

“Goa in the Maritime Trade: A Study of *Alfandegas*.”

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DECLARATION BY STUDENT

I hereby declare that the data presented in this Dissertation report entitled, "Goa in the Maritime Trade: A study of *Alfandegas* " 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 Dr. Nagendra Rao and the same has not been submitted elsewhere for the award of a degree or diploma by me. Further, I understand that Goa University or its authorities will be not be responsible for the correctness of observations/ experimental or other findings given the internship report/work.

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COMPLETION CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation report “Goa in the Maritime Trade: A study of *Alfandegas* ” is a bonafide work carried out by Mr Mahendra Mangesh Gaonkar under my supervision 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

I decided to explore the maritime trade history of Goa because the Goa archives are full of sources that are significant to understanding trade history, and one collection, the *Alfandega* records, caught my attention. They seemed to hold a lot of potential for bringing out Goa's maritime past, so I chose this topic for my master's dissertation.

My research, titled "Goa in Maritime Trade: *A Study of Alfandegas*," focuses on the significance of these records in understanding Goa's maritime history. I looked into customs records to learn about the goods traded, the local traders involved, and how Goa connected with other places through trade.

To do this research, I used a mix of method approaches, which included qualitative and quantitative methods. I visited various historical repositories for research such as Krishnadas Shama Goa State Central Library, Panaji, Goa University Library, Taleigao Plateau, and most important Department of Archives, Ribander, where alfandegas records are housed.

Working on this topic has been exciting because I got to work with primary sources that as *Alfandega* records. Analyzing them has helped me get new insights into Goa's colonial trade history.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I am immensely grateful to everyone who has supported me throughout this study. First and foremost, I express my gratitude to the Almighty for guiding me through every step of this journey and assisting me in completing my internship.

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I would like to extend my gratitude to all the faculty members of the History Department, Dr. Pratima Kamat, Dr. Parag Parobo, Dr. Seema Risbud, Dr. NaliniNaik, Mr Vinod Kankonkar and Ms. SnehaGhadi. Their valuable suggestions and encouragement have been instrumental in shaping my research.

I also extend my appreciation to Franz Schubert Agnelo De Miranda Cotta, Assistant Professor of Portuguese & Lusophone Studies at Goa University, for his assistance with Portuguese transcription. Additionally, I am grateful to Amit Patel, a student of Portuguese, for his help with transcription.

I extend my sincere appreciation to the dedicated staff at the Goa University Library and the Central Library for their assistance, resources, and willingness to support my research. Special thanks to the staff at the Archives and its Library for their invaluable assistance in retrieving historical documents and primary sources crucial to my research.

This study is the culmination of the efforts and collaboration of all these individuals. I extend a heartfelt thank you to each of you for your invaluable contributions, which have played a pivotal role in shaping my research internship experience.

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GLOSSARY

Alfandega - customs house

Alvara- Ordinance

Cafila- Convoy of ships

Canarine- A native Goan

Carreira- the round trip of Portuguese India- men

Cartaz- a safe conduct pass

Casado – a married setteler

Capitão de Cidade- Captain of City.

Esrivao- a scribe

Estado da India- the Portuguese state in India

Feitor- factor, a person incharge of trading station

Feitorias- factory

Fazenda Real- treasury department.

Guarda- guard- guardss

Juiz de alfandega – customs inspector.

Nao- a larges ship

Provisao- legislative provisions

Porteiro- janitor

Recebedor- tax collector

Regimento- standing order

Rendas-tax farming contracts

Quintal- about 1 hundred weight (51 grams)

Soldado- soldier

Vaniya-member of gujrat hindu merchant community.

ABSTRACT

The dissertation "Goa in the Maritime Trade: A Study of *Alfandegas*" explores the vital role of Goa in maritime trade, focusing on the *Alfandegas* records as a valuable source of insights into trade and commerce. These records, found in the Goa Archives, provide in-depth details about the entry and exit of ships, the nature and value of imports and exports, the merchants involved, commercial laws, and more, covering the period from the 16th to 19th centuries. By examining customs records and historical documents, this study seeks to understand the evolution of *Alfandegas* in Goa from check post to Portuguese customs house and their impact on regulating commerce in the region. The source is studied to understand the economic scenario of colonial Goa, commodities traded, local traders, and their contributions to trade. The research focuses on the development and role of *alfandegas* in Goa, and their engagement in both coastal and overseas trade networks during the colonial period. It also identifies the different commodities traded and the trade connections Goa had with various regions. The study highlights the interconnectedness of Goa with distant ports such as Lisbon, Macao, and Mozambique, showcasing its significant role as a trading hub in the Indian Ocean region. By examining the administrative changes and customs duties imposed during this period, this study presents a detailed examination of *Alfandega* records which provided new insights into Goa's trade history during the colonial period.

Keywords:

Goa, Maritime Trade, *Alfandegas*, Customs Duties, Local Traders, Administration.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The coastal region of Goa strategically positioned along the Arabian sea has played a crucial role in maritime trade networks. The ancient port capital of Chandrapur, Gopakapattana and Ella had serviced Indian ocean trade and enjoyed commercial relation with ancient Egyptian, Phoenicians, Greeks, Jews and Arabs. The Portuguese presence in India began with Vasco da Gama's historic voyage in 1498. Portuguese initial attempts to establish trade faced resistance, leading to conflicts, mainly with Calicut.¹ Over time, under figures like Francisco de Almeida and Afonso de Albuquerque, they secured a foothold by capturing key ports like Cochin, Goa, etc. These conquests eventually granted the Portuguese control over the Indian Ocean spice trade, previously dominated by Arab merchants, marking a pivotal shift in the region's commerce².

Afonso de Albuquerque, the Governor of the Portuguese possessions in the east seized Goa. His motivation was two fold to secure the strategic trade hub of Goa for Portugal and to decrease the commercial and military strength of the Adilshahi dynasty. Albuquerque's actions in establishing Portuguese control in Goa marked a significant milestone in Portugal's presence and influence in the Indian Ocean trade network³

The Portugues arrival in the Indian Ocean heralded a period of strategic conquests, marked by the establishment of fortresses and the expansion of trade routes. Starting with their landmark arrival in Calicut in 1498, the Portuguese swiftly extended their influence to

¹ Celsa Pinto, *Concise History of Goa* (Saligao: Goa 1556, 2023), 84.

² Celsa Pinto, *Concise History of* , 86.

³ Pratima P. Kamat, "Historical Geography and Natural Resources," in *Goa Through the Ages: An Economic History Vol II*, ed Teotonio R De Souza (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1990), 15.

key locations Calicut in 1498, Kilwa in 1505, Mozambique Island in 1507, Goa in 1510, Malacca in 1511, Timor in 1511, Colombo in 1518, Ormuz in 1515, Moluccas in 1521, Diu in 1535, Nagasaki in 1543, Bassein in 1536, , Macau in 1557, Daman in 1559, Mombasa in 1593. These conquests allowed the Portuguese to control key maritime routes and establish lucrative trade networks, shaping the course of maritime trade in the region for centuries to come.

The Portuguese used the cartaz -armada-cafila system to control trade in the Indian Ocean. Ships needed a cartaz to sail freely. The armada or naval force, enforced this rule. Also they organized cafila, or convoys, for safer trading. This system benefited Portuguese customs houses by ensuring they received custom duties from trade. It also protected traders from piracy. The Portuguese control of trade through the cartaz-armada-cafila system ensured that custom houses in places like the island of Goa received significant profits. By regulating trade and collecting taxes, the custom houses benefited financially, contributing to the overall wealth and power of the Portuguese colonial administration in the region.⁴ As mentioned by M N Pearson Goa's revenue derived from custom duties as a percentage of the total from all sources in the sixteenth century was around 60 percent.⁵ This demonstrates how crucial Goa custom house or *alfandega de Goa* were for the Portuguese government.

Arrival of Portuguese led to rise of trade and commerce and to regulate trade and commerce Portuguese introduced *Alfandegas* (customs houses) and this study is based on *alfandegas* records. The dissertation "Goa in Maritime trade: A Study of *Alfandegas*" aims to study the role of Goa in maritime trade focusing on *alfandegas* records as valuable archival source that provides insights into trade and Commerce.

⁴ M.N. Pearson, *The New Cambridge History of India The Portuguese in India* (Hyderabad: Orient Longman Limited, 1990), 38

⁵ Pearson, *The New Cambridge*, 36

The volumes of *Livros das Alfandegas* (Customs records) housed in Goa Archives are like treasure full of valuable information about trade and commerce of Portuguese India. This records form the bulky collection covering 16th to 19th centuries. The customs records are a mine of information on commerce of Portuguese India . They include documents on entry and exit of ships, the nature of volume and value of imports and exports, the merchants involved, levies imposed and the revenues collected, commercial legislations, correspondence etc. There were many customs houses in Goa such as Aguada, Assolna, Bamanpunja, Balaghat, Betul, Bicholim, Canacona, Ponda, Sanguem, Chandel, Bardez, and Salcete⁶.

The custom records give information, on arrival and departure of ships to and from Lisbon, Macao, Mazambique, Brazil, Muscat, and many more places . The Goa Archives has number of archival records and as mentioned by Celsa Pinto they deserve the attention of the historians. The present study attempts to analyse the economic scenario of Goa, commodities traded, local traders, and prices.

This research attempts to understand the development of *alfandegas* in Goa and their role. It seeks to analyze *alfandegas* records and secondary sources, offering insights into both local and overseas trade networks that Goa engaged in during colonial period. Through a examination of these records, the study aims to record local traders and merchants, showcasing their contributions in trade. Furthermore, this research intends to identify commodities traded, trade networks as revealed by customs records.

1.3 Research Objectives

The research has objectives such as

- To analyze the historical evolution and establishment of *Alfandega* in Goa.

⁶ Celsa Pinto, *Trade and Finance India A Study of the Portuguese Country Trade 1700-1840* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1994), 241.

- To analyse the administration of custom houses and changes in its administrative structure.
- To analyze *Alfandega* records for insight into overseas and coastal trade network of Goa.
- To profile significant merchants and local traders, assess their contribution to Goa's trade.

1.2. Identification of Research Problem

The research problem for my dissertation is to investigate the significance of *Alfandega* records in understanding the maritime trade history of Goa. This study aims to study the wealth of information preserved within *Alfandega* records and assess their value in providing insights into the nature, scope, and dynamics of trade activities in Goa during Portuguese period. By examining the *Alfandega* records this research seeks to understand Goa's maritime trade networks, local traders, commodities exchanged, and their connections with international markets.

1.3. Scope of Study

The proposed research attempts to understand Goa's trade history under Portuguese influence. By analysing *Alfandegas* records and secondary sources, this study aims to understand Goa's pivotal role in global trade networks. It seeks to record the local traders, commodity exchanged, and the Trade connection Goa held with the various regions. Through the use of customs Records the research gives fresh insights into the colonial commerce of Goa.

1.4 Relevance of Study

The study's relevance lies in its attempt to illuminate the historical significance of Goa's trade interactions within the global economic landscape. By analysing archival pertaining to Goa's trade history. This research aims to understand dynamics of commercial activities in the region. Understanding Goa's past trade networks, commodities exchanged, and traders involved .

1.5 Literature Review

Goa Through The Ages : An Economic History Volume II edited by Teotonio R de Souza serves as an important resource for giving an overall economic understanding of Goa . It helps to get complete picture of Goa's economy in the past. The book stands as the base of my research, offering a comprehensive insight into Goa's economic history. This book holds key significance for my dissertation, serving as a crucial resource to comprehend the trade evolution of Goa from ancient eras up to the 19th century. The book encompasses the scholarly contributions of individuals like V.T. Gune, K.S. Mathew, M.N. Pearson, Celsa Pinto, and C.J. Borges, Pratima Kamat, each providing pivotal chapters explaining and interpreting various phases in Goa's trade.⁷

The works of Celsa Pinto are important in order to get insights into of trade from 17th to 18th century Portuguese India. Her works are mainly on the basis of archival sources . *The Trade and Finance In Portuguese India A Study Of The Portuguese Country Trade 1770-1840* by Celsa Pinto offers comprehensive exploration of the trading activities of Portuguese India, in depth details about trading activities, including the opium trade and Goa's trade networks with Mozambique. Also it discussed various trade commodities including textile, tobacco, spices, ivory, bullion etc. It also mentioned the tables and charts showcasing import

⁷ Teotonio R. de Souza, "Rural Economy and Life".In *Goa Through the Ages: An Economic History Vol II*, ed. Teotonio R. de Souza (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company"1990), 82.

and export data from the different parts of the worlds such as China, Macau, Lisbon, Bahia, etc Pinto highlights the roles of the *Mhamais*, provisioning suppliers, illuminating their contributions to Goa's trade dynamics⁸. She also emphasizes the involvement of Dempo's in coastal trade dealing with commodities such as coconuts, copra, spices, oil, and cloth during the late eighteenth century⁹. Her works extensively cover the indigenous merchant communities, including *Banias*, *Canarins*, *Parsees*, and *Muslims*, providing a comprehensive understanding of Goa's situation.¹⁰ She also discussed about the far reaching mercantile network of *Estado da India* indigenous and overseas where she mentioned the palces like Surat, Bombay, Cochin, Mahe, Pondicherry, Mysore, and under overseas like Macao, East Africa , Lisbon, Brazil.¹¹

The book *Goa Images and Perceptions: Studies in Goan History* by Celsa Pinto stands as a pivotal resource for my dissertation. It explores the private trade of 'mhamais' in the early 19th century, shedding light on the dynamics of commerce during that era. Celsa Pinto focuses on the trade connections between Goa and Brazil, emphasizing the significance of textile trade. However a transformative shift occurred in 1820 with the opening of Brazilian ports to England, leading to the influx of cheaper fabrics¹². The work further gives details of commodities traded such as coffee, coconut oil, and wax. also focuses on cotton trade.¹³ This work proves significant to my study due to its focus on commodities, merchant names, trade values, and the network connecting Goa to Brazil.

⁸ Pinto, *Trade and Finance India*, 55-56.

⁹ Pinto, *Trade and Finance India*, 56.

¹⁰ Pinto, *Trade and Finance India*, 60.

¹¹ Pinto, *Trade and Finance India*, 73-80

¹² Celsa Pinto, *Goa Images and Perceptions: Studies in Goan History* (Panaji: Rajhauns,1996), 54.

¹³ Pinto, *Goa Images and Perception*, 61.

Indo-Portuguese Trade In Seventeenth Century (1600-1663) by Afzal Ahmad speaks on trade activities between India and Portugal in 17th century, it also focuses the impact of Dutch and English wars on Portuguese shipping and commerce these conflict disrupted Portuguese India's trade and had significant consequences on their ability to conduct trade . Work also focuses on commodities Portuguese traded in 16th century like pepper, cinnamon, ginger, clove, mace, nutmeg, gold, silver and even slave trade. Work also show some interesting data of the total value of pepper imported to Lisbon from Goa, there were three varieties of pepper black pepper, long pepper, and white pepper which used to be brought from places like Cannore , Calicut, Cochin, Quilon, Kanara and Malacca.¹⁴In mid of 16th century textiles were also included in the exports, the types of textiles were exported from Goa to Lisbon mentions textiles like *Alcatifa*, *Algodao*, *Balaghatia*¹⁵ etc.

Likewise K.S Mathew's *Portuguese Trade With India In Sixteenth century* focuses on sixteenth century trading scenario.¹⁶ The *Goa It's Tryst With Trade* by Pratima P Kamat offers details on Goa's trade history touching upon several aspects such as geographic or strategic location of Goa along the coastline, it also historical significance of ancient port chandrapur, it highlights connection with various ancient civilizations such as Egyptian, Phoenician, Greeks, Jews and Arabs also discusses decline of Goa's trade due to Luso-Dutch wars as result in conflict in disrupted trade networks and had significant impact on Goa's economy. Comments on evolution of customs house .¹⁷

The New Cambridge History of India The Portuguese In India Volume I by M N Pearson gives a detailed account of the Portuguese presence in India tracing their arrival,

¹⁴ Afzal Ahmad, *Indo-Portuguese Trade in Seventeenth Century (1600-1663)* (New Delhi: Gian Publishing House, 1991), 68-69.

¹⁵ Ahmad, *Indo-Portuguese Trade in Seventeenth*, 199-203

¹⁶ K.S. Mathew, *Portuguese Trade with India in Sixteenth Century* (New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1989).10

¹⁷ Pratima P Kamat, *Goa it's Tryst with Trade* (Panaji:Goa Chamber of Commerce and Industry,2009), 164.

establishment, and eventually decline. The book gives insights into four main Portuguese groups that were actively involved in trade. The officials, *casados* (married settlers), clerics, and soldiers.¹⁸ Each group played a distinct role in the trade of the time. It discusses the historical shift in Goa's political scenario and further discusses the reasons why Goa became a target for conquest.¹⁹ Pearson also comment on the role of *casados*, particularly in the inter-Asian trade. Pearson examines how these married Portuguese settlers influenced trade networks and commerce in Goa. Their involvement and impact on the trade routes and economic activities of the region.²⁰

Pius Malekandathil's *Maritime India Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian ocean* speaks on expansions of the Portuguese and Ottomans into the Indian Ocean. This exploration shows the repercussions of Ottoman expansion, tracing their movements into crucial regions like Cairo, Suez, Basra, and various coastal areas of India.²¹

Seminar Papers Goa: Trade And Commerce Through The Ages edited by S.K Mhamai mentions trade and commerce history from earliest times those of Kadambas till the advent of Portuguese and involvement of Jesuits in trade also discussed about the trade malpractices and corruption highlighted by P.P shirodkar in Portuguese era. It also speaks of textile trade and how Goa build trading networks with textile manufacture areas in and trade,in exchange of bullion, arecanuts, etc.²²

¹⁸ M. N. Pearson, *The New Cambridge*, 81.

¹⁹ Pearson, *The New Cambridge*, 89.

²⁰ Pearson, *The New Cambridge*, 112.

²¹ Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian ocean* (New Delhi: Primus Books, 2010), 109- 124.

²² P P Shirodkar, "Portuguese Trade Strategy in the East in 18th Century Goa," in *Goa Trade and Commerce through the Ages (Seminar Papers)* ed. S K Mhamai (Panaji: Directorate of Archives and Archaeology, 2000), 146.

In *Situating Indo-Portuguese Trade History: A Commercial Resurgence 1770-1830* by Celsa Pinto the gives detailed information on the business networks of families like Souza and Barreto. Discussing key figures such as Miguel de Lima e Souza, known for his prominent role in the cotton trade²³. The book shows the significant contributions of individuals like Antonio Souza and Luis Barreto within this trade. Additionally, it provide the information into the close business ties of João de Faria with Goa's authorities and influential merchants like Mhamais. Noteworthy Goan merchants such as Mhamais, JoãoBaptista Goethals, and Kushta Sinai Dempe, among others, are also highlighted.²⁴

In *Goan Society Through the Ages* edited by B. S. Shastry, highlights various aspects of Goan society, including religion, socio-economic life, and more. Authored by scholars like P. P. Shirodkar, R. K. Borges, B. S. Shastry, Pratima Kamat, and several others, the book comprises different perspectives and analyses. Carmo Azevedo's contribution titled "The *Casados*" stands out significantly for its insights into the status and unique characteristics of the *Casados* within Goan society. It speaks about their distinctiveness from others and sheds light on their pivotal role in import trade.²⁵ Another noteworthy contribution is of R. R. S. Chauhan's work on marketing in Goa during the 16th century, providing valuable information into the marketing. Chauhan's writing delves into aspects such as the Lisbon trade²⁶ and the procurement of goods from Balghat that brought cotton. It also offers descriptions of Goa city as documented by travellers like Ralph Fitch, contributing to understanding historical perspectives.

²³ Celsa Pinto, *Situating Indo-Portuguese Trade History A Commercial Resurgence, 1770-1830* (Kerala: Irish Tellicherry,2003), 68.

²⁴ Pinto, *Situating Indo-Portuguese*,79.

²⁵ Carmo Azvedo, " The *Casados*," in *Goan Society Through the Ages*, ed. B S Shastry (New Delhi: Asian Publication Services, 1987) 111.

²⁶ Azvedo, " The *Casados*," 158.

“Goa's role in the international trade in 16th and 17th centuries” by Agnelo Fernandes highlights how Goa was a major trade hub during 16th and 17th centuries, talks about Goa's rise as a commercial centre and how it became famous for its trade with countries across the Indian Ocean. The article discusses different types of trade voyages, like trips between Lisbon and India, coastal trading ships, and voyages to various parts of the Indian Ocean. It emphasizes Goa's connections to places like East Africa, the Persian Gulf, and China. It also explains how these voyages brought wealth to Goa through customs duties and trade profits, making it a very rich place. As time went on some challenges affected Goa's importance as a trade hub. Despite this, the article shows how Goa continued to play a significant role in trade²⁷.

“K.S Mathew's Portuguese trade with India and the theory of royal monopoly in the sixteenth century” work speak on the establishment of Portuguese trade dominance in the Indian Ocean during the 16th century. It shows the progression of Portuguese control, from initial permissions granted by local ruler, zamorin to the imposition of monopolistic control over trade routes. The article highlights the theories the Portuguese used to justify their dominance including claims of royal monopoly supported by papal grants and arguments about religious jurisdiction²⁸

The article “Trade in Portuguese Goa:The Nineteenth Century Scenario” talk about trade in 19th-century Portuguese Goa. Its important for research. Focuses on the a time that hasn't gotten much attention before. It talks all about how Goa's trade changed and went

²⁷ Agnelo Fernandes, “Goa; s Role in the International Trade in 16th and 17th Centuries,” *Proceedings of the Indian National Congress* 48, (1987): 284-293.

²⁸ K.S. Mathew, “Portuguese Trade with India and the Theory of Royal Monopoly in the Sixteenth Centuries,” *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 40, (1979): 389-398.

downhill. It breaks down what Portuguese were importing and exporting, showing how Goa was connected to places like South Asia, Brazil, and Africa²⁹.

Rudy Baus' article "Textiles, Bullion and other Trades of Goa: Commerce with Surat, other Areas of India, Luso-Brazilian ports, Macau and Mozambique, 1816-1819" speak on Goa's commercial relationships with significant centers like Surat. As well as far-reaching connections to ports in Rio de Janeiro and trade routes connecting Mozambique and Macau. It highlights Goa's pivotal role as a trans shipment point for cotton goods from Surat to Brazil. Surat emerges as a critical contributor, providing 55% of the products that Goa re-exported to the global market.

The article focuses on "Goan exports mainly to Brazil during 1816-1819". This period shows the significance of this trade relationship. Rio de Janeiro emerges as the principal destination for Goan exports. It provide information on trade routes and dependencies between Goa, Surat, and the Brazilian ports. The article provides insights into the commodities exchanged, the dominance of specific ports, and the economic interdependencies that shaped trade relationships³⁰.

Shyam Bhat's article "Trade in Goa: Commodity Composition 1878 to 1961" portrays a distressing condition showing the imbalance between imports and exports. The Goan economy transformed into import oriented , wherein commodities like rice, cloths, wheat, sugar, wines, vegetables, textiles, tobacco, and tea were among the imported items. This import oriented economy posed challenges leading to an economic downfall for Goa. But

²⁹ Shyam Bhat, "Trade in Portuguese Goa: The Nineteenth Century Scenario," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 61, (2000): 864-870.

³⁰ Rudy Baus, "Textiles, bullion and other trades of Goa: Commerce with Surat, other areas of India, Luso-Brazilian ports, Macau and Mozambique, 1816-1819," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 34,(1997): 276.

still significant change with the advent of mineral ores becoming a major export item, surpassing others in significance. The article further speak about the economic transformation, highlighting the attempts of prominent families such as the Dempos, Salgaonkars, and Chowgules, who capitalized on the ore business seizing the opportunity in this economic landscape. Additionally, the article discusses the trade networks, various ports and their roles, as well as the internal trade connections with places like Balghat and Londa.³¹

T. R. de Souza's article on "Goa-based Portuguese Seaborne Trade in the Early Seventeenth Century" is an valuable resource offering a overview of Goa's role in the network of Portuguese trade routes during the 17th century. This work provides picture of the diverse commercial activities that were conducted from Goa, thereby contributing significantly to my dissertation research. Article speaks about the description of Goa's strategic position as the hub of Portuguese inter-Asian trade gives important details. The article focuses several trade routes, illustrating their significance, trade volumes, and the nature of goods exchanged. For instance, the detailed picture of the Goa-Portugal trade route provides insights into the commodities imported and exported between the two regions. It provide details on the different types of goods transported, ranging from gold, silver from Portugal to pepper, cloths, spices, and other merchandise from India. Similarly, the accounts of voyages to Mozambique, Mombasa, Muscat, Basra, Sind, Diu, Kanara, Cochin, Ceylon, China, Manilla, and Malacca shows Goa's trade connections and the specific commodities traded at each port.³²

The Ph.d thesis *History of Trade and Commerce in Goa 1878-1961* by Murelle Maria Leonildes da Costa holds immense significance for my research. This research focuses the

³¹ Shyam Bhat, "Trade in Goa: Commodity Composition 1878 to 1961," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 64, (2003): 905.

³² Teotonio R De Souza, "Goa-based Portuguese Seaborne Trade in the Early Seventeenth Century," *Sage Journals* 12, (1975): 433-442.

later periods of the 18th and 19th centuries, providing insights into the significant decline of Goa's trade during the 18th century. A major focus is on the impact of the Anglo-Portuguese treaty, which further weakened Portuguese trade in Goa. This weakening had direct consequences on Goa's treasury and the livelihoods of its people, causing a heavy effect on the region's economy.³³ It also provide the data from customs records from places like Betul, Chapora, and Daman. The thesis speaks on the trade relationships with other parts of India, especially along the coastline. It gives details on the various items Imported into Goa, ranging from essentials like rice, cloth, wheat, and sugar to luxury goods like wines, tea, and tobacco³⁴. Similarly, it highlights the items exported from Goa. Research covered trade links between Goa and Mozambique. Additionally, the thesis speak of the internal trade network within Goa and its connections, showcasing the role of customs in curbing smuggling activities.

It also discusses the rise of mining activities, which became the backbone of Goa's economy from the 1940s onwards. Noteworthy mentions include the contributions of prominent business families like Salgaonkar and Dempo³⁵, which played pivotal roles in shaping Goa's economic landscape. The thesis also offers insights into specific ports like Margao and Chapora, highlighting their historical significance in facilitating trade activities.

This work is exceptionally significant for my research due to its wide-ranging coverage of topics such as the aftermath of the Anglo-Portuguese treaty, various traded commodities, customs practices, the influence of influential business families, and the historical significance of ports.

³³ Murelle Maria Leonildes da Costa, "History of Trade and Commerce in Goa 1878-196." (PhD diss., Goa University, 2002), 23.

³⁴ Da Costa, "History of Trade," 72.

³⁵ Da Costa, "History of Trade," 219.

Alfandega records housed in Goa archives, are like a treasure each volume giving the detail data on the trade of colonial Goa. MS 2668 *Mappa De Alfandega De Goa De 1826*, provided data of import and export of 1826.³⁶ This document highlights the exchange between Goa and regions like Lisbon, Mosse, Bombay, and more. The list of over 348 items from Bombay and 60 from Damao gives detail on the wide range of commodities commodities exchanged.

The *Alfandega De Panjim* document from 1951, It presents 137 articles on trade regulations, categorizing forbidden imports, special schemes, and taxes. The breakdown of commodities, from raw ivory to firewoods, mentioned of taxed items, provide insights into the structure of taxation. Manuscripts, *MS 6347*, *MS 9248*, and *MS 5155*, *MS 6799*, *MS 6822* provides further insights into commerce of colonial Goa.

1.6 Reserch Design and Methodology

The design for this study employ a mixed-methods approach that integrates both qualitative and quantitative methodologies. The quantitative aspect involves the numerical analysis of *Alfandega* records to quantify trade volumes, revenue collections, and levies imposed. Concurrently the qualitative aspect to highlight narratives regarding trade dynamics, merchant engagements, and legislative changes within the records. This qualitative analysis aims to provide a deeper understanding of in the trade history of Portuguese Goa.

The primary data extracted from *Alfandegas* records subjected to an in-depth analysis. This analysis aims to understand economic fluctuations, administrative salary structure and significant names of merchants and traders over different periods within Portuguese Goa's trade history. It involved the systematic organization and interpretation of data to see the impacts of various factors on the trade scenario in Goa.

³⁶ HAG, *Mappa de Alfandega de Goa (1826)* n. ° 2668, fol 34v.

A comprehensive review of secondary sources is conducted. This secondary research, consist of academic literature, scholarly works, and articles concerning Goa's trade history will serve to contextualize the findings from the *Alfandega* records within broader historical narratives.

1.7 Scheme of Chapters

The dissertation is divided into following chapters

1 Introduction

2 Livros das Alfandegas: Its Significance in Understanding Maritime Trade.

3 Goa customs: Its Evolution and Administration

4 Colonial Goa: Its Overseas and Coastal Trade Network

5 Merchants and Local Traders: Insights from Alfandega Records of 18th and 19th century.

6 Conclusion

CHAPTER 1: **Introduction**- The Background and significance of study , research objectives, scope, significance and outline of subsequent chapters

CHAPTER 2 : ***Livros das Alfandegas: Its Significance in Understanding Maritime Trade of Goa*** - Chapter focuses on the volumes of *alfandega* records house in Goa Archives and its significance in understanding the colonial Goa's trade history. It highlights the different volumes of *alfandega* collection and how it can be useful in order to reconstruct the trade history of Portuguese Goa. Important volumes have been highlighted which has been reffered and use in the research.

CHAPTER 3 : Goa Customs: Its Evolution and Administration- This chapter focuses on the evolution of the *alfandega* from the Check-post to Portuguese Customs House. It also explores the administration and various Customs duties imposed.

CHAPTER 4 : Colonial Goa: Its Overseas and Coastal Trade Networks-This chapter focuses on how Goa traded with faraway places and what commodities it exchanged. How Goa connected with places like Lisbon, Macao, Mozambique, and more.

CHAPTER 5 : Merchants and Local Traders : Insights from Alfandega records of 18th and 19th Century- This chapter focuses on the people involved in trade and finding the figures who shaped trade, and their contribution to Goa's trade.

CHAPTER 6: Conclusion

Bibliography – List of all sources , including *alfandegas* records and secondary literature used in the research.

CHAPTER 2

LIVROS DAS ALFANDEGAS: ITS SIGNIFICANCE IN UNDERSTANDING

MARITIME TRADE OF COLONIAL GOA.

The Goa, once the eastern capital of the Portuguese seaborne empire, has evolved into a rich repository of both published and unpublished documents over time. Its history dates back to the renowned Chronicler Diogo de Couto. This archives holds immense value for research scholars worldwide. It provide the information on various aspects such as political, socio-economic developments, and the relationships between indigenous rulers. It also provides insights into the interactions with Western imperial powers. Many historians and the scholars have made use of Goa archives and left their observation, Dr. S . N Sen, C.R Boxer, Dr J. LeyROY Cristian, Dr Pissurlencar and still many young researchers are utilizing the collections at the Goa Archives for their studies. M. N Pearson in his work *Coastal Western India* commented that the Historical Archives of Goa was “ most neglected Archives on subcontinent”.¹

The Goa Archives stand as a testament to the rich history and of Portuguese India. This repository houses a vast collection of historical documents spanning centuries, providing significant insights into governance, diplomacy, judicial proceedings, naval and military establishments, revenue institutions, and religious and educational institutions and society.

Records which gives details on the Political scene are as follows *Monções do Reino* consists of 456 volumes covering the period 1560 to 1880. It is the largest collection of the

¹ M.N. Pearson, *Coastal Western India: Studies from the Portuguese Records*.(New Delhi: Concept publishing Company, 1981.) 1

Archives.² *Reis Vizinhas* (Neighbouring Kings) A series of 22 volumes covering the period 1619 to 1842 includes the correspondence between Portuguese rulers and officials with Indian rulers.³ Goa archives also housed the records known as the *Livros das Comunidades*, are a unique series providing insight into the system of village autonomy. The collection, consisting of over 1,000 volumes stored in the Goa Archives, covers the period from 1582 to 1887.⁴

In addition to the *Livros das Comunidades*, the Goa Archives contain numerous records covering various aspects of colonial administration, including judicial, naval and military, as well as religious and educational institutions. Beside this collection housed in the Goa Archives offers valuable insights into the trade and commerce and the revenues of Goa during the colonial period. *Cartazes* it Contains 8 volumes spanning from year 1655-1857, *Fazenda* total 139 volumes from 1712-1902, *Conatadoraia Geral* 5 volumes from 1821-1863,⁵ etc *Assentos do Conselho da Fazenda*, *Assentos da Camara de Goa*, *Feitorias*, *Fiancas*, *Rendas*, *Correspondencia de Macau*, *Mozambique* and *Alfandegas*.⁶ The *Assentos do Conselho da Fazenda*, or Proceedings of the Revenue Council, comprise a series of 24 volumes spanning the years 1613 to 1808. These records contain decisions made by the Council regarding various fiscal matters, including the purchase of food grains, minting of

² J. Velinkar, S.J, "Goa Archives as I Knew It," in *Fourth Century Volume of the Goa Archives 1595-1955*, ed. S.K. Mhamai (Panaji: Directorate of Archives and Archaeology, Government of Goa, 2001), 22-24.

³ Velinkar, "Goa Archives as," 22

⁴ R.R.S, Chauhan, "Goa Archives: Its's Origin, Growth, Problems and Prospect," in *Fourth Century Volume of the Goa Archives 1595-1955*, ed. S.K. Mhamai (Panaji: Directorate of Archives and Archaeology, Government of Goa, 2001), 14

⁵ Pandurang S.S Pissurlencar, *Arquivos da India Portuguesa*(Bastora: Tipografia Rangel, 1955),26

⁶ Michelles Fuerch and Paul Axelrod, "Listening to the Text:The many Voices of the Goa Archives," in *Fourth Century Volume of the Goa Archives 1595-1955*, ed. S.K. Mhamai (Panaji: Directorate of Archives and Archaeology, Government of Goa, 2001), 142.

currency, exchange rates, salaries, ship-building and repairs, customs duties, sea-traffic regulations, and revenue collection strategies.⁷

2.1 *Alfandega* collection in Goa Archives

The records which are prime importance for our study are the *alfandegas* records that pertain to year 1593- 1902 comprises 2450 volumes housed in Goa archives.⁸ These documents provide detailed insights into various aspects of maritime trade, including the entry and exit of ships, the nature, volume, and value of imports and exports, as well as the merchants engaged in commercial activities. Also, the records document the levies imposed and revenues collected, offering a understanding of the financial aspects of trade regulation. Within these records, one can find valuable information regarding commercial legislation, correspondence between authorities, tariff charts outlining duties and taxes, as well as registers and receipts pertaining to trade transactions. The Customs records serve as a rich source of historical data, providing information on maritime commerce and trade regulation in Portuguese India. As mentioned by Celsa Pinto the records in Goa Archives particularly the *alfandegas* are “one of the largest yet it strangely faces the neglect from the historian”⁹ regardless of its significance to Goa’s maritime trade history.

The Goa Archives houses about 51, 60, 680 volumes on the Salcete, Bardez and Goa Customs house, apart from the hundreds of volumes pertaining to the customs houses of Aguada, Assolna, Bamanpunja, Balagate, Bensolor, Betul, Bicholim, Canacona, Ponda, Sanguem, Chapora, Chandel, Doromargo, Collem, Murguddy, Colvale, Pernem, Canacona, Naibag, Collem, Naibag, Varconda, Torchem, and may more places. Examining these records

⁷ Chauhan, “Goa Archives: Its’s, 14

⁸ Pissurlencar, *Arquivos da India*, 26.

⁹ Celsa Pinto, “ Some sources in the Livros das Alfandega Housed in the Goa Archives,” in *Fourth Century Volume of the Goa Archives 1595-1955*, ed. S.K. Mhamai (Panaji: Directorate of Archives and Archaeology, Government of Goa, 2001), 29.

is crucial for understanding the significance of Goa's trade networks during the colonial era. For instance, detailed customs records for Bardez and Salcete reveal that trade through these *alfandegas* primarily involved neighboring ports and those along the western coastal regions of India. This demonstrates the local and regional trade dynamics that shaped Goa's commerce. The Goa Customs Records showcase a more expansive trade network, with ships arriving and departing from distant lands such as Lisbon, Macao, Mozambique, Brazil, and Muscat. These records highlight Goa's pivotal role as a major trading hub, connecting diverse regions across the globe. Customs records from inland locations like Ponda, Colvale, Zambaulim, Murguddy, and Doromargo provide insights into trade relations with the hinterland. These documents show the commodities exchanged and the economic interactions between Goa and its surrounding regions, demonstrating the region's economic interconnectedness. Studying the trade history of Goa is crucial for understanding its socio-economic development, cultural exchange, and global connections during the colonial period. It offers valuable insights into the commodities traded, the routes used to trade, and the economic relationships, shedding light on Goa's historical significance as a significant trading centre in the Indian Ocean world.

To truly understand Goa's maritime trade history, one must look into the customs records housed within the archives. These records, carefully preserved over centuries, provides crucial information on economic exchanges, and administrative structures of *Estado da India* that characterized Goa's role as a significant trading hub. Through examination of the custom duties, trade routes, commodity exchanges, and revenue collections documented in these *alfandega* records, researchers can reconstruct the commercial picture of Goa. One can derive new insights into trade networks, and new findings into the economic relationships that connected it to distant lands. The *Alfandegas* records provide invaluable evidence of

Goa's position within the Indian ocean world, and also offer significant insights on its interactions with European powers, neighboring states, and more overseas regions.

MS 6813 houses significant details concerning the *Regimento de Alfandega*, dated January 20, 1774. This document holds crucial information regarding the regulations and procedures governing the *alfandegas*. The *Regimento* outlines the rules, duties, and responsibilities of customs officials, as well as procedures related to the inspection, taxation, and clearance of goods passing through the port.¹⁰ Similarly one of the significant records in *alfandegas* collection MS 8089 is a valuable source containing a wealth of commercial legislation, particularly focused on Indian fabrics. Within this volume, one can find a collection of *alvaras* dated January 1783, May 1789, August 1795, November 1800, and February 1811. These *alvaras* represent official decrees issued by colonial authorities that outline regulations and policies governing various aspects of trade, particularly concerning Indian textiles. Also this record mentions about benefiting the merchants by allowing certain exemptions related to customs duties.¹¹

There were many custom houses and the custom check-post at various strategic locations in Goa. One of them were the *Alfandega de Aguada* consist of seven volumes speak on trade carried out through this customs house. MS 4715 is a volume titled *Livro da Alfandega da Aguada (Embarcações saídas)* covering the period from 1874 to 1879. This volume contains records detailing the outgoing vessels from the Aguada customs house. It provide information on the types of ships, their destinations and cargoes. Similarly, MS 5591 is titled *Livro da Alfandega da Aguada (Exportação de mercadorias)* covering the years 1874 to 1879. This volume contains records specifically focused on the exportation of goods from the Aguada customs house during this period, detailing the commodities exported,

¹⁰ Pinto, “ Some sources in the Livros ,”30

¹¹ HAG, *Provisoes Regias Alfandega(1766-1825)*, n. ° 8089, fol. 1, 3v, 5.

destinations and shipping details can be traced in the record. MS 5885-5888 comprise four volumes titled *Livro da Alfandega da Aguada (Embarcações entradas e saídas, correspondência expedida)* spanning the years 1874 to 1879. These volumes contain records documenting both incoming and outgoing vessels at the Aguada customs house, along with correspondence related to these maritime activities. It gives detailed information on the arrivals and departures of ships, their cargoes, destinations, as well as any official communications or correspondence related to customs procedures and trade transactions during this period.¹²

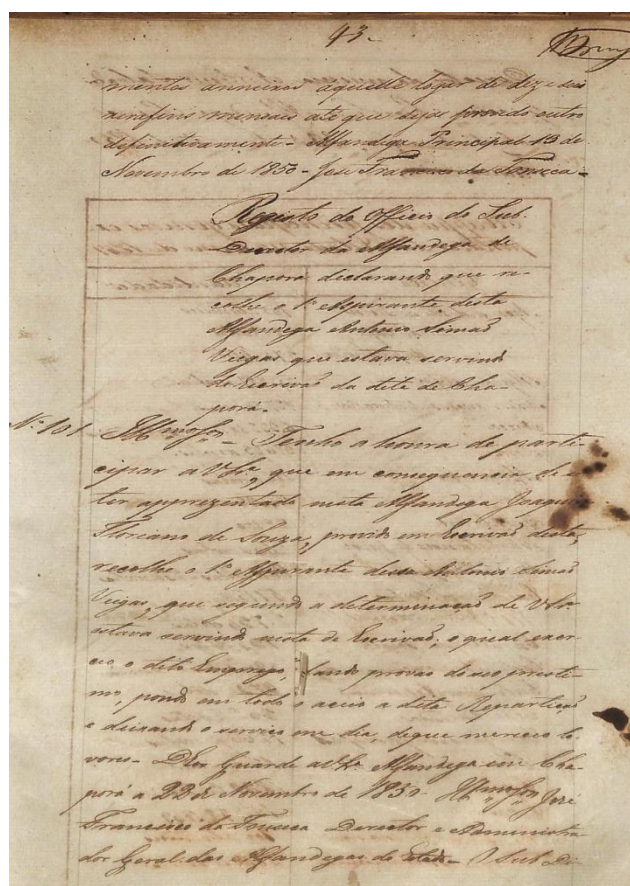


Fig. 3.1 The *Alfandega* record MS 9265, fol no 43.¹³

The volumes referenced, namely MSS 2668, 6809, 6810, 6814, 9254, 9256, 9258, 9260, and 9261, provide valuable insights into the of slave shipments from Mozambique to Goa during

¹² Pissurlencar, *Arquivos da Índia*, 5

¹³ HAG, *Alfandega de Goa Correspondencia (1849-1868)* n. ° 9265, fol 43

the late 18th and early 19th centuries. These documents contain detailed records, accounts, reports pertaining to the transportation, trade, and utilization of enslaved individuals from Mozambique to Goa. They include information about the number of slaves transported, their origins, and the prices. These volumes shed light on the names of merchant, price of the slaves and its types.¹⁴

The manuscripts referenced, specifically MSS 6622, 6804, 6827, 8127, and 9869, collectively provide valuable insights into various aspects of commercial activities at the port of Goa. They encompass brokerage, freighting, warehousing, trans-shipment, and re-exportation. MSS 6622 contains records that speak on brokerage activities at the port, offering insights into the roles and regulations governing brokers and their involvement in facilitating trade transactions. Detailed information on freighting practices, including records of shipping companies, cargo handling procedures, freight rates, and contractual agreements between merchants and freight carriers, can be found in MSS 6804. For warehousing practices, MSS 6827 offers valuable insights, documenting warehouses, inventory management systems, storage fees, and regulations governing the storage of goods at the port of Goa. MSS 8127 provides information on trans-shipment activities at the port, detailing the transfer of goods between different vessels, trans-shipment agreements, and logistical arrangements for cargo handling. MSS 9869 offers insights into re-exportation practices from Goa, including records of goods exported to other destinations, re-exportation agreements, and duties associated with re-exported goods.¹⁵

Volumes MS 9248, 9255, and 9260 serve as significant indicators of the trade relations between Goa and Madras on the Coromandel coast. These manuscripts contain

¹⁴ HAG, *Livros da alfandega de nova Goa, (receitas, leas da alfandega de Goa)*, n. ° 6810, fol. 314-328.

¹⁵ Celsa pinto, *Trade and Finance in India A Study of Portuguese Country Trade 1700-1840* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1994), 242.

detailed records, accounts that illuminate the nature and extent of commercial interactions between the two regions.¹⁶

Alfandega de Assolna significant minor customs house records are also available in the *alfandegas* collection. It has seventy five volumes on this customs house, *livros das Alfandegas de Assolna(receitas)*. MSS 4716 to 4747 consist of thirty two volumes documenting the revenues generated at the Assolna customs house between 1845 and 1879. These volumes contain detailed records of financial transactions, duties collected during this period. Similarly, MSS 5889 to 5910, spanning the years 1842 to 1878, comprise twenty two volumes detailing revenue collection at Assolna. MS 6844 (*receita*), a single volume, is speaks on revenue collection at Assolna. Also MSS 9423 to 9426, covering the years 1844 to 1876, consist of four volumes documenting revenue collection at Assolna along with correspondence, terms, and other relevant documentation related to customs procedures and financial transactions¹⁷

MS 8130 serves as a valuable source of data on tobacco arrivals at Goa from Vengurla during the years 1848 to 1853. This manuscript contains detailed accounts documenting the quantity, quality, and other relevant information regarding the tobacco shipments arriving at the port of Goa from Vengurla. The manuscripts listed, including MSS 6319, 6320, 6329, 6335, 6337, 6343, and 6362, form a comprehensive collection focusing exclusively on Goa's timber trade. Within these volumes, one can find a wealth of information pertaining to the nature of Goa's timber imports and exports, the merchants involved in the trade, duties imposed on timber transactions, and the revenues collected by colonial authorities.¹⁸

¹⁶ Pinto, "Some sources in the Livros," 32.

¹⁷ Pissurlencar, *Arquivos da India*, 5

¹⁸ Pinto, "Some sources in the Livros," 32.

Another significant record MS 9265 *Alfandega de Goa Correspondencia* from the customs house of Goa, covering the period between 1849 and 1868, provides insight into the principal goods imported and exported. It also includes detailed records of trade transactions, showcasing the economic activities and trade patterns prevalent in Goa during the mid-19th century. These records offers valuable information on the commodities that formed the backbone of Goa's trade, showing its connections with other regions and markets.¹⁹ The document discusses the minor custom houses operating within the jurisdiction of Goa and their contributions to the overall revenue generation.²⁰ The document provides information about the officials serving in the customs administration and their salaries. This document gives details into the administrative hierarchy and staffing within the customs department.²¹

MS 6822 offers detailed information on the duties to be paid on various commodities such as salt, coconuts, copra, cereals, and more at the customs houses in the new conquest areas. MS 9265 within this volume lies a statement of goods imported and exported via *Alfandega de Goa* in the year 1849. It gives detailed records documenting the types and quantities of goods passing through the customs house, along with information on their origins, destinations, and trade routes. MS 6800, 9257, 9258, 9265 serve as key sources for deriving information on the income of the *Estado da India* from the *Alfandega de Goa*. MS 6800 covers the years 1756-67, MS 9257 pertains to the year 1792, MS 9258 focuses on 1812, and MS 9265 provides data for the years 1850-52. These volumes provide insights to understand the revenue generated by customs duties, taxes, and other levies imposed on trade transactions passing through the port of Goa. This data provides insights into the financial

¹⁹ HAG, *Alfandega de Goa Correspondencia* (1849-1868) n. ° 9265, fol 43, 46.

²⁰ HAG, *Alfandega de Goa Correspondencia* (1849-1868) n. ° 9265, fol 128, 168

²¹ HAG, *Alfandega de Goa Correspondencia* (1849-1868) n. ° 9265, fol 200v,201

resources of the *Estado da India* and its economic activities during different historical periods.²²

Another important document from the Bardez customs house is MS 4752 *Livro do receitas das derietos da Alfandega de Bardez* pertaining to year 1796-1797 gives the detail information on the revenue collected by *recebedor* Vincent lopes de laura in mothly basis from the *alfandega de Bardez*.²³ similarly other records on the Bardez customs house are MS 4753 to 4758 consist of seven volumes titled *Ditos da Alfandega de Bardez (Receita)* covering the years 1796 to 1829. These volumes contain detailed records documenting revenue collection at the Bardez customs house during this period, providing information about the financial transactions, duties collected on goods. MSS 6762 to 6771 comprise ten volumes titled *Receita dos direitos das mercadorias entradas e saídas* spanning the years 1779 to 1841. These volumes contain records documenting revenue collection at the Bardez customs house focusing on the duties levied on goods entering and exiting the port.²⁴ These records provide valuable information on the revenue collection at the *Alfandega de Bardez*, contributing to an understanding of trade and commerce in colonial Goa.

Volumes MS 5166 to 5440 are titled *Livros da Alfândega de Nova-Goa (Direitos dos barcos de Moçambique e outros, nomeação do pessoal)*, comprising a total of two hundred seventy five volumes covering the years 1780 to 1880. These volumes contain detailed records documenting various aspects of customs administration at the Nova-Goa customs house, including the collection of duties on ships from Mozambique and other regions, personnel appointments etc. It gives detail information on the regulations, tariffs, taxes, and fees imposed on boats arriving from Mozambique and other locations, as well as records of

²² Pinto, “Some sources in the Livros,” 32.

²³ HAG, *Alfandega de Bardez (1796-1797)*, n. ° 4752, fol. 523 .

²⁴ Pissurlencar, *Arquivos da India*, 5

personnel appointments and administrative procedures. Volumes MS 5705 to 5835 are titled *Alfandega de Nova Goa, direitos dos barcos de Moçambique, porta* comprising one thirty one volumes covering the year 1773. These volumes contain records specifically focused on the collection of dues, tariffs, and fees on boats arriving from Mozambique, at the Nova-Goa customs house. Volumes MS 6800 to 6829 are titled *Receitas, leis da Alfandega de Goa* comprising thirty volumes covering the year 1756. These volumes contain records documenting revenue collection, laws governing customs operations at the Goa customs house.²⁵ These volumes collectively present understanding about the operations, regulations, and revenue collection practices at the Nova-Goa customs house contributing to a deeper understanding of maritime trade and customs administration in colonial Goa.

Another significant document from year 1826 is the MS 2668 *Mappa de Alfandega de Goa* is a rare and important document consisting of approximately forty folios, offering detailed information into the trade activities of Goa in the year 1826. This document provides information regarding the quantity, quality, price, and value of both imports and exports during that period. It includes a list of ships that arrived at and departed from the port of Goa throughout the year,²⁶ providing valuable information on the maritime traffic and trade routes of the time. The document highlights the origins and destinations of imports and exports handled by the port of Goa. Imports are noted from regions such as Lisbon, Mosse, Macao, Mascat, Damao, Dio, Melondem, Balag, and Rayapur,²⁷ while exports are documented to places including Lisboa, Mosse, Macao, Mascat, Damao, Dio, Melondem, Balag, and Ponda. This indicates the extensive network of trade connections that Goa maintained with various regions, both within the Indian subcontinent and beyond, during the early 19th century.

²⁵ Pissurlencar, *Arquivos da Índia*, 9

²⁶ HAG, *Mappa de Alfandega de Goa* (1826), n. ° 2668, 43v.

²⁷ HAG, *Mappa de Alfandega de Goa* (1826), n. ° 2668, 1,5 .

The volume provide information on the import values recorded for the year 1826, which provide a detail of the economic significance of trade relations with specific regions. For instance, Lisbon imports are valued at 506470.00, xerafins, Mosse at 588003.59, xerafins and Bombay at 363624.46, xerafins among others.²⁸ These figures provide significant data for understanding the volume and monetary value of trade transactions conducted through the port of Goa.

MS 6799, titled *Livro da Alfandega de Naibag (Correspondência)* comprises thirteen volumes covers the period from 1859 to 1869. This volume contains correspondence records related to the operations of the Naibag. Naibag is village in pernem, it has served as custom check-post. The records from this customs check post provide insights into the roles and activities of forwarding agents, known as *despachante*²⁹ also it gives the details on the the commodities traded, the duties etc .

The Goa Archives houses a collection of forty three volumes specifically dedicated to the customs house of Canacona. Volumes MS 4773 to 4791 are titled *Ditos da Alfandega de Canacona* covering the period from 1864 to 1880. These nineteen volumes contain detailed records documenting revenue collection, legal proceedings, and administrative regulations at the Canacona customs house. It gives information on taxes, duties, tariffs, or fees collected on goods passing through the customs, as well as records of legal actions. Also these volumes provide insights into the administrative procedures Canacona customs house.³⁰

MS 6822 *Recetaies da Alfandega de Goa* covers the years 1814 to 1875 across thirty volumes, providing data primarily on regions like Sanguem and Corjuem. It documents commodities traded, including salt, copra, coconut products, and liquors. It also gives details

²⁸ HAG, *Mappa de Alfandega de Goa* (1826), n. ° 2668, 28.

²⁹ HAG, *Alfandega de Neibaga (Correspondência)*, n. ° 6799, fol. 6.

³⁰ Pissurlencar, *Arquivos da India*, 6

about the traders such as Pedro Fernandes, Francisco Cardoso, Domingo Diaz, Launco Pinto, Mariana da Silva, Joaquin da Silva, and Antonio Francisco.³¹

Volumes MS 4760 to 4769 are titled *Ditos da Alfandega de Betul* covering the period from 1851 to 1880. These volumes contain detailed records documenting revenue collection, at the Betul customs house. One can find information on taxes, duties, tariffs, or fees collected on goods passing through the port, as well as records detailing the operations and administration of the customs house. These volumes provide insights into the types of goods imported and exported through the port of Betul.³²

One of the invaluable records housed in the *Alfandegas* collection is MS 9267, which offers insights about the commodities exchange in trade. This document lists the prices of various articles in alphabetical order, encompassing over 500 items ranging from textiles, tobacco and military hats³³ to playing cards and geographical charts.³⁴ The significance of MS 9267 cannot be overstated, as it provides a detailed information of commodity prices during 1831-1832. This document helps to understand the relative values of different goods and their significance in trade transactions.

The *Alfandegas* records in the Goa archives provide valuable insights into the trade history of Goa during the Portuguese colonial period. These records provide significant information on trade routes, commodities, customs duties, and revenue collections that were central to Goa's economy. By studying the *Livros das Alfandegas* one can understand the various economic activities that took place at ports of Goa, from slave trade to timber commerce, and from tobacco imports to commodity pricing. These records offer a detailed

³¹ HAG, *Receitais da alfandega de Goa* n. ° 6822. Fol.34

³² Pissurlencar, *Arquivos da India*, 6

³³ HAG, *Alfandega de Goa Pauta (1831-1832)*, n. ° 9267 fol. 9v.

³⁴ HAG, *Alfandega de Goa Pauta (1831-1832)*, n. ° 9267 fol. 22v.

view of how Goa participated in global trade networks and how its economy evolved over time.

The significance of the *Alfandegas* records extends beyond economics. They also reveal the social, cultural, and political dynamics of colonial Goa. Through these records, we can see how local communities engaged with global trade, adapted to colonial rule and shaped their own destinies. The *Livros das Alfandegas* are essential sources for understanding the history of Goa's trade. They provide a glimpse into participation of the local traders, which we are going to discuss in further chapters. Studying these records are crucial because it allows us to get fresh insights into the maritime trade of Goa.

CHAPTER 3

GOA CUSTOMS : EVOLUTION AND ADMINISTRATION

3.1 Evolution of *Alfandega de Goa*

The customs house of Goa, traces its history to the Mandovi or the customs check-post that was established along the banks of the River Mandovi in 1479.¹ The first custom house, known as *Alfandega de Goa*, was situated on the bank of the River Mandovi in Velha Goa. After the conquest of Goa by Albuquerque Since its establishment it went through the changes in the structure and administration. In the 16th century, there were three customs houses in Goa one in Velha Goa, and the other two in the capitals of its provinces, Salsete and Bardez, operating under a contract system until 1801 when they came under the administration of *Fazenda*.² In 1810, a significant change occurred when the Alfandega de Salcette and Bardez were brought under the jurisdiction of *Alfandega de Goa* concerning the payment of duties. Recognizing the evolving trade new custom houses were established in the *Novas Conquistas*, including Pernem, Bicholim, Sanguem, Ponda, Zambaulim, and Canacona, each with its own set of checkpoints. These new custom houses were strategically located to efficiently regulate trade and enforce customs regulations in their respective areas, reflecting the growing importance of commerce in Goa's economy.³

At the Customs House, both imports and exports were overseen by a Inspector (*Juiz*) , with the assistance of a major and a minor Clerk. Despite customs houses usually being leased out, these officials did not receive salaries from the Treasury, instead, they earned

¹ Pratima P Kamat, *Goa it's Tryst with Trade* (Panaji:Goa Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 2009), 167.

² Claudio Lagrange Monteiro de Barbuda, *Instruções Com Que El-Rei D. José i. Mandou Passar ao Estado da India O Governador , e Capitão General , eo Arcebispo Primaz do Oriente, no anno de 1774. Publicadas e annotadas* (Pangim: Na Typographia Nacional, 1841), 19 .

³ Celsa Pinto, *Trade and Finance India A Study of the Portuguese Country Trade 1700-1840* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1994), 89.

emoluments based on the value of cleared goods. However, in 1771, a provision directed that these fees be collected for the Public Cause, and salaries were established for the Judge and other Officers.⁴

During the years 1541 to 1542, this Customs House was leased 27,500 xerafins, along with the *Passos*. By the year 1594, its annual revenue had increased to 175000 xerafins, in addition to 4130 xerafins from the *Passos*. This income was unprecedented since the Conquest, as stated by Francisco Paes in the Revenue Register compiled in that year. It means that the customs house was rented out for a certain amount of money each year, and over the period of time, its revenue increased significantly, marking a notable increase in income for the government.⁵



Fig. 3.1 *Alfandega de Nova Goa*

3.2 *Alfandega de Goa* during Pomblin Era

The Marques de Pombal made significant changes to the *Alfandega de Goa* during his tenure, particularly through customs legislation aimed at revising the administrative system. In April 1771, measures were initiated to eliminate regulations which were not benefiting the

⁴ Barbuda, *Instrucções Com Que*, 20.

⁵ Barbuda, *Instrucções Com Que*, 20-23.

Estado's economy. As part of the restructuring, the post of City Captain (*Capitão de Cidade*) was abolished, and the staffing pattern was revised.⁶

Pombal's most notable contribution was the Standing Order (*Regimento*) of January 20, 1774, which addressed various aspects of customs operations, including the arrival and departure of ships, port entry procedures, cargo handling protocols, smuggling prevention measures, search procedures, and warehousing guidelines. The *Regimento* aimed to facilitate commerce while safeguarding the interests of both the State treasury (*Fazenda Real*) and

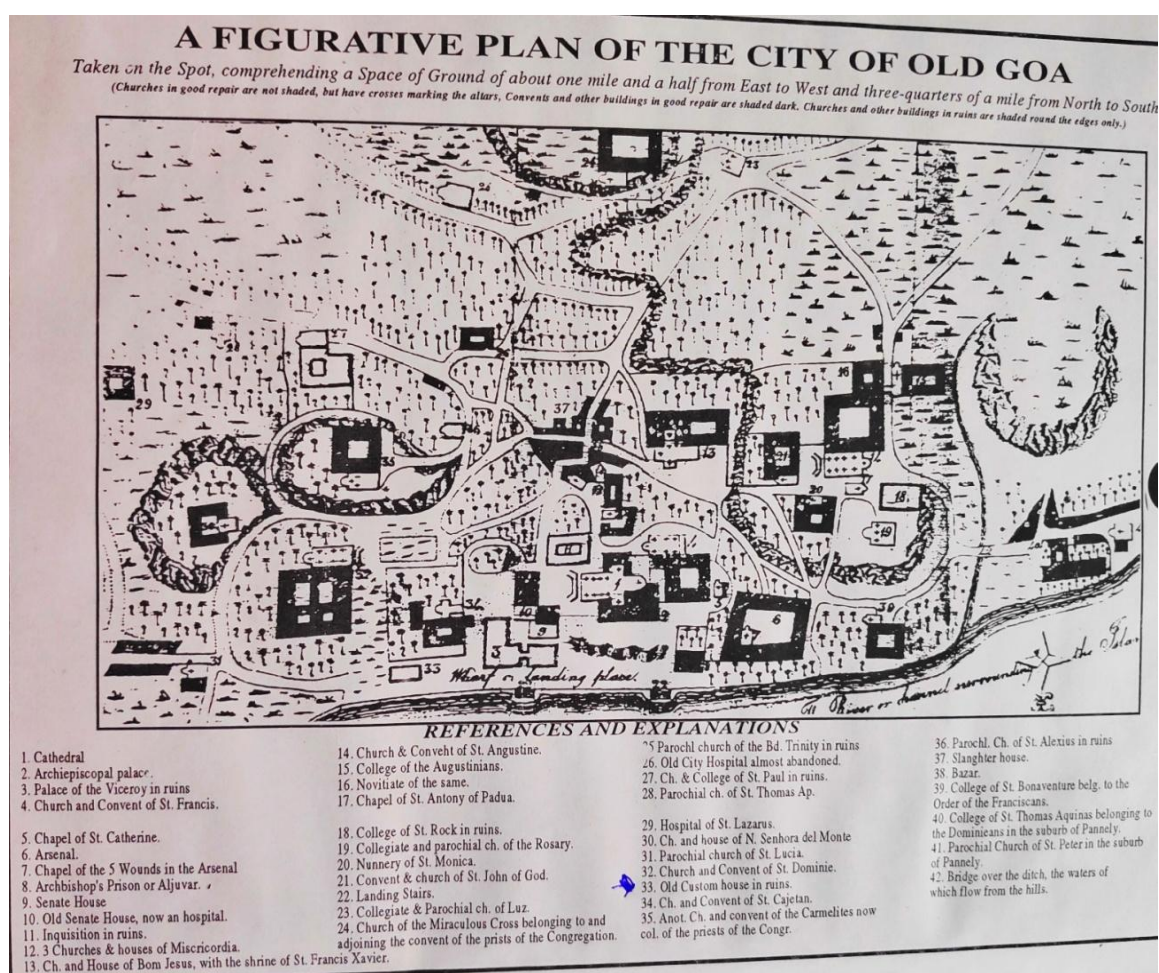


Fig. 3.2 Map showing the location of Old custom House in the city of Old Goa.⁷

⁶ Celsa Pinto, *Trade and Finance*, 86.

⁷ *Cidade de Goa (A reconstruction)* (Panaji: Department of Information and Publicity, Govt of Goa, 1994), 34.

merchants. The *regimento* also introduced import and export duties set at 5 percent and 2 percent, respectively. Also, it mandated the reorganization of the staff (*quadro*) of the Goa Customs. These changes were intended to make more efficient customs administration, although the *regimento* initially fell short of expectations.⁸ In the years following its implementation, a decline in State customs revenues was observed, attributed to restrictions and inconveniences faced by merchants that discouraged trade at the port of Goa.

To address these shortcomings, amendments were made to the *Regimento* in November 1780. This included the revival of the Inspector (*Juiz*) position, which had been abolished under the initial *Regimento* of 1774. In 1779, the salaries of customs officials at the *Alfandega de Goa* were increased, leading to a total expenditure of 8,500 xerafins—an increase of 2,896 xerafins compared to 1771.

3.3 Custom Houses in *Novas Conquistas*

Recognizing the need for customs houses along the coast, new ones were established to supplement those located inland. In December 1840 the number of *alfandegas* in the old conquest areas was reduced to three, Nova Goa, Chapora, and Assolna, while two new ones were introduced in the New Conquest regions, namely Sanquelim and Sanguem. The shift resulted in four out of the five *alfandegas* being newly established. The *alfandegas* of Salcette and Bardez were relocated to Assolna and Chapora, respectively, and those of the new conquest areas to Sanquelim and Sanguem. The creation of these new customs houses cause an expenditure of 27605 xerafins. For administrative efficiency, new check-posts were established in April 1841 at Tiracol and Neibag in Pernem, at Collem and Curssim in the province of Embarbacem, at Veluz and Valpoy in the province of Sanquelim, at Talpona and

⁸ Pinto, *Trade and Finance*, 86.

Uddem-Val in the province of Canacona, and at Col and Cavellossim in the province of Salcette.⁹

3.4 Revenue Farming, and the tax structure and Tariffs

3.4.1 Revenue Farming

The Customs House had a common practice of leasing out its operations based on the expected yearly income. For example, in the years 1541 to 1542, the Alfandega was leased for 27500 xerafins. In the year 1543, when it was leased for 50,000 pardaos per year. And in the years 1545, 1546, and 1547, it was leased for 60,500 pardaos per year, and in 1548 for 68,000 pardaos. Later in the years 1549, 1550, and 1551, it was leased for 68,000 pardaos per year. In the years 1552, 1553, and 1554, it was leased for 90,000 pardaos per year¹⁰

Despite being leased, taxes on commerce were either collected directly by customs officials or contracted out to rentiers. Rama Chondra Naique was to lease the *Alfandega* for 1,40,000 xerafins, but this arrangement did not materialize.¹¹ Customs houses in Salcette, Bardez, and newly conquered areas also followed this system. However, over time, issues arose for traders due to this practice. Consequently, changes were implemented. In the year 1801, the leasing system was abolished in Bardez and Salcette, and in 1840, the same occurred for the customs houses in newly conquered areas.¹²

The administration of these customs houses transitioned to being managed under *fazenda*.¹³ This change aimed to address the challenges faced by merchants and to ensure

⁹ Pinto, *Trade and finance*, 91.

¹⁰ Rodrigo José de Lima Felner, *Subsidios para a Historia da India Portuguesa* (Lisbon: typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias), 48.

¹¹ Barbuda, *Instrucções Com Que*, 21

¹² Pinto, *Trade and finance*, 93.

¹³ Pinto, *Trade and finance*, 87.

more effective control over the regulation of trade activities. Through these measures, the customs houses evolved to better serve the needs of both the government and the merchants involved in commerce.

3.4.2 The Varied Duties and Tariffs Administered by *Alfandega de Goa*

The customs house, in Goa was responsible for administering various tariffs and taxes on imports and exports, as well as overseeing other duties related to maritime trade. These included transshipment duties, which were fees charged for transferring goods from one mode of transportation to another during their journey. The *Alfandega* imposed depository and warehouse duties on goods stored within its facilities. Sealing and stamp duties were levied to certify the authenticity and legality of documents and goods. Anchorage tax was collected for vessels anchoring in Goan waters. Furthermore, custom duties were imposed on the supply of water to ships, ensuring that vessels paid for the use of local resources. Taxes were also applied to food (*dereitos de colecta*) contributing to the revenue of the customs house. Lastly, emoluments were provided to guards and officials for their services in safeguarding and managing the customs operations.¹⁴ Together, these tariffs and duties formed an essential part of the revenue collection and regulation of maritime trade in Goa during that period.

3.5 Administration

The administration of *alfandegas* formed the backbone of Goa's maritime trade, overseeing the processes of regulating commerce and collecting duties. The administration of custom houses, was structured with a diverse staff to manage the tasks associated with regulating trade and collecting duties. At the top of *alfandegas* was the Inspector (*juiz de alfandega*), administrator (*administrador*), responsible for overseeing the day-to-day operations and ensuring obedience with customs laws and regulations. Assisting the

¹⁴ Pinto, *Trade and finance*, 92-97.

administrator was a team of key personnel, including the tax-collector (*recebedor*) tasked with collecting duties on imported and exported goods, the scribe (*escrivao*) who maintained detailed records of transactions, and an assistant to provide support in various administrative tasks. Additionally, bailiff (*meirinho*)¹⁵ Factor (*feitor*) was appointed to conduct regular inspections prevent fraud or smuggling activities. The janitor (*porteiro*) played essential roles in maintaining the physical premises and managing logistics, while a team of guards (*guardas*) provided security and enforcement to safeguard against illicit trade practices.¹⁶

The *Alfandega* went through many changes over time. This led to new positions being created, old ones being changed, and some even being taken away. As trade patterns and economic needs shifted, the roles within the *alfandega* had to change too. Some positions that were important before might not be needed anymore, or they might have been combined with others.

3.5.1 Juiz da Alfandega

The *Juiz da Alfandega*, or Customs Inspector, had several important functions in the operation of the depository at Goa. The *Juiz da Alfandega* was responsible for the overall administration and control of the depository. This included overseeing the receipt, storage, and dispatch of goods. Merchandise intended to be entered into the depository had to be declared before the Customs Inspector within twenty-four hours of the ship's entry. The declaration had to provide detailed information such as the names of masters, importers, owners, and agents, as well as details regarding the loading of goods, volume, brands, and other relevant information.¹⁷

¹⁵ Felner, *Subsidios para a Historia*, 67.

¹⁶ Pinto, *Trade and finance*, 87.

¹⁷ Pinto, *Trade and finance*, 94.

The Customs Inspector played a crucial role in the operation of the warehouse. They were present during the opening of the warehouse, along with the janitor and the owners or their agents. This ensured transparency and accountability in the handling of goods.¹⁸ Overall, the *Juiz da Alfandega* played a important role in the efficient and transparent operation of the depository and the enforcement of customs regulations in Goa.

They play a crucial role in appointing and supervising other officials, such as clerks (*escrivao*), and ensuring that all procedures are followed accurately and efficiently. The position of *juiz da alfandega* was to be filled every three years, and the appointed individual was not permitted to engage in any other distinct employment simultaneously.¹⁹

Manuel francisco mira served as *juiz da alfndeg*a de Goa from 1641 for three years²⁰ and Nuno Sodré Ferreira, served from 1650.²¹ The position of *juiz de alfandega* was abolished in 1774. However, it was later revived. By the year 1800, the role of *juiz* was no longer observed, and instead, the Director of the customs office was recognized as the head of the *alfandega*.²² This change reflects the evolving administrative structure and responsibilities within the customs department during that period. The director assumed the leadership role formerly held by the *juiz*, overseeing the operations and functions of the customs office.

3.5.2 *Meirinho*

In the early 16th century, the position of *meirinho* held significance within the administration of the customs house. The *meirinho*, or bailiff, played a vital role in assisting with the enforcement of regulations, maintaining order within the customs house. However,

¹⁸ Pinto, *Trade and Finace*, 95.

¹⁹ Carmo Nazareth, "A Alfandega de Damao," *O Orient Portuguez*e XI,(1914): 130.

²⁰ Junta da real fazenda livro, 135.

²¹ Junta da real fazenda livro 10, 114.

²² Pinto, *Trade and Finace*, 89

unlike other roles such as the juiz and clerks, the *meirinho* did not receive a fixed salary. Instead, they were compensated through wages and maintenance, indicating the demanding nature of their duties and the challenges they faced while executing their responsibilities²³. However, by the 1800s, there is no mention of the *meirinho* position within the customs administration, suggesting changes in administrative structures or roles within the customs house over time.

3.5.3 *Administrador* or Director

Similar to the *Juiz*, the Director was responsible for the overall administration and control of the customs office. This included overseeing the receipt, storage, and dispatch of goods, as well as enforcing customs regulations. The Director supervised other officials within the customs office, ensuring that all procedures were followed accurately and efficiently. This included appointing and overseeing clerks (*escrivao*) and other staff members. The Director was responsible for enforcing customs regulations and ensuring compliance with trade laws. This involved monitoring declarations, handling goods, and overseeing all aspects of customs operations to prevent smuggling. In 1800 the director of the *alfandega de Goa* received a salary of 2000 xerafins²⁴. However, by the year 1841, this salary had been increased to 2500 xerafins. Antonio pixoto was served as director *alfandega de nova Goa* in year 1841.²⁵

Total Staff	Position Held At Alfandega De Goa	Salaries In Xerafins

²³ Felner, *Subsidios para a Historia*, 67.

²⁴ Felipe Nery Xavier, *Collecao de Bandos, e Outras Differentres para o Economico, e Judicial Das Provincias Denoinadas das Novas Conquistas*(Panjim” Imprensa Nacioanl, 1840). 203.

²⁵ Felipe Nery Xavier, *Lista Geral dos Emregados Civis, Ecclessiasticos, e Militares de Goa Damao, e Diu* (nova: Imprensa Nacional, 1861), 26

1	Administrador	2000
2	Escrivão da Receita	800
2	Guarda-mor	1200
1	Recebedor	1233
2	Feitores	600
1	Escrivão de Bilhetes	600
1	Escrivão de Carga, e Descarga	400
2	Aspirante	180
	Porteiro	480
10	Guardas	360
1	Servente	96
1	Patrao de Escaler	120
8	Renadores	96
6	Guardas	120

Table 3.1 shows the total staff, positions, and salaries of Alfadega de Goa in Year 1811.²⁶

3.5.4 Sub- Director

Both the director and the sub-director held significant responsibilities, with slight differences in their roles. While the director oversaw the overall functioning of the customs administration, the sub-director assumed a crucial leadership role in managing minor customs houses. Specifically, the sub-director was the Head, tasked with the supervision and management of minor custom houses such as those in Sanguem, Chapora, Canacona, and others. The sub-director had a salary of 600 xerafin as of year in 1811, Vicent Emigdio Gracias was the sub-director of *Alfandega de Assolna*, like wise Antonio Francisco de Souza

²⁶ Xavier, *Collecao de Bandos*, 203

of Chapora, Rogue Caetano de Miranda of Sanguem, Antonio Pascol de Souza of Sanquelim, Jose Michael Dittozo Alexandre Mascarnheas served as the *Sub – Director* of Doromogo *Alfandega*.²⁷

3.5.5 *Recebedore*

Recebedor or Tax collector were responsible for overseeing the collection of taxes, duties, and other fees levied on imported and exported goods passing through the customs house. In 1510, the position of *Recebedor* was explicitly mentioned, indicating their role in overseeing the collection of taxes and duties at the customs house. It is mentioned that *Recebedor* of *Alfandega* should have 50,000 reis per year²⁸. Also in year it record suggest that the *Recebedor* used to receive 1233 xerafins.²⁹ However, by 1841, the position of *Recebedor* is not mentioned, and instead, the role of Treasurer (*Thesoureiro*) is identified.³⁰ This suggests a shift in organizational structure within the customs administration. It is possible that the functions previously attributed to the *Recebedor* were absorbed or integrated into the responsibilities of the Treasurer or other roles within the customs administration.

3.5.6. *Escrivão*

The *escrivão* or Scribe was responsible for maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities carried out at the customs house. This involved documenting the arrival and departure of ships, recording the types and quantities of goods being imported or exported, and noting any taxes or duties collected. They handled correspondence, both incoming and outgoing, related to customs matters. This could include letters, reports, and

²⁷ Xavier, *Lista Geral dos*, 27 -32

²⁸ Felner, *Subsidios para a Historia* 66.

²⁹ Xavier, *Lista Geral do*, 203.

³⁰ Xavier, *Lista Geral dos*, 27

other written communication with merchants, officials, and other relevant parties. In the early 1600s, *escrivãos* in the customs house, they did not receive a fixed salary but are compensated with wages.³¹ By the year 1800, in the main customs house of Nova Goa, the *escrivão* was entitled to a fixed compensation of 1000 xerafins, as exemplified by Francisco Jose Rodriguez's service in that role. This indicates a shift towards standardized payment practices for the *escrivão* position. The subdivisions of the customs house, such as Assolna, Chapora, and Sanguem, also had *escrivãos* who received compensation, at a lower rate of 300 xerafins.

3.5.7. Feitor

The function of the *feitor* or factor encompassed a range of crucial responsibilities within the customs house and port operations. Firstly, the *feitor* was tasked with procuring a timely supply of goods. This involved managing the procurement process³². Additionally, the *feitor* oversaw the loading operations of ships in the port ensuring that proper loading procedures were followed and that ships were not allowed to depart without being fully loaded. In the event of a shortfall in cargo availability, the *feitor* was responsible for making arrangements to procure the lacking amount, demonstrating their role in managing logistical challenges and ensuring cargo readiness for export.³³ Finally, upon completion of the loading operation. The function of the *feitor* encompassed procurement, loading oversight, logistical management, and documentation, all aimed at facilitating efficient port operations and the timely departure of ships carrying valuable cargo. In the customs house of the main port in 1800, the *feitor*, received a salary of 1200 xerafins. It's noteworthy that in the customs

³¹ Felner, *Subsidios para a Historia*, 67.

³² Xavier Mariona Martins, "Portuguese Shipping and Shipbuilding in Goa 1510-1780," PhD Diss., Goa University., 1994. 23.

³³ Martins, "Portuguese Shipping and," 24.

houses of subdivisions like Assolna, Chapora, Sanguem, and Sanquelim, the position of *feitor* was not present.³⁴

ALFANDEGA DE ASSOLNA	Salaries in xerafins
Sub Director	600
Escrivao	300
Thesouriero	360
Porteiro	240

Table 3.2. Showing the salaries and the positions of the staff from alfandega de assolna³⁵

3.5.8 *Porteiro*

Porteiro or janitor, played a vital role in the customs house, ensuring smooth operations and security. Responsible for controlling access, they monitored entries and exits, safeguarding against unauthorized individuals. Additionally, they provided assistance to visitors and directed them to the appropriate offices. Their role involves overseeing the record-keeping of all incoming goods, ensuring accuracy and accountability through the careful maintenance of registers. The *porteiro* is responsible for preventing any goods from being taken out of the customs house until certain conditions are met. This indicates their role in ensuring the security of goods within the premises. The *porteiro* must wait for confirmation from the clerks that the appropriate procedures, such as tithing (taxing), have been completed before allowing goods to be removed.³⁶

The role and salary of the *porteiro*, evolved over time and varied across different custom houses within the region. In the 1600s, it was noted that the *porteiro* received a salary of 3000 *reis*. By the 1800s, specifically in the customs house of Goa, the salary of the *porteiro*

³⁴ Xavier, *Collecao de Bandos*, 203

³⁵ HAG, *Alfandega de Goa Correspondencia (1849-1868)* n. ° 9265, fol 200v.

³⁶ F. Salles Lencastre, *Estudo Sobre as Portagens e as Alfandegas em Portugal* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1898), 47 48 .

was recorded as 480 xerafins. Antonio Manuel Felizardo Couto held the position of *porteiro* at the customs house of Goa during this time, indicating the continuation of the role within the administrative structure of the customs house. However, it is important noting that in customs houses of subdivisions like Assolna and Sanguem, the position of *porteiro* is not mentioned. This suggests that the organizational structure or staffing requirements in these minor custom houses may have differed from that of the main customs house in Goa. It is possible that the duties traditionally performed by a *porteiro* were fulfilled by other personnel or that the role was not considered necessary in these minor custom houses.

3.5.9 Guardas

In the administration of custom houses, guards were integral to maintaining security and safeguarding the personnel, goods, and facilities within the premises. Within the customs house of Goa, the security hierarchy comprised two main categories: *guarda mor* and *guarda*. The *guarda mor* held a position of authority, serving as the chief guard responsible for overseeing the security operations and ensuring adherence to protocols. This role was occupied by individuals with experience and leadership qualities. Jose Joaquin Maria Correa da Silva is mentioned as one such individual who held the position of *guarda mor*. Alongside the *guarda mor*, there were ten additional guards known simply as *guarda*. These guards worked under the supervision of the *guarda mor* and assisted in various security duties, including patrolling the premises, monitoring access points, and responding to security incidents.

In terms of compensation, the position of *guarda mor* commanded a higher salary, reflecting the increased responsibility and leadership associated with the role. Guards in this position received a salary of 1200 xerafins. On the other hand, the *guarda*, while still crucial to the security apparatus, received slightly lower salaries of 360 xerafins each.

In minor custom houses located in regions such as Assolna, Chapora, Sanguem, etc a similar security framework was implemented, on a smaller scale. These customs houses typically employed eight guards, whose duties mirrored those of their counterparts in larger establishments. However, due to the smaller scale of operations, the salaries for guards in these minor customs houses were slightly lower, with each guard receiving 180 xerafins.

Guards played a critical role in ensuring the smooth functioning of customs operations by providing security and protecting the interests of the customs administration. Their presence and diligence were essential for trade transactions and preserving the revenue collected by the customs.

This chapter focuses on evolution and administration of Goa Customs, tracing its transformation from a simple check post during the adilshah rule to the Portuguese Customs House. It gives the details on the various customs duties imposed and the workings of the administration. Through a detailed examination of these customs records, the chapter is successful to meet its objectives to gain insights into the evolution and the administration of *Alfandega de Goa*.

CHAPTER 4

COLONIAL GOA: ITS OVERSEAS AND COASTAL TRADE NETWORKS

Goa's maritime trade has been a vital part of history, connecting it to distant lands and shaping its identity over the centuries. This chapter focuses on how trade networks evolved, focusing on both coastal and overseas connections with special attention to insights from *Alfandega* records. When the Portuguese came in 1510, they transformed Goa into a key hub of maritime trade, linking it to Lisbon, and East. *Livros das Alfandegas* which are detailed customs records, provide significant information on trade about what was traded and with whom. These records show how Goa traded pepper, textiles, and other goods with places like Mozambique, Macau, Malacca, Ceylon, Brazil, and even coastal ports like Bombay and Cochin. By analyzing these records, we can understand the Goa's trade over time and the impact it had on the region's economy and culture.

4.1. Goa s Maritime Trade Before 1510.

During the time of Adil Shah of Bijapur, Duarte Barbosa described the Muslim city of old Goa as follows:

“The city was inhabited by moors, respectable men and foreigners and rich merchants. There are also many great gentile merchants, as well as cultivators and men-at-arms. It was a place of great trade. It has a good port to which flock many ships from Mekkah, Aden, Hormuz, Cambay and Malabar.. The town was very large with good edifices and handsome streets surrounded by walls and towers”¹

¹ J N da Fonseca. *An Historical Sketch Of City of Goa.*(New Delhi: Asian Educatinal Services, 1989) 132.

Goa was famous for its betel, exported to Aden, Hormuz, and Cambay, while it imported horses from Hormuz, Persia, and Cambay, supplying them to rulers in the Deccan and South India in exchange for fine muslin, rice, spices, and gold pardaos. Customs duties in Goa and its surrounding districts yielded significant revenue, with estimates reaching 400,000 pardaos annually. Portuguese chroniclers like Barros and Gaspar Correia noted substantial revenues flowing to Adil Shah from Goa's trade, highlighting the region's economic importance.²

Before Portuguese rule, Goa's participation in the trade of horses was significant. Horses were imported into Goa from Arabia, Hormuz, Persia, and the kingdom of Cambay (Gujarat), and then further distributed to various parts of Vijayanagar and the Deccan. Goa also maintained commercial relations with Aden, and the entire West Asia, attracting merchants of various nationalities.³ Goa was renowned for its high-quality areca, which were highly valued. These products were exported to Aden, Hormuz, and Cambay. Additionally, Goa exported calico, fine muslin, and rice, while importing horses in exchange. The merchants from West Asia often traded these items for horses.⁴ Goa expanded its trade to various parts of India, including the Malabar coast, Chaul, Dabul, and the kingdom of Gujarat. Pepper, ginger, and other spices from the Malabar coast were among the commodities brought to Goa for trade. Indian rulers' historical policy of supporting overseas trade freedom, Portuguese dominance eventually controlled the seas, altering the dynamics of

² V.T.Gune, "Goas Coastal and Overseas Trade from Earliest Times till 1510A.D", in *Goa Through the Ages An Economic History volume II* ed. Teotonio R De Souza (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1990), 137.

³ K. S Mathew, "Trade and Commerce in Sixteenth Century Goa", *Goa Through the Ages Goa Through the Ages An Economic History volume II*, ed Teotonio R De Souza (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1990), 137

⁴ Mathew, "Trade and Commerce in Sixteenth," 137.

trade in the region.⁵ After the Portuguese occupation of Goa in 1510, the maritime trade of the Goa underwent a significant transformation. Previously focused on West Africa, coastal regions of India, and some parts of Southeast Asia, Goa's trade expanded to port of Lisbon and various centers in Western Europe. This extension to Western Europe added a new dimension to Goa's trade network. The external trade, inland trade, and local commerce also experienced growth.

The Portuguese arrival in the Indian Ocean heralded a period of strategic conquests, marked by the establishment of fortresses and the expansion of trade routes. Starting with their landmark arrival in Calicut in 1498, the Portuguese swiftly extended their influence to key locations Calicut in 1498, Kilwa in 1505, Mozambique Island in 1507, Goa in 1510, Malacca in 1511, Timor in 1511, Ormuz in 1515, Colombo in 1518, Moluccas in 1521, Diu in 1535, Bassein in 1536, Nagasaki in 1543, Macau in 1557, Daman in 1559, and Mombasa in 1593. These conquests allowed the Portuguese to control key maritime routes and establish trade networks, shaping the course of maritime trade in the region for centuries to come. Goa's overseas trade connections during the Portuguese rule were extensive and diverse. Trade voyages from Goa reached destinations such as Mozambique, Mombasa, Muscat, Brazil, Hormuz, Macau etc

4.2. Goa's far-reaching trade networks

During the Portuguese colonial era, Goa served as the central hub for the inter-Asian trade network. This network operated under a system of monopolies, where specific goods were brought from various Asian ports to Goa for shipment to Portugal. Meanwhile, other commodities were exchanged at different ports based on demand. The trade process involved acquiring monopoly goods or bullion to purchase them. These inter-port trades were

⁵ M.N Pearson, "Goa Based Overseas Trade in 17th ad 18th Century" *Goa Through the Ages An Economic History volume II*, ed Teotonio R De Souza (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1990), 147

facilitated through organized voyages from Goa to specific trading centers and back. These voyages were either managed directly by the state administration or by private individuals.

4.2.1. Goa-Lisbon

Commerce between Goa and Portugal was facilitated by the “*Carreira da India*,” trade route regulated by the monsoon winds. Departing from Portugal in February or March, these ships typically arrived in Goa towards the end of the year, aiming to depart as soon as possible in the following year.⁶

The *Carreira* followed the traditional route around the Cape of Good Hope. The cargo carried on these voyages often included spices and goods such as woollens, coral, wines, ham, olives, olive oil, European textiles, clothes, and other luxury items were also transported aboard these ships. This trade route played a crucial role in fostering commerce between Goa and Portugal.⁷

In 17th century goods exported from Goa to Portugal included a variety of valuable commodities. Pepper from Kanara and Malabar, along with cloths from regions like Kutch, Tuticorin, Negapatam, and Bengal, formed a significant portion of these exports. Cinnamon from Ceylon. Which was first brought to Goa port and then to Portugal. As mentioned by Afzal Ahmed, in the 17th century total export of pepper to Lisbon in the year 1601- 1610 was 71,950 quintals ⁸and from year 1610 to 1620 91,891 quintals, from year 1620 to 1630 91,810 quintals but in 1631 to 1640 it 52,54.0 decreased , but from year 1641 to 1650 at its Portuguese engagement in war with Dutch and loss of Ceylon, Quilon, Cochin to Dutch.⁹

⁶ Celsa Pinto, “Goa Based Overseas Trade in 18th and 19th century Century,” in *Goa through the Ages An Economic History Volume II* ed Teotonio R De Souza (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1990), 179.

⁷ Pinto, “Goa Based Overseas,” 179

⁸ Afzal Ahmed. *Indo Portuguese Trade in Seventeenth Century (1600-1663)*. (New Delhi: Gian Publishing House, 1991) 78.

⁹ Afzal Ahmed. *Indo Portuguese Trade* 77-83

The total investment in the Goa-Lisbon trade, which had once amounted to nearly two million golden cruzados, decreased to just three thousand cruzados by the mid-thirties of the seventeenth century.¹⁰ Since seventeenth century tobacco trade between Goa and Portugal was regulated by the Portuguese crown, with a royal monopoly established over the purchase and sale of Brazilian tobacco since the seventeenth century. Tobacco leaf and snuff were annually shipped to India via Lisbon.¹¹ peak 14,115.00 Quintals but later on years 1651 to 1656 were just 14,434 this was due to Portuguese engagement in war with Dutch and loss of Ceylon, Quilon, Cochin to the Dutch.¹² The total investment in the Goa-Lisbon trade, which had once amounted to nearly two million golden cruzados, decreased to just three thousand cruzados by the mid-thirties of the seventeenth century.¹³ Since the seventeenth century tobacco trade between Goa and Portugal was regulated by the Portuguese crown, with a royal monopoly established over the purchase and sale of Brazilian tobacco since the seventeenth century. Tobacco leaf and snuff were annually shipped to India via Lisbon.¹⁴ The tobacco trade played a significant role in the commerce between Portugal and its colonies, including Goa. According to *Livros das Alfandegas* the trade between Lisbon and Goa in the year 1826, imports from Lisbon to Goa amounted to 50647-0-001/8 xerafins¹⁵ while exports from Goa to Lisbon totalled 352844-4-30 xerafins.¹⁶ These figures from the *Livros das Alfandegas* provide insight into the volume of trade between the two regions. In year 1863 the *alfandega de Aguada* by the Portuguese ship Containing wine and other Commodities.¹⁷

¹⁰ T. R De Souza, "Goa based Portuguese Seaborn Trade in Early Seventeenth Century," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 12, no.24 (October 1975): 438.

¹¹ Pinto, "Goa Based Overseas," 179.

¹² Afzal Ahmed. *Indo Portuguese Trade* 77-83

¹³ De Souza, "Goa based Portuguese," 438.

¹⁴ Pinto, *Goa Based Overseas*, 179.

¹⁵ HAG, *Mappa de Alfandega de Goa* (1826), n. ° 2668, fol 28.

¹⁶ HAG, *Mappa de Alfandega de Goa* (1826), n. ° 2668, fol 29v

¹⁷ HAG, *Alfandega de Aguada* (1861- 1863), n. ° 5885, fol 91v-92.

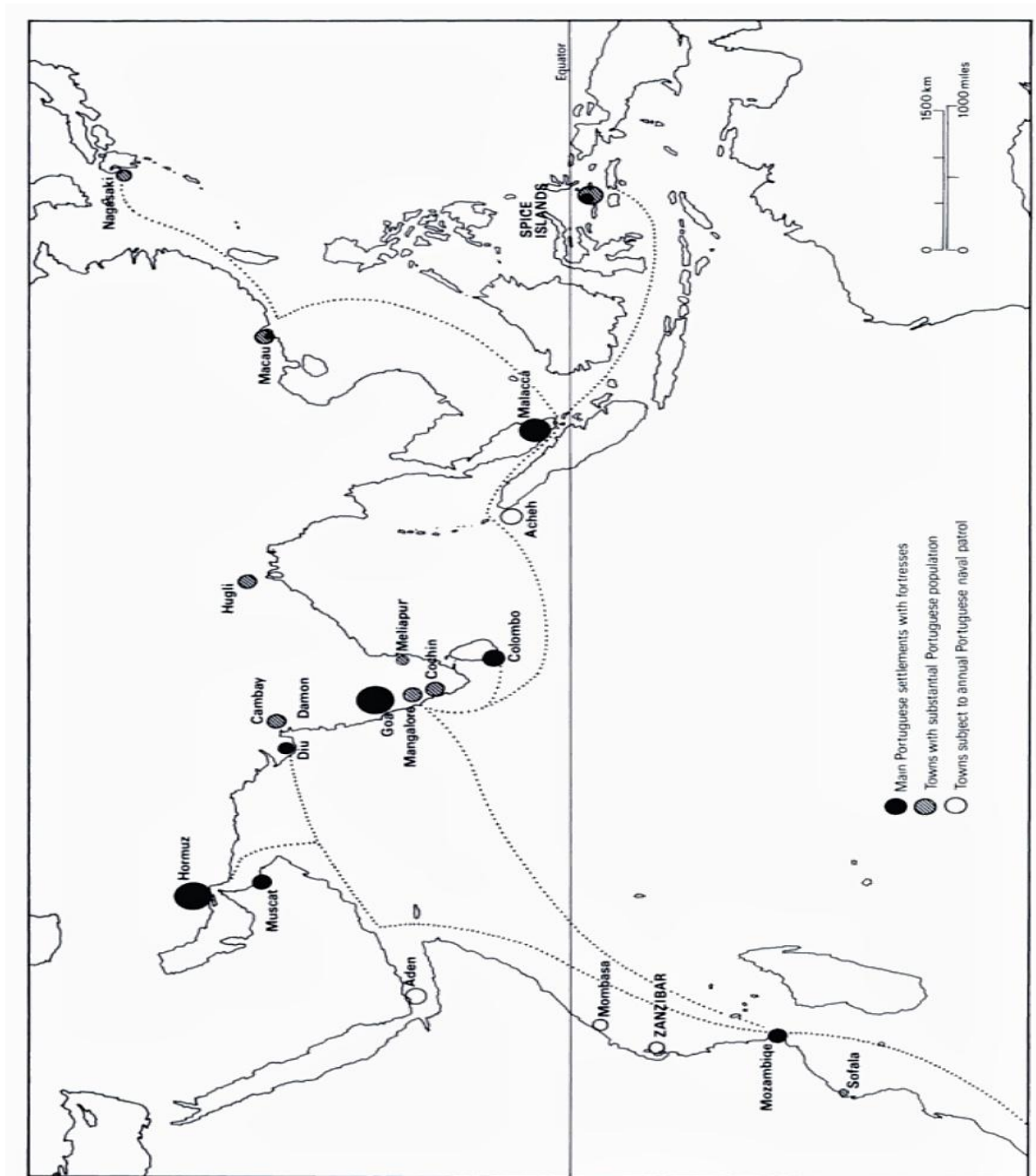


Fig. 4.1. Portuguese Seaborn Empire, c. 1580.¹⁸

4.2.2. Goa- Mozambique

The trade relationship between Goa and Mozambique dates back to 1507 when the Portuguese gained control of Mozambique Island. This marked the beginning of a significant trade connection, with voyages between Goa and Mozambique carrying various goods. Over

¹⁸ K.N.Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civisation in the Indian Ocean An Economic History from Rise of Islam to 1750.* (United Kingdom: Caambridge University Press, 1985.) 70.

the years, this trade route became essential for both regions, contributing to Goa's economic prosperity. These voyages typically involved three to five boats carrying goods like cloths and food-stuffs, with each trip bringing a net profit of ten to twelve thousand xerafins. Previously, over a million cruzados were invested in these voyages¹⁹. The *naos* leaving Lisbon for India would also collect tobacco rolls at Mozambique for delivery at the port of Goa. For example, in 1827, Goa received 20 barrels of tobacco from the *Companhia de Moçambique*. The trade between Goa and Moçambique during the 19th century involved the exchange of various commodities. Cargoes arriving at Moçambique from Goa consisted of a diverse range of goods, including victuals like rice, wheat, sugar, coconut oil, coconuts, meats, preserves, vinegar, sweets, tea, butter, cheese, lentils, arecanuts, *solans de brindão*, spices, crockery, fishing-nets, military hats, leatherware, wax, and Goan liquors like feni and arrack. The chief components of Goa's outward cargoes to Moçambique were guns and gunpowder, which were used in tribal wars to quell uprisings and capture Africans to be sold in slave markets.²⁰

Indian textiles and clothes formed a significant portion of Goa's cargoes destined for Mocambique, particularly during the period of the 1820s. These textiles included piece-goods from various regions of India such as Madras, Bengal, Balaghat, Patvar, Multan, Cambay, Surat, and Broach. A wide range of clothing items, including ghagras, dhotis, lungis, toropos, anagoas, Zuartes, chintzes, napkins, bed linen, shirts, trousers, and handkerchiefs, were exported to meet the requirements of the vanias, *prazeiros*, and kaffirs.²¹ But Goa's trade in Indian fabrics faced challenges due to economic and political changes in India. The

¹⁹ De Souza, "Goa based Portuguese," 438.

²⁰ Pinto, Goa Based Overseas, 189.

²¹ Pinto, Goa Based Overseas, 189

consolidation of British colonialism in India and the rise of free-trade doctrines allowed British manufactures to enter India without restrictions.²²

The trade connection between Goa and Mozambique during the 18th and 19th centuries was primarily characterized by the slave trade. The Mhamais family, played a significant role in this trade supplying slaves from Mozambique to various destinations, including French traders. Customs records indicate the volume of slave shipments between Goa and Mozambique highlighting the economic significance of this trade route.²³

Imports and exports between Goa and Mozambique accounted for a significant portion of Goa's trade, with textiles comprising the majority of exports. Imports included gold, silver, ivory, and an average of 50 slaves per year. Baniyas on Mozambique Island and Saraswat Brahmins in Goa played key roles in controlling trade between the two regions. In year imports into Goa from Mozambique were 1816, 1817, 1818, and in 1819 were 42,959 xerafins, 10,433 xerafins, 169,218 xerafins and 116,574 xerafins. And exports from goa to mozambique were 83,580 xerafins, 120,627 xerafins, 68,755 xerafins and 77, 935²⁴. Additionally, in 1826, imports into Goa amounted to 58100-3-4918/2 xerafins. And export 5620-2-30 xerafins. These figures highlight the significant trade volume between Goa, Mozambique.²⁵ The trade between Goa and Mozambique played a vital role in shaping the economies and societies of both regions.

4.2.3 Goa-Macau

²² Pinto, *Goa Based Overseas*, 189

²³ Pinto, "Goa Based Overseas," 190.

²⁴ Rudy Bauss, "Textiles, Bullion and Other Trades of Goa: Commerce with Surat, Other Areas of India, Luso-Brazilian Ports, Macau and Mozambique, 1816-1819" *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 34, (1997): 276.

²⁵ HAG, *Mappa de Alfandega de Goa* (1826), n. ° 2668, fol 28v

During the Portuguese colonial period, the trade relationship between Goa and Macao played a significant role in the economic exchanges within the broader maritime network connecting South China with Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean. Macau was significant for Portuguese as a strategic location along the China coast to strengthen its position trade between China and Japan. Trade between Macau and Goa primarily involved the exchange of various commodities, including silk, silver, sandalwood, pepper, musk, and other valuable substances. These goods formed the backbone of economic exchanges between the two regions.²⁶ In year 1816, 17, 18 and 19 exports from Goa to Macau were 109096 xerafins, 373696 xerafins 605461xerafins 362838 xerafins and Imports were 63016, 290810, 207455, and 65781 xerafins.²⁷ Furthermore, in 1826, import figures from Macau to Goa stood at 453,280-3-38 7/8 xerafins, while exports from Goa to Macau amounted to 14,728-0-21 xerafins.²⁸ These numerical details suggest a significant volume of trade between the two regions during the Portuguese colonial era.

Alfandega records speak on slaves exported to Macau from Goa during 1796-1826. The types of slaves traded included young kaffirs, negresses, and young negresses. Prices varied depending on factors such as age, gender, and physical condition, with prices ranging from 50 to 200 xerafins per piece. For instance, in the year 1812 merchant name Manoel de Silva exported slaves 1 young negress for 100 xerafins, likewise, Jose Gabriel Antonio exported 2 Kaffir for 200 xerafins. From 1796 to 1826 total 33 slaves were exported to Macau from Goa.²⁹

²⁶ Rodrigues Ptak, "Trade Between Macau and South East Asia in Ming Times: A survey," *Monumenta Serica* 54(2006) 465-489.

²⁷ Bauss, "Textiles, Bullion and," 276-277

²⁸ HAG, *Mappa de Alfandega de Goa* (1826), n. °2668, fol 28-40.

²⁹ HAG *Livros das Alfandegas de Goa*, (1826), n. ° 2668, Pinto, Goa Based Overseas, 201.

Year	Merchant	Type of of Slaves
1796	Constantino Golphe	1 young kaffir
1800	Kushta Sinai Dhempe	1 young kaffir
	Fr. Joze Francisco de	1 kaffir
	Figueiredo	1 kaffir
	Fr. Antonio Lobo	1 kaffir
	Vincente Salvador Roiz	1 kaffir
1812	Manoel de Silva	1 young nigresses
	Thomas Inacio de Silva	1 young kaffir, 2nigresses

Table 4.1. Slave Consignment from Goa to Macao, 1796-1812.³⁰

Alfandega de Aguada gives the details on the arrival of the ship, captain name Luis De Silva from Macau in year 1862 entered into port which consist of different merchandise.³¹

4.2.4 Goa-Malacca

The Portuguese played a significant role in the trade dynamics of Malacca. In 1511, the Portuguese conquered Malacca, gaining control over its spice trade and establishing their presence in the region. This conquest opened up new trade opportunities for Goa, as Portuguese merchants utilized Malacca as a hub for their commercial activities in Southeast

³⁰ Pinto, *Trade and Finance*, 277.

³¹ HAG, *Alfandega de Aguada* (1861- 1863), n. ° 5885, fol 38v – 39

Asia.³² Upon establishing their presence in the region, the Portuguese implemented strict regulations governing maritime trade, particularly through the Strait of Malacca. The customs house in Malacca played a crucial role in regulating trade activities. Every trading ship passing through the Strait was required to possess a pass issued by Portuguese authorities. In 1524, Vasco da Gama reinforced this regulation by imposing severe penalties, including death and confiscation of property, for non-compliance.³³

Malacca, located in Southeast Asia, served as a central hub for collecting spices from surrounding regions. Pepper, cinnamon, cloves, nutmegs, and other spices were gathered from various islands and brought to Malacca. Portuguese traders played a significant role in controlling and facilitating this spice trade. Their was demand for Indian goods such as Gujarati textiles and copper from Cochin. These goods were exchanged for spices and other local products.

4.2.5 Goa -Ceylon

Ceylon, known for its abundant cinnamon production, was a crucial trading partner for Goa. Ships laden with cinnamon would arrive in Goa for distribution within India and for export to Portugal. The ports in Ceylon, such as Jaffna, Kandy, and Colombo, received Indian commodities such as textiles, rice, and copper from Goa. These goods were exchanged for cinnamon and other local products.³⁴ There was also a significant trade between Ceylon and

³² Tran Xuan Hiep and Nguyen Tuan Binh “The Strait of Malacca (Malaysia) with its Role in the Network of Maritime Trade in Asia and East – West Cultural Exchange in the Middle Ages,” *Palarch Journal of Archaeology of Egypt* 17,no. 20 (2020): 84-92

³³ Fr. R. Cardon “Portuguese Malacca,” *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* , 12, no. 20(August, 1934): 1-23

³⁴ K.S.Mathew. K.S.Mathew. *The Portuguese Trade with India in the Sixteenth Century*, (New Delhi Manohar Publications 1989),62-63.

Goa involving elephants. These elephants were primarily sourced from Ceylon and then redistributed to princely courts in India.³⁵

4.2.6 Goa-Brazil

Before 1775 Goa's commercial interaction with Brazilian ports was facilitated by the *Carreira da India* ships which made stops in Brazilian waters under the pretext of provisioning and refitting.³⁶ These stops led to illegal exchanges of goods, including Indian textiles, Chinese porcelain, silks, tea, with Brazilian colonials.

Alfandega records from year 1816 -24 gives details on the revenue obtained from bullion from Brazil to Goa was 13,875.65 xerafins.³⁷ With textiles and bullion, Brazil supplied Goa with various other goods, including tobacco, foodstuffs like sugar, sausages, marmalade, cheese, wines, cotton, copper, indigo, paper, incense, coffee, coconut oil, wax, and saltpetre. The Mhamais were involved in facilitating the trade of these goods between the two colonies, contributing to the maritime trade connection between Goa and Brazil.³⁸

4.2.7 Goa-Muscat

The trade connection between Goa and Muscat was vital during the sixteenth century, driven by the exchange of valuable commodities and goods. Pepper, ginger, nutmeg, rice, and copper, sourced from various regions across India, were in high demand in Arabia and Persia. Portuguese vessels regularly transported these items to ports in Muscat, typically departing from Goa in the months of October or November. These shipments formed a significant part of the maritime trade of Goa. In return, Portuguese ships returned from Muscat laden with

³⁵ Ahmed. *Indo Portuguese Trade*, 17.

³⁶ Celsa Pinto. *Trade and Finance in India: A study of the Portuguese Country Trade 1700-1840* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1994) 79

³⁷ Celsa Pinto, *Situating Indo Portuguese Trade History A Commercial Resurgence 1770-1830* (Kerala: Irish Tellicherry, 2003)

³⁸ Pinto, *Goa Images and Perception*, 56-57.

prized commodities such as Persian horses, and silver. This trade route between Goa and Muscat was established to meet the demands of both regions. From Goa to Muscat cargoes consist of ivory, coconuts, copra, lead, pepper, cloves, cinnamon, cardamom, ginger, nutmeg, and various other sorts of drugs.³⁹

Between 1816 and 1819, the trade between Goa and Muscat saw fluctuations in both exports and imports. In 1816, the exports from Goa to Muscat amounted to 9,280 xerafins. This remained consistent in 1817, with another 9,280 xerafins exported. However, in 1818, the export figure dropped to 6,048 xerafins, representing a decrease in trade volume. By 1819, the export further decreased to 5,760 xerafins. On the other hand, imports from Muscat to Goa in 1816 were relatively high at 11,205 xerafins. However, there was a significant drop in imports in 1817, with only 2,264 xerafins recorded. This trend continued in 1818 and 1819, with imports decreasing to 2,141 xerafins and 1,466 xerafins, respectively. These fluctuations in trade volumes between Goa and Muscat during this period reflect the changing economic conditions and trading patterns between the two regions.⁴⁰

According to archival documents from 1826, the imports into Goa from Muscat amounted to 457-4-00, while the exports from Goa totalled 11,631. These figures indicate the volume of goods traded between Goa and Muscat during 1826 which was low.⁴¹ Customs records of Aguada mentions about the ship from Muscat entering the port for commerce.⁴²

	Imports	Exports
Lisbon	50647	352244
Macau	153280	14728

³⁹ Mathew, "Trade and Commerce in Sixteenth," 143.

⁴⁰ Bauss, "Textiles, Bullion and," 277

⁴¹ HAG, *Mappa de Alfandega de Goa* (1826), n. ° 2668, fol 28-40.

⁴² HAG, *Alfandega de Aguada* (1861- 1863), n. ° 5885, fol 73v-74.

Mozambique	58400	9620
Sul	162884	12273
Muscat	457	1163
Bombeim	363624	67803
Dio	28674	23697
Melonde	5085	908
Raypur	160	2292
Balag	101688	21684
Ponda	130954	4647
Damao	44626	8637

Tabel 4.2: Source HAG, *Mappa de Alfandega Ms 2668*, import and export Goa

4.3 Goa and its coastal trade network

The cafila system implemented by the Portuguese connected Goa to various coastal ports of India. These cafila comprised groups of small merchant ships organized into convoys, escorted by the Portuguese armada, destined for different destinations.⁴³ Goa's connections extended to ports such as Bombay, Kanara, Malabar, Daman, Diu, Gujarat, and others. This system facilitated trade and commerce between Goa and these coastal regions, allowing for the exchange of goods, resources, and cultural influences.

Bombay used to supply the Goa with products like liquors, European and Indian textiles and clothes, crockery, cutlery, glassware, hardware, spices, Chinese silks, curios, paper, pitch, rhubarb, fans, parasols, and foodstuffs such as rice, wheat, sugar, tea, cheese, butter and oils. Her outward cargoes were composed of local liquors, salt, coconuts, coconut

⁴³ Agnelo P. Ferañades, "Goa's Role in the International Trade in 16th and 17th Centuries," *Proceedings of the Indian history Congress* 48,(1987): 284

products, solans de brindão, local pottery, domesticated birds, cashewnuts, mangoes, arecanuts, wax, jaggery, butter, pepper, chillies, nachenim, tamarind and bamboos.⁴⁴ The total value of trade between Goa and Bombay in the year 1823 was 710,552 xerafins. In 1826, it was 560,671. In 1828, it increased to 837,993. These figures indicate fluctuations in the value of trade between the two regions over the specified years. In year 1826 the import from Bombay to Goa were 33624 xerafins and export were 67803 xerafins.⁴⁵ The Aguada customs house records have many entries of the ships from Bombay entering the port for commerce. For instance Patamarin ship, name of the captain was Felter Terry, this ship consisted of the cloths and sugar and other products entered the port in year 1862.⁴⁶

Exports	Imports
Brandy from Portugal,	Spirit from grapes
Cashew spirit	Thin cotton cloth
Palm spirit	Cotton in
thin cotton cloth	Almonds
..... and drugs of the dye-house	Livestock
Arecanut dye-house drugs
Rice	brown rice
Powdered sugar	paddy husk rice
Birds	sugar candy
Bamboos	powdered sugar
Fish fins	sesame oil
Fish guts	Olive oil from Portugal
cable coir	Olives
raw coir
bush cinnamon	Cable coir
Peeled cashew nuts	Raw coir
Catechu / terra Japonica	pewter/tin-based alloy
chiselled wax	bush cinnamon
Bottled beer	sacked meat
Tea in boxes	raw wax
copra / dried coconut kernel	Beer

⁴⁴ Celsa Pinto. *Trade and Finance*, 39.

⁴⁵ HAG, *Mappa de Alfandega de Goa* (1826), n.2668, fol 28

⁴⁶ HAG, *Alfandega de Aguada* (1861- 1863), n. 588514v

Coconuts	Tea in half-peak boxes
Canned mango	Hats
Medicinal drugs	Lead
Dye-house drugs	Copper
construction iron	pruning shears
Thin woolen cloth	Various shears
Pulses	Clove
twisted thread	Medicinal drugs
hemp linen	Dye-house drugs
construction timber/wood	Iron
butter from Asia	Construction iron
Finger millet	Empty bottles
salted fish
Long pepper	Grain
round pepper	Incense
.....	Jaggery
Salt	Thin woolen cloth
Salt-petre	Brass
Kokum peels	Pulses
Wheat	Liqueurs
Grape wine	twisted thread
Bottled wine	hemp linen
Vitrifications	Thin linen cloth
	Crockery
	Wood

Table. 4.3. list of principal commodities imported and exported through *alfandega de Goa*.⁴⁷

Goa was mainly dependent for rice on Kanara and other items consist of in this trade network are sugar, iron, ginger, coir, saltpetre, wood, timber etc. The custom records of Aguada gives detail entry of the ships from Kanara entering the port. similarly in the year 1861, the name of the captain of ship was Balta, consisted of copra and cocoa.⁴⁸ Daman and Diu was supplying Goa with textiles, rice, wheat, nets etc and also slave were brought in to Goa (table 4.4). Goa in return used to supply the coconut, saffron, arecanut, cashew, and palm liquors, coconut oil, wax, vinegar, tea, etc. Ship Ramaprasad, Leteira, Aalvita, entered

⁴⁷ HAG, *Alfandega de Goa* (1849-1836), n. ° 9265, fol. 43,43v,44,44v,45,45v.

⁴⁸ HAG, *Alfandega de Aguada* (1861- 1863), n. ° 5885 fol,14v-15

the Aguada customs .⁴⁹ The customs records also mention of the imports and exports from Daman and Diu into Goa. For year 1826 the imports from Diu were 28,674 xerafins and exports 23,697 xerafins. Similary for Daman the Imports were 44,626 xerafins and exports were 8,637 xerafins.

Year/Period	Daman Slaves	Diu Slaves
1801	65 slaves	-
1811-1813	31 kaffirs, 3 nigresses	1 kaffir, 1 nigresses
1814	1 young kaffir, 9 kaffir	4 kaffirs, 1 nigresses
1824	17 slaves, 9 kaffirs	4 slaves 2 kaffirs

Table 4. 4 Slav arrivals in Goa from Daman and Diu, 1801-1824⁵⁰

Cochin was the traditional source of pepper in sixteenth century for Goa. Beside this the principal components of Goa's import cargoes from Cochin included spices, such as cloves, cinnamon and cardamom and coconut products. Horses and country craft too were imported. Goa returned salt, gold pagodes, hides, etc. Calicut supplies included copra, coconut oil, cashews, salt-fish and a variety of textiles. provided Goa with teak wood, dyes, oil, jaggery, cloth and in the main country vessels.⁵¹ Goa- Gujrat trade anuual capital involved in this trade was Rs 40,00,000.⁵² Its cargoes directed to that region contained arecanuts, coconuts, timber and the return trips brought wheat, butter, oils, bed-linen, threads, etc.⁵³ As mentioned by

⁴⁹ HAG, *Alfandega de Aguada* (1861- 1863),n. ° 5885 fol, 38-39.

⁵⁰ Pinto, "Goa Based Overseas," 207.

⁵¹ Pinto, *Goa Based Overseas*, 194.

⁵² Pearson, *Coastal western india* 105.

⁵³ Pinto, *Goa Based Overseas*, 190

Rudy Baus, Surat provided 55 percent of the products which Goa re-exported to the world market.⁵⁴ These highlight the rich trade connection between the Goa and the Gujrat.

Alfandega sources provide the detailed information on the trade connection Goa had, as discussed in this chapter, main objective of this chapter is to show the rich historical data this archival sources had, about the overseas and coastal trade connections of Goa with the different commodities exchanged during the process. The next chapter will be about the people who traded.

⁵⁴ ⁵⁴ Bauss, “ Textiles, Bullion and,” 175.

CHAPTER 5

MERCHANTS AND MARKET: INSIGHTS FROM ALFANDEGA RECORDS FROM 18th AND 19th CENTURY GOA

This chapter focuses on the merchants who shaped Goa's trade during colonial period. This chapter is mainly emphasizing on the role of local merchants and trade dynamics in Goa during the 18th and 19th centuries, focusing on *Livros de Alfandega* as primary sources of historical information. It explores the significance of various merchant communities, such as the Saraswat Brahmins, Baniyas, Canarins, and others, in shaping Goa's economy through their involvement in trade across the Indian Ocean region. It also highlights specific merchants and their activities recorded in the *Alfandega de Bardez*, *Alfandega de Betul* and *Alfandega de Aguada* focusing on the commodities traded of Goa.

Livros de Alfandega, consists of detailed information on local merchants and the commodities they traded in during the 18th and 19th century. Goa was a bustling port town with trade connections to Indian Ocean ports and Portugal. Many people in Goa were involved in business activities, especially after 1510 when the Portuguese made Goa their capital for trade in the Indian Ocean. This attracted merchants from different backgrounds to the town, all pursuing their own business interests. Trade was crucial for all Portuguese individuals residing in Asia. There were four main occupational groups officials, which included military and naval commanders; soldiers, usually unmarried young men; *casados*, or settled, married men; and clerics. All of these groups participated in trade, but the *casados*, being married and settled, most active participants in commercial activities.¹

The local trading community also held a significant position, as even though the Portuguese claimed control over Indian Ocean trade, they still relied on the locals for the

¹ M.N Pearson. *The New Cambridge History Of India. The Portuguese In India*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987.) 81.

supply of pepper from the region's production areas. This dependence highlighted the importance of the local traders in sustaining the trade network.² The Portuguese government relied heavily on the local business community due to their shortage of manpower. This dependence extended primarily to Indigenous Hindu merchants, who constituted the majority of the merchants upon whom the Portuguese relied³

The Saraswat Brahmins played significant roles in the society, serving as village administrators, financiers, tax collectors, and traders in intra-Asian commerce. In Goa, various sources of government revenue such as customs duties and taxes on goods like cloth and tobacco were predominantly controlled by Hindus, particularly the Saraswat Brahmins.⁴

The Baniyas merchants of Daman and Diu were known for their exceptional entrepreneurship which helped them become one of the wealthiest business communities on the west coast of India. They played a significant role in the East-African trading network, dispatching ships loaded with rice and other goods to places like Mozambique, and bringing back prized commodities like ivory, slaves, and gold.⁵ Another significant community were Gujarati Baniyas held a prominent position in the economic landscape during the 16th and 17th centuries. They managed and operated shops selling various goods including cloth and gemstones, *rua de baneyanese* and were involved in lending money to the Portuguese government. They owned ships in partnership with the Portuguese. During times of crisis, like in 1659, the Baniyas merchants were called upon to raise substantial sums of money demonstrating their significant influence and importance in the region's economy.⁶ During

² Datta Kurubaki, "Remnants of receding Emoire Portuguese Trade with Goa and the East (C 1750-1800)" (PhD diss., North Bengal University), 160.

³ Kurubaki, "Remnants of receding," 154- 155.

⁴ Celsa Pinto. *Trade and Finance in India: A study of the Portuguese Country Trade 1700-1840* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1994), 53

⁵ Pinto, *Trade and Finance in*, 57

⁶ M.N. Pearson, Pearson, *Coastal Western India*. (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1981), 104.

the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the influence of the banias in Goa declined, and they gradually faded into insignificance as the economic dominance shifted to the Saraswat Brahmins. Despite this decline, there are occasional mentions of their involvement in intra-Asian trade during this period.⁷

The canarins, also actively involved in trade across the Indian Ocean. One notable canarin merchant, Rogerio de Faria from Chorão earned the nickname "Prince Merchant"⁸ in Bombay. He was heavily involved in the trade within the Indian Ocean region and also conducted business with Portugal, Brazil, and the Far East.⁹

5.2. Prominent Merchants Financiers in 17th Century Goa.

Manuel da Fonseca, a married and settled resident of Goa, was involved in trade, primarily dealing in Kanara pepper. In 1617-18, he extended a loan of 22,526 ashrafis to the Portuguese authorities to facilitate the purchase of pepper from Kanara. This transaction highlights his participation in the local economy and his role in supporting trade activities between Goa and Kanara.¹⁰ Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo was residing in Goa, who provided financial support to Portuguese trade activities during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In 1621, like others, he extended a loan of 77,580 ashrafis to the *Fazenda Real* Goa to meet necessary expenditures. But his complaints regarding the repayment of his debt went unattended for a period of time. This situation shows the challenges faced by financiers in dealing with bureaucratic inefficiencies in the repayment of loans.¹¹ Joao Serrao da Cunha, was primarily engaged in the cinnamon trade. In 1635, he allocated over 235,000 Ashrafis in

⁷ Pinto, *Trade and Finance in*, 57

⁸ Pinto, *Trade and Finance in*, 57

⁹ Pinto' *Trade and Finance in*, 58.

¹⁰ Afzal Ahmed, *Indo Portuguese Trade in Seventeenth Century (1600-1663)*. (New Delhi:Gian Publishing House, 1991), 162

¹¹ Ahmed. *Indo Portuguese Trade* 162

addition to providing cinnamon on credit.¹² Pallu Nayaka and Vishnu Das Sinai were business partners who engaged in lending money to the Portuguese government on interest. They loaned 9,000 ashrafis to the Portuguese authorities in Goa for the purchase of saltpetre.¹³

5.3 Dominance of Hindu Merchants

Noelle Richardson, suggested,

“The dominance of hindu merchants over the colonial economy of the portuguese estado of India during the eighteenth period has been widely recognised, as has their relationship of mutual dependency with the Portuguese imperial polity in India. ' it has been firmly established that they are a dominant force at almost every level of the commercial and politico-administrative system of the state: the tax-farmers, brokers, and the providers of commercial cumen and financial assistance to the colonial state in times of need. moreover, not only were these merchants successful country traders active in the local and regional economy of the state, they were also deeply immersed in the commercial networks of the Portuguese overseas empire, becoming important actors in the emerging global economy of the indian ocean.”¹⁴

This statement, provided by Noelle Richardson, accurately recognizes the dominance of Hindu merchants over the colonial economy of the port-state of India during the eighteenth century. There are many references which shows the *Estados* dependency on the merchants of Goa. M.N.Pearson argued that the discriminatory legislation of the Portuguese failed to curb the preponderance of the local Hindu business communities to withstand the oppressive legislation. T.R. de Souza, on the other hand, basically disagrees and points out that, the Portuguese had, in fact, succeeded in reducing the Hindus to a minority. If they, inspite of

¹² Ahmed. *Indo Portuguese Trade*, 163

¹³ Ahmed. *Indo Portuguese Trade*, 164

¹⁴ Noelle Richardson, “ Hindu Mercantile Culture and Practices in Goa 1750 -1818”. In *European Expansion and Indigeneous Responses*.ed C.A.P Antunes and F. Bethencourt (Leiden: Brill) 171-191.

this, managed to maintain their dominance. it was due to their widespread connection with the hinterland that gave them an edge over the Portuguese government.¹⁵

Narsu Naique, Vitogy Camotim, Fondea Porobo Luanda, Seguna Probo Sinai, Sadasiva Sinal, Bula Naique, Poquea Sinai Duma, Babula Naique, Chircolea Porobo, Hodobodus Guzerate, and Hira Chanda Nacuda, important Hindu merchants from 1800.¹⁶

It seems that Hindu merchants were dominant in the 19th century, as indicated list of significant merchants, in the boletim, by analysing this it seems that the majority of the list being comprised of hindu merchants.

<u>Nova Goa</u>	Gonú Naique
Guiry Sinay, Dempó	Anta Malló
Mocundá Zoixy	Caetano Piedade Ribeiro
Antonio Mathias Gomes	Roguriatã Zoixy
João Gomes	S. Anna Pascoal Fernandes
Hary Queny	João Felipe do Rego
Naraná Porobo Navelcar	Goinda Camotim
Visnum Neurencar	Xanum Camotum Vencatexã Camotim
Ladá Xette	Vitolá Poi Raicar
Raugi Xette Gügir	Vencatexã Camotim Panvelcar
Crisnam Govinda Sinay, Dempó	Pandurongá Sinai
Salvador Noronha e companhia, isto é, qualquer dos seus socios	Mariano Gabriel de Noronha
Dulchande Xette	Babú Xette Pamió
Morgi Xette	Piedade de Noronha
Dormogi Xette	Sebastião Felipe Mascarenhas Mathias Lobo
Goculdas Xette	Jeremias Caetano de Souza
Anta Malló	Luis Caetano Fernandes
Purxotomá Porobo Colvalcar	Thomé Xavier Rodrigues
Paulo Maria Lisboa	Gaspar Constancio de Souza
Nanú Camotim: Ganecar.	José Antonio S. Anna Pinto
Ignacio do Rosario S. Anna Nazareth	Jeronimo Caetano de Souza
Abdul Raim	Diogo José Fernandes
Gulamo Ussen	Gaspar Constantino de Souza

¹⁵ Kurubaki, "Remnants of receding Empire," 155.

¹⁶ Kurubaki, "Remnants of Receding Empire," 158

Silvestre Casimiro Ribeiro	Gabriel de Noronha
Atmarama Sinai Vagló	Sebastião Filipe Mascarenhas
RagobáMangá Sinay	Vicente Xavier de Sá.
BicúUsnéa Sinai Sunquercar	<u>Ribandar e Chimbel</u>
Roulú Sinai Sansguiry	Gopala Comotim Bambolcar
Vicente Xavier de Sá.	Panduronga Porobo Sinai
Rogunatá Porobo Loundó	Pandurongá Poy
Rama Sinai Calangutcar	Roulú Camotim Bambolcar
Pandú Sinay	PundolicaPorolioMoio
Vittu Camotim Mamai	Panduronga Xette
Balcustam Sinai Agny Guiri Sinai Calangutear	Goindá Camotim
Fondu Camotim Ganecar	RogunatáCamotion
Sazró Tarv	Subraiá Naique
Ramichondra Camotim Bambolear	<u>5. Pedro,</u>
Ventura de Conceição	Pandurongá Porobo Collaco
Caetano Maria de Souza	Vitú Camotim
Antá Sinai Bobo	Azú Sinay Moneltar
Foti Porobo Loundo Vitolá Camotim Ganecar	UpiCamotinTarcar
Zaganata Sinai Neurencar	Pursó Xette
Govinda Camotim	Vassú Naique Panoelcar
Vassú Camotim Sancualcar	Naraná Naique PanoelcarPandurongá Naique
Naraná Poy	Soirú Porobo
Ranú Camotim	Xabi Xette
Vencatexá Poy	Balcustam Camotim
Naraná Xette Amoncar	Vassú Naique Chrisnem Naique

Table. 5.1: List Prominent merchants of Goa in 19th century .¹⁷

5.4 Merchants as recorded in *Livros das Alfandegas*.

Livros das Alfandegas offer detail information on local merchants and the goods they traded in during the 18th and 19th centuries. These records give us detail about the trade hubs like Bardez, Aguada, Betul, and Sanguem. They reveal the names of merchants like Joa de Souza and Gopala Xette, who paid customs duties in Bardez. In Betul, traders like Xavier Cardoso and Nicholas da Silva dealt in rice, wheat, and more. Customs at Aguada and Sanguem saw

¹⁷ *Boletim do Governo Estado da India*, 97 number, 11 december 1868, 560.

exports of coconuts, salted fish, and other items. *Livros de Alfandega* shed light on the commercial activities and on the individuals behind them, enriching our understanding of the past. *Livros de alfandega* provide significant information on the merchants, mainly Local traders from 18th and 19th century. Here will discuss about the different merchants recorded in *alfandega* records of Badrez, Aguada, Betul and Sanguem etc. *Alfandega de Bardez* gives detail information on traders from bardez and other regions. For instance in 1779 to 1780 Joa de Souza from Guirim, Gopala xette from Corlim, Domingo Pinto from Mapuca¹⁸ has paid significant amount of customs duties in Bardez customs house.

Merchants	Place
Salvador de Souza	Calangute
Diogo de Almeida	Tivim
Caetano Futardo	Pilerne
Joao de Souza	Candolim
Salvador da Silva	Cuncheli,
Domingo Pinto	Mapuca
Antonio Desouza	Verna
Antonio de Souza	Saligao
Francisco daCosta	Assagao
Caetano Lobo	Parra
Lorenco de Cunha	Guirim
Gopala Xette	Corlim
Diogo Lobo.	Pilre

Table 5.2: Traders Recorded in the Bardez customs records.¹⁹

¹⁸ HAG *Alfandega Bardez* (1779) n. ° 6762.fol 338,

¹⁹ HAG *Alfandega Bardez* (1779) n. ° 6762.fol 338, 446, 522,642,766

Records of *Alfandega de Betul* 1878-79 gives significant details on the imports export by local traders for instance On January 2nd, Xavier Cardoso from Velim imported 4 bags of rice, while Nicholas da Silva from Assolna also brought in 4 bags of rice along with 2 hens and a bale of powdered sugar. Antonio Dias, also from Assolna, imported 8 bags of wheat, 24 zinc sheets, an oil tin, 5 earthenware pots, 2 pots of dates, a bundle of sugar, and a tin of tea. Narana from Kumpta contributed 14 bags of long chilies, 7 bags of onions, 3 bags of jaggery, 33 bags of rice, and 41 bags of paddy to the import activities. Additionally, Roque Santanna Cardozo, hailing from Assolna, made a substantial contribution by importing 502 bags of rice, 47 bags of paddy, and 1 bag of long chilies.²⁰

Exports from Aguada customs consist of, Domingos Ferrao exported 21,000 coconuts, 250 bags of betelnuts, 109 bags of Solam de brindao (dried Cocum), and 14 bags of peeled cashew nuts. Rama contributed to the export with 137 bags of betelnuts, 6 bags of Solam de brindao, and 20,800 coconuts. Joaquim S. Anna Fernandes exported 37,750 coconuts, along with 5 bags of peeled cashew nuts and 5 barrels of vinegar.²¹

From the customs house of Betul, several merchants engaged in exporting various commodities. Anta Porobo from Assolna was recorded to have exported a substantial quantity of 3400 coconuts. Similarly, another merchant named Vitol Pai also from Assolna, exported a significant amount of 2900 coconuts. These exports indicate the active trade activities conducted by merchants from Assolna through the custom house of Betul.²²

From the Sanguem port, Fillipe Gomes exported salted fish weighing 1 arroba 6 iron hoes 2 piglings. Paulo da Costa exported 200 coconuts and salted fish weighing 2 arrobas. Numo

²⁰ HAG, *Alfandega de Betul* (1877-1880) n. ° 5947. and Murelle Maria Leonildes da Costa, "History of Trade and Commerce in Goa 1878-196." (PhD diss., Goa University, 2002), 280

²¹ HAG , *Alfandega de Aguada* (1874-1879) n., 4715 . , da Costa, "History of Trade and." (PhD diss., Goa University, 2002), 287.

²² da Costa, "History of Trade and." (PhD diss., Goa University, 2002), 301

Naique exported 2100 coconuts. Francisco da Silva exported salted fish along with dry prawns weighing 12 arrobas. Putu Porobo exported 19 sacks of salt for 10 arrobas of copra.²³

Merchants	Place
Nilcholas da silva	Assolna
Antonio Dias	Assolna
Salvador Dias	Assolna
Roque Santanna Crdozo	Assolna
Xavier Cardoso	Velim
Anta Porobo Govindo	Assolna
Vitol Pai Cano	Assolna
Visnum	Pomburpa

Table 5.3 Local Traders as recorded in Betul customs Records.²⁴

Livros de Alfandega provide a significant information of the lives and activities of local merchants during the 18th and 19th centuries. Through these records, we gain valuable details into the trade networks of Goa's regions like Bardez, Aguada, Betul, and Sanguem. The names and transactions of merchants preserved within these pages offer a glimpse into the various types of goods traded

²³ da Costa, "History of Trade and." (PhD diss., Goa University, 2002), 296

²⁴ HAG, *Alfandega de Betul(1877-1880)*, n. ° 5947 , da Costa, "History of Trade and." (PhD diss., Goa University, 2002), 280-282.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The dissertation "Goa in the Maritime Trade: *A Study of Alfandegas*" mainly focuses on the significance of *Alfandega* records in understanding the maritime trade history of Goa under Portuguese influence. The primary objective of this research was to search for the valuable insights that *Alfandega* records offer in Goa's trade connections, economic activities, commodities exchanged, traders involved, and the Goa's trade network overseas and coastal, during the 18th and 19th centuries. Through an examination of these archival sources housed in the Goa Archives, this study has made an attempt to show the role of Goa in maritime trade networks and the importance of *Alfandegas* records in understanding the Goa's maritime trade history.

The coastal region of Goa, strategically positioned along the Arabian Sea, has a rich history of maritime trade dating back to ancient times. From the ancient port capitals of Chandrapur, Gopakapattana, and Ella to the emergence of Portuguese presence in India with Vasco da Gama's historic voyage in 1498, Goa has served as a significant hub in Indian Ocean trade. *Livros das Alfandegas*, provide valuable information about the commerce of Portuguese India from the 16th to the 19th centuries. These records document a data, such as the arrival and departure of ships, types and values of goods traded, merchants involved, levies imposed, revenues collected, commercial legislation, and correspondence, among others.

The *Alfandega* records give detailed information on the rich trade networks that Goa engaged in during the colonial period. There were numerous customs houses across Goa such as Aguada, Assolna, Betul, Bamanpunja, Bardez, Canacona, Ponda, Sanguem, and more, each playing a crucial role in regulating trade activities. The documents reveal the trade

connections that Goa maintained with various places, including Lisbon, Macao, Mozambique, Brazil, Muscat, and beyond. These records not only provide insights into the economic scenario of Goa but also offer valuable information into the commodities traded, local traders, prices, and its evolution in, administration etc.

One of the key findings of this research is the significance of *Alfandega* records in understanding the maritime trade history of Goa. The chapter two “*Livros das Alfandegas: Its Significance in Understanding Maritime Trade of Goa*” emphasizes the significant value of the Goa Archives and *alfandega* collection, its role in understanding the maritime trade history of colonial Goa. By highlighting the significance of *Alfandega* records in constructing the trade history of Portuguese Goa.

The chapter Goa customs: Evolution and Administration, focuses into the evolution of the *Alfandega* from its origins as a customs checkpoint under the Adilshahi rule to its transformation into a Portuguese custom house. The arrival of the Portuguese, the *Alfandega* underwent significant changes. It evolved into a more structured and organized custom house. The Portuguese recognized the strategic importance of Goa as a trading hub and implemented measures to control trade through the *Alfandega*. In administration we have attempted to understand various roles and responsibilities of officials involved in managing the *Alfandegas*.. These officials played diverse roles, ranging from customs inspectors (*juiz de Alfandega*) responsible for inspecting goods and collecting to Guards (*guarda*) who responsible for protection of goods and customs houses.

In chapter title Colonial Goa: Overseas and Coastal trade networks, significant attention is placed on the insights provided by *Alfandega* records regarding Goa's trade connections with places such as Lisbon, Mozambique, Macao, Brazil, Muscat, Malacca, Bombay, Gujrat etc and the commodities exchanged between Goa and these regions.

Alfandega records provide significant details on the Local merchants, and the commodities traded by them. So in last chapter efforts were made to document some local traders from the customs houses of Bardez, Betul, Aguada, and More. These records provide important information about the individuals involved in trade activities within Goa.

The *Alfandega* records stand as valuable primary sources for historians and researchers who seeks to understand maritime trade history of Goa. The analysis of these records has demonstrated the Goa's trade connections, the various commodities traded and most important the insights on local traders. By emphasizing the significance of the *Alfandega* records in understanding the maritime trade history of Goa, this dissertation highlights the importance of archival sources in reconstructing the past and interpreting the trade relationships. The insights got from *Alfandega* records not only enrich our understanding of Goa's commercial past but also highlight the local traders in the maritime trade history Goa.

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