

“Goa in Country Trade: Study of Livro dos Cartazes”

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DECLARATION BY STUDENT

I hereby declare that the data presented in this Dissertation report entitled, “**Goa in Country Trade: Study of Livro dos Cartazes**” is based on the results of investigations carried out by me in the D. D. Kosambi School of Social Sciences and Behavioural Studies, at the Goa University under the Mentorship of Prof. Nagendra Rao and the same has not been submitted elsewhere for the award of a degree 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 internship report/work.

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This is to certify that the dissertation report “Goa in Country Trade: Study of Livro dos Cartazes” is a bonafide work carried out by Mr. Calburn Floyd Fernandes under my Mentorship in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Masters in the Discipline of History at the D.D. Kosambi School of Social Sciences and Behavioural Studies, Goa University.


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Preface

Goa is a famous entrepot in the Indian Ocean littoral region, and it is located halfway along India's west coast. It has always been so. Along with serving as hubs for global trade and a thriving coastal economy, its ports of Chandrapur, Gopakapattana, Ella, and the later Portuguese City of Goa, along with the current port of Mormugão, have seen numerous migrations, social interactions, and cultural transformations over the centuries.

Goa bears witness to the enduring legacy of cross-cultural exchange, economic dynamism, and strategic significance in the annals of maritime history. Tucked away on India's western coast, this thriving city-state became a crucial hub in the world trade network, bringing people from different cultures and far-off places together.

The motivation behind this study stems from a deep understanding of the crucial role that Goa plays in national trade, which is sometimes obscured by the city's more well-known maritime activities. Goa's participation in country trade offers a captivating story of resiliency, adaptability, and inventiveness, from its strategic location on the spice route to its cosmopolitan ethos shaped by centuries of interaction.

I sincerely hope that this research will advance knowledge of Goa's economic history, the intricacies of international trade, and the lasting influence of cross-cultural exchange on the course of national history as we set out on this voyage of exploration and discovery. I hope it will serve as a monument to the tenacity, variety, and inventiveness of the people who have made Goa their home as well as an encouragement to coming generations to carry on the search for knowledge and understanding in the interest of advancement.

The inspiration behind this study stems from a deep appreciation of how the *Livro dos Cartazes* shaped our perception of Goa's global position. This research aims to explore the contents, context, and implications of this archival gem for a deeper understanding of Goan history.

The goal of this research is to place the significance of the *Livro dos Cartazes* in the larger context of colonialism, globalization, and cross-cultural exchange. We can learn a great deal about the intricacies of colonial governance, economic exploitation, and cultural hybridity that characterized Goa's colonial experience by looking at its role in recording trade routes, commodities, and commercial regulations.

The research project originated from a deep-seated curiosity about Goa's role as a centre of international trade throughout history, as documented in the *Livro dos Cartazes*. Setting the scene, the chapter 1, Introduction: Goa's role in country trade and the importance of *Livro dos Cartazes*, describes the central role that the *Livro dos Cartazes* play in documenting commercial activities and places Goa's significance within the larger context of Indian Ocean trade.

The chapter 2, Understanding the Livro dos Cartazes: Exploring the purpose and content of the Livro dos Cartazes, which explores the structure, content, and underlying motivations of this archival resource. This section aims to clarify the rationale behind the Livro dos Cartazes compilation and its significance in comprehending Goa's economic history through a thorough analysis.

The research paper then examines the Livro dos Cartazes in relation to the subcontinent's colonial trade networks. The chapter 3, Colonial Trade Systems: Understanding the Livro dos Cartazes within the broader colonial trade systems, clarifies the commercial policies, legal frameworks, and power relationships that influenced the colonial-era trading environment in Goa.

The chapter 4, Trade Routes, and Networks: Examining the trade routes and networks connected to Goa and their impact on the Livro dos Cartazes, delves deeper into the workings of country trade by examining Goa's connections to both regional and international trade networks. This section reveals the crucial role that Goa plays as a nodal point in the Indian Ocean world by examining trade routes, maritime connections, and commercial linkages.

In the chapter 5, it is all about the function of traders and merchants in Goa's domestic trade and their relationships to the Livro dos Cartazes. Also, it explores the agency, tactics, and negotiations of merchants operating in the commercial environment of colonial Goa. It does this by looking into the role of merchants and traders in the country trade and their interactions with the Livro dos Cartazes.

My genuine hope is that this research paper will deepen our understanding of Goa's economic history, the intricacies of colonial commerce, and the lasting influence of the Livro dos Cartazes on our comprehension of early modern trade in the Indian subcontinent as we set out on this voyage of exploration and discovery.

Acknowledgement

The success and outcome of my project required assistance from many people, and I am grateful that I received it during my dissertation.

At the very outset, I'm very much Grateful to God for his strength and wisdom in every step I took to complete my research.

The completion of this research could not have been possible without my project guide, Prof. Nagendra Rao. I am deeply grateful to my guide for providing me with the necessary guidance to complete our study in this field and for his valuable time and concern devoted to me.

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Reference work for the present research has been undertaken at repositories of primary as well as secondary documentation in Goa notably, Central Library, Panaji; Xavier Centre of Historical Research, Porvorim; Goa University Library Directorate of Archives and Archaeology; I wish to thank the library staff of these institutions for their prompt and willing assistance.

I wish to acknowledge, with much appreciation and many thanks, the input that I have received from my classmates and friends. A very special thanks goes to Lester Dourado and Aaron Andrade for helping me to translate the Portuguese Document accordingly.

I cannot conclude my acknowledgements without penning a big thank you to my mother and brothers for their encouraging words and unstinted support.

Glossary

Alfandega: customs house.

Armada: naval force.

Ashrafis: Gold/silver coins, circulated between Arabia and China till the twentieth century.

Brigadeiro: great Brazilian dessert like bonbons that's extremely scrumptious and delicious.

Cáfila: It literally means the caravan, or a group of people, merchants or ships travelling together from one place to another or from one port to another.

Carreira: the round-trip of the Portuguese Indiamen.

Cartaz: A license or passport, issued by the Portuguese authorities for a non-Portuguese ship or ships to travel in the Indian Ocean.

Casa da India: Indian House at Lisbon.

Conselho da Fazenda: Royal Treasury Council at Goa.

Conselho do Estado: The Council of State/State Council. The body that used to decide all the administrative and commercial matters. It was this body that also used to take political and diplomatic decisions of the Portuguese Estado da India.

Cruzado: A Portuguese gold and silver coin which had been minted in the Portuguese mint-houses in Asia for the purchase of Asian goods. It was a Portuguese coin. For its counter value in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries

Estado da India: Portuguese colonial dominance in Asia and Eastern Africa is commonly known as the Estado da India, which denominated an area from Mozambique in the South-east African coast till Macao in China. Mozambique became a separate governorship in the eighteenth century and Macau in 1864.

Feitor: factor, a person in charge of a trading station or agency in an Asian port.

Foral: local government charter or custom with the force of law

Juiz do peso: Judge of Weight

Mare Clausum: Closed Sea.

Mare Liberum: Free Sea.

Passos: walkway

Transoceanic: crosses or extends across an ocean

Xerafin: a silver coin that was the currency of Portuguese India before the 19th century, worth 300–360 reis.

Abstract

This study explores the Livro dos Cartazes' complex significance in comprehending Goa in a larger historical context. The study intends to shed light on the economic, social, and cultural aspects of Goa's colonial past and its ongoing legacy in the present through a thorough examination of this archival treasure.

An important historical document, the Livro dos Cartazes provides important insights into the complexities of Goa's maritime trade, legal systems, and cross-cultural interactions during the colonial era. This research reveals the dynamic interplay of trade networks, power dynamics, and cultural hybridity that shaped Goa's position as a hub of maritime trade in the Indian Ocean region by examining its contents, annotations, and marginalia.

Moreover, the research places the significance of the Livro dos Cartazes in the larger context of colonialism, globalization, and cross-cultural exchange. We learn more about the intricate web of economic exploitation, cultural entanglements, and colonial governance that characterized Goa's colonial experience by conducting a comparative study of the trade routes, commodities, and commercial regulations recorded in the Livro.

In the end, this study adds to a more sophisticated comprehension of the historical significance of Goa and its ongoing influence on modern discourse. By bringing the Livro dos Cartazes into focus, we not only shed light on the past but also clear the path for a future that is more inclusive and equitable and is based on understanding, knowledge, and reconciliation.

Key words: Cartaz, Maritime trade, Colonialism, Indian ocean, Globalization, Network.

Chapter 1: - Introduction: historical background and its trade and commerce and Portuguese colonization.

Introduction

Goa has become a significant trading hub because of its geographic location; Gopakapatnam, Chandrapur, Ela, and Ballipatnam are some of its significant ports. Goa was a constant flashpoint for conflict between rival powers because of its thriving trade. Arrival of Portuguese in India was a huge turning point in the discovery of sea route which changed the course of History¹. In the Indian Ocean, the Portuguese were leaders in the areas of trading transformation, maritime sovereignty, dominance over spices, and the Cartaz system. The Portuguese navigators started this new sequence of events by creating a direct sea route to India and putting in place a new system of control over the movements of merchant shipping using Cartazes².

Voyage to Goa: Pyrard de Laval Testimony

According to Pyrard de Laval, the river that surrounded Goa and created other adjacent islands was responsible for its formation³. Pyrard de Laval claimed that the river was not very deep and that the large Portuguese ocean-going ships had to anchor at the river's mouth, or the bar, upon their arrival. There were two forts: one at the north end of Aguada and one at the south end of Cabo, both on either side of the river.

To successfully navigate around the Cape of Good Hope, Pyrard de Laval claims that the ships sailed from the coast of Lisbon to Goa by the end of February or at the very least, early March. He mentions the Dutch occupation of Goa. In 1599, two ships carrying Dutch settlers made landfall in India for the first time.

The piracy in Indian waters is mentioned by Pyrard de Laval. In Western, piracy was rampant. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in the waters of Gujarat and Malabar. The Gulf of Persian Gulf was also at risk. The Lisbon ships were constantly under observation by the Malabar pirates. The Jesuit priest's observation that "the voyage from Goa to Cochin was more

¹Celsa, Pinto, *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India*, (New Delhi: Concept Publishing company, 1994), 43.

² K.M. Mathew, *History of the Portuguese Navigation in India, 1497-1600*, (Goa-Daman and Diu: Mittal Publications, 1988),15.

³François Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard de Laval*, trans. Albert Gray, H. C. P. Bell, ` (London: The Hakluyt Society,1887) 28.

dangerous than that to Portugal is reiterated by Pyrard de Laval. The Portuguese wanted Indian rulers to accord protection to their trading vessels against attacks by pirates. War and commercial links were the two means adopted by the Portuguese to establish their rule in India. Pyrard de Laval says that the Portuguese had signed treaties of peace and friendship with most of the kings of India, calling them *irmanos et armes*, or brothers-in-arms⁴. Pyrard de Laval states that the Portuguese warranted the native kings to guard all the seas against the threats from corsairs, pirates and against all enemies who might appear in those ports⁵. Under these treaties, the Indian rulers and merchants were prohibited from carrying out trade in certain commodities like teakwood, slaves, arms and ammunition, pepper, and other species. For more details about the Portuguese treaties with the native rulers refer to Biker.

The Portuguese instituted the *cartazes* system to uphold their dominance in the sea. At certain places, Portuguese captains sued native vessel operators for sailing permits, or *cartaz*. The name of the local merchant, the boat's tonnage, the number of crew members, the cargo, and the destination were all listed on the *cartaz*, or sailing permit. Numerous indigenous leaders and traders disregarded the Portuguese assertion of control over the eastern trade routes. Following an attack on Portuguese vessels, the Portuguese had to come up with a new system to regulate trade: the *cafila*. Ten Portuguese ships kept watch over the *cafila*, which was made up of local merchant ships arranged in convoys and sailing to Goa. Every year, Kanara to Goa received three or four food convoys. According to Pyrard de Laval, from Cambay and Surat, two or three *cafilas* would sail to Goa⁶. Each year, the war galiots escorted these *cafilas*. To receive the *cartaz* and pay customs duties, all ships were required to halt in Goa.

The principal Portuguese trading port in the East was Goa. A diverse range of ethnicities from the Orient, spanning from the Cape of Good Hope to China and Japan, contributed their goods to Goa. As directed by the Royal, various kinds of goods were loaded and unloaded. Even the Spaniards were not permitted by the King to sail and trade to the east, according to Pyrard de Laval. The death penalty applied to anyone who violated this order. Portuguese ships departed from Goa and traveled to Macau, Japan, Malacca, Bengal, Ceylon, Pegu, and the whole

⁴ François Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard de Laval*, trans. Albert Gray, H. C. P. Bell, ` (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1887), 208.

⁵ François Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard de Laval*, trans. Albert Gray, H. C. P. Bell, ` (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1887), 205.

⁶ M.N. Pearson, *Coastal Western India*, (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1981), 77.

Malabar coast. From there, they traveled to Bassein, Daman, Chaul, Dabul, Cambay, Surat, Diu, and Mocambique⁷.

Studying this topic would make it easier to comprehend the Portuguese-controlled Indian coastal trading system of Cartazes. The research demonstrates that there was extensive trade between Portuguese colonizers and India. It will be easier to comprehend the many trade routes and connections made during the colonial era by examining the Livro dos Cartazes. Information from the 17th and 18th centuries, when traders were given a lot of Cartazes, will also be immensely helpful for this research. A deeper understanding of the study will be achieved by gathering archival materials, photographs, maps, and secondary sources. The study will be guided by the various sources that provide valuable information about Indo-Portuguese trade, including information about trading practices, trading communities, shipping, trade objects, navigation, ports, and trade volume. These sources also enable the reconstruction of broad commercial patterns. The aim of this study is to highlight the significance of the Livro dos Cartazes in understanding the country trade in Goa. Also, I will assess the archival sources and primary documents related to the Livro dos Cartazes to uncover new insights and perspectives.

1.1 Identification of research problem

What is the importance of researching the trade connections between Portuguese Goa and India using the Cartaz System?

1.2 Hypothesis

Politically and economically, Portuguese manipulated Cartazes in country trade.

Research Question: 1. Can we say that Portuguese colonizers were the only colonizers to have manipulated the Indian ocean with the help of Cartazes?

2. Is it necessary to understand the importance of Portuguese Cartaz system in country trade?

3. Why Cartaz system flourished during the period of Portuguese rule?

4. Why Cartaz system failed?

⁷ François Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard de Laval*, trans. Albert Gray, H. C. P. Bell, ` (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1887), 212.

1.3 Research objectives

1. To trace the historical background of Cartaz system in country trade.
2. Examining the Livro dos Cartazes to understand the trade routes, ports, and patterns in Goa during the colonial era.
3. Analyzing the types of goods traded and their significance in the economic development of Goa.
4. Investigating the role of Livro dos Cartazes in regulating trade and maintaining commercial stability.
5. Assessing the influence of Livro dos Cartazes on the relationship between Goa and other trading regions.
6. Exploring the significance of the Livro dos Cartazes in shaping Goa's position in the country's trade network.

1.4 Literature review

1. ***The Livro dos Cartazes:*** A study of a Portuguese document on Cartazes. It is a book of passports, and it contains valuable data pertaining to Indo-Portuguese made specifically to trading methods, trading communities, shipping, objects of trade, navigation, ports, and the volume of trade, permitting a reconstruction of broad commercial patterns. This document will be useful in understanding the Portuguese control over sea trade.
2. ***Goa-Kanara Portuguese relations 1498-1763 by B.S. Shastry.*** This book presents a Goa-Kanara Portuguese Relations in a year 1498- 1763. This work deals with the Portuguese arrival in India and later at Kanara; their attempts to take over Bhatkal; their fortresses on the Kanara Coast and their relationships with the Nayakas of Ikkeri from 1499-1763. There are references to Christianity and to trade and commerce in Kanara for the same period.
3. ***History of Portuguese Navigation in India by K.M. Mathew:*** This book contains the discovery of the sea-route, and the arrival of Vasco-da-Gama at Kappat near Calicut in May 1498 was one of the greatest events for a small but enterprising nation. It opened what Sardar Pannikar called 'the Vasco-da-Gama epoch' of Asian history. Gama's feat of navigation with hostile crew and sailing at the mercy of winds and storms, was the climax of a century of navigation and exploration masterminded by Prince Henry the Navigator, one of the greatest seafarers in history. The Portuguese were the first to have understood the concept of sea power and evolved a naval strategy for the effective control of the sea. The mastery of the Indian sea passed on to them when they won a victory over the Zamorin

of Calicut at the battle of Cochin in 1504. Since then, they dominated the sea, considered it as their own and denied free navigation to others by their own concept of the sovereignty of the sea. However, their hold on the mainland was confined to small coastal areas within the range of the guns of their ships and fortresses. Viewed from this angle, there is a peculiar interest to the story of Portuguese navigation in India.

4. ***The Portugal Trade by H.E.S. Fisher.*** This book is based on the study of Anglo Portuguese commerce during 1700-1770. Historians have long considered the ways in which the expansion of English trade beyond Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries contributed to the growth of English overseas trade, and to the coming of the Industrial Revolution. This study, however based on a wide range of primary sources in England and Portugal, analyses the impressive growth of English trade with Portugal to 1760 and its subsequent decline in the 1760s.
5. ***Goa: Trade and Commerce through the ages (Seminar Papers) edited by S.K. Mhamai:*** This book is a collection of 13 seminar papers presented by eminent scholars. It deals with diverse types of trade and commerce carried out in Goa from ancient times to the modern period.
6. ***Indo-Portuguese trade in seventeenth century by Afzal Ahmed:*** This book examines in detail the spices trade, international rivalries between Portugal, Dutch and English, The Portuguese relations with the Indian states along with Portuguese exports and imports, with Goa on the western coast of India as its headquarters for the whole Portuguese empire in the east. This work brings out this interesting transformation of the traders and the commercial agents, into empire builders. The role of Cartazes and its significance has been put in proper perspective.
7. ***Trade and Finance in Portuguese India by Celsa Pinto.*** This book investigates the study of Portuguese country trade during 1770-1840. This work marks a sharp departure from the predominant Eurocentric emphasis in Indo- Portuguese studies, on the sixteenth century Portuguese trade in the Carreira da India. Such an approach unjustly dismisses the subsequent centuries as periods of no commercial consequence to the Estado da India and Portugal and relegates to an un- important level the significance of the privately-operated intra-Asian trade. The evidence gathered and the argument of this book challenges such prevailing stereo- types. Based on a wide range of archival sources in India, Portugal and England, this study unravels the existence of a thriving native-operated country trade, in

“the splendid” and “the trifling” that emanated from Portuguese India in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It not only took advantage of the vulnerability displayed and the animation efforts undertaken by the Estado da India and the metropolis but also learned to function through “crevices” under the growing British hegemony.

8. ***Goa, Images and Perception by Celsa Pinto:*** This book tells the account of Goan History. It gives contribution towards Indo-Portuguese history. Based on original research conducted in the archives of India and Portugal, this collection of ten essays provides glimpses of the society, polity, and economy of Goa in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a period of study that has received scant respect and treatment by many an Indo-Portuguese historian.
9. ***Goa: Its Tryst with Trade by Pratima Kamat:*** This book elaborates upon Goa, located on India's west coast, has been a renowned port for centuries, which serves as an international trade hub and attracting migrations. Its ancient port-capitals, Chandrapur, Gopakapattana, and Ella, had given a commercial relation with various cultures. The first century of Portuguese rule was characterized by its 'golden' port, leading to a rich urban look and aristocratic lifestyle. Despite earning the nickname 'Golden Goa!', Goa neglected the development of the hinterland. All things considered, "Goa: Its Tryst with Trade" is probably going to give readers a complex and perceptive look into the cultural, historical, and economic aspects of trade in Goa. It is anticipated that Kamat's research will clarify the lasting impact of Goa's trading history and its relevance within the larger framework of Indian Ocean trade.

1.5 Research design and methodology

To analyze Goa in the country trade: The study of Livro dos Cartazes, primary and secondary sources will be utilized.

Primary Sources

Archival research documents: Begin by collecting primary sources such as the original Livro dos Cartazes document and historical records pertaining to Goa's trade history.

Fieldwork: Most of the photographs can be used as evidence to investigate the study.

Maps and Charts: This primary source can also be relevant for this study.

Secondary Sources

- Books, e-books, journal articles, research papers, newspaper articles, websites, can be consulted, to carry out an in-depth study on the research.
- Documentaries: References can also made to documentaries that were released by academic institutions and on reputable government websites.

1.6 Scheme of chapters

Chapter 1- Introduction: Historical Background and its trade and commerce and Portuguese colonization.

Chapter 2- Understanding Goa in country trade and the importance of the Livro dos Cartazes.

Exploring the purpose, its importance and content of the Livro dos Cartazes.

Chapter 3- Colonial Trade Systems: Understanding the Livro dos Cartazes within the broader colonial trade systems.

Chapter 4- Trade Routes and Networks: Examining the trade routes and networks connected to Goa and their impact on the Livro dos Cartazes.

Chapter 5- Merchants and Traders: Investigating the role of merchants and traders in the country trade and their interactions with the Livro dos Cartazes.

Chapter 6- Conclusion.

1.7 Relevance of the study

The Goa in Country Trade study and the Livro dos Cartazes can highlight the historical, economic, cultural, and political aspects of Goa's participation in country trade. We can also discover the significance of the Livro dos Cartazes, its impact on local industries and markets, and its role in promoting cultural exchange. Furthermore, by conducting additional research into the trade routes, networks, and technological advancements associated with Goa's trade history. However, the study under the Livro dos Cartazes, which can shape social and cultural dynamics, as well as efforts to preserve and study these historical documents, are relevant.

Chapter 2 – Understanding Goa in country trade and the importance of the Livro dos Cartazes; exploring the purpose, its importance and content of the Livro dos Cartazes.

2.1 Importance of Goa in country trade.

Geography of Goa

Goa was an important player in the maritime industry. According to historical and archaeological evidence, most ports and trade hubs—both hinterland and coastal—were located near the river's tributaries and estuaries¹. Situated on riverbanks, the ports of Goa, including Chandor, Gopakapatana, and Ella, maintained trade relations with ports across the globe and India²

Goa was suitable for trade and commerce. It had a warm humid climate with natural resources flora and fauna. Goa was the natural harbour for trade³. Due to its strategic location Goa became rich in trade. Thus, it helped ancient Ports Chandrapur, Gopakapatna and Ella to flourish on their own. The riverine has played a crucial role in shaping the history of Goa. All the ancient ports were great on the Zauri and Mandovi rivers that had been thrived and flourished⁴. Due to trade prosperity Goa was always the cause of Disagreement between different powers. The root cause is that it flourished due to its geographical entity. Environment and Climate has influenced Goa's trade in many ways. During the Pre-Portuguese era, the discovery of monsoon winds was a revolutionary development. It altered the nature of transoceanic trade and allowed the Roman Empire to enter India. It has been demonstrated that the Asian monsoon is an exceptional instance of wind energy flow originating from a multifaceted worldwide air flow pattern⁵. Because the monsoon arrived on a regular basis, traders were able to set prices, assign agents to port cities, adhere to loading schedules, and force the Portuguese to construct forts in

¹Nandkumar Kamat, "Two Millennia of Goa's Trade and Commerce: Some Interesting Observations of Interdisciplinary Importance", *Goa: Trade and Commerce (seminar papers)*, Ed. S.K, Mhamai (Panaji-Goa: Directorate of Archives and Archaeology, 2020),12.

² Tripathi, S., Mascarenhas, A., and Mani Murali, R., "Why were historical period ports of Goa located away from the coast?", *The decline of Gopakapatana, INCHOE*, (2014): 353, doi: 301522743.

³ Pratima Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, (Panaji: Goa chamber of commerce and industry, 2009), 6.

⁴ Teotonio R. de Souza, *Goa Through the ages vol II*, (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1990), 134.

⁵ Nandkumar Kamat, "Two Millennia of Goa's Trade and Commerce: Some Interesting Observations of Interdisciplinary Importance", *Goa: Trade and Commerce (seminar papers)*, Ed. S.K, Mhamai (Panaji-Goa: Directorate of Archives and Archaeology, 2020),14.

strategically important locations for trade. Due to its reliance on the monsoon, cities like Old-Goa, which have a diverse population that includes important Indian Ocean seafaring communities, have grown⁶. Cities like Chandrapur in Goa during the Satavahana and Bhoja periods, Gopaka or Gopakapattana during the Kadamba period, and Old Goa during the Adilshahi and Portuguese periods were all made possible by the monsoon-based transoceanic⁷ trade.

Arabian sea

Goa was an important entry point to the Arabian Sea and other regions due to its location on India's western coast⁸. In the early years of the new millennium, an intensely active and interacting maritime zone was formed by the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea, which both lap the shores of Goa. One of the three great oceans that connects approximately one-third of the world's population, who live in at least thirty-seven countries, is the Indian Ocean, which makes up one-fifth of the world's total maritime surface. Transoceanic seafarers were compelled by the monsoon dynamics to pause their voyage at ports along their trade route, which quickly turned into centers of intense cross-cultural exchange and even racial blending. Therefore, it has been said that the Indian Ocean is "the vehicle of most varied human contacts, with very rich consequences⁹.

Indian Ocean

Indian ocean is also helping significantly to rise Goa in country trade and giving importance to the Livro dos Cartazes. Since ancient times, the Indian Ocean has served as a center for trade and cultural exchange. It covers 27% of the maritime space of the world. Indian Ocean is by far the oldest sea in history, in terms of it being used and traversed by humans.¹⁰ Indian Ocean area has been central in global history. Now the Indian Ocean is fashionably described as 'the world's oldest oceanic world,' the 'newest Old World,' the 'cradle of globalization,' and the 'first global economy.' Additionally, it became a new way of life to merchants and traders

⁶ K.M. Mathew, *History of the Portuguese Navigation in India, 1497-1600*, (Goa-Daman and Diu: Mittal Publications, 1988), 34.

⁷ M.N. Pearson, *Coastal Western India*, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1981, 23.

⁸ Pratima Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, (Panaji: Goa chamber of commerce and industry, 2009), 63.

⁹ Ranabir Chakravarti, "Nakhudas and Nauvittakas: Ship-owning Merchants in the West Coast of India (c. A.D. 1000-1500)", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 43, no. 1 (2000): 36. doi: 3632772.

¹⁰ M. N. Pearson, *The Indian Ocean*, London: Routledge, 2003), 23.

during the 16th and 17th century to rise above. Indian ocean trade also influenced the exchange of cultures, religion, and people¹¹.

In pursuit of wealth, Indians had traveled across the Indian Ocean as far as Alexandria. They established a colony on the island of Socotra (Sukhadara) in the third century B.C., which functioned as a base for their trade with Arabia and Persia." Under Mauryan rule, trade with West Asia experienced a surge in activity¹².

The Indian Ocean is becoming increasingly recognized as a "global economy" in recent years. Commentators have noted that it served as "a wide trading zone, unifying the Asian economies" and as "a frontier," where "the fishing/trading economies of the coast intersected with the pastoral/agricultural economies of the interior." The extensive network of ports in the Indian Ocean functioned as nodal points linking the coastal belt and the agricultural hinterland. They also served as échelles, or steps, connecting one trading route to another, facilitating the redistribution of goods via reshipping, or loading them onto caravans for further distribution into the interior¹³.

From the beginning of time, Western India has participated actively in the Indian Ocean maritime trade. Played a dominant part in promoting trade and commerce with the Graeco-Roman world in the early centuries of the Christian era were its ports and towns, both the riverine and those that dotted its long, uninterrupted coastline. This commercial expansion was greatly aided by the political and cultural unity that the Satavahanas, the Shakas, and the Kushanas provided. Important hints about the commercial expansion that the ports of western India experienced from the first century B.C. to the fourth century A.D. are found in the Puranic and Buddhist literature, archaeological, sculptural, numismatic, and epigraphic evidence, as well as testimonies of foreign travelers. This expansion was primarily due to the thriving trade with the ports of the Mediterranean, Greece and Rome, and the coast of Egypt and Arabia¹⁴.

Geographically, the Indian subcontinent takes center stage in this maritime area, and Goa, which is located halfway along the country's west coast, has long been known for being a renowned entrepot in the littoral Indian Ocean. Goa was a stop on numerous ancient Indian

¹¹ M. N. Pearson, *The Indian Ocean*. London: Routledge, 2003), 24.

¹² Pratima Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, (Panaji: Goa chamber of commerce and industry, 2009), 64.

¹³ Kirti N. Chaudhuri, "The Portuguese Maritime Empire, Trade, and Society in the Indian Ocean During the Sixteenth Century." *Portuguese Studies* 8 (1992): 58, doi: 41105726.

¹⁴ C. Margabandhu, "Trade Contacts between Western India and the Graeco-Roman World in the Early Centuries of the Christian Era", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 8, No. 3, (1965): 316-317, doi: 3596384.

trade routes. Although it was connected to Tanjavur and Nagapattanam, a different route connected Goa with Surat to the south, passing through Daman, Bassein, Chaul, Dabhol, Rajapur, and Vengurla¹⁵.

The goods traded across the Indian Ocean included metals, wood, textiles, aromatics, medications, dyes, and spices, food items, as well as plants and animal products. The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (*Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*) tells us that Egypt traded cotton cloth, copper, teakwood, beams, and logs of sissoo and ebony with West Coast India for perishable goods like ghee, rice, sesame oil, cane sugar, grain, and saplings¹⁶.

For a century (1500–1600), the Portuguese had exclusive rights to European exploration and trade in the Indian Ocean. Spice trade was monopolized by the Portuguese, who controlled the flow of spices through their Goa ports. Additionally, they created a network of trade in the area, sending goods to Europe and other continents, including textiles and spices. Therefore, the *Livro dos Cartazes* gives a specific position to play an important role in Goa's country trade.

Ports of Goa

Goa's three important ports Chandrapur, Gopakapatna and Ella gave importance to country trade. The ancient ports of Goa were close to riverbanks and served its purpose in maritime trade. Chandrapur (Chandor) served as important port during Early History of Goa. Gopakapattana was significant to the west coast of India's maritime history. And Ella (Old Goa) is equally responsible to make Goa rich in Trade. In this way, Goa indirectly broaden up their space into trade. They made lot of arrangements in imports and exports from these ports. It is rightly pointed out that it was a great place for trade. It has a good port to which flock many ships from Mekkah, Aden, Hormuz, Cambay, Malabar Country. The town was very large with good edifice handsome streets surrounded by walls and towers. Tome Pires writing in the year 1511 also describes the greatness of Goa. He points out that Goa was a great centre of Trade where the inland trade from the different states from the interior, conducted through long cattle caravans, met the Sea Trade, run through many Naos which sail to many parts and the Naos of Goa were esteemed and favoured in all parts¹⁷. It also invited different countries to trade on these ports. During the 17th century Goa got flourish in trade. In the Indian Ocean, Goa became the metropolis of the 'Estado da India', the seat of the functioning of the Cartazes System of the

¹⁵ Moti Chandra, *Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India*, (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1977), 24.

¹⁶ Pratima Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, (Panaji: Goa chamber of commerce and industry, 2009), 66.

¹⁷ Agnelo P. Fernandes, "Goa's Role in the International Trade in 16th and 17th Centuries," *Indian History Congress*, Vol. 48 (1987): 284, doi: 44141690.

Portuguese and their soul of their many Trade voyages¹⁸. Goa became rich due to trade. Therefore, Ports of Goa opened their way towards country trade and the Livro dos Cartazes counting on this Goa's Ports.

For centuries, India acted as the hub of the Indian Ocean trade. The most significant commercial centers were Muslim-controlled Cambay of Gujarat in the northwest corner of the peninsula, and Hindu-controlled Calicut (Kozhikode), Cannanore, Cochin, Quilon, and Muslim Goa along the southwest Malabar Coast. Gujarati sailors were challenging Arab traders as the leading traders across the Indian Ocean by the end of the 15th century. Calicut was the world's top source of pepper and by far the most important trading center of India. For many years, all Indian Ocean traders from Aden, Ormuz, Malacca, and China used it as their main port of call. It gained notoriety for producing what European traders referred to as "calico" cloth, which gave it its English name. The sailors who eventually became the most extensively travelled people in the world were from Cambay in Gujarat¹⁹. As 16th-century chronicler Tome Pires observed that there is no doubt that these people have the cream of the trade. They are men who understand merchandise; they are so properly steeped in the sound and harmony of it, that the Gujaratis say that any offence connected with merchandise is pardonable. There are Gujaratis settled everywhere. They work some for some and others for others. They are diligent, quick men in trade. They do their accounts with figures like ours and with our very writing. They are men who do not give away anything that belongs to them, nor do they want anything that belongs to anyone else; wherefore they have been esteemed in Cambay up to the present²⁰.

Cambay chiefly stretches out two arms, with her right arm she reaches out towards Aden and with the other towards Malacca, as the most important places to sail to. They sail many ships to all parts, to Aden, Ormuz, the kingdom of the Deccan, Goa, Bhatkal, all over Malabar, Ceylon, Bengal, Pegu, Siam, Pedir, Pase (Paefe) and Malacca, where they take quantities of merchandise, bringing other kinds back, thus making Cambay rich and important²¹. Indian ocean has lot of influence towards trade connections and networks and therefore Goa plays as

¹⁸ Agnelo P. Fernandes, "Goa's Role in the International Trade in 16th and 17th Centuries," *Indian History Congress*, Vol. 48 (1987): 284, doi: 44141690.

¹⁹ Agnelo P. Fernandes, "Goa's Role in the International Trade in 16th and 17th Centuries," *Indian History Congress*, Vol. 48 (1987): 285, doi: 44141690.

²⁰ Jaime Cortesão, *The Portuguese Overseas Expansion, 1400-1800*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 39.

²¹ Jaime Cortesão, *The Portuguese Overseas Expansion, 1400-1800*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 42.

a natural hub due to its geographical location and has trade connections with Indian Ocean which eventually gives importance to the Livro dos Cartazes.

Arabs were great traders and greatest explorers and mariners. Vasco da Gama was guided by an Arab Ibn Majid. Indian Ocean trading network were under mostly Muslim control. Before the arrival of Portuguese, moors were visionary and architect of the Indian ocean. They controlled the sea before Portuguese. The Cartazes System was a type of revenue system evolved by the Portuguese to run their newly founded Oceanic Empire. It forced all the indigenous powers to seek the permission of the Portuguese if they wished to travel in the Indian Ocean. It was so devised that it not only upheld Portuguese sovereignty over the seas but also that all the goods that were transported across the sea could be taxed at the Portuguese Alfandegas (custom houses). In the 1820s and 1830s, the Portuguese Government in Goa derived considerable income from opium trade²². The objective of their activities in Indian ocean and the Arabian sea was mainly commercial and spreading Christianity²³.

The Portuguese presence in the Indian Ocean was primarily one²⁴. The Portuguese envisaged a political vacuum in the Indian Ocean region and in their haste to establish supremacy²⁵. The Portuguese exploration route to India and their subsequent presence throughout the maritime world created significant news value and had a significant impact on everyday life as well as the mental dimensions of Asian civilizations. The Portuguese quickly established their commercial hegemony over the trading world of Asia, including the Indian seas, particularly in the Western part, thanks to their superior ships equipped with cannons. As a result, the Arabs' proportion of Indian trade was reduced, but they continued to exist in the Eastern region, particularly in Malacca where they coexisted with Indian traders.

In 1510, the Portuguese captured Goa, which they used as their headquarters. In 1511, they also captured Malacca. 1515 for Hormuz, and 1534 and 1537 for Bassein and Diu, respectively. Under their sponsorship, Goa quickly became a significant import and export hub. The Portuguese were acutely aware of Goa's strategic importance, which they believed was necessary to preserve their dominance over India. However, other ports in Western India

²² Shyam Bhat, N. "Trade in Portuguese Goa: The Nineteenth Century Scenario." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 61 (2000): 866, doi: 44148160.

²³ Afzal Ahmad, "Goa Based Portuguese Export Trade in the Early 17th Century (1611-1626)." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 41 (1980): 349, doi: 44141857.

²⁴ Kirti N. Chaudhuri, "The Portuguese Maritime Empire, Trade, and Society in the Indian Ocean During the Sixteenth Century." *Portuguese Studies* 8 (1992): 58, doi: 41105726.

²⁵ K.M. Mathew, *History of the Portuguese Navigation in India, 1497-1600*, (Goa-Daman and Diu: Mittal Publications, 1988), 73.

suffered because of the Portuguese occupation of Goa. Tome Pires correctly noted that the Deccan and Gujarati Muslim rulers had "a bad neighbour in Goa." During the 100 years that the Portuguese ruled over Indian waters, many ports on the west coast deteriorated. The Portuguese's aggressive policies were to blame for this: first, they controlled the sea routes; second, they restricted the kind and quantity of cargo that other merchants could carry; and third, they instituted the system of issuing cartaz, which is Persian for "paper sheet," or "qirta," a kind of permit to operate ships in Asian waters. Without this, the ships risked being seized and their contents plundered. A cartaz could only be issued for a fee. It makes sense that these policies had a negative impact on both the Indian and Arab seaborne carrying trades.

2.2 The importance of Livro dos Cartazes.

Foundation of Commercial Policy

The commercial policy of the Portuguese towards the Adil Shahs was reflected in the treaties that were signed between them. The validity of the Treaty of October 22, 1576, persisted during the time frame covered by this paper, which was 1600–1686. This treaty's opening clause represented a significant accommodation to Adil Shah and his subjects. It was forbidden to abuse, imprison, or force bribes, gifts, or slaves onto a ship carrying a Portuguese cartaz. The ship was to be taken to Goa or any other Portuguese port for inspection if it was thought that it had broken any of the terms of the cartaz. If proven guilty, it might be confiscated or face other penalties outlined in the treaty. If found guilty of accepting bribes or unlawfully detaining the ship, the Portuguese captains, who oversaw bringing the ship, could also lose their captaincies and other benefits²⁶.

The second article of the treaty states that Adil Shah asked the Portuguese to refrain from taking his merchants' customary weapons, wives, children, or slaves when they left Goa, as well as not to collect the recently imposed additional one percent tax from them. Instead, the Portuguese were to permit the merchants to return freely if they paid the customary dues. All of these were accepted by the Portuguese, with the exception that the extra 1% would be

²⁶ B.S. Shastri, *The Portuguese Commercial Relations with Bijapur in the Seventeenth Century, Essays in Goan History*, Ed. Teotonio R de Souza (New Delhi: Concept Publishing company, 2002), 40.

collected on goods transported by sea. It was a tax designed to offset the cost of sustaining the coast guard naval force, which benefited Adil Shah as well²⁷.

Under article 3, he was given yet another important concession. At Hurmuz, his ships were allowed to load without being forced to accept gifts or bribes, or to buy horses or other goods in exchange for the surrender of slaves. The captain of Hormuz faced the possibility of losing his captaincy and being returned to Portugal if he disregarded this clause. In addition, the vessel was entitled to reimbursement for any damages. As per Article 6, the Portuguese consented to provide Adil Shah with sulfur, lead, and copper upon request. In exchange, he would give them wood to build ships, saltpetre to make gunpowder, steel, iron, and mariners for the fleets, stone canne balls and ballasts for the ships, meat, wheat, rice, firewood, and coal that appeared to be for human consumption, pulses for the horses, strew, vegetables, fruits, and a variety of other items²⁸.

Article 14 stipulated that the Mecca ships were permitted to arrive in Old Goa with goods and depart without taking any slaves with them, if the customary fees were settled. Finally, the goods that were on board the enemy ships when they entered the Adil Shahi ports and were taken by the Portuguese without the Adil Shahi men's assistance were to be equally distributed among the signatories (article 15). These 1576 treaties were reaffirmed in 1633 and 1655, as was another 1582 treaty that will be covered later. Mutual complaints of hostile actions and treaty provision violations led to both occasions of reaffirmation²⁹

Understanding Cartaz System

We will now move on to discuss a few commercial policy matters. The treaty from 1576 included a clause about cartazes in Article 1. In this regard, it should be mentioned that an earlier treaty (December 13, 1571) contained a few specific provisions. The Portuguese had a clear policy regarding their cartaz system, and these earlier terms were still in use in the seventeenth century³⁰.

²⁷ B.S. Shastry, *The Portuguese Commercial Relations with Bijapur in the Seventeenth Century*, Essays in Goan History, Ed. Teotonio R de Souza (New Delhi: Concept Publishing company, 2002), 40.

²⁸ B.S. Shastry, "Commercial Policy of the Portuguese Vis-a-Vis the Adil Shahis of Bijapur in the Seventeenth Century A.D." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 48 (1987): 633, doi: 44141772.

²⁹ B.S. Shastry, *The Portuguese Commercial Relations with Bijapur in the Seventeenth Century*, Essays in Goan History, Ed. Teotonio R de Souza (New Delhi: Concept Publishing company, 2002), 41.

³⁰ B.S. Shastry, "Commercial Policy of the Portuguese Vis-a-Vis the Adil Shahis of Bijapur in the Seventeenth Century A.D." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 48 (1987): 634, doi: 44141772

To facilitate coastal trade and the sailing of merchants to Hurmuz, the treaty of 1571 established a Portuguese factor at Dabhol (art. 11). Furthermore, it was stipulated in article 12 that Adil Shah would be entitled to six free cartazes annually upon request from ships sailing to any location. Moreover, the Portuguese factor of Dabhol was responsible for farming out the fees imposed on the vessels that provided cartazes to the port (art. 13). Article 14 exempted the royal ships of Bijapur from payment if they had free cartazes. In case of the viceroy's absence, the captain of Old Goa was responsible for sending cartazes to the royal ships (art. 15). Horses could be transported from Hurmuz to Dabhol by one of the six royal vessels (art. 19). This was a unique concession because, historically, no Indian ship was permitted to carry horses on board and the horse trade was a royal monopoly of Portugal. Any cartaz given to an Indian ship included a clause prohibiting the shipment or exchange of horses³¹.

In the past, the cartazes themselves contained a few additional conditions in addition to those outlined in the treaties. For example, the cartaz issued to Adil Shah on August 9, 1613, contained the following conditions: The ship should set out from Dabhol to Jeddah and return to Dabhol without taking or bringing anything that was prohibited, such as wood, pepper, ginger, iron, steel, copper, lead, lime, brass, coir, saltpeter, sulfur, bamboo, and mules (machos?). Additionally, transporting any Portuguese nationals, horses (apart from those that were legally purchased), and slaves (apart from Muslim ones) were forbidden. Before the ship departed, the factor of Dabhol was to investigate if any of the enslaved people were Christians or descended from Christians, just in case. The requirement was to attest to the presence of slaves on board³².

These and other restrictions, like the one-year validity of a cartaz, the requirement that a ship have a cartaz for coastal travel even if it is sailing to Goa to obtain one there, the different fees associated with obtaining a cartaz based on the destination, and the prohibition against sailing into enemy ports, made it simple for miscommunications and conflicts to occur. Furthermore, the Portuguese were not always willing to grant a cartaz, even to a Bijapur royal vessel. For example, in 1618, Adil Shah's first request was met with no cartaz, but his second request, coupled with some pressure, resulted in one. A few Portuguese vessels were detained at Dabhol as a means of applying pressure. Since the Dutch were already impeding Goa and were in

³¹ B.S. Shastri, *The Portuguese Commercial Relations with Bijapur in the Seventeenth Century, Essays in Goan History*, Ed. Teotonio R de Souza (New Delhi: Concept Publishing company, 2002), 41.

³² B.S. Shastri, *The Portuguese Commercial Relations with Bijapur in the Seventeenth Century, Essays in Goan History*, Ed. Teotonio R de Souza (New Delhi: Concept Publishing company, 2002), 42.

contact with the Adil Shah at the time, the Portuguese were unable to offend him too much³³. Every now and then, the Adil Shah would ask for more cartazes than what the treaty called for. Such requests were not entertained by the Portuguese. It is evident from a document dated September 11, 1621, that the Portuguese were reluctant to issue the customary Cartazes because the customary annual presents to the Portuguese king had not been offered that year. It appears that other factors were taken into consideration when issuing cartazes. The cartazes appeared as soon as the Bijapur envoy arrived bearing a 300 xerafin cash gift³⁴.

When Bijapur was facing Dutch hostility, the Portuguese occasionally chose to be forgiving of it to keep it friendly or at least neutral. A cortar-loss vessel, for instance, was taken at Rajapur in 1625 from a grandee of Bijapur. Adil Shah's emotions demanded its recovery. The vessel was released after a great deal of initial fuss and rule quoting. 1642 saw one more instance of indulgence. At Rajapur, the vessel was taken prisoner and wrecked. It was decided to restore the ship's value and to promise that the officials responsible for burning it would face consequences, however, in response to Adil Shahi's threat to tear up the peace. Once more in 1644, at Hurmuz, a vessel was taken prisoner for failing to carry a cartaz. It belonged to a prominent Bijapur, and Adil Shah suggested restoring it along with its contents based on the general state of harmony in relations. The request was fulfilled³⁵.

In certain cases, the enforcement of the cartaz requirements was influenced more by religious considerations than anything else. Cartaz typically included a disclaimer stating that no Christian slave or slave's offspring could be transported aboard a ship. Forcibly holding three Adil Shahi vessels in 1632, the Portuguese claimed that the maidservant of a Portuguese physician who had travelled to Bijapur to treat the Adil Shah remained in custody even after the physician's death. The maid was to be taken to Bicholim, where Portuguese missionaries would verify if she was a Christian or a Muslim, according to Portuguese authorities' insistence. Should she want to stay a Christian, they would demand her release. The request was rejected by Adil Shah³⁶.

³³ B.S. Shastry, "Commercial Policy of the Portuguese Vis-a-Vis the Adil Shahis of Bijapur in the Seventeenth Century A.D." Proceedings of the Indian History Congress 48 (1987): 633, doi: 44141772.

³⁴ B.S. Shastry, The Portuguese Commercial Relations with Bijapur in the Seventeenth Century, *Essays in Goan History*, Ed. Teotonio R de Souza (New Delhi: Concept Publishing company, 2002), 43.

³⁵ B.S. Shastry, The Portuguese Commercial Relations with Bijapur in the Seventeenth Century, *Essays in Goan History*, Ed. Teotonio R de Souza (New Delhi: Concept Publishing company, 2002), 43.

³⁶ B.S. Shastry, "Commercial Policy of the Portuguese Vis-a-Vis the Adil Shahis of Bijapur in the Seventeenth Century A.D." Proceedings of the Indian History Congress 48 (1987): 633, doi: 44141772.

The Portuguese took an Adil Shahi ship in Sind in 1636, and they wouldn't give it back, even when Bijapur threatened to disrupt the peace. When told to slow down foraz inspection, the ship's captain opened fire, according to the Portuguese, who used this as justification for the confiscation. Upon examination, pepper and other forbidden goods were discovered to be inside³⁷.

After 1657, Shivaji made his appearance on the Konkan coast, and the Portuguese warmed up to the Adil Shahi. They were informed that upon request, cartazes would be distributed to Dabhol, Chaul, and other locations. The Portuguese were content to inform the Bijapur rulers that cartazes were required for their ships and that no ship should leave any Bijapur port bound for Arabia, Persia, or Mecca without a cartaz. Even in cases where ships without cartazes were apprehended, they were released upon request³⁸.

Case of Dabhol

The most active port on the Adil Shahi was Dabhol, which the Portuguese were constantly keeping an eye on. By 1535, they had built a factory there, but whenever there were conflicts or miscommunications, the Adil Shahi men would frequently attack it. Regarding Dabhol, a formal treaty was reached in 1582. As per the terms of the treaty, Adil Shah committed to demolishing his fortress of Dabhol, transferring all of its artillery to the Portuguese, releasing any detained vessels, paying all outstanding debts, including those related to horses, and requiring merchants to sail to Goa for trade³⁹. The hostages remained in Goa until the treaty's provisions were carried out.

In accordance with the terms of the 1576 treaty, the factor at Dabhol was in charge of issuing cartazes and controlling trade there. A viceregal order dated 3 April 1613, for example, ordered him to seize all ships originating from Hurmuz and other western Indian ports and dispatch them, along with their crew and cargo, to Goa or Chaul for trial and eventual disposal in accordance with the terms of the treaty⁴⁰. Three Arab ships that docked at Dabhol in 1652 were

³⁷ B.S. Shastry, *The Portuguese Commercial Relations with Bijapur in the Seventeenth Century*, *Essays in Goan History*, Ed. Teotonio R de Souza (New Delhi: Concept Publishing company, 2002), 44.

³⁸ B.S. Shastry, *The Portuguese Commercial Relations with Bijapur in the Seventeenth Century*, *Essays in Goan History*, Ed. Teotonio R de Souza (New Delhi: Concept Publishing company, 2002), 44.

³⁹ Gupta, Ashin Das. "Indian Merchants and the Western Indian Ocean: The Early Seventeenth Century." *Modern Asian Studies* 19, no. 3 (1985): 491, doi:312448.

⁴⁰ B.S. Shastry, *The Portuguese Commercial Relations with Bijapur in the Seventeenth Century*, *Essays in Goan History*, Ed. Teotonio R de Souza (New Delhi: Concept Publishing company, 2002), 44.

apprehended and set ablaze by the Portuguese. Any protest or objection from Adil Shahi was to be ignored.

The Impact of the Portuguese Cartaz System on Diu's Trade

The Portuguese adopted a policy of using force against the native traders and merchants in the early 16th century. Gujarat's economy suffered as a result of the hostility between the Portuguese and the local traders. The Portuguese policy of controlling specific trade routes and trade in specific goods made this tendency more pronounced⁴¹. The concept of licensed cartez-based trade for the Asians and monopoly trade for the Lusitanians was central to the Portuguese system of commerce. In addition to prohibiting the movement of itinerant Turks and Abyssinian Muslims, as well as the commodities reserved to the Portuguese crown, such as spices, the cartazes, or passes, also required Indian traders to call at one or more Portuguese ports and pay duties. Due to Diu's advantageous location, the Portuguese realized that they could more easily control the trade in the Arabian Sea and forced all ships passing through the area to stop in Diu for cartazes. Diu's residents, however, were not required to pay for any cartazes⁴².

Diu's economy was greatly impacted by Cartaz in the sixteenth century. Navigational lines and commercial traffic converged at this Portuguese trading hub when the Portuguese forced all ships operating in the area to stop at Diu and pay the cartazes. In the meantime, the Portuguese stationed tax collectors near the port of Daman's inlet, known as ijaradars of Daman, and they demanded the "Diu Toll" or "ushur-i-Diu". Six After determining the amount of cargo they were carrying, these officers would impose fees on the crew members⁴³. In the first decade of the 16th century, merchants from Hijaz began to import more goods from Diu than from Calicut, a development that may have been caused by the Portuguese cartazes⁴⁴.

One of the causes of the Mughals and Portuguese wars was the Diu toll and its collections. However, there was also some degree of understanding and accommodation between the

⁴¹ Gopal Surendra, *Commerce and Crafts in Gujarat 16th and 17th Century*, (New Delhi: People's Publishing, 1975), 14.

House, New Delhi, 1975, p. 1

⁴² Basak, Sohinee. "Portuguese and the Maritime Economy of Diu in the 16th Century." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 75 (2014): 308, doi:44158395.

⁴³ Basak, Sohinee. "Portuguese and the Maritime Economy of Diu in the 16th Century." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 75 (2014): 308, doi:44158395.

⁴⁴ Jean Aubin, *Merchants in Red Sea and the Persian Gulf at the Turn of the 15th and 16th century*, *Indian Merchants and Businessmen in the Indian Ocean and the China Sea*, ed. Denys Lombard and Jean Aubin, (London: Oxford University Press, 2000), 83.

parties. The Portuguese granted a certain tax exemption in exchange for the Mughal Emperor ships receiving three cartazes⁴⁵.

The Portuguese, despite using cartaz, were accused of mistreating and abusing merchants, attacking ships, and many other offenses. The captain of the Diu fort would frequently supplement his pay by accepting a bribe from the traders in exchange for avoiding having to dock at Diu. Beginning in 1540, there have been complaints in Diu regarding these abuses, and they have only gotten worse. The Portuguese were not entirely successful in controlling the Indian Ocean trade, despite the fact that the use of cartazes was most successful in the west coast of India, where obtaining a license at the closest Portuguese fortress was standard procedure throughout the late 16th and early 17th centuries. The Portuguese had established a modest nation-state fleet by 1600 and had a century of experience governing Asian-owned and Asian-controlled nation-state shipping through cartazes, which greatly outnumbered their fleet in terms of quantity, size, and tonnage. At that time, Gujarat was the only state that provided funding for the nation's trade, which totaled 80 million rupees annually⁴⁶.

Diu made no contribution to the land revenues from their settlements, despite the Portuguese receiving a sizable portion of them. In Diu, the Portuguese received no land revenue at all, compared to 75% in Bassein, 80% in Ceylon, 90% in Daman, and 2% in Goa⁴⁷. Diu brought in 79,800 xerafins in total revenue at the beginning of the 1630s, all of which came from custom duties. Diu therefore survived solely on trade and commerce. Textiles as well as goods like ghee, oil, fish, opium, arrack, betel leaves, and horses were subject to taxes in Diu⁴⁸. Every resident of Diu was involved in trade of one kind or another, and as a result of Portuguese policies, it turned out to be one of the most important port -town of the Indian ocean.

Goa has a fascinating history of trade, particularly with the *Livro dos Cartazes*. It was a registry of trade laws, highlighting Goa's significance as a trading center. The book contained useful information about products, trading partners, and trade routes. It is an invaluable resource for learning about Goa's trading past. Many different kinds of goods were traded in Goa. Notable ones included precious stones, textiles (cotton and silk), indigo dye, ceramics, spices (pepper, cinnamon, and cardamom), and even slaves. These products were in great demand and

⁴⁵ M.N. Pearson, *Coastal Western India: Studies from the Portuguese Records*, (New Delhi: Concept Publishing House, 1981), 23.

⁴⁶ Basak, Sohinee. "Portuguese and the Maritime Economy of Diu in the 16th Century." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 76 (2014): 308, doi:44158395.

⁴⁷ A.R Disney, *The Portuguese in India, and Other Studies*, 1500-1700, (London: Routledge, 2009), 151.

⁴⁸ K.S. Mathew, *Portuguese, and the Sultanate of Gujarati 1500-1573*, (New Delhi: Mittal Publication, 1986), 59.

strengthened Goa's thriving trading network. Goa had a very large network of trade routes! These included the Silk Road, which connected Goa to Europe and Central Asia, the Arabian Sea route, which connected Goa to the Middle East and Africa, and the Spice Route, which connected Goa to Southeast Asia. Goa became a thriving hub of trade thanks to these routes, which made the exchange of goods, concepts, and cultures easier.

Chapter 3- Colonial trade systems: understanding the Livro dos Cartazes within the broader colonial trade systems.

One of the key components of colonial extraction has been highlighted as being the colonial trade. The main contribution to and influence on maritime activity in Goa and India came from Portuguese rule. The Portuguese arrived in Goa and India with the intention of controlling trade and obtaining wealth. They emphasized the value of trade and business. During Portuguese control, traders also prospered. Furthermore, the Portuguese established numerous ports and connections throughout Goa and India. They did not use the same trading strategies as other colonial powers. Their primary concern was the economy. Trade and commerce enabled them to rule over Goa and India. Portugal's survival was based on trade and business. Among the colonial powers in the 16th and 17th centuries, the Portuguese were the dominant force. Portuguese collaborated with Indian emperors and traders to expand their commercial exchanges. In terms of business and trade, they were prosperous. With the aid of numerous trading locations, the majority of trading plans, trading routes, and trading systems were implemented. Portuguese traders established themselves in these places: Cochin, Goa, Daman, and Diu. Portuguese held monopoly over trade in these areas.

The Portuguese transformed the Indian Ocean's maritime trade in the sixteenth century by taxing non-Portuguese ships, seizing trading cities, and destroying Muslim trade ships. The Portuguese Empire was seriously threatened starting in the 17th century by Muslim and Hindu traders, local inland kings, and other European powers. They made a lot of enemies in the process of expanding their maritime activity, both to further trade and commerce and to encounter numerous enemies along the way. Their trading activity decreased. The Estado da India collapsed due to a lack of capital and labor. Thus, using Livro dos Cartazes as a reference, this chapter will aid in our investigation of the economic growth of Portuguese trade in Goa and India.

3.1 Indo-Portuguese trade

The Portuguese established a relatively complex administrative structure in order to run their vast empire. The Portuguese king was seated atop in Lisbon, Madrid, and Valladolid. The Casa da India (India House) oversaw the organization of the trade with the East, including the provisioning, crewing, and ship supply¹. In the sixteenth century, the organization was managed by Feitor (Factor), a treasurer, three scribes, and numerous other employees. During the last decades of the century there was a factor, three treasurer one to deal with money, one for spices and for the house of Guine and Mina². The house was full of many employees namely. A Provedor, also known as a Feitor, was in charge of the India House itself. There were also six clerks, one Juiz do peso (Judge of weight), two guards for the House, one porter, seven messengers, thirty workers who helped carry loads, goldsmiths who assessed precious stones and metals, two pharmacists or compounders who assessed medications, and a sailor who accompanied a scribe who went from the House when ships arrived from India to retrieve their Caderno da carga (cargo diary). Every employee was under the Feitor's or the Factor's authority.

The history of Portuguese trade and commerce took a new turn in 1580 with Philip II of Spain's conquest of Portugal. Initially, as stipulated by the terms of the Union's agreement at Tomar in 1581, the Spanish and Portuguese colonial empires were to be maintained independent and managed by their respective officials. The Estado da India, a term used to refer to any commercial establishment in the East, particularly that of India, was allowed to continue operating under the control of Casa da India in Lisbon. It was given authority over the Casa da India and the spice trade, and soon all of Portugal's domestic and international government's agencies had to focus on it. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Casa da India, which had been the highest house to decide on Asian matters for the better part of the sixteenth century, was eliminated.

The factor was required to sign all documents and registers pertaining to any India House matter. By the end of each month, he was expected to provide the finance minister with all the India House's accounts, which included all of the data regarding the loading and unloading of goods, sales revenue, and trade expenses. The Minister was in charge of forwarding the reports to the king after they had been processed. After the king, the minister was the only qualified official to manage the Council's business as well as that of the colonial dominions to the east

¹ Afzal Ahmad, *Indo-Portuguese Trade in Seventeenth century*, (New Delhi: Gian Publishing House, 1991), 1.

² Ahmad, *Indo-Portuguese Trade in Seventeenth century*, 1.

and west. In addition to accounting for the revenue and expenses of the Casa da India, this minister oversaw the crown's customs and revenue. The Council was also concerned about the sale of pepper, spices, and other Eastern goods. Other matters such as shipbuilding, provisioning, and other related activities fell under the purview of the affairs of the crown as the Portuguese settlements in Asia and Africa were subordinated to this council.

The previous Castilian Consejo De India's (Council of the Indies) was renamed the Council of Chamber of India in 1600 and received further authority from the Council of Finance. The main work of this office was for consultation regarding the provisions and goods to be sent for the overseas territories, to select and appoint the trustworthy officials for the colonial domains. Apart from the power of the Casa da India and its factor, the functions remained the same in the seventeenth century the sixteenth century³. However, in actuality, the India House was crucial to the smooth operation of trade with India. It provided all of the departing ships with the goods required for the crew and officials traveling to India in the yearly fleets to consume. Foreign affairs and overseas administration were housed at the Casa da India. It was its Factor's responsibility to maintain documents and a list of individuals heading to India, as well as the goods and money intended for the purchase of oriental goods transported on the yearly ships. as soon as the Factor was notified that the Indian ships had arrived. He assigned the appropriate security to help them unload and stop any smuggling or black marketing.

3.2 Portuguese East India company

The Portuguese East India company came into presence in august 1628. Since the English and Dutch companies were clearly successful, at least since the second decade of the seventeenth century, there have been attempts in Portugal and Spain to establish a Portuguese India Company⁴. Many activities for maritime trade were carried out by Portuguese East India Company. The total voyage to Goa was 18 vessels. No ships were lost on the outward voyage. During this period Portuguese India company earned 54 to 57% of gross profits for the trade⁵. The most important product traded by the Portuguese India company was pepper, which was accounted for over 81% of its exports to Portugal in 1630, 96% in 1631 and 98% in 1632⁶. The Portuguese east India company was run through with its crown alone for almost 80% of its capital and failed disastrously in its major objective to draw into the official Asian trade

³ Afzal Ahmad, *Indo-Portuguese Trade in Seventeenth century*, (New Delhi: Gian Publishing House, 1991),2.

⁴ A.R Disney, *The Portuguese in India, and Other Studies, 1500-1700*, (London: Routledge,2009), 244.

⁵ Disney, *The Portuguese in India, and Other Studies, 1500-1700*, 245.

⁶ Disney, *The Portuguese in India, and Other Studies, 1500-1700*, 247.

substantial funds from non-royal sources. Padre António Vieira described it as derisively rejected as a feasible business plan by Lisbon merchants and financiers "whose judgements, being based on their own self-interest are always the most reliable"⁷. The Portuguese East India Company was extremely fragile and feeble at a young age. It did not meet the curiosity of Goa or Lisbon. Even though the effort to establish a Portuguese India Company was unsuccessful for the time being, it shows that the Habsburg government was willing to look for economic modernization as a means of resolving its pressing problems in Portuguese Asia. This is because the establishment of a company was attempted at all during these years.

3.3 Understanding Trading System

The Livro dos Cartazes suggests that trade was practice at different periods. The period was 1705-1730. It was done in a form of quantity. There were number of commodities which was exported from different routes across the globe. The trade connection was very huge and big commerce. The trade system was recorded for the purpose of an evidence. There were different places trade was carried out with the help of Portuguese agents, merchants, and traders. Within the country trade, the places where Bengal and Surat wherein trade was done extensively.

Colonial trading system was done with the help of these relationships namely, Portuguese had relationships with Kanara, Konkan, Gujaratis, which has help them to understand the trade in broader perspective and they were able to carry out their trade globally and systemically. They made business ties with these regions because they were into trading before Portuguese came to India.

3.4 Organization

Estado da India (State of India) was a Portuguese territory that lasted from the 16th century until 1961. It encompassed Goa as its center as well as Daman, Diu, Dadra, and Nagar Haveli⁸. The Estado da India had a big impact on trade history, especially after important trade routes to Goa were established. It functioned as a crucial hub for European powers, particularly Portugal, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as they sought for spices and other valuable commodities from Asia. As the capital of Estado da India, Goa developed into a significant trading hub that drew traders from all over the world. Important trade routes were under Portuguese control, including the Arabian Sea route that connected Goa to the Middle East and beyond. Because of its advantageous position and control over trade routes, the Estado da India

⁷ A.R Disney, *The Portuguese in India, and Other Studies, 1500-1700*, (London: Routledge, 2009), 251.

⁸ Afzal Ahmad, *Indo-Portuguese Trade in Seventeenth century*, (New Delhi: Gian Publishing House, 1991), 9.

(State of India) was able to dominate the spice trade and forge profitable trade relationships with many other nations. Goa's economy flourished as a result, and there was cultural interchange with other countries.

3.5 Cartazes plan

The Livro dos Cartazes document makes us aware that cartaz system was for trading purpose. Portuguese implemented this plan to commercialised trade. The fact that the Indian rulers and merchants who wanted to transport their ships filled with domestic goods from one Indian port to another in India or abroad were compelled to obtain cartazes from the Portuguese maritime authorities operating in India.⁹ In a similar vein, ships hoping to sail to India required the same kind of authorization; otherwise, the Portuguese might seize the ships¹⁰. Thus, the Cartaz can be characterized as a code of conduct that merchant ships are issued for the Indian and Arabian Seas to ensure smooth navigation and port entry for the purpose of loading and unloading.

The Portuguese kept a number of fleets of warships to fend off pirates, keep an eye on Cartazes, and impress regional authorities in India's coastal regions. These armadas were also tasked with protecting the ships that traded under Portuguese control. To combat the pirates, these merchant ships later traveled in convoys with a small fleet of warships. The Portuguese were forced to implement a new system of trade regulation at the close of the sixteenth century: the Cafila, or Caravan¹¹, which consists of small merchant ships under the protection of a Portuguese fleet. It was made mandatory in 1596. Matias de Albuquerque, the viceroy, ruled that all ships engaged in commerce along the Indian coast had to sail in cafilas¹².

In their private commerce, the Portuguese engaged in equal trading with other local merchants in the Asian region, particularly in Cambay. Different applied to the fourth strand of involvement. The Portuguese attempted to maintain a position of dominance through naval power war in their attempts to regulate and tax Asian traders. They had the biggest effect on Asian trade here, with their cartaz-armada-cafila system¹³.

⁹ Afzal Ahmad, *Indo-Portuguese Trade in Seventeenth century*, (New Delhi: Gian Publishing House, 1991), 11.

¹⁰ Historical Archives of Goa, Ms. 1363, Livro dos Cartazes (Book of Sailing Permits).

¹¹ Afzal Ahmad, *Indo-Portuguese Trade in Seventeenth century*, (New Delhi: Gian Publishing House, 1991), 12.

¹² Nagendra Rao and P.K. Sudarshan, *Statistical Analysis of Historical Data: A study of a Portuguese Document – The Livro dos cartazes*, (Goa University: Portuguese Studies Review, 2004-2005), 118.

¹³ M.N. Pearson, *Merchants, and Rulers in Gujarat*, (California: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1976), 40

3.6 Incidents of Cartaz system

A pass, or cartaz, was necessary for every ship engaged in commerce in Asian seas. In case the Portuguese managed to seize a ship without a cartaz, they would automatically confiscate it as a fair prize. If the crew managed to avoid immediate death, they might be sent to the galleys. If the terms were broken, even a ship carrying a cartaz could be seized. They obviously checked very strictly, since the Portuguese ship's captain and crew, who made a fair prize, received fixed shares of the ship's value. Because there were eight Turks on board a Gujarati ship in 1555, it was seized. When the Portuguese checked the position of another Gujarati ship in 1540, they seized it despite its cartaz indicating it was headed for Kishm. In the same year, two other ships were taken into custody: one for trading in Dobbah, a region the Portuguese were at war with, and another because the captain on board did not match the one listed in the cartaz¹⁴. It should be mentioned that cartazes were necessary for all coastal trade in western India, including trade between Gujarati ports and trade conducted by Christians, Hindus, and Muslims.

Control over the sea trade was not significantly affected by the English and Dutch arrival in western Indian waters in the early seventeenth century, nor by their subsequent attacks on the Portuguese until 1635 and 1663, respectively. The Dutch, English, and Portuguese passes were now frequently needed by the local merchants; however, this posed no problem since these two European powers did not have customs houses in western India, so their cartazes did not impose any duty obligations¹⁵. Even though the Portuguese's military position against the Dutch was deteriorating, they persisted in insisting that Cartazes had been taken throughout the seventeenth century. Although there was an increase in evasion, it is evident that, their claims were accepted. When the Portuguese began capturing ships in the Gulf of Cambay in the 1690s if they lacked cartazes, Aurangzeb continued to take them for his own vessels.

A small fee of a few rupees was charged to issue the cartaz, but it did require the ship in question to pay duties at a Portuguese fort on arrival and departure. Since customs receipts were essential to the Portuguese empire's finances in Asia, this was the goal of the entire exercise and the main purpose of the arrangement.

The rates were high in contrast to those in Gujarat during the Mughal or sultanate periods. Goa was the most significant customs house in western India because the Portuguese tried albeit a

¹⁴ M. N. Pearson, "Cafilas and Cartazes." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 30 (1968): 200–202, doi: 44141479.

¹⁵ M.N. Pearson, *Merchants, and Rulers in Gujarat*, (California: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1976), 41.

fruitless one to establish Goa as the hub for all trade between Gujarat and Malabar, as well as between India and Europe. Prior to 1569, the rates were 6% ad valorem, as they had been under Bijapur in the fifteenth century, and they varied depending on the product involved. They were not imposed on trade with Portugal. With the exception of goods that had not changed hands in Goa, export duties were paid on both imports and exports. To finance warships, a general assembly in Goa decided in 1569 to raise rates by 1%. In the seventeenth century, to cover the costs of the conflict, the rates were raised multiple times by 1607, 9% by 1639, and 10% by 1659 against the Dutch¹⁶.

In addition, the collecta, a levy on food imports, was implemented in 1623. Since the free importation of food was one of Goa's most cherished and ancient privileges, this was a sign of the dire circumstances facing Portuguese India at the time. In general, the prices at other customs houses resembled those in Goa. In Chaul, import duties were 8% and export duties were 6%, with duties only applied from 1634 onwards¹⁷.

In sixteenth century, Malacca, with some variations, they were 6 %, and later 7 %. In Diu the duties were only 3% until the 1580s. when another % was added with the consent of the inhabitants to pay for the armada which protected the trade between Diu and Cambay. Again, the duties rose in the seventeenth century to meet the costs of defence, with some variations, they were 6 %t in sixteenth-century Malacca and later 7%. In Diu, the armada that safeguarded the trade between Diu and Cambay was paid for with the approval of the local populace, who initially only paid 3% of duties until the 1580s¹⁸. Once more, in the seventeenth century, duties increased to cover defence costs.

3.7 Free Cartaz

It is also important to mention another type of cartaz, the free cartaz, in order to clear up any misunderstandings in the future. For political purposes, these were given to the local authorities. The Bijapur sultan had four in a year prior to 1571. and he was given two more by the peace treaty this year. The sultan of Ahmadnagar had seven in a year: one for the Red Sea, one for Malacca, and five for ships heading to Hurmuz. Akbar was granted permission to send a ship to the Red Sea once a year. These free cartazes were, in every instance, gifts to the relevant rulers, intended to deter them from attacking the Portuguese settlements along their

¹⁶ M.N. Pearson, *Merchants, and Rulers in Gujarat*, (California: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1976), 42.

¹⁷ M.N. Pearson, *Merchants, and Rulers in Gujarat*, 43.

¹⁸ M.N. Pearson, *Merchants, and Rulers in Gujarat*, 44.

coasts. Such cartazes were valuable because they spared the ship transporting them from having to pay duties on the cargo they carried. But even in the later seventeenth century, these ships were still prohibited from transporting people or goods that were illegal, and they had to pay a small tax, the amount of which varied according to the size of the ship¹⁹.

3.8 Warships control

To keep an eye on cartazes, to impress local authorities, and to fight piracy, the Portuguese kept multiple fleets of warships. Two fleets were ordered to cruise by D. Manuel, the first viceroy, D. Francisco D'Almeida, from the Red Sea to Cambay and from Cambay to Cape Comorin. Following Goa's conquest in 1510, regular patrols were conducted both north and south of the town, with the first going to Chaul or even further north to Cambay, and the second to the Kanara and Malabar regions, as well as even across to the Maldives Islands. About fifty Portuguese ships were either in service or under construction in India and Southeast Asia as of 1512. According to various sources, the exact number of people by the 1520s was approximately eighty. Twenty-nine ships were based in Goa alone in 1620, according to a list for the 1567–1568 season. Even greater numbers might be called upon for a particular effort. With 121 ships, both big and small, in his armada in 1539, Viceroy D. Garcia de Noronha oversaw²⁰.

Aside from these unique fleets, there were many regular cruises in the sixteenth century that were governed by the monsoons during their operating seasons; as a result, no ship cruised the western Indian coast between May and September. A small fleet cruised off the coast of Malacca to compel ships to call and pay duties. The Coromandel coast, the pearl fields of south India, and the Island of Manar were all under the control of another fleet. Patrolling in the Persian Gulf appears to have been rather irregular. Every season, multiple patrols were dispatched from Goa. The Red Sea's mouth was to be patrolled by a single fleet. While some fleets operated off Kanara and Malabar, the northern fleet cruised as far as the Gulf of Cambay²¹.

¹⁹ M. N. Pearson, "Cafilas and Cartazes." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 30 (1968): 200–202, doi: 44141479.

²⁰ M.N. Pearson, *Merchants, and Rulers in Gujarat*, (California: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1976), 45.

²¹ M.N. Pearson, *Merchants, and Rulers in Gujarat*, 45.

3.9 Role of Armadas, Cafilas

The patrolling of the ships was the major responsibility of the armadas under Portuguese concern. These armadas had two tasks: locating and eliminating pirates and protecting commerce ships operating under Portuguese authority. Later in the century, these merchant ships traveled in convoys with a small fleet of warships. Two small fleets stationed at Div patrolled separately to the west to request that ships from ports in west Gujarati make port calls at Div. and to the Gulf of Cambay to accompany small ships from Cambay that were headed for Diu²².

The Portuguese were compelled to establish a new system of trade regulation later in the sixteenth century: the cafila, or caravan, of small merchant ships under the protection of the Portuguese fleet. While there are sporadic mentions of merchant ships traveling in convoys for protection earlier in the sixteenth century, by the 1560s it was standard procedure for ships trading on the western Indian coast operating under the Portuguese system to sail in groups and be under Portuguese guard. The viceroy made this mandatory in 1596, ordering all ships trading on the western Indian coast to travel in cafilas. The threat of Malabar pirate attacks on ships trading under the Portuguese system was the reason for both this requirement and the earlier, more or less voluntary system. In addition to the standard Cambay-Diu cafila and a more sporadic one focused on Hurmuz, Call the cafilas came to Goa²³.

Every year, two or three cafilas head north, making a stop at Chaul. Along the route to Cambay in the seventeenth century were Bassein, Daman, and Surat. The crucial private cargoes for the fleet headed home were delivered to Goa by this fleet of small ships. The convoy might consist of two hundred or more small ships. Such cafilas date back to 1569, but it wasn't until much later in the century—possibly after the 1596 decree made them mandatory—that they were carried out annually. Before then, they were deployed in situations where there was a significant risk from pirates, but occasionally merchant ships would just arrive in Goa unaccompanied. This cafila was evidently in operation on a regular basis starting in the 1560s. The third cafila traveled to Goa from Cape Comorin via Cochin and Cannanor. Due to the threat posed by

²² M. N. Pearson, "Cafilas and Cartazes." Proceedings of the Indian History Congress 33 (1968): 200–202, doi: 44141479

²³ M. N. Pearson, "Cafilas and Cartazes." Proceedings of the Indian History Congress 34 (1968): 200–202, doi: 44141479.

nearby pirates, it started in the 1550s once more. At Cape Comorin, the guard fleet greeted the larger ships that came from Malacca, China, Siam Bengal, and Coromandel²⁴.

Similar to cartazes, these cafilas were theoretically based on two principles: protection for the indigenous traders and profit for the Portuguese customs houses. While it is true that cafilas were occasionally attacked by pirates and their ships looted, it is also true that ships in cafilas were generally safer than those sailing alone. Even so, it is obvious that a large number of indigenous traders would have preferred not to have to stop in Goa to pay duties and would have been just as happy to take their chance operating outside of the cafila system. Therefore, the escort fleet served two purposes: first, to protect the merchant ships from pirates; and second, to ensure that none of the same merchant ships escaped to engage in commerce outside of the Portuguese legal system. Moreover, ships in a cafila had no control over the escorting fleet; they had to wait for it to return if it was needed somewhere else. Of course, the cafila was not permitted to call at the ports of any ruler with whom the Portuguese were at war on the western coast²⁵

3.10 Trade system of Portuguese during 16th century

The Kunjali Marakkars of Malabar posed a threat, and later the arrival of Protestant Europeans provided the rationale for this rule²⁶. Occasionally, however, merchant ships arrived in Goa unguarded. The seventeenth century saw the continuation of this practice. The escort fleet, in any case, served two purposes: first, to keep the merchant ships safe from the pirates; second, to ensure that none of these ships managed to trade outside of the Portuguese system²⁷ It goes without saying that Goa was the most significant custom house on India's west coast. The

Portuguese made a valiant effort to establish it as the hub for trade between Asia and Europe. There were additional significant custom houses in the north called Diu, Daman, and Chaul.

Typically, the areas of Malabar and Kanara were used to cultivate pepper, ginger, and other spices. Ceylon received cinnamon, while the Malaccas and Banda Islands supplied mace, nutmeg, and cloves. Bengal, Gujarat, Bijapur, and Golconda were well-known for their cotton and silk textile production. Horses and superior carpets, two essential components of Portuguese trade, originated in Persia. Africa was the source of ivory, slaves, coral, precious

²⁴ M.N. Pearson, *Merchants, and Rulers in Gujarat*, (California: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1976), 46.

²⁵ M. N. Pearson, "Cafilas and Cartazes." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 34 (1968): 200–202, doi: 44141479

²⁶ Afzal Ahmad, *Indo-Portuguese Trade in Seventeenth century*, (New Delhi: Gian Publishing House, 1991), 13.

²⁷ Historical Archives of Goa, Ms. 1363, *Livro dos Cartazes* (Book of Sailing Permits).

metals and stones, and a host of other goods brought from Mozambique, Mombasa, Angola, and other regions²⁸.

The Portuguese obtained a large amount of their supply of spices, particularly pepper, ginger, and inferior quality cinnamon, from the coastal regions of Malabar and Malacca during the first half of the sixteenth century. Every one of the Portuguese settlements had a factory and a fortress, as has been observed. For instance, in Malabar, they maintained factories in Quilon, Caranganore, Cochin, Cannanore, and Calicut (though not consistently)²⁹. They kept all the required officials and a weighing house in these locations. In the vicinity of Kayamkulam stood Quilon's weighing house. Once the formalities were completed, pepper and other spices that were transported from various locations in these regions were carefully packed in sacks and stored in the factory warehouse. They were loaded in front of the factor after the ships that were supposed to transport them arrived. With the exception of Calicut, where the Portuguese were never able to establish lasting peace, the Portuguese were successful in managing the spice trade in Malabar for the entirety of the sixteenth century. Because of competition from Chinese and Achinese merchants operating from bases in the straits, they were unable to fully control the trade of Malacca even after they captured it³⁰.

The Portuguese fortress of Mangalore, located near the mouth of the Netravali River and sandwiched between the autonomous petty principalities of Olala to the south and Banguel or Bangher to the north until the rise of Ikkeri, was the most southern of the Portuguese strongholds on the Kanara coast. Rice was the main commodity exported from Barcelore and Mangalore, used to supply the viceregal capital, its outposts, and its fleets³¹. Barcelore, along with Mangalore, was "the sole granary by which Goa, Malacca, Muscat, Mozambique and Mombassa were supplied," according to Bocarro³². The Portuguese in the Kanara regions had a significant impact on the official trade's purchase of pepper. It expanded the market for them to purchase this specific good. Without a doubt, Kanara pepper helped Portuguese traders become less reliant on Cochin and other Malabar markets. The Portuguese bought Kanara

²⁸ Afzal Ahmad, *Indo-Portuguese Trade in Seventeenth century*, (New Delhi: Gian Publishing House, 1991), 12.

²⁹ Ahmad, *Indo-Portuguese Trade in Seventeenth century*, 12-13.

³⁰ K.M. Mathew, *History of the Portuguese Navigation in India, 1497-1600*, (Goa-Daman and Diu: Mittal Publications, 1988), 37.

³¹ Afzal Ahmad, *Indo-Portuguese Trade in Seventeenth century*, (New Delhi: Gian Publishing House, 1991), 19.

³² Ahmad, *Indo-Portuguese Trade in Seventeenth century*, 19.

pepper on contracts from small-time rulers or directly from private dealers prior to the rise of the Ikkeri³³.

Apart from spices, Gujarati, and Bengali textiles were of considerable Importance during the sixteenth century. In Bengal, Chittagong was the major entrepot of textiles from the various regions of India. The Portuguese established a very successful trade with nations outside of Portugal. They kept up a very active trade with all Indian ports on the western and eastern coasts, in order to prepare their supplies for the yearly cargo ships. Each year, their ships sailed to Gujarat bearing spices and other necessities so they could return to Goa with a variety of clothes and drugs³⁴.

When the Portuguese first arrived in India, they had to deal with the immediate issue of having enough cash on hand to pay for the goods. With the assistance of the rulers of Cochin and Cannanore, they were able to resolve this issue to a significant degree following their settlements in these regions. The Portuguese officials had to rely on the local kings for the majority of the sixteenth century in order to acquire supplies on credit or obtain cash on interest from the local creditors³⁵.

Throughout the sixteenth century, the Portuguese held a monopoly in both India and Europe. They paid less for Indian commodities when they bought them, but they sold them for the highest price in Europe—certainly less than what Italy could have previously paid before the Cape route to India was discovered. One quintal of Malabar pepper could have cost up to 2.5 cruzados (roughly five Ashrafis) in the early sixteenth century. By the time it arrived in Lisbon, including all other costs like freight, it was worth roughly six cruzados³⁶.

The right of the Portuguese issuance of Cartazes was granted by the Papal Bull in the early sixteenth century³⁷. The Indians did not agree with this law, even though it applied to the high seas (because there was no public route). It was only applicable to Christians who became members of the Roman Church by baptism and faith in Europe. The Portuguese claimed that although the Muslims and Hindus were condemned to eternal damnation and were not under the law of Jesus Christ, they had no claim to the high seas. Joao de Barros, the chronicler,

³³ Afzal Ahmad, *Indo-Portuguese Trade in Seventeenth Century*, (New Delhi: Gian Publishing House, 1991), 19.

³⁴ Ahmad, *Indo-Portuguese Trade in Seventeenth century*, (New Delhi: Gian Publishing House, 1991), 20.

³⁵ K.M Mathew, *History of Portuguese Navigation in India 1497 – 1600*, (Goa-Daman and Diu: Mittal Publications, 1988), 36.

³⁶ Afzal Ahmad, *Indo-Portuguese Trade in Seventeenth century*, (New Delhi: Gian Publishing House, 1991), 22.

³⁷ Ahmad, *Indo-Portuguese Trade in Seventeenth century*, 22.

contends, at the very least, that Mare Liberum did not exist in India. Put another way, the Portuguese, a "Christian" power, turned the Indian Ocean into Mare Clausum³⁸ He clarified the need for cartazes in the context of these considerations.

3.11 Portuguese commercial policy in the 18th century, with a focus on Goa in particular.

The state of trade in the East, particularly in "Estado da India," was extremely dire at the start of the eighteenth century. Due to the closure of the Companhia do Commercio, a trading company that had served Portugal's traders and the "Estado da India" since 1689, the entire Portuguese economy was in disarray and trade was floundering with an uncertain future³⁹. The Portuguese merchants' only chance to revive their business endeavors was through this company. To exacerbate the situation, the Dutch had taken control of nearly the entire trade in pepper, the most sought-after commodity from those regions, when they established themselves in Bantam, Java, in 1683.

The Dutch had arrived on India's western coast, where they had first acquired some rights and a plot of land near Surat. Under this scenario, the Portuguese, who were having a terrible time governing the territories, imposed a new tax on January 1, 1705, of half foros instead of half dizimos, on top of the taxes already paid in Tiswadi, Bardez, and Salcete. Furthermore, for each 1,000 coconuts and each khandi of copra that was transported by sea from Goa to the mainland outside of Goa, a fee of half a xerafim was assessed. In addition, rice farm owners who engaged in the buying and selling of their properties had to pay half of the 5% transfer tax⁴⁰.

Prior to this, the Portuguese Crown had already decided to permit a ship carrying goods from Brazil to make a direct port call at Goa after realizing the decline in the shipping trade from Europe. Before this, the Portuguese Crown had recognized the decline in the shipping trade from Europe and allowed a ship carrying goods from Brazil to make a direct port call at Goa.

In 1713, Goa's circumstances were so dire that the region was entirely dependent on supplies from the North. In addition to these difficulties, the Portuguese also had to deal with the difficult task of conducting business in the Far East. It should be noted that when the Viceroy alerted the Crown to the new trading contract between the Kingdom and Macau, which was

³⁸ Afzal Ahmad, *Indo-Portuguese Trade in Seventeenth century*, (New Delhi: Gian Publishing House, 1991), 22.

³⁹ P.P. Shirodkar, "Portuguese Trade Strategy in the East in 18th century with Special Reference in Goa", *Goa: Trade and Commerce Through the ages*, ed. S.K. Mhamai (Panaji-Goa: Directorate of Archives and Archaeology, 2020), 88.

⁴⁰ P.P. Shirodkar, "Portuguese Trade Strategy in the East in 18th century with Special Reference in Goa", *Goa: Trade and Commerce Through the ages*, ed. S.K. Mhamai (Panaji-Goa: Directorate of Archives and Archaeology, 2020), 89.

causing a significant loss due to private traders in China and Lisbon defrauding the royal revenue, he may have identified an even more fundamental issue pertaining to Portuguese trading generally. Nevertheless, this hope was dashed when the Proctor General of the Jesuits in the Province of Japan complained to King Dom João about the overloading of the Macao-bound trading ships by merchants who bought and sold fugitive Chinese people in Goa, defying royal orders, and jeopardizing the Portuguese authority over Macau itself, as it was strictly forbidden by the Chinese Emperor to take captive Chinese people. Even worse, the frigate Nossa Senhora de Estrella, which aided in trade, was in no condition to go on another journey in 1718, much less engage in combat⁴¹.

Regretfully, Goa had descended into such a miserable state in 1718–1719 due to a lack of trade, which not only caused extreme internal poverty but also painted a worse picture of the locals for visitors. The trading company in India, which resulted in the growth of trade in the ports under Portuguese rule. With the exception of ivory from Mozambique, Goa's tradeable goods were limited at the time, which prevented it from making the kind of profits it could have given its central location between the Persian Gulf and the Cape of Comorin. The viceroy Marques de Alorna's letter to the Crown dated December 27, 1745, aptly captures the miserable situation of the Portuguese people during that time. After the Portuguese were forced to leave the North, he claimed, the 'Estado da India' naturally lost power and income. The Portuguese faced numerous obstacles in their commercial pursuits, to the point where trade in the "Estado da India" had decreased to its lowest level since 1750. Bemoaning the dire circumstances in Goa, the Crown counseled Marques de Tovar to contact the benevolent rulers in India in order to revive the once thriving trade. This would involve convincing their vassals to deliver their products to any of their ports, allowing the Portuguese to buy them at a fair price.

Keeping these things in mind, the Crown urged the Governor of Estado to bring the maximum number of Portuguese wines and liquors, such as Porto, Caravellos, and Barra a Barra, to Goa using all legal methods—apart from using violence. Figueira, among other things, produces salt, olive oil, vinegar, cloth, silks from the kingdom, and opulent furniture made in Lisbon⁴².

⁴¹ P.P. Shirodkar, "Portuguese Trade Strategy in the East in 18th century with Special Reference in Goa", *Goa: Trade and Commerce Through the ages*, ed. S.K. Mhamai (Panaji-Goa: Directorate of Archives and Archaeology, 2020), 90.

⁴² P.P. Shirodkar, "Portuguese Trade Strategy in the East in 18th century with Special Reference in Goa", *Goa: Trade and Commerce Through the ages*, ed. S.K. Mhamai (Panaji-Goa: Directorate of Archives and Archaeology, 2020), 93.

In addition, it urged him to secure the export of all goods and products produced by the Estado in order to ensure the prosperity and wealth of its citizens.

However, nothing came of the plan until the end of the century, except for the decision to build ships and start weaving fabrics in Daman in order to draw trade from Surat.

In the analysis of the Portuguese trade strategy over a century reveals that the Portuguese were never able to establish the kind of prosperous network necessary to continue trading that they had in the early years of their colonization efforts.

Chapter 4: Trade Routes and Networks: Examining the trade routes and networks connected to Goa and their impact on the Livro dos Cartazes.

The Cartazes play an important role in trade routes and networks that connected Goa, a Portuguese colony in India during 16th century. Analyzing these networks and trade routes can provide a thorough grasp of Goa's importance as a trading center and its influence on world trade during the Age of Exploration. Goa was the great port. Maritime trade flourished in Goa during 16th century. It eventually happened due to the age of sea route and its exploration. Arabian sea was opened for trade and various activities. The Portuguese empire discovered the sea route to India and eventually occupied their colony in Goa. Goa was prosperous under Portuguese empire. Goa had offered opportunities in terms of trade and commerce during 16th century. Goa got a new lavish life during the time of Portuguese era. Trade was planned from Goa's port for trade routes and networks within India and across the globe. Trade became very popular in Goa and number of merchants became self-employed called as merchants and traders during 16th century. The Portuguese gave importance for sea and trade. During the 16th century Goa was considered as the call of Port (porto de escala) meaning an inter- mediate stop, where ships picked up supplies and fuel, a sort of entrepôt for storage of imported goods and distribution centre¹. It was safe port and home for many.

4.1 Goa as a Principal Trading Hub

Goa had always been a great centre of trade on the Western of India². During the Portuguese occupation of the Indian Ocean, it developed into the capital of the Estado da India, the hub of the Portuguese Cartazes System, and the focal point of their numerous trade expeditions. Goa has historically been an important trading hub for many different civilizations due to its advantageous location on India's western coast. Because of its closeness to the Arabian Sea, it was able to engage in maritime trade with parts of Asia, Africa, and Europe. Early in the 16th century, Portuguese explorers under the command of Vasco da Gama took control of Goa in an attempt to dominate the Indian Ocean and monopolize the lucrative spice trade³.

¹ Teotonio R. de Souza, "Goa at the intersection of world trade routes in the pre-modern age, narratives, routes and intersections in pre-modern Asia, ed. Radhika Seshan (New York: Routledge, 2017), 115.

² Agnelo P. Fernandes, "Goa's Role in the International Trade in 16th and 17th Centuries," *Indian History Congress*, Vol. 48 (1987): 284, doi: 44141690

³ A.R Disney, *The Portuguese in India, and Other Studies, 1500-1700*, (London: Routledge, 2009), 356.

4.2 Trade Paths Leading to Goa

Comprehensive information about the trade routes that crossed Goa can be found in the Livro dos Cartazes. These routes provided the colony with connections to other significant trading hubs both inside and outside of the Indian Ocean⁴.

One of the main commercial routes was the Spice Route, which connected Goa to ports in the Arabian Peninsula, Southeast Asia (including Malacca), and eventually Europe. The trade of goods, including textiles, precious metals, and spices, was made easier by this route.

In addition, Goa functioned as a hub in the larger system of sea lanes that connected the Indian subcontinent to East Africa, the Middle East, and East Asia. Along these routes, goods like silk, porcelain, ivory, and slaves were traded.

4.3 Impact on Livro dos Cartazes on trade and networks during 16th century

The number of ship licenses were issued during 16th century as recorded in the Livro dos Cartazes. The trading licenses (cartazes) that Portuguese authorities issued to ships operating in the Indian Ocean are also recorded in the Livro dos Cartazes⁵. These permits guaranteed Portuguese dominance over trade in the area and regulated trade. Important details regarding the commodities exchanged, the origins and destinations of vessels, the names of merchants and ship captains, and the conditions of trade agreements are included in the Livro dos Cartazes. Most of the trade routes and networks operated from Goa's port was controlled by Portuguese agents.

4.4 Goa's Role in the International Trade 16th and 17th Centuries

Goa, Duarte Barbosa writes that Goa was a great place for trade. It has a good port, which flock many ships from Mekkah, Aden, Hormuz, Camb Malabar Country⁶. Tome Pires says that Goa was a great centre of Trade where the inland trade from the different states from the interior, conducted through long cattle-caravans, met the Sea Trade, run through many Naos which sail to many parts and the Naos of Goa were esteemed and favoured in all parts. Goa was a place which was capable of leisurely undertaking voyages in one year which the Muslims in Suez

⁴ Historical Archives of Goa, Ms. 1363, Livro dos Cartazes (Book of Sailing Permits).

⁵ Historical Archives of Goa, Ms. 1363, Livro dos Cartazes (Book of Sailing Permits).

⁶ Agnelo P. Fernandes, "Goa's Role in the International Trade in 16th and 17th Centuries," *Indian History Congress*, Vol. 48 (1987): 284, doi: 44141690.

were not undertaking in 20 years⁷. There was lot of impact in Goa through trade. Goa earned their revenue with the help of the trade. Goa became rich through trade. According to Ferishta, when the news of the Indian Ocean became a way of life to these rulers and merchants. It was a great honour for the Portuguese to see the Ambassador of Akbar or Aurangzeb or other powerful rulers of India during the 16th and 17th centuries, visiting Goa to request for the cartazes. With the help of the Cartazes, kings and queens were able to visit Goa. This is one of the advantages of cartazes during 16th century. When the Indian ocean was opened, sea life became more easier for traders and merchants for trading purpose. M.N. Pearson says maritime history changed when the arrival of Portuguese in Indian Ocean. Indian ocean became a way of life⁸ C. R. Boxer's says that in his book Portuguese India in the Mid-Seventeenth Century Cartaz system was very much effective in the Indian Ocean⁹. The cartaz system was very powerful during 16th century under Portuguese era. There was not a single country that challenged the Portuguese claim of sovereignty over the Indian Ocean. They were "Lords of the Sea"¹⁰

The main results of the Cartazes system's enforcement were not only whether or not the Red Sea spice trade could be controlled, but also whether or not indigenous power ships could conduct profitable and efficient trade voyages after recognizing their sovereignty through treaty-based purchases of cartazes and payment of duties on the goods they transported¹¹. The Portuguese were unable to control the supply of spices to Europe, with the possible exception of the first few decades of the 16th century. The resurgence of the spice trade to Europe through the Red Sea in the middle of the sixteenth century seems to have been primarily caused by the Atjeh-Red Sea connection and the export by Malabar. This Portuguese claim to a monopoly on spices was, of course, destroyed with the arrival of North Europeans in the Eastern trade and the subsequent rise of the Omanis. Spice trade route network was very much successful with the functioning of the cartaz system. All of this was true, but the Portuguese also started

⁷ Agnelo P. Fernandes, "Goa's Role in the International Trade in 16th and 17th Centuries," *Indian History Congress*, Vol. 48 (1987): 284, doi: 44141690.

⁸ M. N. Pearson, *The Indian Ocean*, (London: Routledge, 2003), 10.

⁹ C.R. Boxer, *Portuguese India in the Mid-Seventeenth Century*, (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1980), 26.

¹⁰ Agnelo P. Fernandes, "Goa's Role in the International Trade in 16th and 17th Centuries," *Indian History Congress*, Vol. 48 (1987): 285, doi: 44141690

¹¹ Agnelo P. Fernandes, "Goa's Role in the International Trade in 16th and 17th Centuries," *Indian History Congress*, Vol. 48 (1987): 285, doi: 44141690

enforcing their laws on any indigenous nations that ventured into the Indian Ocean. This legal framework was known as the Cartazes System. The Armada used its force to police it¹².

It is important to take seriously the reports of cattle caravans bringing goods to Goa from a far-off Indian kingdom. In India, one of the main modes of inland transportation was the cattle caravan. In his *Relatorio Sobre o Trato da Pimenta*, Francisco da Costa describes how cattle caravans from Malabar would travel to the Mughal Empire, passing through Bengal, Masulipatnam, and Nagapatnam. Three thousand cattle heads made five or six trips from Goa to the mainland when Sambhaji attacked Goa in 1683. The cattle caravan belonged to the main merchant of Bardez in Goa¹³.

Before the Portuguese took control of it, Goa was a major hub for trade. Through local men-manned coastal fleets and trade centers in the Western Indian Ocean, it was connected to the entire Western Coast. Goa's advantageous location was due to its geographic characteristics. It was the best location for gathering cargoes from the Western Coastal states in the North and South, which could then be supplied to the interior of the mainland through fleets. Alternatively, cargo from the interior could be transported to Goa via gaps in the Sahyadris, ready for export¹⁴. Goa's commerce was dominated by the horse trade, which was essential when a state's strength lay in its cavalry. When Goa was taken by the Portuguese, there were many concessions made to traders in this item. The latter carried on with the concessions and trade. The Portuguese required deposits from ships carrying horses to Hormuz whenever cartazes were issued, requiring the ship to return to Goa only.

The Carreira ships were generally loaded at Goa from the time when the latter became the metropolis of the Portuguese in the East. In this way Goa came into direct contact with all centres on the route of the Carreira and with those centres and merchants who supplied cargoes for the Carreira or traded in cargoes brought by it. Mozambique served as the primary hub along the route connecting Goa with Lisbon, where supplies such as food and water were gathered for the return trip¹⁵. Spices were the main cargo of the East Coast Carreira ships operating in the sixteenth century. By seizing the spice supply areas in the seventeenth century,

¹² Agnelo P. Fernandes, "Goa's Role in the International Trade in 16th and 17th Centuries," *Indian History Congress*, Vol. 48 (1987): 286, doi: 44141690

¹³ Agnelo P. Fernandes, "Goa's Role in the International Trade in 16th and 17th Centuries," *Indian History Congress*, Vol. 48 (1987): 287, doi: 44141690.

¹⁴ Agnelo P. Fernandes, "Goa's Role in the International Trade in 16th and 17th Centuries," *Indian History Congress*, Vol. 48 (1987): 287, doi: 44141690.

¹⁵ Agnelo P. Fernandes, "Goa's Role in the International Trade in 16th and 17th Centuries," *Indian History Congress*, Vol. 48 (1987): 288, doi: 44141690.

the North Europeans ended the Portuguese monopoly. Consequently, the nature of Carreira's cargoes changed. Even though pepper remained a significant component of the cargo, other goods like saltpetre, diamonds, textiles, and musk became more valuable in the 17th century. Lisbon saw the arrival of ships from Goa, which attracted traders from other European nations who came to buy and sell. In this way, Goa's fame travelled all over Europe. The same thing took place in Goa when the ships from Lisbon anchored there. There was a connection between the Cafilas and the Interport voyages and the disposal of the cargoes of the Carreira ships or the supply of cargo to these ships¹⁶.

Nevertheless, in addition to the standard Cafilas or Interport voyages, specific Armadas or special voyages were planned to obtain supplies for the Carreira's ships. In case the regular Cafilas were to arrive late, and the ships needed to depart before the Monsoon, for instance, a special armada would be sent to Cañara ports to gather pepper¹⁷. Similar instructions to travel to Bengal and conduct supplies of saltpetre or to gather diamond cargo for ships were given to merchants in the 17th century. Going global was made possible by all these expeditions and trade activities. The Portuguese conducted the spice trade and their networks through carreira ships during 16th century. Carreira ships played an important role in shifting of trade across the globe. It was said that besides indigenous as well as private Portuguese merchants were free to trade in Red Sea area in other goods, within the rules of Cartazes System¹⁸

4.5 Maritime Trade from Goa.

When Goa was open for trade and trade routes. Merchants from Arabia, Armenia, Persia, Cambay, Bengal, Pegu, Siam, Malacca, Java, Molucas, China, and other nations flocked to Goa as trade converged there through the Trade Voyage, drawn by the low price brought about by the abundance of goods brought by these voyages. It was a commercial entrepot established by Albuquerque when Portuguese became Estado da India.

Portuguese economy in the east, which functioned from Goa, was based on the trade voyages reinforced by the Cartazes System. There were three types of trade voyages conducted by the Portuguese from Goa. The Carreira de India (Lisbon- India- Lisbon Voyage), the Cafilas and

¹⁶ Agnelo P. Fernandes, "Goa's Role in the International Trade in 16th and 17th Centuries," *Indian History Congress*, Vol. 48 (1987): 288, doi: 44141690

¹⁷ Agnelo P. Fernandes, "Goa's Role in the International Trade in 16th and 17th Centuries," *Indian History Congress*, Vol. 48 (1987): 289, doi: 44141690

¹⁸ Historical Archives of Goa, Ms. 1363, Livro dos Cartazes (Book of Sailing Permits).

the Inter-port Voyages. These voyages were responsible in linking Goa with most of the known centres of the Indian Ocean¹⁹

The Portuguese used Carreiras as their first type of organized trade voyages in the East. It is possible to view the first Carreira Voyage (1497–1498–1499) as a Portuguese achievement unparalleled in history²⁰. There has been a revolution in the understanding of global geography. On the ocean, the east and west had met. As a result, it offered the first maritime trade route connecting the West and the East. The overland route monopoly held by Muslim Afro-Asian powers via the Italian centers was broken by this discovery.

Goa had two voyage routes connecting it to East Africa: one went to Mozambique and the other to the Swahili Coast (Mombasa). Up until 1622, the route of travel in the Persian Gulf region led to Hormuz and continued as far as Basra. Following Hormuz's fall, Muscat took over as the new center²¹. After the Omanis took control of Muscat in 1650, the Portuguese operated out of their factory in Bandar Kung, Congo. They also made trade voyages to Sindh. They owned a factory in Tatta, one of the Mughal Empire's major trading hubs. The ships that visited Sindh also stopped in Muscat, Bahrain, and Basra; however, they used Sindh as a route back to Goa. Before the Dutch took over the Eastern Indian Ocean, the Portuguese traveled on trade voyages from Goa to China, Manila, and other places. Through voyages, Goa was also connected to Bengal. However, private merchants handled the majority of the trade to Bengal²².

The Estado da India benefitted greatly from the port expeditions, which required large sums of money and a wide range of goods. "Much more prosperous than the Carreira"²³ in the seventeenth century, according to them. Through these Trade Voyages, Goa benefited in numerous ways. Firstly, in addition to producing a deluge of goods from every center in the Indian Ocean onto the Goan market, voyages out of Goa earned significant duties at its custom house. It then received 2% and 1% of the custom duties from the voyages that were made from each of the other Estado da India centers²⁴. They were intended for use in various capacities.

¹⁹ Agnelo P. Fernandes, "Goa's Role in the International Trade in 16th and 17th Centuries," *Indian History Congress*, Vol. 48 (1987): 289, doi: 44141690.

²⁰ Agnelo P. Fernandes, "Goa's Role in the International Trade in 16th and 17th Centuries," *Indian History Congress*, Vol. 48 (1987): 290, doi: 44141690.

²¹ K.M. Mathew, *Portuguese Trade in India in the sixteenth century*, (New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1983),22.

²² K.M. Mathew, *Portuguese Trade in India in the sixteenth century*, (New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1983),23.

²³ A.R Disney, *The Portuguese in India, and Other Studies, 1500-1700*, (London: Routledge,2009), 253.

²⁴ Agnelo P. Fernandes, "Goa's Role in the International Trade in 16th and 17th Centuries," *Indian History Congress*, Vol. 48 (1987): 290, doi: 44141690.

Above all, the captains and other officials who were involved in the voyages returned rich and loaded with capital, giving their gains to the less fortunate while continuing to live opulent lives. Thus, adding a hint of luxury to Goa.

The third type of Trade Voyages organised by the Portuguese from Goa, involved the small ships of the indigenous merchants. A Portuguese proclamation stated that no native ships with limited capacity could travel the Indian West Coast on their own or by themselves. Under the Portuguese Armada's command, they were forced to move in Cafilas. Therefore, cafilas were groups of small coastal shippers that traded along the western coast of India under the supervision of the Portuguese Armada, much like caravans on land²⁵. Although the Calila ships were not obliged to have a cartaz, they were subject to the Portuguese Cartazes System and had to abide by all its regulations. Goa served as the Cafilas' launchpad. The Goa River would be the meeting place for all the ships joining the Calila, where the customs duties on their loads would be determined and settled. After this was completed, the Cafila would leave at the scheduled time, leading the armada under the command of the chief Captain. Cafilas were split up based on which way they were sailing. Northern Cafilas were those sailing north of Goa, and Southern Cafilas were those sailing south. The former connected Goa to coastal centers all the way to Sindh, while the latter extended all the way to Cape Camorin, Ceylon, and Coramandel. Returning to our original point, during Goa's Portuguese Golden Age, the Cafila's oar ships would occasionally congregate in the Goa River more than 500²⁶. The local merchants' response to this trade voyage was outstanding. Imagine how much merchandise there would be in Goa if the Cafilas were to return triumphantly.

As a result, Goa was connected to many of the world's then-known centers by the three different kinds of trade voyages. Goa developed into a major enterpot where the Cafilas, Carreiras, and Interport ships carried out the great gambit of trade in commodities from these centers.

4.6 Routes and network of the trade.

The Portuguese utilized Goa's ports to establish trade routes, facilitating the movement of goods and establishing commercial networks that stretched across continents. Two important trade routes that linked the east and the west were the Textile Road and the Spice Route.²⁷ A

²⁵ Nagendra Rao and P.K. Sudarshan, *Statistical Analysis of Historical Data: A study of a Portuguese Document – The Livro dos cartazes*, (Goa University: Portuguese Studies Review, 2004-2005), 118

²⁶ Agnelo P. Fernandes, "Goa's Role in the International Trade in 16th and 17th Centuries," *Indian History Congress*, Vol. 48 (1987): 291, doi: 44141690

²⁷ Celsa Pinto, *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India*, (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1994), 40.

system of sea lanes known as the Spice Route allowed trade to occur between the east and the west. The Spice Road travelled through many different parts of the world, such as Japan, Sri Lanka, India, Indonesia's coast, and Central Asia. The main commodity traded via this route was spices.

The cultural, religious, and artistic exchanges that occurred throughout antiquity between the principal centers of civilization in Europe and Asia were greatly influenced by long-distance trade. By the start of the first century A.D., traders, diplomats, and travellers could (in theory) traverse the ancient world from Britain and Spain in the west to China and Japan in the east. Some of these trade routes had been in use for centuries. The main purpose of the trade routes was to move luxury goods, food, and raw materials from areas of excess to those where they were in short supply. Certain resources or products were exclusive to certain regions. Certain materials or goods were monopolized in some places. For instance, spices were primarily obtained from South Asia, but silk was supplied by China to West Asia and the Mediterranean region. The Silk and Spice Routes, which served as the primary routes of communication between the numerous ancient empires of the Old World, were used to transport these goods over great distances, either by seagoing ships or by passable pack animals. Frankincense and myrrh were transported by camel caravan from South Arabia to the Arabs who ruled the Incense Route, another significant trade route.

4.7 Intra Indian Ocean route

Horses and spices, which had contributed much to the commercial glory of Portuguese Goa in the early decades of the colonial regime, lost their lucre as the sixteenth century drew to a close. In 1580, for example, the contribution of the horse trade was just Rs.18,000 strong as horses came to be imported from ports other than Goa, including Portuguese Chaul²⁸.

In addition to the private Portuguese trade, there was a noticeable shift in emphasis toward fostering intra-Asian commerce and its feeder inland trade by the 1560s, as Portuguese control over the spice trade began to diminish. The value of the cabotagem trade in the 1630s was fifteen times greater than that of the Carreira²⁹.

²⁸ Pratima Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, (Panaji: Goa chamber of commerce and industry, 2009), 180.

²⁹ Celsa, Pinto. *Goa Images and Perceptions*, (Panaji-Goa: Rajhauns Vitaran, 1996), 82.

With the fleets' protection, Goa acted as the center of the inter-port journeys that were undertaken in convoys. The ports of Mozambique, East Africa, Hormuz, Basra, Sindh, the west coast of India, Malacca, Manila, and China³⁰ were all involved in intra-Asian trade.

Goa was flourishing in intra Indian ocean commerce. This is the example of Goa's statistical outcome, In 1635, the Goa-Portugal run was only worth 3,000 cruzados, compared to its 1600 value of 2,000,000 cruzados. Goa-Moçambique traded 1,000,000 cruzados that year; Goa-Mombassa traded 10,000–12,000 cruzados; Goa-Sind traded 80,000–100,000 cruzados; Goa-Gujarat traded 150,000 cruzados (up from 2,000,000 in 1600); Goa-Kanara traded 300,000 xerafins for rice; Goa-Cochin traded 110,000–130,000 cruzados, including pepper; Goa-Ceylon extracted 150,000 xerafins for cinnamon; Goa-Malacca traded 50,000 cruzados; and Goa-Maldives and Laccadives traded 30,000 cruzados³¹.

In the sixteenth century, spices dominated the intra-Indian ocean trade, while the seventeenth century saw the rise of Brazilian sugar. In the seventeenth century, trade with East Africa proved to be profitable as well. But Mombasa's decline at the end of the century dealt a fatal blow to this trade.

4.8 Inland Trade

Goa was very much part of hinterland trade connections during 18th century. Celsa pinto analysis the Goa's inland trade as an economy of Goa into imports and exports through commercial system.

In order to participate in the prosperous transoceanic and coastal trade of Goa, a hinterland rich in food, textiles, and precious stones made its way down the Ghats in oxen carts and as head loads carried by coolies. The textiles produced in this hinterland, which was rich in cotton, supported both the Carreira and inter-port trade. Through Goa, the textiles from Balaghat were distributed to markets in Europe, Asia, East Africa, Brazil, and Portugal. Precious stones and diamonds were transported from Golconda and Bijapur to be exported from Goa to various locations³².

One of the hubs of a trading network that traveled across the numerous passes that were scattered throughout the Sahyadri ranges was the upper Ghat region. This flourishing hinterland

³⁰ Celsa Pinto, *Goa Images and Perceptions*, (Panaji-Goa: Rajhauns Vitaran, 1996), 83.

³¹ Pratima Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, (Panaji: Goa chamber of commerce and industry, 2009), 180.

³² Celsa Pinto, *Goa Images and Perceptions*, (Panaji-Goa: Rajhauns Vitaran, 1996), 83-84.

trade was also supported by Goa's riverine system³³. A steep, wall-like slope of the Western Ghats, covered in dense forest, protected Goa's eastern flank. The existence of profound rivers, roughly two or three miles in width and roughly a thousand feet in depth, would seem to prohibit access to the hinterland³⁴. Goa's hinterland, which stretched 30 to 45 miles behind it and was divided by multiple passes with elevations ranging from 600 to 1800 meters, meant that the state was not entirely cut off from its surroundings. These included the Talkati Ghat that led from Alorna to Kolwal in Bardez, the Rama Ghat that oxen caravans frequented, and which went to Tivim in Bardez and to Bicholim, the Chorlem Ghat in Sattari that wound its way to Keladdi in Sanquelim, and the Kelghat that started at Talwar village and went to Kelil in Sattari, from where it split, one way going to Usagão and Ponda. Vehicles coming from the Tinai ghat would travel to Kullem and then gather at Ponda³⁵. It was noted that these passes and highways had been blocked with coolies, horses, donkeys, and other beasts of burden hauling goods ever since pre-Portuguese times. Caravans traveling to and from the hinterland on a maximum of six occasions during the summer were a commonly noticed pattern. From Balaghat, oxen caravans carrying goods like wheat, rice, textiles, etc. would make their way to the Goa markets³⁶.

The State Revenue Superintendent Afonso Mexia's 1526 Foral or Charter is a valuable source of information about Goa's inland trade during the Portuguese conquest. The tariffs paid at the passos, or check posts, that oversaw trade between the Goan islands, and the mainland are listed in this document³⁷.

Moreover, there were Travelogues who speak about the pattern of inland route to Goa. Decanins from Balaghat are described by Linschoten as carrying customs and rents of the Portugals and "bringing all victuals and necessities out of the firme land into the towne and island of Goa. Between 1608 and 1610, Pyrard de Laval traveled to Goa and reports that he was taken aback "to see so many people entering Goa from Balaghat, men as well as women, bringing all sorts of merchandise on horses, oxen, donkeys and other beasts of burden³⁸.

³³ Nandkumar Kamat, "Two Millennia of Goa's Trade and Commerce: Some Interesting Observations of Interdisciplinary Importance", Goa: Trade and Commerce (seminar papers) Ed. S.K. Mhamai., (Panaji-Goa: Directorate of Archives and Archaeology, 2020), 12.

³⁴ Celsa Pinto, *Goa Images and Perceptions*, (Panaji-Goa: Rajhauns Vitaran, 1996), 83.

³⁵ Celsa Pinto, *Goa Images and Perceptions*, (Panaji-Goa: Rajhauns Vitaran, 1996), 83.

³⁶ Celsa, Pinto, *Goa Images and Perceptions*, (Panaji-Goa: Rajhauns Vitaran, 1996), 83.

³⁷ Pratima Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, (Panaji: Goa chamber of commerce and industry, 2009), 184.

³⁸ Pratima Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, (Panaji: Goa chamber of commerce and industry, 2009), 185.

Additionally, there were caravans played a significant role in Goa's hinterland trade during 18th century. Regular trips to Balaghat were made by caravan owners from Bardez, including one Manoel Luis of Parra who owned seventy oxen. During the summer months, as many as five or six of these trips would be made in the late seventeenth century. According to modern records, roughly 4,000 oxen were employed for that reason³⁹.

4.9 Vital Imports

Tobacco: Tobacco was widely used for smoking in Goa. smelling, biting. Consignments of tobacco are said to have come from South India's Bengal, Gujarat, Kanara, and other regions. Tobacco was abundant in the hinterland of Goa as well. Such tobacco was primarily imported into Goa from Vengurla and Balaghat. In the New Conquest regions, tobacco was sold by the Carreira de Balagate traders for five to six xerafins per maon of twenty-five arrateis. For 11 to 12 xerafins per maon, the local contractors and traders then sold it to the general public. This suggested that they made good profits by selling it for twice the cost. The circumstances for the traders were even more favorable in the 1770s and 1780s⁴⁰. Interesting is that Tabacco came from Balaghat to Goa, Goa traders use to sell it at less price and earned huge profits from tobacco trade.

Saltpetre: In fact, one of the main commodities traded during the Asia-Lisbon Trade was saltpetre (1770-1830). For example, saltpeter from Baighat was regularly sent to Lis in 1773, totaling 28586 sacks. This was in addition to saltpeter that was drawn from Bengal. The fact that in 1831–1832, Bengal saltpetre sold for 80–120 serafins per khandi in Goa, while Balaghat saltpetre would cost 60–80 xerafins per khandi, indicates how inexpensive such saltpetre was. In actuality, the latter kind turned out to be the most affordable one available in India. It should be mentioned that the Mhamais were among the Goan private merchants who regularly shipped cargoes of Balaghat saltpeter to Lisbon⁴¹.

Textiles: Indeed, the most significant commodity in Goa's importing economy was balaghat textiles. According to customs records, they were the least expensive kind, and there was a high demand for them in Brazil, Mozambique, Europe, and other places. Even though Surat textiles were more in demand in the metropolis, Balaghat textiles performed significantly better than those from Daman and Diu⁴². Also, textiles came to Goa from Madras, Porto Novo, Pulicut and

³⁹ Pratima Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, (Panaji: Goa chamber of commerce and industry, 2009), 185

⁴⁰ Celsa, Pinto. *Goa Images and Perceptions*, (Panaji-Goa: Rajhauns Vitaran, 1996), 85

⁴¹ Pinto. *Goa Images and Perceptions*, 88.

⁴² Pinto. *Goa Images and Perceptions*, 88.

other areas. Therefore, Balaghat became the cheap supplier of textiles to Goa and gave fairly profits to Goa and traders as well.

4.10 Vital Exports

Goa exported salted fish, arecanuts, and local liquors like feni and arrack to Balaghat in addition to salt produced at Verem and Nerul. However, the main exports going to Chikodi, Kolhapur, Sangli, Vodgaum, etc. were coconuts and coconut products, like copra and coconut oil, in exchange for provisions. Goa also supplied sugar and paper from Macao and Lisbon to Balaghat. Ports in Lisbon would transport imported alcoholic beverages to Vengurla, Belgaum, and Balaghat, including brandy, ginger, gin, and champagne⁴³.

According to Celsa Pinto, who studied trade and finance in Portuguese India between 1770 and 1840, in 1848, the balagateiros made up 52.19 percent of the 3,384 merchants operating out of Goa, while 47.81 percent of local traders dealt with coastal commerce⁴⁴. The merchants from Bardez and Salcete were the most active in the Balaghat trade.

The Livro dos Cartazes is a key resource for researching the economic exchanges that shaped the early modern Indian Ocean region, including Goa by examining the trade routes and networks in country trade. It draws attention to the intricate interactions that occur between regional, local, and international factors when trade networks and colonial empires are formed. Comprehending the trade routes and networks associated with Goa enhances our understanding of the historical interdependence of societies and economies, as well as their lasting influence in contemporary times. Celsa Pinto's influence on Goa's networks and trade has helped to reconstruct the significance of Goa's economy in the eighteenth century.

The Livro dos Cartazes provides a window into the vibrant trade routes and networks that converged in Goa during the Age of Exploration, shedding light on the colony's pivotal role in shaping the global economy and its enduring impact on world history.

⁴³ Celsa Pinto, *Goa Images and Perceptions*, (Panaji-Goa: Rajhauns Vitaran, 1996), 88-89.

⁴⁴ Celsa Pinto, *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India*, (New Delhi: Concept Publishing company, 1994), 50.

Chapter 5 - Merchants and traders investigating the role of merchants and traders in the country trade and their connections with the Livro dos Cartazes.

Goa is a rather small state in India, both geographically and demographically. However, Goa would rank among the top states if the historical and economic significance of any given state could be measured¹⁴². Trade and commerce are outcomes of economic activity and human labor. Both give rise to a wide range of human engagement and communication.

Geographically speaking, Goa has remained a great thriving hub during 16th to 17th century due to its strategic location. It has influenced maritime routes connecting to Europe, Africa, and Asia. It was delighted to say that several prominent trading companies, number of merchants groups and individuals played significant roles in the commerce of the era. All of them became very prosperous and rich due to Goa's trade and commerce during the 16th and 17th century.

Goa was a thriving center of trade in the 16th and 17th centuries, drawing traders from all over the world. There were several notable communities and organizations involved in trade within Goa during this period. Moreover, local Goan merchants played a significant role in intra-Asian trade, acting as intermediaries between European traders and merchants from other parts of Asia¹⁴³. They were involved in the export of goods such as spices, cotton textiles, and agricultural products. Before the dominance of Portuguese in Goa, there were also many great Gentile Merchants¹⁴⁴. Additionally, during the Portuguese era there were private traders¹⁴⁵ who were direct or indirectly into trade and commerce. During that time, a number of guilds and groups probably had a big influence on controlling trade and defending the interests of merchants.

Religion was evangelised with the help of trade and commerce. During the exchange of goods, through trade system, religion was spread. In Goa and the wider Indian Ocean region in the 16th and 17th centuries, a few religious sects were heavily involved in trade. Among these, the

¹⁴² Nandkumar Kamat, "Two Millennia of Goa's Trade and Commerce: Some Interesting Observations of Interdisciplinary Importance", *Goa: Trade and Commerce (seminar papers)* Ed. S.K, Mhamai (Panaji-Goa: Directorate of Archives and Archaeology, 2020), 21.

¹⁴³ Celsa Pinto, *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India*, (New Delhi: Concept Publishing company, 1994), 98.

¹⁴⁴ Agnelo P. Fernandes, "Goa's Role in the International Trade in 16th and 17th Centuries," *Indian History Congress*, Vol. 48 (1987): 284, doi: 44141690.

¹⁴⁵ Maloni, Ruby. "Portuguese Private Traders on The Coromandel Coast 16th and 17th Centuries," *Indian History Congress* 73 (2012): 311, doi: 44156220.

Muslim community in Gujarat, the Hindu community, the Catholic community, the Jewish traders, and the Armenian community stood out for having a significant presence in maritime business¹⁴⁶.

The majority of merchants rose to prominence during the colonial era. They had access to Goa's port, which allowed them to trade with merchants worldwide. With the assistance of other trading communities, they were able to understand market economics and practices. They learnt the ethic of trade and market. The merchants were able to expand their businesses with the aid of communication and market observation. During that time period, Goa was among the ports that provided housing for trade groups and communities. Therefore, in this chapter an attempt has been made to pip into Merchants and Traders role in country trade with reference to Livro dos Cartazes. The livro dos Cartazes will try for new ideas and observations into various merchants' groups and communities in the Goa's country trade.

5.1 Establishment of Merchants before Portuguese period.

The merchant guilds that accompanied Buddhist monks on their sea voyages may have founded the earliest organized commercial centers or merchant colonies in locations like Lamgão (Bicholim taluka), Colvale (Bardez), and Rivona (Quepem)¹⁴⁷. The commercial communities of Jain merchants at Kudnem, Cotombi, and Bandivade came next. Persian settlers may have lived in Pernem and Kudnem in the Bicholim Taluka. Arab traders established their colonies toward the close of the tenth century, and they dominated Tiswadi Island¹⁴⁸. Before the Portuguese arrived, there was a Siddhis community in the Sattari taluka who were of Ethiopian descent.

Most of these commercial communities were located close to waterways. These functioned as a socio-religious complex, as evidenced by the discoveries made at Lamgão, Kudnem, Bandivade, and other sites. As 'Hanjamanas'—the perversion of 'Anjuman' in the royal grants of Rashtrakutas, Shilaharas, and Kadambas—only the Arab trading villages merited attention. It appears that the transoceanic trade was dominated by Persians and Arabs, while the Buddhist

¹⁴⁶ Pratima Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, (Panaji: Goa chamber of commerce and industry, 2009), 194.

¹⁴⁷ Nandkumar Kamat, "Two Mellenia of Goa's Trade and Commerce: Some Interesting Observations of Interdisciplinary Importance", *Goa: Trade and Commerce (seminar papers)*, Ed. S.K, Mhamai (Panaji-Goa: Directorate of Archives and Archaeology, 2020),16.

¹⁴⁸ Nandkumar Kamat, "Two Mellenia of Goa's Trade and Commerce: Some Interesting Observations of Interdisciplinary Importance", *Goa: Trade and Commerce (seminar papers)*, Ed. S.K, Mhamai (Panaji-Goa: Directorate of Archives and Archaeology, 2020),17.

and Jaina merchant guilds were mostly involved in inland and intracoastal trade¹⁴⁹. Therefore, merchants played an important role in religion sector as well.

5.2 Religious into trade

There was also a reputation among the clergy for being traders. It's interesting to note that the Religious Orders kept their newfound money to themselves rather than giving it to the Crown. It was alleged that the nuns of the Santa Monica Convent in Old Goa engaged in business ventures that rivaled the established merchants¹⁵⁰. Lending money to overseas traders was one of the accusations made against them. To administer already-existing missions, launch new ones, and further the evangelization goal, money was needed. A lot of religious orders used commerce as a way to increase their revenue. Out of all of them, the Society of Jesus quickly became quite well-known in the Goan business community¹⁵¹.

The most prominent religious organization functioning in Portuguese territory was the multifaceted Society of Jesus, a Counter-Reformation enterprise that was established in 1540 by a Papal Bull known as *Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae* (the Government of the Church Militant). In line with St. Paul's purpose, the Jesuits—known as Paulistas in the Konkan—were fervently, if not violently, dedicated to the cause of conversions¹⁵².

It was said, Viceroy's may come and go, but the Jesuit remains forever! Their Order was suppressed in 1759, although they continued to fight battles for the temporal and spiritual conquest" of the Orient for Christ when they were in India from 1542. They were not permitted to return to their Goa mission fields till the nineteenth century.

In addition to their role in the Christianization of Goa, particularly in Salcete, where they were stationed, the Jesuit missionaries were also well-known for their support of education, their creation of evangelical literature in Konkani and Marathi, and—most importantly—their roles as financiers, traders, and landlords. In addition to rent from their properties, the Crown provided them with subsidies, and they also received donations and bequests from the populace in addition to sizable earnings from their palm-grove enterprise and inland and marine trade.

¹⁴⁹ Celsa Pinto, *Goa Images and Perceptions*, (Panaji-Goa: Rajhauns Vitaran, 1996), 23.

¹⁵⁰ Pratima Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, (Panaji: Goa chamber of commerce and industry, 2009), 195.

¹⁵¹ Pinto Celsa, *Goa Images and Perceptions*, (Panaji-Goa: Rajhauns Vitaran, 1996), 28.

¹⁵² Pratima Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, (Panaji: Goa chamber of commerce and industry, 2009), 196.

In addition to managing the Royal Hospital in Goa, they oversaw the minting of coins, acted as guardians of Crown monies, and maintained the defenses of locations like Diu and Chaul¹⁵³. They also functioned as moneylenders.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, foreign visitors to Goa wrote about the Jesuits' financial skill and enterprise. However, their descriptions were not always positive, as their sly business tactics were mentioned alongside their legal commerce endeavours. For example, the French traveler Jean Baptiste Tavernier wrote of the roaring business in diamonds that the Jesuits carried out while posing as fakirs and pilgrims¹⁵⁴.

Professor C.R. Boxer, a distinguished historian of Portuguese overseas development, has expounded on the operation of the Company of Jesus in the East, characterizing it as more of a commercial enterprise than it would be a spiritual one. He further maintains that it is difficult to find some brand of activity in Portuguese Asia in which the Jesuits were not directly or indirectly involved¹⁵⁵. Slaves who were recorded in these missionaries' books of account as items were even traded in. The men who come out to India come to get money to take back to Portugal, and not to save souls, a Jesuit priest had once said¹⁵⁶.

5.3 Merchants in Goa

Along with traders belonging to Hindu, Jain, Muslim, and Christian faiths, Goa's commercial sector also included Jewish and other religious men. From the regions of the Balaghat, Gujarat, the beaches of Kanara and Malabar, Bengal, the Malay region, China, Japan, Arabia, Persia, Armenia, and Europe, traders arrived from all across the Ghats and the oceans¹⁵⁷.

The cosmopolitan city of Goa provided commercial opportunities for a diverse range of people, including the Gujarati Baniyas, the Konkanis of the Kanara coast, the Malabaris, Jews, West Asians, Abyssinians, East Africans, South-East and East Asians, Portuguese, Castilians, Italians, Germans, Dutch, French, and Croatians¹⁵⁸.

Details on Jews from Spain and Portugal's commercial involvement in the port of Goa starting in the sixteenth century can be found in contemporary archives. The international commercial

¹⁵³ Pratima Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, (Panaji: Goa chamber of commerce and industry, 2009), 196

¹⁵⁴ Pratima Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, (Panaji: Goa chamber of commerce and industry, 2009), 196.

¹⁵⁵ C.R. Boxer, *Portuguese India in the Mid-Seventeenth Century*, (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1980), 43.

¹⁵⁶ Pratima Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, (Panaji: Goa chamber of commerce and industry, 2009), 196.

¹⁵⁷ Pratima Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, (Panaji: Goa chamber of commerce and industry, 2009), 194.

¹⁵⁸ Pratima Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, (Panaji: Goa chamber of commerce and industry, 2009), 194

community in Goa included Italians such as Jeorge Midosse of Rome, who had ties to Brazil, Armenians like Estevão Camille, who dealt with the French, and Croatians who had constructed the Church of São Bras in Gaundalim¹⁵⁹.

German traders¹⁶⁰ engaged in the precious stone and diamond trade were also drawn to Goa. Some German merchants had asked the Portuguese king for permission to establish their business establishment in Lisbon, after Lisbon had taken the place of Venice as "the commercial headquarters of Europe" at the start of the sixteenth century¹⁶¹. Following the granting of the necessary authorization in 1503 together with commercial concessions, Germany started a persistent involvement in East Asian trade. German traders traded in jewels and precious stones as they were not allowed to sell in Indian spices¹⁶²."

Goa was a commercial hub for German merchants and business families such as the Fuggers, Welsers, Hans Schwertzer, Jorge Herwart, and Imhoff. Ferdinand Cron's story embodies the narrative of European commercial wealth supporting Portuguese foreign trade and the Estado da India throughout the 17th century¹⁶³. Over time, this merchant money caused the Carreira's state-sponsored trade to diminish while private trade increased in tandem.

In his late 20s, Cron traveled to India to establish a German business in Cochin. He relocated to Goa, where he wed a Portuguese nobleman's daughter and became a "morador y casado" (resident and married man). He was a multifaceted man: He was involved in the administration of the city of Goa; he was a member of the Santa Casa de Misericordia; he advanced money to Portuguese viceroys and governors (including 6,000 xerafins to the Viceroy, Ayres de Saldanha, to fit out a fleet against the Dutch); he traded in precious stones, textiles, and indigo; ran a courier service to send letters between Goa and Lisbon in 1611; and he served as the procurador for the Spanish queen in Asia¹⁶⁴.

William Bolts, a European working for the East India Company in Trieste, went to Goa to secure a pact with the Portuguese government that would increase Austria's trade with Daman¹⁶⁵. Without Lisbon's knowledge, the Goa administration signed the commercial contract on October 4, 1778. When it was later discovered that Bolts had engaged in actions

¹⁵⁹ Pratima Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, (Panaji: Goa chamber of commerce and industry, 2009), 194

¹⁶⁰ Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, 195

¹⁶¹ Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, 195

¹⁶² Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, 195.

¹⁶³ Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, 195

¹⁶⁴ Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, 195.

¹⁶⁵ Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, 194

antagonistic to the Portuguese Crown in East Africa, the Goa administration was greatly embarrassed, and the pact was revoked.

5.4 Hindu Merchant community and culture

A vital component of the Goan business scene in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the Hindu merchant society. During this time, the trade and commerce of Goa was greatly influenced by the combined efforts of the Hindu retail community. Tradesmen, financiers, and merchants engaged in a variety of local and global trade activities made up the Hindu population in Goa¹⁶⁶. Contributing to the region's economic growth, they exchanged commodities including textiles, agricultural products, spices, and other items. To promote trade and aid their fellow members, these merchants were frequently arranged into guilds or associations. Merchant collaboration was encouraged, disagreements were settled, and standards of corporate conduct were upheld by these associations. Linkages to trading networks throughout the Indian Ocean region were one prominent feature of the Hindu merchant community in Goa. Indian traders from Goa had trade connections with Southeast Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and other important Indian trading hubs like Surat, Calicut, and Cochin. They helped Goa's economy remain resilient in the face of shifting political and economic environments by being resilient, adaptable, and enterprising.

5.5 Women participation into mercantile network.

There are a few references to affluent Hindu Camotin (Kamat) business households being represented by women in the second part of the eighteenth century. The Portuguese authorities were informed by Bhagavatiny Camotiny, the widow of Raulu Camotin, that her business was the most important business house of the city of Goa and greatly involved in the seaborne trade of the empire¹⁶⁷.

According to contemporaneous documents, Rucuminim Camotininim oversaw Goa's premier business establishment during the final quarter of the 1700s¹⁶⁸. In the modern records, the widow of Gopal Kamat is also identified as a merchant with his headquarters in Kumbharjua. Their precise position in running the family firm is still up in the air. Furthermore, in the 1620s,

¹⁶⁶ Noelle Richardson, "Hindu Mercantile Culture and Practices in Goa", 1750–1818 koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, 2022, DOI:10.1163/9789004506572_010.

¹⁶⁷ Pratima Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, (Panaji: Goa chamber of commerce and industry, 2009), 195.

¹⁶⁸ Celsa Pinto, *Goa Images and Perceptions*, (Panaji-Goa: Rajhauns Vitaran, 1996), 50.'

women like Ragozi Devi dealt in diamonds and other precious stones as certified pedraria merchants¹⁶⁹. According to Pyrard de Laval's testimony, women traveled from Balaghat to Goa as part of the caravans that transported goods for Goa¹⁷⁰. He was taken aback to see so many people entering Goa from Balaghat, males as well as women, bearing all types of stuff on horses, oxen, donkeys, and other beasts of burden.

The Goan merchants engaged in a mercantile network that connected Goa to Lisbon, Brazil, Moçambique, Macau, and other locations. Occasionally, foreign businesswomen would join this network, such as Dona Luisa de Mello from Macau and the Brazilian company Cazmiro, Widow and Sons¹⁷¹.

5.6 Cartazes and mercantile network

The Portuguese compelled the local kings and traders to purchase cartazes, or safe conducts, from them to travel in the Arabian Sea as a result of their presumptive claim. In addition to securing Lusitanian sovereignty in Indian waters, these Portuguese-issued sailing permits, which were usually valid for a year, brought in money for the Portuguese¹⁷².

Aside from the ship's name, owner, and crew, the cartazes included information about the route to be taken, the ports to be visited, the enemy ports to avoid, the goods to be carried on board (along with specific instructions about the goods, such as Crown monopolies, which should not be carried), and other rules to be followed.

Despite being obligated to do so by terms of a contract they had signed, the Portuguese were not always kind in giving cartazes, particularly to monarchs like the Adil Shah. For instance, the Portuguese denied a request for a cartazes in 1618 and then issued one when Adil Shah used coercion: the latter imprisoned Portuguese ships at the port of Dabhol and only freed them after the cartazes were issued¹⁷³.

The Portuguese might search, detain, or even sink the ships of the local merchants whose ships were trading with the Portuguese enemy. Hence, the Portuguese stationed armadas along the west coast of India and elsewhere to guarantee the cartaz system's successful deployment.

¹⁶⁹ Pratima Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, (Panaji: Goa chamber of commerce and industry, 2009), 161,

¹⁷⁰ Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, 161.

¹⁷¹ Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, 161

¹⁷² Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, 162

¹⁷³ Historical Archives of Goa, Ms, 1363, Livro dos Cartazes (Book of Sailing Permits).

Nonetheless, there have been documented instances of political pressure leading to the escape or even the return of captured vessels.

There have been cases of the Portuguese being tolerant with Bijapuri ships that were captured or sunk due to violations of the cartazes issued to them, namely in the seventeenth century during the Luso-Dutch rivalry¹⁷⁴.

For instance, a Bijapuri ship that had broken the terms of the cartaz that had been issued to it was caught and burned in the port of Rajapur in 1642¹⁷⁵. At a time when the Dutch were breathing down the Portuguese neck, the Adil Shah promptly threatened war, something the Portuguese could ill afford to sustain. Therefore, the Adil Shah was given the value of the ship in exchange for a promise that the officers who set fire to it would suffer the consequences. Similar to this, a Bijapuri ship that the Portuguese had taken at Hormuz in 1644 was given back to its owner with all of its goods still on board¹⁷⁶.

The establishment of the vedor, checkpoints, alfandegas, and other similar structures were significant trade regulators in the Estado da India, if the cartazes were intended to guarantee Portuguese control over ship movements and economic activities in Indian Ocean waters¹⁷⁷.

Therefore, it would be appropriate to briefly discuss the commerce administration that the Portuguese established in order to maximize their profits and to briefly examine the commercial laws that were enacted during the colonial era.

5.7 Commerce, merchants, and commodities

The number of Merchants participated in imports and exports of commodities. Merchants belonging to different religious groups used boats, coolies, pack animals, and carts to transport food and other necessities into Goa. The last one consisted of cotias of salt, wheat, and rice, almadias of fish, jackfruits, melons, and cucumbers; jangadas of palm leaves, hay, and firewood. Customs duties did not apply to food, horses, or gold. Goa imported food items such as rice, cereals, and wheat from Gujarat, the Bijapuri kingdom situated above the Ghats, and the Kanara coast.

¹⁷⁴ Historical Archives of Goa, Ms, 1363, Livro dos Cartazes (Book of Sailing Permits).

¹⁷⁵ K.M. Mathew, *Portuguese Trade in India in the sixteenth century*, (New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1983), 35.

¹⁷⁶ Ahmad, Afzal. "Goa Based Portuguese Export Trade in The Early 17th Century (1611-1626)." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 41 (1980): 349–56. doi:44141857.

¹⁷⁷ Pratima Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, (Panaji: Goa chamber of commerce and industry, 2009), 162.

The majority of traders in this commerce were Saraswats, who contributed to the feeder trade in coconuts from the South, whereas the Hindus from the vani group made up the majority of the dealing community. Liquor trafficking was typically managed by Christians. The bulk of local merchants were involved in the profitable Balaghat trade throughout the 1800s¹⁷⁸.

Additionally, Hindus made up the majority of the traders in the hinterland tobacco trade. There were even a few Catholics involved in this trade.

Local merchants flourished under Portuguese by extending their commercial enterprise to a wider spectrum such as taking up trade in copper and other things imported by the Portuguese and sending commodities to various distant places under the security provided by the system of cartazes.¹⁷⁹

Goa imported food items such as rice, cereals, and wheat from Gujarat, the Bijapuri kingdom situated above the Ghats, and the Kanara coast¹⁸⁰. Goa was a leading exporter of arecanuts, coconuts, copra, salt, salted fish, and coconut oil. Across the Ghats were sold foreign goods like as sugar, paper, and liquor from Lisbon and Macau. The coconut trade was so profitable that imports of coconuts from South India were made in order to sell them at Balaghat.

Tobacco was one important item that reached Goa over the Ghat route. It traveled to Goa from both domestic and international markets, including those in Brazil, Mozambique, and Lisbon¹⁸¹. This item was provided by Bengal, Kanara, Gujarat, South India, Vengurla, and the Balaghat region, particularly after Brazil gained its independence.

Between 1770 and 1830, saltpetre played a significant role in the Goa-Lisbon route. For this use, it was imported from Bengal and Balaghat. A portion was shipped to Portugal, while the remainder was utilized at the arsenal of Goa¹⁸². The cheaper Balaghat saltpetre was shipped from Goa to Portugal with the help of the Mhamais.

Goa's textile industry played a key role in East Asian trade. More than 70% of all Goan exports to Portugal were textiles, ranging from coarse cloth to fine muslins¹⁸³. These exports were made

¹⁷⁸ Pratima Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, (Panaji: Goa chamber of commerce and industry, 2009), 167.

¹⁷⁹ K.S. Mathew, "Indian Merchants and the Portuguese Trade on the Malabar coast during the sixteenth century," *Indo-Portuguese history old issues, new questions*, edited by Teotonio R De Souza (New Delhi: concept publishing company, 1985), 10.

¹⁸⁰ B.S. Shastri, *Goa-Kanara Portuguese relations 1498-1763*, (New Delhi: Concept publishing company, 2000). 34.

¹⁸¹ Afzal Ahmad, *Indo-Portuguese Trade in 17th century*, (New Delhi: Gian Publishing House, 1991), 87.

¹⁸² Pratima Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, (Panaji: Goa chamber of commerce and industry, 2009), 190

¹⁸³ Pratima Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, (Panaji: Goa chamber of commerce and industry, 2009), 190

to Portugal, Africa, and Brazil. Additionally, Goa was a textile producer, particularly in its state-owned mills in Betim, Chimbél, Mandur, Talaulim, Taleigão, Kumbharjua, and Mapuça. Chimbél, Betim, and Porpangim were the locations of the factories that made silk textiles. Moreover, in 1783, at Kumbharjua, a Royal factory was established mainly to meet local demands for textiles. Even while Hindu merchants such as the Naiks, Kamats, Loundos, and Sinays made up the majority of these traders, non-Hindus such as Catholic priests also participated in this industry¹⁸⁴.

During the Portuguese era, Goa emerged as a significant Indian hub for the commerce of precious stones, including rubies, sapphires, pearls, and diamonds. Indians, New Christians, and Europeans all took part in this trade. The Goa-Lisbon-Antwerp axis was frequented by new Christian traders.

5.8 Private traders

In Portuguese Goa, private traders took advantage of the holes in the monopoly structures that the Dutch and English had created. A portion of Portuguese merchants and officials with business interests flew their ships under the British flag to continue trading with Moçambique and other regions of East Africa during the Dutch blockade of Goa¹⁸⁵. To avoid being discovered by the Dutch, the Indian governor of Surat registered the cargo of British vessels that the governor of Daman had even leased.

5.9 Importance of Local Merchants

Local Merchants were very important during 16th century. Most of the local merchants served as contractors for the Portuguese, reaching out to the farmers directly by visiting different locations and delivering rice, clothing, and money in exchange for pepper, ginger, and other produce when it was time for harvest. To exchange for the goods available there, they brought cotton textiles from Cambay to the coast of Malabar¹⁸⁶. After getting the advance from the Portuguese authorities, they would sometimes store the goods themselves and deliver them when the ships were loaded and headed for Portugal.

Local traders delivered goods to Portuguese factories after purchasing goods from farmers at fixed prices. In 1504, Cherina Marakkar gave the Portuguese 3,000 bhars of pepper. Her goal

¹⁸⁴ Pratima Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, (Panaji: Goa chamber of commerce and industry, 2009), 191-192.

¹⁸⁵ Celsa Pinto, *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India*, (New Delhi: Concept Publishing company, 1994).127.

¹⁸⁶ Teotonio R. De Souza, *Indo-Portuguese History Old issues, New questions*, (New Delhi: Concept Publishing, 1985), 4.

was to make as much money as possible by buying goods at the lowest cost and selling them at a set price¹⁸⁷.

Merchants like Ali Apula and Mathias and Bragaida Taquatome provided services to the Portuguese, earning them remuneration¹⁸⁸. In addition to receiving special allowances for assisting in the discovery of cargo along the southern Malabar coast, they were paid twenty crusados annually. These retailers served as paid representatives¹⁸⁹.

Trade was conducted internationally by local merchants, especially the more enterprising ones, who also provided the Portuguese with goods. Cartazes from Portuguese officials were utilized by Cherina Marakkar of Cochin to transport goods to Eden. Prominent Indian merchant Khoja Shams-ud-din carried goods to Mecca and Ormuz from his trading establishments in Arabia and Persia. There were trading houses in the Red Sea region owned by his brother Abdul Jabbar¹⁹⁰.

Prominent regional traders were given permission to trade with regions around the Persian and Red Seas, which benefited the Portuguese. By gathering information on the movements of Turks and relaying it to Khoja Shams-ud-din, the Portuguese were able to get ready for any threats. Jewish traders participated in the sixteenth-century Indo-Portuguese trade as well¹⁹¹. They brought the textiles they had gathered from Cambay to the coast of Malabar, where the Portuguese traded them for pepper and other goods.

5.10 Mhamais trade business in Goa

Mhamais are the Saraswat brahmin family, involved in business during the late 16th century. The records of the Mhamais papers in the XCHR institution contributed to the Goa's Country trade. (Fig 2) The appellate of Mhamai was added by the Camotins to their name to indicate their love and devotion to the family goddess Mhamaya. They dedicated a temple build at Fatorpa to this century had goddess. Mhamais were involved with textile trade in Goa-brazil.

¹⁸⁷ Teotonio R. De Souza, *Indo-Portuguese History Old issues, New questions*, (New Delhi: Concept Publishing, 1985), 5.

¹⁸⁸ De Souza, *Indo-Portuguese History Old issues, New questions*, 5.

¹⁸⁹ De Souza, *Indo-Portuguese History Old issues, New questions*, 6.

¹⁹⁰ De Souza, *Indo-Portuguese History Old issues, New questions*, 6-7.

¹⁹¹ De Souza, *Indo-Portuguese History Old issues, New questions*, 10.

Brazil was into cargo bullion movements, the mhamais too often paid in bullion. For example. A letter dated April 7, 1815, indicates that Domingos Pereira de Aguiar of Bahia informed the Mhamai brothers that he would be despatching 258 meias doblas and 7 gold bars on board the vessel Princeza Real under the command of Joaquim Ignacio Lobo¹⁹². The Mhamais received this consignment april 7, 1816 which was transported on board the Gram Cruz and not Princeza Real. This is according to a letter written by the Mhamais to Domingos Pereira Aguiar. On November 30, 1816, the Mhamai brothers ordered for the sending of good to the fact the quality gold bars, patacas or meias doblas¹⁹³.

Crockery too was often shipped to Brazil by the Mhamais. We have an account of the sale of two boxes of crockery despatched on board the ship San Joze Americano consigned to Henrique Jose Loureiro by the Mhamais. This account dated November 17, 1813, states that the sales brought in 535000. After deducting the expenses, the net profit amounted to 265679¹⁹⁴.

The Mhamais would also send consignments of paper and cinnamon, as a letter dated August 11, 1810, written by João Gomes Duarte and Domingos Alvarez Loureiro to the Mhamais indicates¹⁹⁵.

The Mhamai documentation mirror quite distinctly the intimate business relationship between the Mhamai brothers and the loureiros who owned ships and whose network of operations included Brazil. Domingos Alvarez Loureiro and Loureiros who owned ships and João Gomes Duarte were active on the Goa - Brazil channel as textile merchants. Their uncle Francisco Gomes Loureiro had held the post of consul General of Portugal at Bombay and other ports on the Malabar coast. He was also factor at Surat from 1795 till his death in 1806. João Gomes Loureiro brother of Francisco was also appointed Director of the Feitoria de Surrate and Portuguese Counsel at that port and the ports on the Malabar, initially for a term of three years but was subsequently re-appointed for two more triennials. Henrique Joze Loureiro occupied the same post as his father João 1814 to 1822. Both João and Henrique figure significantly from Mhamai House papers as shippers and traders on the Goa - Brazil run. Thomas Loureiro and Simão de Rocha Loureiro at Brazil also had close business connections with the Mhamais. Other business associates of the Mhamais included Joze Pereira de Souza, Joze Luis Alvarez,

¹⁹² Celsa Pinto, *Goa Images and Perceptions*, (Panaji-Goa: Rajhauns Vitaran, 1996), 54.

¹⁹³ Celsa Pinto, *Goa Images and Perceptions*, (Panaji-Goa: Rajhauns Vitaran, 1996), 56.

¹⁹⁴ XCHR: MHP (Portuguese), doc. dated. 17 November 1813.

¹⁹⁵ XCHR: MHP (Portuguese), docs. dated. 10 Aug. 1810, 11 Aug 1810.

João Francisco Antonio Pinto de Vasconcelles, Domingos Gomes Duarte, Rufino Peres Baptista, Andre da Cunha Rego, Domingos Pereira de Aguiar and Antonio Joze Viegas. Therefore, Mhamai documentation provides evidence that consigning and freighting goods were commonly practised. Also, there were bills that were exchanged as a means of payment during business exchanges.

5.11 The merchant World: Methods and Practices

The Agency House

The Agency House was a significant aspect of early modern Asian private trade, a family partnership supported by shared assets. It was a preferred method to ensure the issue remained within the family and avoid dissolution. Several such business houses existed in the Estado da India in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The houses were established near a harbor, with roomy, well-furnished buildings. The partners were expected to be flexible and reliable. To open a business house, permission from port authorities was required, and a business law document was drafted and approved by all partners. Profits and losses were split evenly. The most capable individual was the Director, with subordinates having complete control¹⁹⁶.

Regular meetings were held to discuss sales, purchases, and new rates. Accountants, or "caints," monitored accounts and audited them at the end of the year. The House's overseer (fiel) held keys to safes and godowns, and spies (mexiriqueiros) observed rival businesses to inform future plans. Porters, guards, and servants were also employed¹⁹⁷.

An agency house was a trading house that engaged in commission-based buying and selling on behalf of others. Merchants hired agents to handle their business affairs, who paid a set commission for representation, sales, and purchases. Commission fees varied based on the agent's standing, and the principal was required to accept credit for gains and losses. Merchants bonded themselves to agents at each port of call, especially for Europeans who had limited knowledge of local conditions. Merchants would have agents in several ports while serving as commission agents¹⁹⁸.

¹⁹⁶ Celsa Pinto, *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India*, (New Delhi: Concept Publishing company, 1994), 63.

¹⁹⁷ Pinto, *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India*, 64.

¹⁹⁸ Pinto, *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India*, 65.

Consignment Method

Goods were consigned by merchants for sale. A sale on consignment agreement required the consignee to sell the items on the consignor's behalf. The consignor claimed ownership of the goods and was responsible for paying all shipping, insurance, and packing costs. They also covered any costs the consignee may incur because of the consignment sale. He was also responsible for taking on the risks associated with the sale. The consignee was compensated with a commission only if he successfully sold the goods at the price set by the consignor. Tradesmen such as Rogerio de Faria and Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy would assign their opium loads to Jardine Matheson & Co. and additional British traders based in China¹⁹⁹.

Shroffage

The shroffs needed to assist the merchant. Because they could assay or test coins, the shroffs (sarrafs) in most west coast Indian cities, especially Surat, controlled the money market. They were able to stabilize the market exchange rate within the city as a result. They were crucial in determining the consignment's value. They gave credit to the city. They also oversaw marine insurance, and it appears that merchants would either send goods overseas on respondentia or obtain insurance for them. Every shipment required the assistance of sarrafs who dealt with respondentia or insurance. Remitting money by bills of exchange was one of the Sarrafs other economic responsibilities²⁰⁰.

Brokerage

Merchants frequently acted as brokers or even hired brokers on a contract basis. Brokerage was an acknowledged native commercial activity approved by customary law. A common component of the conventional trading system was brokerage. It was not specifically designed to satisfy the demands of European traders, even though Europeans required them far more than Native Americans did. Brokers typically fell into one of two categories. A general broker would handle all of the merchants' purchases and sales, and any significant merchant would hire this broker. The merchant was connected to another kind of broker who deals with specialty goods by the general broker²⁰¹.

¹⁹⁹ Celsa Pinto, *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India*, (New Delhi: Concept Publishing company, 1994), 65.

²⁰⁰ Celsa Pinto, *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India*, 65.

²⁰¹ Celsa Pinto, *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India*, 65.

Ship ownership and freighting.

Shippers made significant profits carrying cargoes owned by different merchants in the burgeoning west coast trade of India. A freighting fee was assessed, which could be paid either upfront or upon the consignments' safe arrival at the destination port. 68 in The length of the trip determined the freight charge. On behalf of Feliciano Antonio Nogueira, who is based in Lisbon, Venkatesha Kamat was paid Rs. 180 in freight charges for bringing clothing and fabrics from Surat on board the ship *Estrela de Madrugada*. Transport freight to Macao cost between 10% and 20% of the total freight cost. The Mhamai brothers sent 70 sixteen boxes of incense, each weighing 18 ½ picos, to Macao from Goa. The freight cost was at 20 %²⁰².

Insurance

Additionally, the insurance system was a reasonably well-organized one. Due to the significant risks involved, insurance was actually required for valuable cargoes such as opium, treasure, slaves, ivory, and the like. Even in the best of circumstances, there have always been hazards associated with moving cargo over large distances. The movement of ships and their cargoes was dangerous due to piracy, hazardous seas, storms, floods, fires, and intermittent warfare. Jakmi hundis, or insurance policies, were created in response to these situations. The insurers agreed to pay a fixed sum known as the premium in exchange for their promise to indemnify any and all losses brought on by maritime hazards. The cost of insuring ships and goods varied according to the type of goods and the risks associated with a given route. The insurance charge rate varied from two percent to thirty-five percent." In the 1830s, opium shipments from Bombay to China required a 2-½ percent premium from the exporters²⁰³.

The Mhamai correspondence makes multiple references to the insurance industry. For example, in a letter to the Mhamais dated April 17, 1790, Jacinto Domingos of Surat mentions three copies of an insurance policy with a Rs. 25,000 premium that was prepared for and requested by the Mhamais²⁰⁴. On the *Salvamento* ship, which was sailing from Goa to Batavia²⁰⁵, the policy was adopted. A mention is also made of a Surat-made insurance policy for Rs. 40,000 on the ship *Marques de Anjeya*, which sailed for Lisbon in 1798²⁰⁶.

²⁰² Celsa Pinto, *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India*, (New Delhi: Concept Publishing company, 1994), 66.

²⁰³ Teotonio R, de. Souza, "Goa-based Portuguese Seaborne Trade in the Early Seventeenth Century". *The Indian Economic & Social History Review*, 12(4), (1975), 436, doi: 001946467501200405.

²⁰⁴ Celsa Pinto, *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India*, (New Delhi: Concept Publishing company, 1994), 67.

²⁰⁵ XCHR: MHP (Portuguese), doc. dated 7 April 1790.

²⁰⁶ XCHR: MHP (Portuguese), doc. dated 31 Aug. 1798.

Banking and Credit System

Success in mercantile endeavors prompts prosperous merchants to engage in banking activities, as seen in the Estado's merchants. Lending money was considered a respectable profession, and local moneylenders and bankers would lend to known and unknown individuals. The Mhamais, for example, functioned as bankers, providing credit and loans to the government, traders, and the French. Interest rates varied based on the borrower's status, loan amount, duration, and security provided. In Portuguese India, interest rates were typically between 9 and 10%²⁰⁷

Respondentia bonds were a significant source of credit for investments, providing shippers with loans to buy export cargo and rent a vessel. The interest rate on respondentia loans varied based on the length of the journey and the hazards associated with the destinations. The Portuguese credit system was well-managed, with explicit duties and obligations for both the debtor and the creditor. Deviations from these rules drew criticism from society and government action²⁰⁸.

Mode of Payment

The hundi, the earliest known means of credit and money transfer, has been widely used in western coastal India since the twelfth century. The term comes from the Sanskrit root hund, meaning "to collect." Portuguese traders at the port of Surat used the services of the sarraf to issue hundis for money transfer. The hundi was an order for payment on demand, with no witness signatures or seal. In Portuguese India, bills of exchange known as letras de câmbio were popular, acting as a substitute for cash²⁰⁹.

The hundi was also a negotiable document that functioned as a credit instrument, allowing merchants to raise money for business dealings, manufacturing projects, and the transfer of funds and goods between parties. Some Asian merchants used hundis as a means of investment. Established customary law governed the responsibilities of the parties involved in a hundi, with the drawee returning the instrument if the drawee declined to honor it. The hundi played a crucial role in the business world of the Estado and beyond²¹⁰.

²⁰⁷ Celsa, Pinto. *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India*, (New Delhi: Concept Publishing company, 1994), 68.

²⁰⁸ Celsa, Pinto. *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India*, 68.

²⁰⁹ Celsa, Pinto. *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India*, 71.

²¹⁰ Celsa, Pinto. *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India*, 72.

Merchants in Goa were very special people in trade business. Their role has helped to make Goa rich in trade. They made lot of money in selling and transporting trade across the globe. Portuguese trusted merchants in their trade business and most of the trade were handled by them. Through religion, trade was flourished. Different trade groups equally helped to increase the trade in Goa's country trade. There are regularly high volume of import and export from Goa's port. Textiles and spice trade became very famous in country trade. It has been observed that in Goa's country trade, textiles and spices were exported across the globe in large quantities.

Chapter 6 - Conclusion

Throughout the ages, trade and commerce have always been vital to human civilization. Analyzing Goa's involvement in country trade as evidenced by Livro dos cartazes was a remarkable way to learn about the dynamics of the trading system, trade routes and networks, and the role of merchants in mercantilism from the 16th to the 18th century.

First of all, the Livro dos Cartazes is an important historical record that offers comprehensive insights into the complexities of Goa's business dealings. Its detailed records provide insight into the goods exchanged, the paths taken, and the wide range of traders engaged in cross-border commerce. This historical gold mine not only reveals the commercial interactions that fueled Goa's economic growth but also the region's critical function as a hub for trade in the Indian Ocean.

Goa was very much part of Country trade. Riverine, climate, islands, monsoon winds, arabian sea, indian ocean etc has been connected in country trade to become rich. Natural and geographical location helped Goa in country trade to develop. Goa was the safest port. It provided safety for Merchants and traders in Goa. Horse trade flourished under Goa and gained maximum revenue. Goa exported Coconut, mangoes, Fish, Salt, Cashew Nut under country trade. Spices, textiles, Saltpetre were the major imports of Goa under country trade. Goa was the perfect destination for trade during 16th to 18th century. Pre-Portuguese period trade also prospered dynamically. Women was also participated in mercantile network. Women were into business. Religious and clergy were also involved into trade and commerce. Goa earned lot of profits from trade.

Chandrapur, Gopakapatnam, Ela, remained as an important port of Goa. Due to trade prosperity Goa was always the Bone of Contention between different powers. Each port had its own weakness and strengths during country trade. The importance of the Livro dos cartazes can be seen in many ways. After the livro dos cartazes there was law and order came into existence into sea route. There were number of cartazes issued during the 17th century. The coming of Portuguese through sea route was the great revolution into history. The discovery of sea route and Portuguese monopoly on spice trade was fantastic. It was a boom to trade. Portuguese and its officials earned lots of revenue from spice trade and other commodities. Portuguese were very much successful on the Indian ocean by issuing lots of cartazes. The system of cartaz was the fun in trade. Through cartaz system they monopolized trade and ranked with higher status as Lord of the sea.

The land trade also started to gain significance as the seventeenth century got underway. At the start of the seventeenth century, the ratio between land and sea trade was 12:1, down from 15:1 at the close of the sixteenth century. It had reached a 6:1 ratio in favor of more land transactions by 1617.

Mhamais of Goa in the network of Trade and culture played a crucial role in intermediates in import and export to overseas, hinterland and even international markets. They were not only successful as a pivotal role but also making Goa at globalization level. The involvement Mhamay family The Mhamai family's role in the country trade of slaves and opium is likely to attract the curiosity of scholars whose interest in Goan or Indo-Portuguese history is limited. It was the great contribution from Mhamais during 16th to 18th century.

The local merchants were very influential and convincing into markets. They were smart enough to purchase the commodities at the cheapest price possible from the cultivators and sell them to the Portuguese at the stipulated rate. They were the one who got the opportunity of increasing the rate of their profits. They made lot of money through trade and earned their reputation in front of Portuguese officials.

The transportation landscape of Goa during the early centuries of Portuguese rule is reconstructed in part by means of traveler descriptions. Finely crafted river networks served as trade routes connecting the coast and the Ghat areas. Thus, country crafts and rafts, cafilas of coastal boats, pack animals, oxen carts, and coolies carrying headloads were all engaged in active commerce.

Looking more closely at the Livro's entries reveals patterns and trends that shed light on how Goa's country trade has changed over time. The range of goods recorded highlights the richness and diversity of Goa's commercial repertoire, ranging from textiles and spices to precious metals and gemstones. Furthermore, the Livro's observations of trade volume fluctuations provide important context for understanding the ways in which Goa's trading dynamics were impacted by geopolitical events, market demands, and economic fluctuations.

The Livro dos Cartazes also reveals the complex network of trade connections that bound Goa to other parts of the Indian subcontinent and beyond. Following the routes indicated in the Livro clarifies Goa's essential role in the larger marine commerce network, enabling interactions with far-off places across the Arabian Sea and beyond as well as with nearby territories. This connectivity highlights the transnational nature of Goa's trading environment and its essential function as a medium for the spread and interchange of cultures.

Apart from its economic importance, the *Livro dos Cartazes* provides insightful information about the regulatory framework used by Portuguese authorities to control and manage trade in Goa. The *Livro* meticulously records the issuance of *Cartazes*, which acted as a tool of control by defining the conditions of trade for merchants and defending Portuguese commercial interests. However, as indigenous traders negotiated the complexities of colonial governance and asserted their agency in the face of regulatory constraints, the enforcement of trade regulations also gave rise to tensions and conflicts.

In conclusion, a rich tapestry of political, cultural, and economic interactions that shaped the course of the region during the colonial era is revealed by studying Goa in country trade through the *Livro dos Cartazes*. Through a thorough examination of the entries found in the *Livro*, we are able to learn a great deal about the intricacies of trade in Goa, the legal systems that oversaw trade, and the wider ramifications for local and international dynamics. The *Livro dos Cartazes* bears witness to Goa's lasting legacy as a thriving entrepôt in the Indian Ocean trade, as we continue to explore the state's archived treasures.

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