and extracted information regarding Goa, its current state of defence and fortification from them. Albuquerque sent Joao de Lima, Antonio de Maura and Jeronimo de Lima to cross check the information if it is true. They soon gathered the required information and informed Albuquerque that the City of Goa was indeed heavily guarded. They need to make a quick decision because if Adil Khan receives further help from his alliances, further fortifies the city and gets control over the waters, Goa would be impenetrable, even for the Portuguese. They called in for a War Council meeting and decided that they needed to attack Goa as soon as possible. The day and date of attack was fixed to be the 25th of November, 1510, which also happened to be the day of the feast of St. Catherine. As the captains and soldiers took to their stations and positions, Timoja was appointed to look after the Portuguese ships and vessels in the River Mandovi. Three group or squadrons were made, each under the leadership of Diogo de Mendes, Manuel de Lacerda and the third group was led by Albuquerque himself. The squadron under the leadership of Manuel de

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[26] Mathew, *History of Potuguese*, 194.

[27] Mathew, *History of Potuguese*, 194.

Lacerda was given the task to attack the stockades near the fortress. The squadron under the leadership of Diogo de Mendes were to attack the stockades near the sides of the ships and Albuquerque wit the remaining fleet and captains arranged to take the stockades in flank[28]. The Muslims on the other hand as a response to this Portuguese commotion in their territory began to fire their artillery at them. However, the Portuguese captured the trenches from where they were carrying out the attack. The Muslims tried to flee but the Portuguese soldiers were relentless and followed them. On the other hand, the ships and boats were ready to deal with the men who were rushing to the banks of the river Mandovi. The Muslim soldiers tried to defend themselves for a long time but, as soon the Portuguese broke through the defenses of the city and entered it. A long battle on land ensued where many Muslims as well as Portuguese soldiers were killed but, by the end of the day the Muslim soldiers were seen to be running from the land.

The Portuguese had won their second battle. By the beginning of rule over Goa they had various islands that came under their jurisdiction. As a matter of fact the whole territory of which Old Goa was the capital of came under the Portuguese rule[29].

What was the impact of this war on Goa and the newly established Portuguese empire? Well, firstly, the Portuguese were able to add a new territory to their cannon which would help them fulfill their aim of 'God, Glory and Gold'. They were able to secure a safe and strategic position at the centre of the west coast of India. As discussed in the earlier chapters, Goa had an excellent anchorage system which was very helpful to the ships, along with this it also happened to be a trading paradise and it had one of the best ship-building facilities on the entire western coastline. It was the most ideal location for

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[28] Danvers, *Portuguese in India*, 209.

[29] Shastri, *Some Aspects of the First Conquest*, 390.

creating a base from where the Portuguese could have direct control over trade in the region. The Portuguese now had control over the horse trade that transpired at Goan ports.

Secondly, they became the 'Masters of the Sea' and established full control over the Arabian Sea and by extension, over the Indian Ocean as well. They went on to monopolize trade in the region. Thirdly, Goa became a centre of the Portuguese Military power in the East[30]. Along with this the Portuguese also gained control over the shipping industry in Goa. The Portuguese had now firmly established their control over the western coast of India. The conquest of Goa in 1510, allowed the Portuguese to lay a firm foundation in India and the Eastern world. They were able to fulfill the aims that they set out to achieve. They were able to monopolize trade and take full control over the Arabian sea.

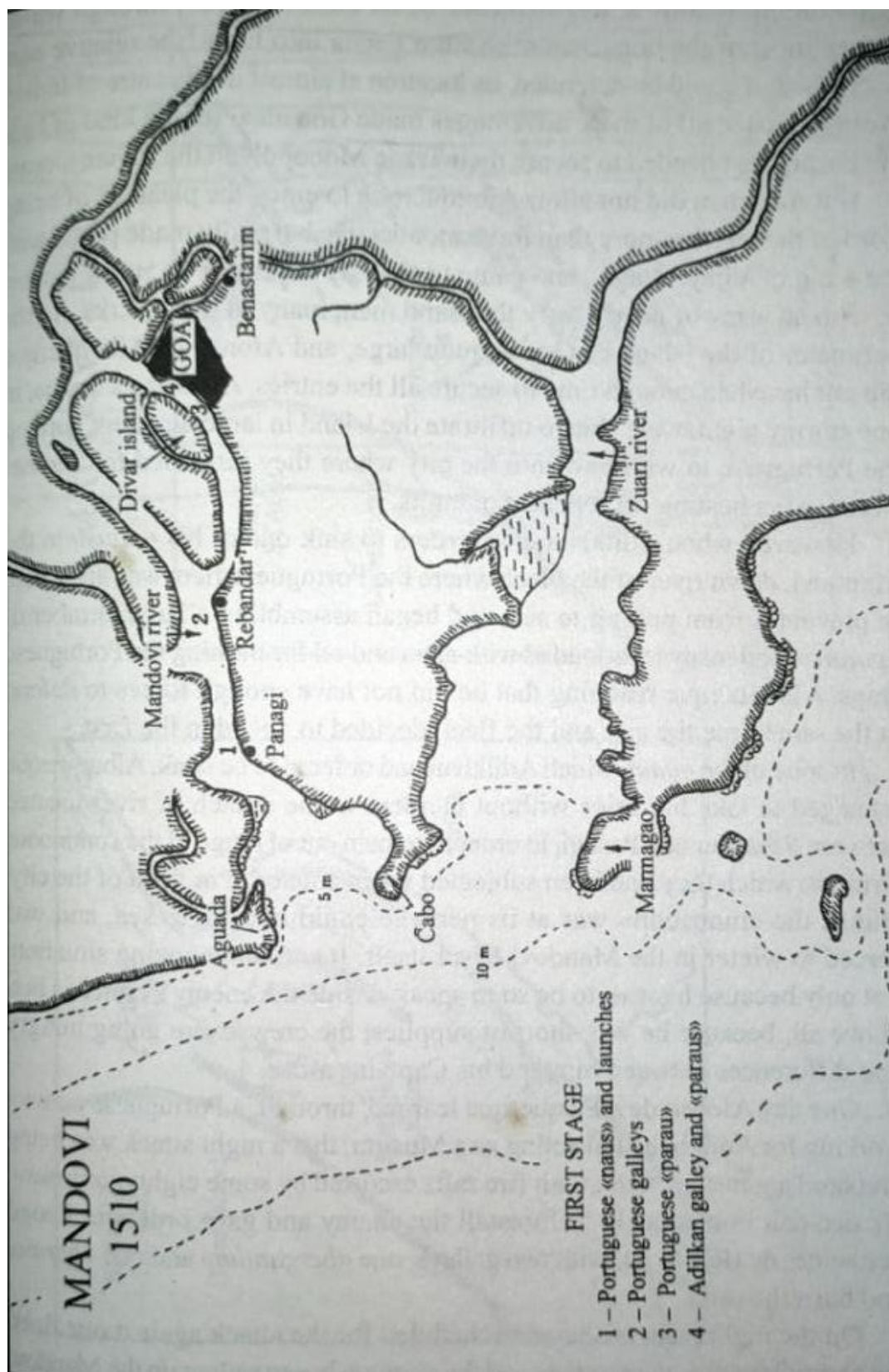
[30] Monteiro, *Portguese Sea Battles*, 294.

Fig. 4.1 Map showing the position of Portuguese and Muslim vessels at Mandovi

Photo credit: Saturnino Monteiro

Pic Courtesy: Portuguese Sea Battle Vol I, pg. 289.

CHAPTER 5: NAVAL WAR OF 1512

The Portuguese had already conquered parts of Goa, one of the most significant territories on the western coast of India in 1510. However, now the Portuguese had to sustain their control over the land. They had control only over the area of Tiswadi. The other parts of Goa were still under the Muslim control. The entire territory became a part of the Portuguese nearly two hundred years later except for Bardez and Salcete which became a part of the Portuguese empire by 1543. In a letter that was sent to the King of Portugal in the year 1513, Afonso de Albuquerque speaks about the transformation of war in India. He writes:

"I strive to overthrow the pride of the world and gain the greatest things of it, although things are already rough, and the way we fight is already different and the artillery and weapons and fortresses have now become our great strength[1]".

What kind of transformation exactly was being spoken about in this scenario? There is no doubt that the weapons used by the Portuguese were advanced when speaking of combat in the Indian Ocean. But, apart from their weapons being advanced another strength that they possessed included making proper usage of forts and fortresses. This is why whenever they captured a new territory, they would make sure to attack and capture the forts in the region. The conditions of fighting naval combats in the Atlantic Ocean and the Indian Ocean are very different. Their weapons are built to stand the toughest of situations.

After facing defeat from the Portuguese in the battle of 1510, the Muslim forces of Adil Khan were forced to leave the city and retreat to Banastarim which was about 10

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[1] Gonçalo Couceiro Feio, *O ensino e a aprendizagem militares em Portugal e no Império, de D. João III a D. Sebastião: a arte portuguesa da guerra.* (Lisbon: Universidade de Lisboa, 2013), 90.

kilometres away from the city. After achieving major victory over the land of Goa, Albuquerque had returned to attend to matters of Malacca. As he was away from Goa for a long time, the Muslim forces in the region tried to provoke the Portuguese and planned an attack to reconquer the Portuguese occupied territory of Goa. An attempt was made by the Muslim general, Faulad Khan to recapture Goa in the absence of Albuquerque. He was able to invade the city of Goa without meeting any resistance from the Portuguese soldiers and allies. Malhar Rao who was appointed to see to the functioning of the Goa government received information on the attack on Goa by Faulad Khan[2]. He tried to stop the attack but soon realized that Faulad Khan was already in possession of some part of the territory. Therefore, seeing that he had no back up, he fled for his own safety. He further went on to cross over to the island of Banastarim and and fortified himself over there. Captain Rodrigo Rebello who had been dealing with Muslim forces in Goa realized that this area of Banastarim which was important as it was a "principal passage from the mainland to the Island of Goa"[3]. Conflict between the Muslim forces under Faulad Khan and the Portuguese went on for a long time.

While the conflict continued, Adil Khan took the decision of sending Rasul Khan to Goa to take over the charge from Faulad Khan. After Faulad Khan refused to obey this decision, Rasul Khan turned to the Portuguese for assistance in the matter. The Portuguese joined Rasul Khan in defeating Faulad Khan and therefore proceeded with nearly two hundred men. Rasul Khan's forces were functioning on land while the Portuguese had their men assisting on vessels on the river. The excerpt given below reflects the decision of positioning the forces on land and at sea.

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[2] F.C. Danvers, *The Poprtuguese in India Vol 1*, (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1894)*,* 242.

[3] Danvers, *The Poprtuguese in India*, 243.

"With our men on the sea and theirs on the land, they attacked Phaulat Khan and vanquished him"[4].

They were successful in intimidating Faulad Khan who then died on land by consuming poison[5]. Soon, Rasul Khan took over Banastarim and fortified the area and packed it with arms and ammunition. Rasul Khan now demanded that the Portuguese should surrender the city and vacate the place. The Portuguese at this point were in no condition to carryout a war due to various reasons. It was as if Rasul Khan had unleashed a reign of terror upon the area. He had besieged the city to be captured for the entirety of the winter season and due to this the people and soldiers faced a lot of hardships. The Portuguese soon realized that their defense was very poor.

This went on for almost a few months, till the return of Afonso de Albuquerque from Malacca. The conflict and fighting continued but even with the besiege of the city and the troubles inflicted on the Portuguese by Rasul Khan, he was not able to take over the city. His strategy had failed. The conditions of the Portuguese would turn worse if they had not received provisions of ships and men from Bhatkal. George Demelo Pereira himself had turned up with nearly twelve naus. Another fleet carrying around one thousand and five hundred men reached the Goan shores in bateis. This addition to Portuguese power in Goa and the Goan water shad increased their strength and numbers considerably. Albuquerque too who had returned from Malacca and was in Cochin, was returning to Goa after a good long period. He was informed about the plight of Goa and its people. Just in time, the Portuguese received a message from the Captain of Cannanor, Diogo Correia, that the rumes had set sail from Suez and were ending in reinforcements to Adil Khan to fight against the Portuguese. Albuquerque felt that his fleet was small

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[4] K.M Mathew, *History of potuguese navigation in India 1497-1600*, (Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1988), 197.

[5] Danvers, *Portuguese in India*, 245.

compared to the numbers of the rumes that were coming to Goa. However, soon he received the news of the arrival of Garcia de Noronha with a few ships and also George Demelo who was sent with a fleet by the King of Portugal when he believed that Albuquerque was lost at sea when there was no news of him coming from Malacca. The arrival of Garcia de Noronha and George Demelo with their ships and men gave him a boost in fighting the upcoming war in Goa. He departed with nearly sixteen vessels and headed towards Goa. He crossed the bar at Goa and entered the Goan waters. He had most of his ships and vessels reach the city of Goa while travelling on River Mandovi. He on the other hand was personally sailing on the River Zuari. He had made a counter plan to attack the supplies of Rasul Khan and his then residency, fort of Banastarim. Similar to the plan of Rasul Khan, Albuquerque also planned to cut of the supplies of the Muslims stationed at the fort of Banastarim. Albuquerque decide to wage a war at Banastarim before Adil Khan knew of his entry in Goa. Albuquerque wanted to get as close to the fort as possible as the depth of the river was sufficient enough for the ships to draw close to the fort and even hit and destroy a part of the bulwark. Albuquerque ordered his men on board the ships to disembark from the ships and instead of them he ordered a few hundred mariners and bombardiers from his entire fleet to battle with the enemies fleet. They were supplied with the best of artillery that included canons and powder shots. The whole fleet was kept under the captaincy of Tristao de Miranda[6]. The Muslim forces began to fire at the vessels the moment they saw them from the fort.

This went on for a number of days, eight to be exact. The Turks had fired nearly more than four thousand shots on the Portuguese vessels[7]. They had big and small cannons shooting cannonballs along with arrows. The Turks had also mounted a basilisk

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[6] Walter de Gray Birch, *Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque – Second Viceroy of India vol 3.* (London: Haklyut Society, 1877), 211.

[7] Birch, *Commentaries of the Great,* 211.

which is a kind of a weapon which looks similar to a cannon and has a higher calibre. It had caused great damage to the Portuguese vessels and the plan was to destroy it. The Portuguese were successful in breaking its muzzle and causing heavy damage to the Muslim forces. In order to not get any more reinforcements, Albuquerque sent Garcia de Noronha with other small ships and artillery to attack the fort from the other side. The Portuguese ships kept getting closer to the bulwarks of the fort. They even destroyed the stockade erected by the moors. However, the moors began firing on these vessels causing much damage to them. It was so decided that Albuquerque would command the force and attack the fort by land. On the other hand, Aires da Silva would bombard the fortress from the sea by using the canons on his ship[8]. This was done after managing to approach the walls since the Turks had built barriers around the fortress on the side of the sea to prevent ships from approaching.

The Portuguese cannon started to fire on the fortifications and walls of the fort. The ships' weaponry followed accordingly, although they were ineffective this time as the ships were anchored there primarily to avoid assistance to the Muslim forces by sea, not to shoot at sites held by the opposition, in this case, the fort. On the other hand, caravans of oxen taking provisions and supplies to the fort were captured and not allowed to reach the fort. Albuquerque made his way to the City of Goa. The moment he landed in the City of Goa, he went to the church and then went on with thoroughly preparing for the attack on Banastarim. The assault on the Banastarim fort was ordered. He made three division of his forces, each led by Garcia de Noronha, Pero de Mascarenhas and himself. The Muslim forces were confused with the line of attack. Albuquerque had formulated a plan where the Swiss archers were kept at the center and placed himself in the left wing and others on the right. The cavalry were kept in the reserve. This was a flanking manoeuvre strategy.

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[8] Feio, *O ensino e a aprendizagem,* 92.

The Muslims, confused by this show of movement, retreated back when some of them were caught by the Garcia de Noronha's division and the others who tried to escape via the river route, met their deaths at the hands of the Portuguese ships anchored near the river at Guadalim[9].

Albuquerque returned to the city of Goa and instructed his captains on the further plan of attack. He also made sure that there was enough artillery and necessary item needed for the siege of Banastarim. Albuquerque set up a camp where he stationed more then three thousand five hundred soldiers between the city of Goa and fort of Banastarim. Albuquerque ordered Pero Mascarenhas and some men to built stockades so that they can hide or plant their guns to fire. The Portuguese thoroughly prepared for this attack and finally the day of action was decided to be 15th November 1512. The fight went on till the 18th of November, 1512. Both the sides fired at each other continuously. As soon as it was night time, Albuquerque would order his men to advance a little towards the fort walls. The continuous firing of shots at the fort made a breach on the fort walls. The army on land were making efforts in breaking the walls but, even the naval forces of the Portuguese continuously attacked the fort weakening it even more. At this point, Rasul Khan had realized that there was no way to escape as he was surrounded the Portuguese on land and at sea. When he found no other way to escape, he "hung out a white flag and sued for peace"[10]. It was decided after a long discussion with the captains that Rasul Khan would have to surrender everything that he is in possession of which included the fort of Banastarim, horses, artillery, arms and ammunition, ships and other vessels. It took them around two days to get everything in place. Albuquerque took up the work of reconstructing the fort of Banastarim.

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[9] Mathew, *History of Potuguese,* 199.

[10] Danvers, *Portuguese in India*, 252.

This battle had a huge impact on the the defensive system of the Portuguese to safeguard their territory. The Portuguese after this battle undertook the building of fortification walls around the area that was under them especially Banastarim and the passes. The Portuguese were just beginning to affirm their footing in the areas that they had conquered. This Siege on Banastarim rang the alarm for better fortifications and defense systems to be placed in the area that was conquered. According to R. S Whiteway, this operation for relieving Banastarim was one of the most gallant of Albuquerque's exploits[11]. The impact of this war may not have been felt immediately but, there was some sort of a relief that they were able to defend their territory.

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[11] R.S Whiteway, *Rise of Portuguese power in India 1497-1550*, (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1899), 148.

CHAPTER 6: NAVAL WAR OF 1570

Another significant naval battle in Goa was fought in the year 1570 and lasted for nearly about ten months. This time the rulers of the Deccan region tried to invade Goa and Chaul. Goa during this time functioned under the leadership of Viceroy Luis de Athiade (1568-1571). This naval battle is considered to be the last effort made by the Muslim kings to reconquer Goa from the clutches of the tyrannical Portuguese power[1]. this war was fought between the Portuguese and a coalition of rulers from the Deccan region for retaining Goa. The rulers involved in the coalition were Sultan Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur (1557-1579) and Nizam ul-Mulk of Ahmednagar along with the Zamorin of Calicut and the King of Achen (Malacca).

The Portuguese had warring relations with the Deccan kingdoms especially with the kingdoms of Bijapur and Ahmednagar. The Portuguese war with Adil Shah of Bijapur became a reason for war between them while conflict between the Portuguese and Ahmednagar arose in 1508 when the Nizam of Ahmednagar carried out a joint venture along with the king of Egypt and Gujarat to defeat the Portuguese who wanted to occupy Chaul. Even after being defeated by the coalition of these three kingdoms, the Portuguese returned to fight back and win over the territory of Chaul the following year. As a result of this, the Nizam had to pay a war indemnity of 30,000 cruzados and an annual subsidy of 10,000 cruzados. This was a blow of humiliation to the Nizam of Ahmednagar. Apart from this the Zamorin of Calicut, known as the greatest rival of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, was the foremost naval power on the Malabar coast. This traditional rivalry was a powerplay between the two. The Zamorin was supported by his strong naval commanders, the Marakkars. This great power struggle went on to turn into a thorough contest at sea which lasted for nearly a century. The King of Achen on the other hand was

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[1] K.M Mathew, *History of potuguese navigation in India 1497-1600*, (Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1988), 200.

infuriated with the defeat that he had to face in the war of 1569 in Malacca against the Portuguese and so he also joined the coalition for a common purpose.

The rulers who formed the coalition were very confident of defeating the Portuguese. They had even assigned the territories that they would acquire as war spoils after defeating the Portuguese. If they emerged victorious, Ali Adil Shah would get Goa, Honawar and Barcelor; the Nizam of Ahmednagar would acquire Chaul, Bassein and Daman whereas Zamorin of Calicut would get Mangalore, Cannanore, Chaliyam and Cochin.

The security of Goa under the Portuguese was strong, however, the viceroy felt that he needed to strengthen the navy and organize it well as the navy was the identity of the Portuguese maritime force in the Indian seas. He personally supervised the upgradation of the ships and artillery. He also made common visits to the Goa Shipyard which was located at Old Goa and also played a major role in strengthening the naval personnel. He ordered his men to make proper arrangements to defend the passes and all the passages of Goa. He personally surveyed the points that would contribute to the defense of Goa[1]. He also strengthened the naval fortifications in Goa. The naval forts are an important part of defense of any coastal kingdom. The forts of coastal Goa hold secrets to unraveling about the strategic organization of forts for defense and attacking tactics. This thought influenced the architecture of forts[2]. Artillery was supplied and stored in these forts. Not only this, but a fleet under the leadership of Francisco Mascarenhas was stationed in defense of these forts and area. Nearly fifty men were stationed at Reis Magos in Bardez and they were led by Balthazar Souza Lobo, the fort of Rachol was

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[1] Gonçalo Couceiro Feio, *O ensino e a aprendizagem militares em Portugal e no Império, de D. João III a D. Sebastião: a arte portuguesa da guerra.* (Lisbon: Universidade de Lisboa, 2013), 137

[2] Amita, Kanekar. *Portuguese Sea Forts: Goa, with Chaul, Korlai and Vasai.* Mumbai: Jaico Publishing House, 2015.

defended by Damiao desouza Falcao, Miguel de Castro was to guard the pass at Banastarim while Lawrence Carvalho was made incharge of guarding the mouth of the river with a few ships[3]. Similarly, Pedro de Castro and Diogo Barradas were station with around one hundred and twenty men and sixty men respectively at other passes. The Mandovi and Zuari rivers were patrolled throughout the day making. Apart from this, men were posted at Carambolim and Naroa and Joao Desouza was incharge of a group of cavalry and infantry who were to guard the south bar of the river[4]. This is what was planned for defense on land. As stated earlier, ships and fleets were used to guard forts and face an approaching enemy. They also used several gales, machuas and fustas to guard the river. Most of them were well equipped with heavy artillery, arms and ammunition. Their job also included patrolling the river and reporting anything is suspicious and rendering help if required. There was one strategy that they used to give the appearance that they were large in numbers as not many soldiers were left to defend the city[5]. They were guarding the passes and other territories. According to this strategy the Viceroy formed a unit of native slaves who were then posted by the walls of the city. This, from afar, gave the appearance of a strong garrison[6].

By the end of the year 1570, the Portuguese had around seven hundred men in Goa while the Muslims had several more. One of the reasons for less presence of Portuguese soldiers in Goa was because that the Nizam of Ahmednagar attacked Chaul in order to conquer it. While Chaul was being attacked by the Nizam's forces, the popular opinion amongst the members of the Council of Goa was to abandon Chaul and concentrate on retaining Goa. However, it was the Viceroy who decided to send

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[3] F.C. Danvers, *The Poprtuguese in India Vol 1*, (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1894), 552.

[4] Danvers, *The Poprtuguese in India,* 552

[5] Mathew, *History of Potuguese,* 201.

[6] Danvers, *The Poprtuguese in India,* 552.

immediate help to the Portuguese forces in Chaul. He sent Francisco de Mascarenhas to Chaul with four galleys, small vessels carrying reinforcements, vessels carrying provisions and small barques. The Muslim rulers realized that it was difficult to get supplies and provisions to their troops in Goa and therefore they devised a plan in which they used River Chapora to supply provisions to the Muslim armies in Goa[7]. When the Portuguese discovered movement of enemy ships in the river, the ships were caught and the cargo that it carried was burnt.

The Muslims troops under the command of General Nori Khan of the Bijapur Sultanate, came and stayed at Ponda[8]. They had set up their camp opposite to the pass of Banastarim. An once they were in target, they attacked the fort by furiously and continuously bombarding it from all the sides. The Portuguese knew that the protection of Banastarim will cost them a large army to manoeuvre through the difficult topographical situation. Even after facing such attacks, the Portuguese were able to defend themselves due to their knowledge of using advanced weaponry. They used their guns very effectively. It is quoted that *"the Portuguese guns appeared to do more harms to the enemy than what they received at their hands"*[9]. But, even after facing each other valiantly and ferociously, set backs of losing the lives of important men was felt on both sides.

An example of the havoc caused during this battle can be of the Portuguese who were killed on the feast day of Reis Magos, that is, on the 6th of January 1571. As a result of this many Muslim ships in the Goan rivers were set on fire. Antonio de Cabral was given the command of stopping any ships carrying provisions for the Muslim forces in

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[7] Saturnino Monteiro, Portuguese Sea Battles: From Brazil to Japan 1539 - 1579 Vol III, (Portugal: Saturnino Monteiro, 2011), 365.

[8] Danvers, *The Poprtuguese in India,* 552.

[9] Mathew, *History of Potuguese,* 202.

Goa. The Portuguese had two such encounters with the Muslim forces during this time. One at River Chapora and the other at Rachol. At River Chapora, there were a few fustas carrying supplies to the Muslim forces nearby when they were obstructed and attacked by the Portuguese. The Portuguese attack was led by Antonio de Cabral who then ordered to set fire to the fustas and also killed all those who rushed in to help them. On the other end, George de Menezes Barocha surrounded the enemy forces with five ships in the river and they also has two hundred men stationed on land at Rachol. The Portuguese slaughtered the Muslim forces on land and on the rivers. The Portuguese forces wreaked havoc on the Muslim forces. Apart from this, another fleet under the command of Diogo de Mendes and Luis Demelo who had played a major role in the conquest of Malacca and Malabar regions. The Portuguese Viceroy had ordered his men to not leave any passages or passes undefended. Seeing the havoc wreaked by the Portuguese in the Goan waters and on land against the Muslim forces in Goa, Adil Khan proposed peace but, the siege continued[10]. Another strategy used by the viceroy was that he had collected all information and details about the enemy and the enemy camp.

A battle ensued between both the forces and was fought for several hours. The Portuguese were winning the battle but the battle continued for a long time. Adil Khan had planned to continue the siege with a plan to weaken the Portuguese power. However, the viceroy had taken all measures to protect his territory destroy the Muslim forces. The Portuguese, armed with strong resistance and advantageous positions chosen by the Viceroy, effectively discouraged the aggressor.[11]

Adil Khan understood that this battle was a lost cause and that his side was losing the battle against the Portuguese. Therefore, he decided to withdraw from the battle and

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[10] Mathew, *History of Potuguese,* 202.

[11] Feio, *O ensino e a aprendizagem,* 140.

sign a peace treaty with the Portuguese. He had lost around "eight thousand men, four thousand horses, three hundred elephants, around six thousand oxen as well as majority of his heavy bombards were forced to be thrown into the rivers[12]". This peace treaty was signed between Viceroy Antonio de Noronha and Adil Khan of Bijapur on 17th December, 1571. This battle between the Portuguese and the coalition parties lasted for about ten months. According to K.M. Mathew, this battle fought by the Portuguese to defend their territory in Goa was "one of Viceroy Athiade's greatest defense strategies and also Goa's last great feat of arms in Portuguese India"[13].

This battle can be considered as one of the most strategic naval battles fought by the Portuguese in Goa. The Portuguese were compelled to use every resource at their disposal to fend off the attack. It is clear that even if the numbers are great, wars are won by strategies. The Portuguese used many strategies during this battle. The plan to attack two Portuguese held states at the same time was a great plan against the Portuguese. Battling the Portuguese at sea during the sixteenth century was definitely a very difficult task. The Portuguese, during this period were so strong that even if one of the fortresses was attacked then the reinforcements would reach there in no time, foiling all the plans made to weaken the Portuguese. Therefore, it was very ambitious and clever of them to charge against Goa, Chaul, Mangalore, Malacca, Chaliyam and Honavar and at the same time but, it was also very incongruous. This was a battle of strategies and numbers, the Portuguese had both, tactics to defend their territory and also reinforcements to help them fight the battle.

The impact of this battle was felt not only on sea but on land as well. Due to the war being fought between the Portuguese and the Muslim rulers, this resulted in increase

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[12] Saturnino Monteiro, *Portuguese Sea Battles: From Brazil to Japan 1539 - 1579 Vol III*, (Portugal: Saturnino Monteiro, 2011), 359.
[13] Mathew, *History of Potuguese,* 203.

of prices on goods and trade. Economic impact was felt by the people of the land. According to Jose Nicolau de Fonseca, "the prices of provisions had risen so high in consequence to the siege.[14]" during this time , almost little to no attention was paid to the health and hygiene of the people. A further grave and disastrous affect of such unhealthy conditions was that several epidemics broke out in the area. Cholera broke out in the 1570, during the siege, and not much could be done at this point as the doctors were tending to the wounded soldiers[15]. Also, during this time, the conditions of the Royal hospital also started deteriorating. This disease affected around nine hundred people out of which nearly one third of them were succumb to death.

Even though the Portuguese had emerged victorious in the battle, they had learnt their lesson. This was the same coalition that had defeated the mighty Vijayanagara empire just a few years prior to the attack on Chaul and Goa. The Portuguese too were at the brink of losing their territory by a landed force. In the words of Teotonio De Souza, the Portuguese "had narrowly escaped being pushed into the sea by the land force of the neighbouring princes[16]". The Portuguese tried to strengthen their hold on the sea with their naval system as the situation was slowly changing and the arrival of new naval forces posed a new threat to them.

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[14] Jose Niclau de Fonseca, *An Historical an Archaeological Sketch of the City of Go*a, (Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation, 1878), 149.

[15] Fatima Da Silva Gracias, *Health and Hygiene in Colonial Goa 1510 - 1961,* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Compay, 1994), 87.

[16] Teotonio R. De Souza, *Medeival Goa A Socio-Economic History,* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Compay, 1979), 27.
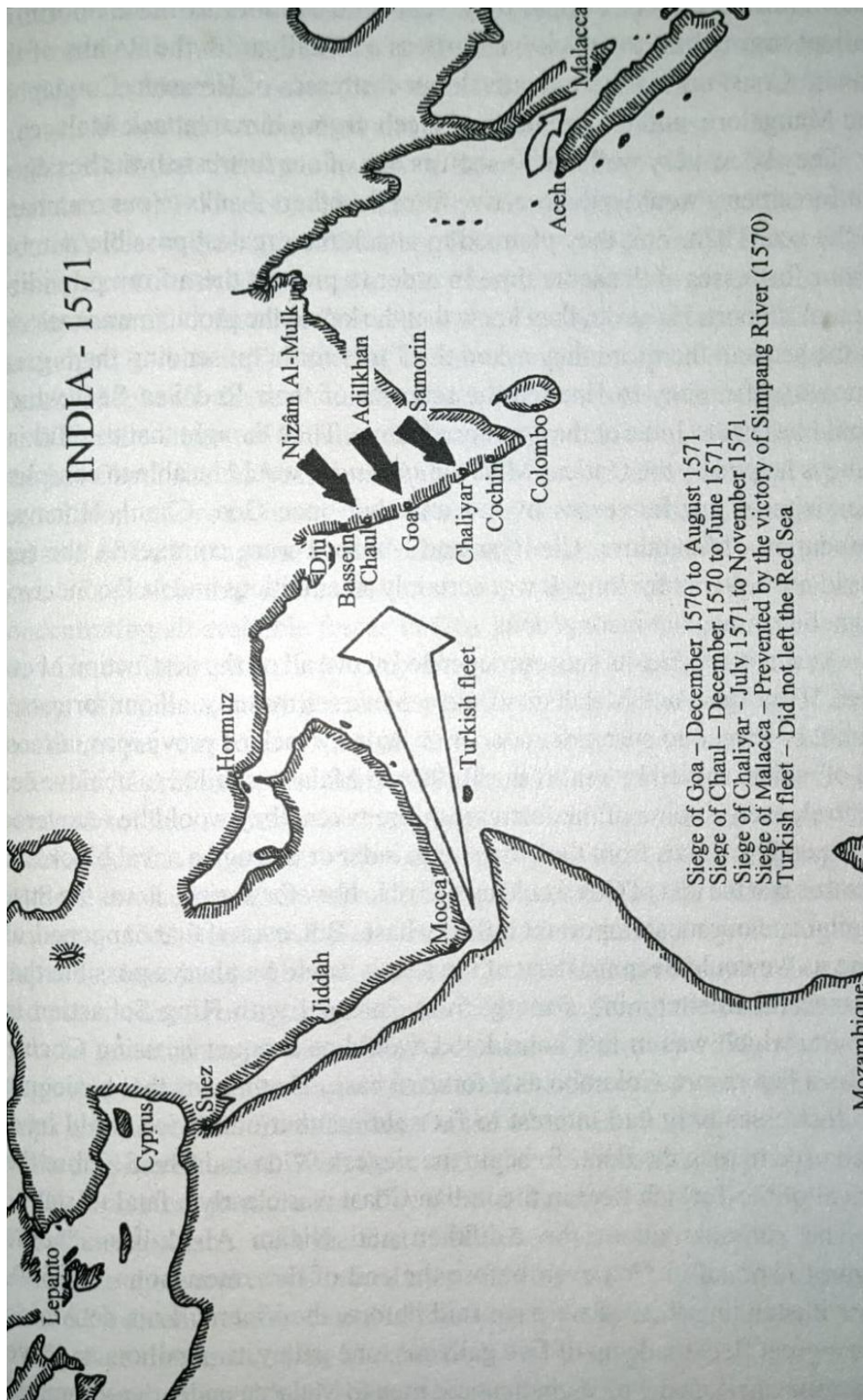
Fig 6.1 Map showing the Siege at various Portuguese territories in 1570-1571

Photo credit: Saturnino Monteiro

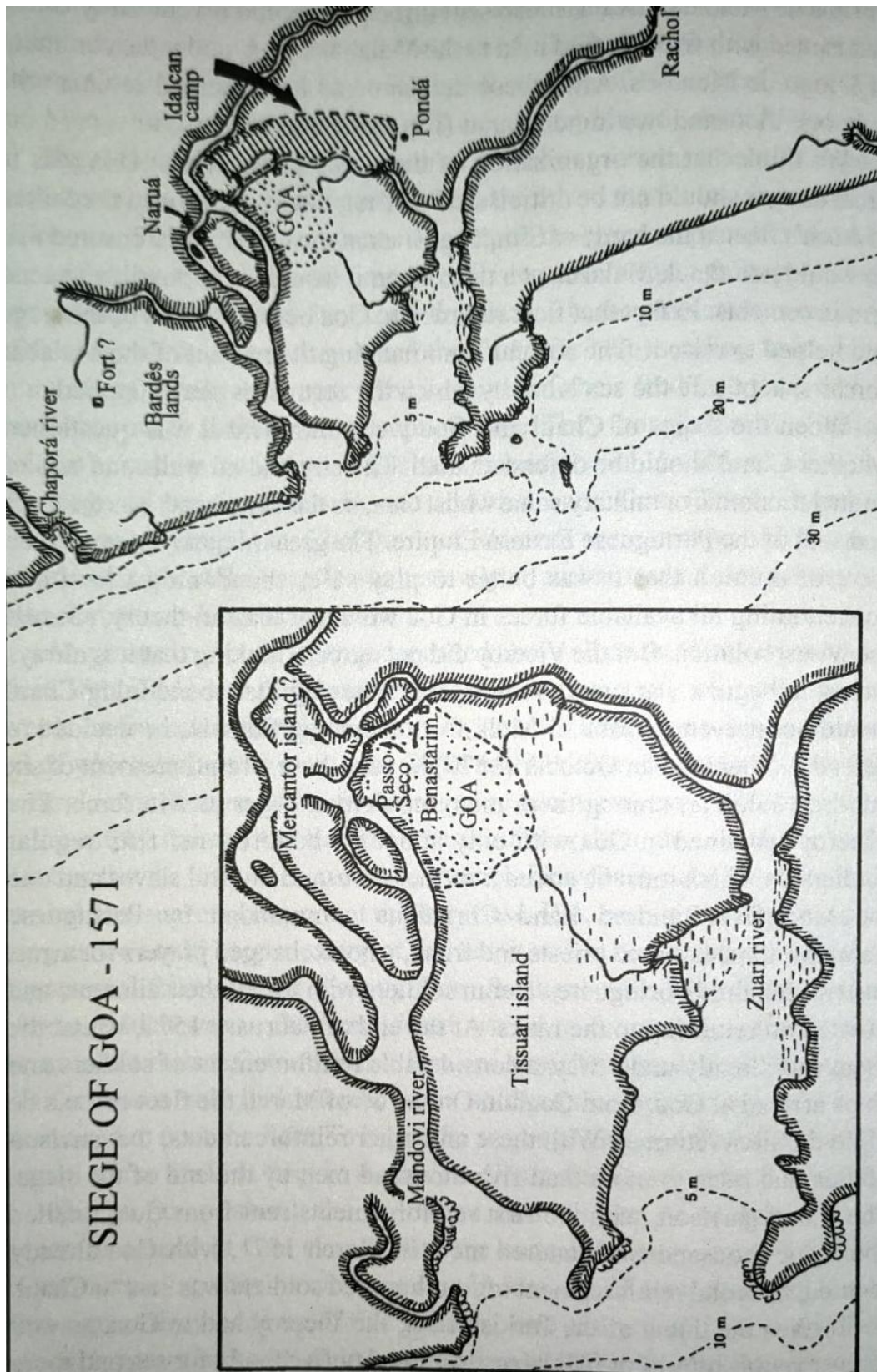Pic Courtesy: Portuguese Sea Battle Vol III, pg. 353.

Fig 6.2 Map showing the plan of attack for Siege on Goa in 1571

Photo credit: Saturnino Monteiro

Pic Courtesy: Portuguese Sea Battle Vol III, pg. 356.

CONCLUSIONS

The naval wars of Goa are rarely highlighted but they are just as important as the wars fought on land. Apart from the naval battle discussed above, there are a few other naval wars that were fought in the Goan waters. They are more or less as significant as the ones stated above. A few of them are listed and explained below.

In 1542, when monsoons began in Goa, the Portuguese received an intel that the Turks were preparing to attack Goa. As a result of this, the Governor Martim Afonso de Sousa ordered ships to be made ready and armed. He ordered his troops to patrol the Mandovi River so that they are prepared for any attack and not to be caught by surprise.

Naval battles on the Malabar coast in 1559, 1568 and 1569 may not have been fought in the Goan region but, Goan ships were deployed to help the Portuguese in fighting battles. Apart from this many Goan ships were used by the Portuguese to patrol along the west coast of India.

In 1573 and 1574 around two galleys and thirteen fustas from Goa set sail towards the North coast to seize Adil Khan's ship that were coming from the Red Sea region to Dabhol under the leadership of Fernao Teles. He even caught a Zamorin's ship that was returning from Mecca while patrolling the area. They got into a fight which ended with the Portuguese taking over and killing most of the members of the crew. He then returned to Goa along with the hijacked ship.

Again, in 1573, the Portuguese Viceroy Antonio de Noronha sent his ships with provisions and soldiers to the fortress at Ternate which was being attacked by Sultan Babu. Numerous other battles were fought by the Portuguese and the corsairs or pirates in the Arabian sea.

There are many such naval wars that have been fought in the Goan waters. Through this research it is understood that, naval wars do not only involve sheer strength in numbers but, it requires more of tactical decisions and planning. The case studies discussed in the above chapters happen to prove so.

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Appendix I

Chronology of the Viceroys of Goa[1]

NAME	TENURE
Afonso de Albuquerque	1510 - 1515
Lopes Soares de Albagaria	1515 - 1518
Duarte de Menezes I	1518 - 1521
Vasco de Gama	1521 - 1524
Henri de Menezes	1524 - 1525
Lopo Vas de Sampayo	1525 - 1526
Nuno de Cunha	1526 - 1529
Gracias de Noronha	1529 - 1538
Stephen de Gama	1538 - 1539
Alfonso Martin de Souza	1539 - 1542
John de Castro	1542 - 1545
Gracias de Sa	1545 - 1548
George Cabral	1548 - 1549

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[1] Jose Nicolau Da Fonseca. *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa.* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1986).

Afonso de Noronha	1549 - 1551
Peter de Mascarenhas	1551 - 1554
Francis de Barreto	1554 - 1555
Constantine de Braganza	1555 - 1558
Francis Coutinho	1558 - 1561
John de Mendos	1561 - 1563
Antonio de Noronha I	1563 - 1564
Lewis de Athiade	1564 - 1568
Antonio de Noronha II	1568 - 1571
Antonio Moris Barreto	1571 - 1573
Diego de Menezes	1573 - 1576
Lewis de Athiade	1576 - 1578
Ferdinand Telles	1578 - 1580
Francis de Mascarenhas	1580 - 1581
Duarte de Menezes II	1581 - 1584
Emanuel de Sousa Coutinho	1584 - 1588
Mathias de Albuquerque	1588 - 1590
Francis de Gama	1590 - 1567
Ayres de Saldanha	1567 - 1600