

Trade and Globalisation

*Europeans, Americans and Indians in the
Bay of Bengal (1511-1819)*

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I

Bengal and the Commercial Expansion of the Portuguese *Casados*, 1511–1632

Pius Malekandathil

During the medieval period, the Bay of Bengal was an intermediate maritime zone in the larger exchange networks linking Indian Ocean world with the Mediterranean/Atlantic worlds. Covered by the pattern of northeast monsoon winds, this region exhibited a remarkable degree of unity and commonality as far as the movements of commodities, people and ideas were concerned. Bengal, occupying the core position in the micro-*weltwirtschaft* that evolved in this maritime space, became a trade destination of great significance with the entry of the Portuguese into Indian waters. While the official Portuguese establishments were concentrated more on the west coast of India, making it the principal platform for their Indo-European commerce, the private Portuguese *casado* (the word '*casados*' literally means married Portuguese citizens; however their wives were mostly Indian in origin) traders engaged in intra-Asian commerce were expanding more and more towards the eastern space of Indian Ocean making Bengal a principal base for their operation. Keeping its one arm extended to Southeast Asia as well as China and the other extended to the west coast of India

as well as West Asia, Bengal tried to muster up commercial vitality through the enterprising skills of the *casados*.

Bengal's encounter with the Europeans is a theme of great interest among the academicians and several scholars like Armando Cortesão, J.J.A. Campos, George D. Winius, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Genevieve Bouchon as well as Luis Filipe Thomaz who had already dealt with the different aspects of Portuguese expansion in Bengal.¹ However, the discovery of several new source materials related to Portuguese trading activities in Bengal and their interpretation against the background of recent researches give scope for undertaking this study, which proposes to throw light into the several of the neglected phases of Portuguese interlude in this micro-region. The central purpose of this paper is to locate Bengal against the background of the commercial expansion of the Portuguese private traders in the eastern space of Indian Ocean and to see how far it was made a base for furthering their private interests. It is analysed by focusing on two aspects: first, the nature of Portuguese trade with Bengal, and second, the increasing utilisation of the politico-economic developments of this region by the Portuguese *casado* traders to eclipse the commercial interests of the crown in Bengal for a considerable span of time. The resulting socio-economic order took a decisive turn in its course with the increasing inflow of Portuguese *casados* from the western seaboard of India and with their eventual settlement in Bengal's nodal points of exchange.

From Periphery to Core

Bengal, which had been confined to the periphery level both in political and economic activities for a considerable span of the medieval period, moved more and more towards core position by the sixteenth century, thanks to the combination of various developments. With the emergence of Malacca around 1400, Bengal lying on its peripheral orbit experienced resurgence of trade, which continued to gather further momentum in the following centuries.² It is interesting to note that Chatgaon or

Chittagong, located on the frontiers of the regional economic unit of Malacca, played vital role in this transformation process, which took a decisive turn after 1500. The closeness of Chittagong to Gaur, which as the headquarters of Sultanate power provided a large bulk of consumer class,³ was an added reason that accelerated its evolution as the principal centre of Bengal's maritime trade in the early part of the sixteenth century.

In the first decade following the Portuguese entry into Indian waters, Bengal came to their attention and as early as 1508 the Portuguese crown asked Diogo Lopes de Sequeira to explore Gramjes (Ganges—evidently referring to Bengal region located at the mouth of the river Ganges) and China to which pepper was flowing.⁴ However, with the conquest of Malacca in 1511, the Portuguese started exploring the extent of commercial networks emanating from Malacca, a process which took them to a vast world of regional economies of the eastern space of Indian Ocean.⁵ In this explorative venture the Portuguese married citizens or the *casados*, to whom were granted by Afonso de Albuquerque and the succeeding governors the privilege of conducting trade for their sustenance,⁶ were the most enterprising and daring group. It seems that some of them must also have reached Bengal during the course of their roaming voyages to sell the merchandise from Portugal. This is inferred from the letter of Afonso de Albuquerque of 1513, where he wrote: "Bengal needs all our merchandise."⁷ These words are indicative of the fact that the nature of demand for Lusitanian wares in Bengal must have been ascertained by the Portuguese traders themselves.

The first Lusitanian private traders, who made daring voyages to Bengal, came from the Portuguese settlement of Cochin, where the lobbying group, known as the "Cochin group", played vital role in effecting a transition from state-controlled trade to free trade in Asian waters. These Portuguese *casado* entrepreneurs found a champion of their cause in Lopo Soares de Albergaria who was appointed as the new governor of *Estado da India*, following the death of Afonso de Albuquerque in 1515.

The policy of the former to decentralise trade by demarcating the maritime space east of Cape Comorin for the commerce of the Portuguese *casados* gave a radical twist to the very structure of the Portuguese trade in Asia.⁸ It is against this general background of compromise and accommodation, which allowed space for the expression of the private initiatives of the *casados*, that one has to see their commercial expansion in Bengal.

From 1515 onwards, the crown also entered into the fray for exploring the Bay of Bengal and China along with the Portuguese private traders for expanding commerce, for the voyage of which Fernão Peres de Andrade was appointed the captain.⁹ Though he explored the coast of China by 1517, he could not reach Bengal; but he sent his envoy João Coelho in the ship of a Muslim merchant to Chittagong. There João Coelho, who enjoyed the goodwill and support of the Muslim merchants, was well received by the local ruler, while D. João de Silveira, who came as an official envoy of Portuguese governor to Bengal in 1518, a little after Coelho's arrival, for securing from the local ruler trade facilities including the permission for erecting a factory, was looked upon with suspicion and animosity for his early capturing of two Bengali ships going to Cambay. Thanks to his anti-Muslim antecedents, João de Silveira achieved nothing of his mission; however his voyage paved way for the introduction of the *Carreira de Bengal*, sent annually by the Portuguese to the ports of Bengal.¹⁰ This development in Chittagong is indicative of the fact that there was no such thing as a universal clash between the Portuguese and the Muslims, though person-centred conflicts and problems were not rare. However, with the introduction of the *Carreira de Bengal*, there was an attempt to extend to Bengal the maritime and commercial institutions linked with the central power of the Portuguese government. The commercial route of this *Carreira* was later strengthened by the Portuguese embassy sent to Gaur in 1521 under the leadership of Antonio de Brito and Diogo Pereira, a leading private trader of Cochin.¹¹

Right from 1526 onwards, we have evidence of Bengali cloth being brought to Cochin for sale. In that year Manoel da Gama,

the factor and captain of the coast of Coromandel, brought textiles from Bengal to Cochin.¹² In fact, the enterprising *casados* of Cochin and Goa formed the major mercantile intermediaries who took the greatest advantage of the favourable atmosphere of Bengal markets, which was created by the frequent diplomatic voyages of *Carreira de Bengal*. However, seeing the huge profit amassed by the *casados* of Cochin from this trade, the native ruler of Cochin started putting claim, as early as 1529, to the customs duties on all their ships coming from Bengal and also from Malacca, though it ultimately resulted in his internment in his own palace by the governor Lopo Vaz de Sampayo.¹³

For another two decades or so Bengal seems to have continued as a stable satellite economic unit for the commerce of the Portuguese crown, with which linkages were maintained through *Carreira de Bengal*. However, by mid-1530s, the politico-economic and geophysical changes in Bengal paved way for a chain of developments, which necessitated greater involvement of the Lusitanians in its affairs. On the one hand, there was an active and direct Portuguese intervention in Chittagong with their attack of this port city in 1534, which ushered in an offensive phase in Luso-Bengal relations.¹⁴ On the other hand, the new port of Satgaon which emerged following the change of the course of river system of Hughli, began to increasingly attract traders as the nearest accessible gateway to Gaur. By the time Diogo Rebello reached Bengal in 1535 to liberate Martim Afonso de Mello and his men, the Sultan had already extended his control over the port of Satgaon through his governor appointed there.¹⁵

Why the Portuguese *casado* traders were moving increasingly to Bengal, especially from 1540s onwards? It was mainly because of the fast expanding economic activities of the region, which provided lot of opportunities of commerce for a wide variety of enterprising people. In fact, the affairs of Bengal had an altogether different but decisive turn with the entry of Sher Shah into the soil of Bengal, with which this land located away

from the heart of India turned out to be focal centre of political action. In the battles of 1535–36 waged between the forces of Sher Shah and Mahmud Shah,¹⁶ Martim Afonso de Mello and the available Portuguese forces fought for the latter. As a reward for this timely help in his battle against Sher Shah, Mahmud Shah permitted Martim Afonso de Mello to build Portuguese factories, besides conferring the right to collect customs duties at Chittagong upon Nuno Fernandez Freire and that of Satgaon upon João Correa.¹⁷ Though the Portuguese demand was for the construction of fortresses in both the places, with the help of which they wanted to extend to Bengal the militarised controlling power structure of the western coast of India, the Sultan granted only commercial privileges of customs collection and site for setting up the trading establishment of factories at Chittagong and Satgaon in 1537. In fact, this decision of Mahmud Shah refusing the Lusitanian demand to erect fortresses was a turning point in the history of the commercial expansion of the *casados*, as it restricted the scope for the extension of militarised institutions of Portuguese central government to Bengal for a considerable period of time. This was very much favourable to the emerging mercantile group of Portuguese *casados*, who started settling down in Satgaon from 1537 onwards and who entered into commercial operations of the region in an atmosphere of freedom without being controlled by the pulls of the central power at Goa.

The political transition of Bengal to the core position took a decisive turn with Sher Shah's occupation of Bengal in 1538 and with his eventual conquest of Delhi, whereby he kept the entire northern and eastern India, including Bengal, under Afghan domination, for about next sixteen years.¹⁸ With this political integration, the commercial importance of Bengal increased considerably, and the fact is attested to by the intensification of trade in the ports of Bengal by 1540. In fact, the ports of Bengal turned out to be the principal gateways for the entry of overseas wares into the consumer markets of Sher Shah's empire, which extended from Bengal to Delhi.

Portuguese Settlers and the Different Strands of Private Trade

What was the nature of the economic atmosphere of Bengal in which the commercial expansion of the Portuguese *casados* took place? It is obvious that they did not operate in an atmosphere of complete economic vacuum. On the contrary, scholars like W.H. Moreland, Irfan Habib, Shireen Moosvi and Richard M. Eaton give a very promising picture of Bengal for sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when its economic space was fast expanding.¹⁹ About 8 percent (42,77,26,681 *dams*) of the total amount assessed as income for the Mughal empire in 1595-96 was from Bengal and it went on increasing all through the seventeenth century, as is evident from the *Jama* records for Bengal.²⁰ Richard M. Eaton estimates that there was 62 percent increase in the revenue demand in Bengal during the period between 1595 and 1659.²¹ These facts are suggestive of an expanding economy in this region, whose beginnings one has to trace back, of course, to much an earlier period. It is against this background of a growing regional economy that the trading activities, carried out individually in private vessels by the *casado* traders or in the crown vessels by the official agencies of the king, and the establishment of permanent Portuguese settlements in Bengal are to be viewed. Obviously, with the erection of trading establishments at Chittagong and Satgaon by 1537 and also with the eventual incorporation of Bengal into the wider market systems of Delhi administration, realised through the wielding of power from the Mughals by Sher Shah, the commercial activities of the Portuguese *casados* got an increasing momentum. The demand for luxury goods, particularly spices from a wide variety of consumer classes²² of Delhi regime and its satellite units, necessitated the involvement of considerable number of Portuguese *casados*, as commercial intermediaries, to make available pepper and other spices in Bengal ports from the western seaboard of India.

As early as from 1540 onwards, we find evidences for the intensification of Portuguese commerce with the ports of Bengal,

which fact is attested to by the presence of several treatises on navigation to Bengal, belonging to this period.²³ The activation of Portuguese private trade with this region was followed by considerable increase in the size of the Portuguese settlements in Bengal. Initially, the Portuguese were distributed in different parts of coastal Bengal, where they stayed and carried out business on a temporary basis. In fact, there was a chain of Portuguese settlements in the Gulf of Bengal like Pipli on the Orissa coast (established in 1514),²⁴ Hijili located at the mouth of Rupanarayan (established in the second decade of the sixteenth century),²⁵ Chittagong, Satgaon etc., of which the last two were the principal ones because of the Portuguese trading establishments attached to these two places.²⁶ The *casado* traders bringing pepper from Cochin in exchange for the sugar and textiles of Bengal, seem to have been the initial settlers of this region with commercial orientation, whose transition from temporary halt to a relatively permanent stay gave an added economic dimension to their settlements. Later, with the increasing commercial operations, there was a corresponding increase in the number and size of settlements in Bengal. Even near Satgaon, the Portuguese had established a chain of huts and bamboo structures at Buttor (Betor-Howrah) along the river as temporary residences and commercial establishments, which they used to set fire on their departure, as is attested to by Caesar Frederick in 1565.²⁷ Many of these settlers spread into different parts of the Bengal littoral in the process of procuring wares for their commerce with China and Southeast Asia and operating as distribution links in Bengal for the *casado* traders of Goa and Cochin, which eventually laid the nucleus for the diverse Lusitanian settlements in this region that emerged in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Taking advantage of these developments, the private Portuguese entrepreneurs from the west coast of India with substantial capital began to increasingly extend their commercial activities to Bengal. The New Christians (*Cristãos novos*—or the Jews newly converted to Christianity out of compulsion), who came to Cochin in 1533 from Portugal fearing persecution and

the enforcement of anti-Semitic laws, also formed an important mercantile segment involved in the Cochin-Malacca-Bengal trade. Luis Rodrigues, a leading new Christian merchant used to take merchandise from Bengal, which he sold along with those of Ceylon and Malacca in Cochin in the beginning of 1540s. In return he used to collect wares for these destinations with the help of the native Jews of Cochin.²⁸ Isaac of Cairo, a white Jew residing in the native city of Cochin (Mattancherry), was also said to have made rather frequent commercial trips to Bengal along with another white Jew during this period.²⁹

By 1540s, with the increasing commercial activities of the Portuguese *casados* in Bengal, the Portuguese officials followed a liberal policy of issuing frequent licences to carry pepper to its ports. After continuing it for a period up to 1545, opinions were sought from ex-officials as to know whether this licensed trade should be allowed to continue further in Bengal. The experts opined that the flow of pepper to Bengal and other destinations in the eastern space of Indian Ocean would make it difficult to get sufficient pepper in Cochin for the Lisbon-bound vessels³⁰ and that it would raise the pepper price of Cochin.³¹ In fact, Bengal offered a high price for the spices, perhaps because of their high demand in the consumer markets of Delhi administration and in the Chinese world, which also must have been the highly probable reason for making Bengal the chief destination for the diversion of spices in 1540s. In 1545, the Portuguese governor made a secret enquiry as to know the price of pepper in Bengal, which revealed the fact that a quintal of pepper was sold there at 950 *reis*.³² Seeing the prospects of Bengal trade, merchants engaged in commerce with other ports of Indian Ocean region wanted to shift their activities to the markets of Bengal. Thus, in 1546, as for example, Henrique de Sousa Chichorro asked permission to conduct trade with Bengal and to take sugar, rice and lac from Satgaon (Porto Pequeno of Bengal) to Cochin, since the horses taken to Cape Comorin from Ormuz via Cochin did not yield much profit.³³

The Portuguese in Bengal also extended their trading networks to Malacca, Southeast Asia and China.³⁴ With the rise of Aceh in the mid-sixteenth century, there began export of considerable volume of textiles, rice and slaves to this Sumatran port in exchange for Indonesian copper, silver, gold and war animals.³⁵ Very often the ports of Bengal operated as intermediate zones for the *casados* and the private traders, who were taking wares from the ports on the western seaboard of India to China and Southeast Asia, which also helped them in realising commercial penetration in these regions.

During 1540s several trade voyages were conceded to individuals as honour and reward in recognition of their meritorious service in Portuguese India. Most of these commercial voyages had Bengal as the destination point.³⁶ Thus, for example, we have the case of Manuel Lourenço, the legal advocate of the Order of the Franciscans of Cochin, who was conferred a commercial voyage to Bengal on 21 February 1547, in recognition of his service to this monastery.³⁷ On 25 June 1547, he was again allowed to send one more ship to Porto Grande (Chittagong) of Bengal.³⁸ Many Portuguese, who fought in the war of 1546 to defend Diu, were rewarded with the grant of commercial voyages by D. João de Castro, in most cases to Bengal: On 16 December 1546, Antonio Leme was accorded the permission to get a ship built in Malabar and to send commodities to any of the ports in Bengal.³⁹ On 19 February 1547, Antonio Correa, the factor of Cochin, was given a commercial privilege to send one ship to Bengal every year, in reward for his service for the defense of Diu.⁴⁰ On 21 February 1547, Manoel de Sousa de Sepulveda was permitted to send a ship to Bengal, for having served in Diu and for having spent a lot of money feeding the fighting forces.⁴¹

On 4 May 1547, Fernão Peres de Andrade was permitted to make or buy a ship and to send commodities to Bengal, for his participation in the defense of Diu with his own vessel and fighting personnel.⁴² A certain Francisco Fernandes Moricalle was allowed to send a vessel to Bengal on 6 May 1547.⁴³ Later, on 22 November 1547, Alvares Teles had been granted the permission

to send ships from Chittagong to Pegu and Malacca.⁴⁴ Another voyage was granted on 17 February 1548 to Sebastião Luis, *alcaide-mor* of Cochin, who was entitled to take commodities from Cochin to exchange with textiles and other goods in Bengal.⁴⁵ Another *casado* trader of Cochin, Francisco da Silva was given a grant of voyage on 23 November 1547, by which he could send every year one ship each to Bengal, Arakan and Moluccas.⁴⁶ In 1548, D. Pedro de Silva was given permission to bring yearly 20 *bhares* of mace and 80 *bhares* of nutmeg in the royal ship (obviously from Southeast Asia) and also the privilege of sending a ship twice a year to Bengal, Pegu and Moluccas.⁴⁷ This long list of commercial voyages conceded to a wide variety of Portuguese citizens suggests that Bengal had by this time turned out to be one of the most profitable commercial destinations in the Indian Ocean region.

When Bengal was the principal destination for the commercial voyages conferred upon the *fidalgos* and the upper strata of the *casados*, the ordinary *casado* entrepreneurs of lower strata resorted to smuggling activities to reap the harvest from the high demands, which pepper had in the ports of Bengal. Invariably pepper formed the principal commodity that went to Bengal from Cochin during this period and through this commodity stream the *casados* infiltrated into the markets of Bengal and its satellite exchange units. Through the gateways of Bengal it flowed to the extensive markets of Delhi administration as well as to China. By 1545, the pepper smuggling to Bengal, China and Pegu (besides its diversion to Mediterranean ports) became so frequent that the European trade began to dwindle considerably.⁴⁸ Interestingly, these regions were fed by the pepper not only of Cochin, but also of Malacca and other Southeast Asian production centres.⁴⁹ However, the large volume of pepper that reached Bengal and China was not consumed in these places alone; they were further taken to inland markets. However, there was an overflow of this commodity in Bengal markets with the increased supply from Cochin and Southeast Asia. On 26 November 1545, Benaldim de Souza wrote that Bengal needed much less pepper than what was

sent there.⁵⁰ Though a lot of pepper was going to China every year, in 1543, it was even brought back from China because of the excesses and disproportionate supply, caused by private trade and smuggling.⁵¹ The excess flow obviously reduced the profits as well.⁵² Consequently, very often, pepper was also distributed and diverted to other places, once they reached the safe pockets of the eastern space of Indian Ocean. Thus, in 1545, we come across at least some instances when many Ottoman Turks coming to Bengal, Pegu and Tenasserim to take pepper to Red Sea.⁵³ This hazardous and time-consuming venture to buy pepper from the ports of Bengal, which seems to have been an exceptional attempt to trade in the pepper diverted to Bengal, was undertaken by the Ottoman Turks following the failure of the proposal of Turkish Sultan Sulaiman Pasha made on 28 May 1544 to buy 4,000 quintals of pepper from the Portuguese at Aden, as the French and the Venetians used to buy from them.⁵⁴ When this proposal was rejected by the Portuguese, the Turks tightened their control in Persian Gulf and their vessels moved to Bengal to buy the smuggled pepper from there.

By 1540, the Cochin group of *casados* widened the network of their private interests in co-operation with the *Estado* officials. In fact, the top officials including Martim Afonso de Sousa (who was the governor of Portuguese India during 1542–45), Tome Lopes (who was the judge for the orphans), Pedro de Sequeira (the treasurer), and later the new captain of Cochin, Henrique de Sousa Chichorro, whom D. João de Castro sent in 1545 to check the private trading lobby of Cochin were all themselves involved in the different processes of smuggling pepper to Bengal.⁵⁵ The governor, Martim Afonso de Sousa tried to market the smuggled out pepper in Bengal through his intermediaries, most of whom had already become the settlers of Chittagong, Satgaon and other pockets in the Gulf of Bengal. In reality, a great part of the *Estado* structure turned out to be instruments at his disposal to carry out his commercial operations in Bengal. Tome Lopes, who was appointed as the judge of the orphans of Cochin by governor Martim Afonso de Sousa, used to lend orphanage funds to the enterprising *casado* traders to buy pepper

from the native kingdoms of Malabar for Bengal-bound vessels.⁵⁶ Henrique de Sousa Chichorro, the captain, allowed free movement of these illegal traders for their participation in Bengal trade. It was alleged that he permitted a considerable part of the Portuguese population of Cochin to go to Bengal and Malacca for trade, leaving the Malabar coast open for piracy.⁵⁷ This increased movement of commodities and people from Cochin to Bengal seems to have had significant impact on the developing mercantile settlements of the Portuguese in Bengal.

In fact, the entire commercial activities linked with Bengal were carried out within the frame of a particular kind of mixed economy, evolved by the beginning of 1540, in which there were three operational components. On the one hand, there were the Portuguese officials linked with the Portuguese governor Martim Afonso de Sousa who used to sponsor the entire project by issuing licences or by diverting funds earmarked for other heads for buying pepper for Bengal or even by relaxing the controlling-cum-monitoring machineries with regard to the movement of vessels carrying contraband items to Bengal. On the other hand, these Portuguese officials transhipped commodities to Bengal with the help of commercial intermediaries drawn from the *casado* segment of Cochin. However, the different processes of the marketing of these wares in Bengal were taken care of by the Portuguese settlers of Chittagong, Satgaon and other enclaves, who also operated within the wider commercial network linked with west coast of India, China and Southeast Asia. In fact, Martim Afonso de Sousa was the protagonist of this policy of mixed economy⁵⁸ that had eventually evolved in the west coast of India incorporating the commercial zones of Bengal. It was the knowledge that Bengal could no longer be brought under complete state control, which made the governor evolve a commercial policy of mixed economy for Bengal by incorporating the enterprising skills of the *casado* traders with the private interests of the *Estado* officials. In order to make pepper available in Bengal in sufficient volume to meet the needs of the satellite markets of Bengal, licences were issued in large numbers from the beginning of 1540s

onwards. However, a considerable part of pepper also moved to Bengal without licences and sometimes the vessels used to take double the amount of pepper than stipulated in the licence paper.⁵⁹

A large number of middle-class and lower middle-class *casados* were employed in the process of marketing the commodities in Bengal and other ports of eastern space of Indian Ocean by the leading merchants among the *casados*. Some of them residing in important port centres acted as collection agents for the bourgeoisie *casados*. An evident example of this was that of João Fernandes Correa who claimed that the entire eastern coast of India from Cape Comorin to Satgaon and the whole of Bengal belonged to him. He used to take a large number of *casados* with him for his commercial operations. In 1547, he took with him 70 *casados* and went to the fishery coast and Nagapattinam from where he and his mercantile team moved 300 leagues along the coast up to Bengal. On 25 December 1547, Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha wrote to the governor that João Fernandes Correa was doing all this illegally and without permission.⁶⁰ This commercial operation with a group of traders under a principal merchant shows that the trade of Bengal linking the various exchange centres of the east coast of India was rather highly organised with significant capital investment. Most of these traders going for Bengal commerce used to procure cargo directly with the help of *casado* peddling traders who collected pepper from the kingdoms of Rapolim (Edappilly), Vadakkenkur and Parur, sometimes in exchange for artillery.⁶¹ The mutual links and the intrinsic bonds of commonality enabled the *casado* group to operate jointly and collectively in the different stages of commerce, including the procurement of commodities, shipping, distribution and marketing, in which the Portuguese settlers of Cochin and Bengal had decisive roles to play.

Changing Patterns of Trade and Settlement

The patterns of Portuguese trade and settlement in Bengal underwent a significant change by 1580s. On the one hand, the

conquest of Bengal by Akbar in mid-1570s⁶² and the consequent granting of *farman* to Pedro Tavares (1579)⁶³ for settlement in Hughli ushered in an atmosphere of freedom to the Portuguese in matters of trade and movement, which resulted in the concentration of Portuguese settlement and shifting of most trade from Satgaon to Hughli. Henceforth, Hughli came to be called Porto Pequeno of Bengal. On the other hand, liberalisation of Indo-European trade, which was later taken up by the Luso-Germanic and Italian syndicates during the period from 1575 to 1597, resulted in the relative relaxation of control measures on the west coast of India,⁶⁴ which also favoured very much the private trade including the commerce of Bengal. Even before the liberalisation of Indo-European trade, the royal shipping to Bengal was stopped completely by mid-1560s and commercial voyages were increasingly granted to *fidalgos* of long service and much merit to the destinations of Chittagong, Satgaon and Pipli.⁶⁵ Caesar Frederick, who had been travelling in the Indian Ocean regions during the period between 1563 and 1581, mentions that every year about 30–35 ships used to leave Satgaon laden with rice, cloth, sugar and other merchandise,⁶⁶ out of which sugar formed an important commodity stream flowing to Cochin.⁶⁷

With the incorporation of Bengal into a part of Mughal administration, the ports of Bengal turned out to be the most profitable destinations of the Portuguese private traders. This is evidenced by the *Livro das Cidades e Fortalezas que a Coroa de Portugal tem nas Partes da India* written around 1580, which gives details of the selling price of voyages to the ports of Bengal.⁶⁸ The value of commercial voyages to Satgaon was 3,000 *cruzados*, while that of Chittagong was 2,000 *cruzados*,⁶⁹ a fact which evidently suggests that the Portuguese commerce of Porto Pequeno had taken precedence over that of Porto Grande by this time. This could also be seen as a development showing the shift from eastern Bengal to western Bengal in the trading activities of the Portuguese *casados* following the increasing economic pulls from the markets of Mughal administration.

However, this shift in the trading activities of the Portuguese *casados* towards the ports of western Bengal does not conclusively prove that the economic activities in the eastern part of Bengal had already entered a phase of slumber, by this time. Richard M. Eaton, on the other hand, says that southeast of Bengal experienced the highest rate of increase in the revenue demand in Bengal (i.e., 117 percent increase) during the period from 1595 to 1659,⁷⁰ which is suggestive of the fact that the economy of this region was well actuated. If the economy of Chittagong and southeast Bengal was strong, then why did the *casados* prefer southwestern seaports of Bengal for their commerce? The answer is very simple. The latter ports were the principal maritime gateways for entry into a much larger market networks under the Mughals and they provided easy linkages with a large cross-section of consumer classes under the Delhi regime,⁷¹ from whom there was an increasing demand for luxury goods including spices. Against this backdrop of constantly growing demand for pepper from this consuming class, it was quite natural that the Portuguese *casados*, who were principally traders and suppliers of spices, preferred the southwestern ports of Bengal, particularly Hughli to Chittagong, which was still operating within the orbit of the Arakan-centred regional economy.

Pepper was the principal single commodity taken from Cochin to Bengal for trade, whose value during this period (the peak period of intra-Asian trade) was, as Antonio Bocarro testifies in 1630, about 400,000 *xerafins*.⁷² In 1587, Ferdinand Cron, the trade agent of the German merchant syndicates the Fuggers and the Welsers, says that a great volume of pepper from the production centres of Malabar was diverted to the Coromandel coast through the ghat-route, which finally moved to Mogor (Mughal) territory and China, besides Pegu.⁷³ It seems that Bengal was one of the principal gateways for the entry of pepper into the Mughal territory. In 1603, Francisco da Costa, the clerk of the factory of Cochin, writes that pepper was taken in large volume to Masulipatnam and Bengal from the production centres of Malabar across the ghat-route.⁷⁴ From Bengal the

casado traders brought to Cochin large quantities of sugar, rice, lac, iron, textiles, long pepper, wheat, saltpeter etc.⁷⁵ Though there were frequent orders, as in 1589, to prevent the illegal trade in pepper with Bengal and other parts of Southeast Asia, they remained as dead letters.⁷⁶

Meanwhile, the rice ports of Bengal were also very active. During this period, rice was in high demand all through Kerala, taking advantage of which the Portuguese private traders of Bengal started taking rice to Malabar frequently. It was a time when agrarian activities were fast expanding in Bengal following the intensification of forest clearing and the involvement of Muslim peasantry in paddy cultivation.⁷⁷ During the period between 1590 and 1597 we find several references to rice being imported to Cochin from Bengal,⁷⁸ which were, on certain occasions, further taken to Maldives in return for cowries. Thus, for example, on 17 May 1590, the Portuguese *casados* brought about 900 *candis* of rice from Bengal to Cochin.⁷⁹ As rice was a return cargo for the vessels taking pepper to Bengal, the transportation cost was highly reduced, which enabled the *casados* to supply this commodity in Cochin at a reasonable price.⁸⁰ Besides rice, textiles formed another major cargo of Bengal's trade. A part of it went to Cochin and Goa, from where they were taken by the vessels of *Carreira da India* for Portugal.⁸¹ Textile items of Bengal, such as *khosas* and *malmals*, used to figure frequently in the commodities taken from Cochin to Portugal, as we see, for example, in the case of goods carried by the ship *Nossa senhora da Luz* in 1615.⁸²

Meantime, the sacred spaces of Bengal also formed a considerable factor to cement the commercial linkages established by its traders. Against the background of frequent commercial contacts, the rulers of south India used to come to Bengal to immerse the ashes of the members of royal family in the sacred waters of Ganges. Thus, for example, we find the king of Cochin Kesava Rama Varma coming to Bengal to immerse the mortal remains of his mother in the Ganges. However, he died about 80 *leagues* (320 kilometres) away from Ganges.⁸³

With the increasing presence of the Dutch and the English on the Malabar coast and other parts of west coast of India, there appeared a new trend in the commercial operations linked with Bengal. There was an increasing tendency to make available commodities including spices from the production centres of Malabar in the ports of Coromandel coast through ghat-route. Instead of taking them to Cochin, the commodities were diverted across the ghat to Coromandel ports, viz., Nagapattinam, Mylapore, Masulipatnam and Pulicat, from where they were further taken to Bengal. This reorientation of spice trade became a regular phenomenon with the increasing tensions between the Portuguese and the spice-producing community of St. Thomas Christians, who turned out to be the active feeders of the ghat-route, that finally terminated in the Coromandel ports.⁸⁴ As a result, the vessels of *Carreira da India* stopped coming to Cochin for taking spices for Portugal from 1611 onwards.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, with the intensification of Dutch blockades, the diversion of pepper from the production centres of Malabar to Coromandel ports for further commercial operations in the Bay of Bengal became frequent, as this route helped to avoid the risk of rounding Cape Comorin and being a prey to Dutch attacks.

The emergence of this new pattern in the trade made many *casados* linked with Bengal-Cochin-Goa trade to shift their spheres of activities from Cochin to Coromandel ports, from where they could easily maintain their commercial links with Bengal, Pegu and Malacca. In this transition process, there was a mass migration of Portuguese *casados* from Cochin to the important ports of the eastern space of Indian Ocean region—a development in which about two-thirds of the citizens of Cochin shifted their residence to the various ports of the Bay of Bengal including Nagapattinam, Mylapore and Bengal, where they eventually settled down to take advantage of this new situation. Bengal seems to have been the major destination for the movement of people and commodities, while the ports of Nagapattinam and Mylapore were kept as principal bases for operation.⁸⁶ This commercial route began to acquire great

significance from 1600 onwards not only because of the huge profits this trade brought to the entrepreneurs, but also because of the fact that it had less risk of being attacked by the Dutch while circumnavigating Cape Comorin. Following the increase in commercial transactions and the following migration from Cochin there was significant demographic growth in these places, as for example, the strength of ordinary Portuguese citizens in Nagapattinam rose to 800 and *fidalgos* to 20 by 1644.⁸⁷ However, the Portuguese traders who used to take commodities from Nagapattinam to Bengal, China and Malacca were required to pay to the Portuguese exchequer, the entry tax at the same rate as paid by the settlers of Cochin.⁸⁸ In spite of the migration of Portuguese *casados* to Coromandel and Bengal following diversion of spices to Tamil coasts from the production centres of Malabar and the consequent commercial re-alignments, Cochin-Bengal trade continued in a rather less degree. However, in the third decade of the seventeenth century, we hear that the smuggling to Bengal was on increase, as the punishment given to the smugglers was not corporal, but merely pecuniary. In the then existing punitive frame mere payment of a part of the profit accrued from these transactions would entitle the smugglers to get out of the legal tangles.⁸⁹

Almost all the commercial settlements of Bengal were principally the result of private ventures; however, the vestiges of official elements were visible only at the time of the arrival of the crown vessels every year, whose captains took with them a segment of the central power of Goa. In fact, the captains of *Carreira de Bengal* carried with them a "fluid state" with powers of a diplomat and ambassador of the central power of Goa, which got solidified in Bengal vaguely only towards the end of the sixteenth century. Later, with the increasing voyage concessions, the Captains-Major turned out to be the links of continuity and distant successors of the captains of crown vessels, who carried with them some vestiges of the authority of Goa in Bengal.⁹⁰ However, the commercial expansion was carried out chiefly by the Portuguese private traders, who got spread to a wide range of geographical areas that were located on the water-front and very

much conducive for commerce. Corresponding to these developments we find the intensification of Portuguese settlements in several parts of Bengal like Dacca (particularly at *Feringhi Bazar*), Sripur (near Sonargaon), Chandecan (on the banks of a branch of Hughli), Bakla (identified with Chandradwip pargana), Catrabo (Katrabuh), Loricul (28 miles south of Dacca), Dianga, (which got prominence when the Portuguese were expelled from Chittagong by the Arakan rulers towards the close of the sixteenth century), Bhulua, etc.⁹¹ In fact, these settlements arose following the commercial penetration of Portuguese *casado* traders into the scattered market systems of Bengal, which were integrated by the frequent joint commercial operations of the *casados*. With the accumulation of mercantile surplus some of the most daring personalities among them like Sebastião Gonçalves Tibau, Manuel de Matos and Domingos Carvalho set up power structures in this region, as shadow-empire,⁹² which was a matter of great concern for the local ruler because of their political repercussions in the region.

Thus, we find, the maritime Bengal experienced a process of economic transition following the commercial expansion of the Portuguese *casados*. On the one hand, the private Portuguese traders supplied the markets of Bengal with pepper from the ports of west coast of India, while on the other hand they took textiles to Southeast Asia and rice to Malacca, Malabar and Maldives. Coinciding with the commercial expansion, there was increasing distribution of the Portuguese in Bengal followed by the emergence of several Lusitanian settlements of various size in coastal Bengal, the nuclei of which could be linked with the economic activities of procurement or distribution of wares. The inflow of Lusitanian elements from Cochin and Goa, the greatest of which was the mass migration from Cochin that took place between 1600 and 1615, made the size of these settlements in Bengal swell. Since a great part of the Portuguese commerce in Bengal was carried out by Portuguese private traders outside the orbit of the official control systems of *Estado da India*, private entrepreneurs held key position in the social order and regional economy of the areas dominated by the Lusitanians and new

power structures were created around the entrepreneurs and daring personalities like Sebastião Gonçalves Tibau, Manuel de Matos and Domingos Carvalho. Their transition from being merchants into rulers of territorial units is indicative of the considerable empowerment the Lusitanians gained in the process of surplus accumulation. Equally significant was the shift of the economic activities of the Portuguese from the ports of eastern Bengal to the ports of western Bengal like Satgaon, Hughli and Pipli following the economic pulls from the wider market systems of Delhi administration, into which Bengal was incorporated from 1540 onwards. The commercial orientation of the Portuguese towards the Mughal-controlled part of Bengal continued further against the background of the favourable policies of Akbar and Jahangir; however, the capture of Hughli from the Portuguese by Shah Jahan's general Qasim Khan in 1632 gave a restructuring to the Lusitanian trade in Bengal.

Notes

1. Armando Cortesão, "Os Portugueses em Bengala-Primeira Visitas", in *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, 62, nos. 7&8, July-August, 1944, pp.433-47; J.J.A. Campos, *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, Patna, 1979; George D. Winius, "The Shadow-Empire of Goa in the Bay of Bengal", *Itinerario*, vol.VII, no.2, 1983; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Improvising Empire: Portuguese Trade and Settlement in the Bay of Bengal, 1500-1700*, Delhi, 1990; Genevieve Bouchon and Luis Filipe Thomaz (ed.), *Voyage dans Les Deltas du Gange et de l'Irraouaddy. Relation Portugaise Anonyme (1521)*, Paris, 1988.
2. For details see M.R. Tarafdar, "Trade and Society in Early Medieval Bengal", in *The Indian Historical Review*, vol.IV, no.2, 1978, pp.274-86; B. Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies*, pt. I, The Hague, pp.9-15; M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofs, *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian*

Archipelago Between 1500 and about 1630, The Hague, 1962, pp.15, 18–21. The sultans of the mercantile state of Malacca used to participate directly in commerce by sending their own ships frequently to the ports of Bay of Bengal. For details, see Luis Filipe Thomaz, "Malacca's Society on the Eve of Portuguese Conquest: A tentative Interpretation based on the extant Portuguese documents", a paper presented at the *Persidangan Antarabangsa mengenai Tamadun Melayu*, Kuala Lumpur, 1986; Luis Filipe Thomaz, "Malaka et ses commnautes marchandes au tournant du 16e siecle", in *Marchands et hommes d'affaires asiatiques dans l'Ocean Indien et la Mer de Chine, 13e-20e siecles*, ed. by Denys Lombard et Jean Aubin, Paris 1988, pp.31–48. The maritime traditions of Bengal in the medieval period is recently highlighted by Rangan Kanti Jana by studying the Bengali *Mangalkavyas*, which were composed during the period between 15 and the 18 centuries. These *Kavyas*, particularly *Manasamangal* and *Chandimangal*, give lot of information on boats, boat-building techniques, commodities, riverine routes and coastal trade etc., a fact which is suggestive of the resurgence of Bengal trade after 1400. For details, see Rangan Kanti Jana, "Medieval Bengali Texts on Boats-Boat Building Technique-Commodities and River Routes", in *The Historical Review* (a bi-annual journal of history and archaeology), Calcutta, Nos.1&2, 1996, pp.35–45.

3. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Improvising Empire*, p.118.
4. ANTT, *Corpo Cronologico*, I, Maço 6, doc.82, letter dated 13 February 1508.
5. ANTT, *Corpo Cronologico*, III, Maço 5, doc.87, letter of George de Albuquerque to the crown, dated 8–1–1515.
6. R.S. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India, 1497–1550*, New Delhi, 1989, pp.176–7; K.M. Panikkar, *Malabar and the Portuguese*, Bombay, 1929, p.180; Pius Malekandathil, "Merchants, Markets and Commodities: Some Aspects of Portuguese Commerce with Malabar", in Pius Malekandathil and Jamal Mohammed (ed.), *The Portuguese, Indian Ocean and European Bridgeheads: Festschrift in Honour of Prof. K.S. Mathew*, Fundação Oriente, 2001, p.251.

7. Jose Ramos Coelho(ed.), *Alguns Documentos da Torre do Tombo acerca das navegações e conquista Portuguezas*, Lisboa, 1892, p.300.
8. Vitor Luis Gaspar Rodrigues, "O Grupo de Cochim e a Oposição a Afonso de Albuquerque:", in *Studia*, 51, Lisboa, 1992, pp.119-144; Luis Filipe Thomaz, "Diogo Pereira, O Malabar", in *Mare Liberum*, 5, 1993, pp.49-64; Genevieve Bouchon and Luis Filipe Thomaz(ed.), *Voyage dans Les Deltas du Gange et de l'Irraouaddy. Relation Portugaise Anonyme(1521)*, pp.58-68; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia 1500-1700: A Political and Economic History*, London, 1993, p.97; Maria Emilia Madeira Santos, "Afonso de Albuquerque e os feitores", in *Actas do II Seminario Internacional de Historia Indo-Portuguesa*, ed. by Luis de Albuquerque and Inacio Guerreiro, Lisboa, 1985, pp.201-20; Pius Malekandathil, "The Portuguese Casados and the Intra-Asian Trade: 1500-1663", in *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Millennium (61) Session, Kolkata, 2000-2001, pp.384-85.
9. Document dated 26 March 1515 summarised in Luciano Ribeiro, *Registo da Casa da India*, vol.I, Lisboa, 1954, p.3. The first report on the arrival of the Portuguese in China was given by Giovanni da Empoli on 15 November 1515. See for details *Archivio storico italiano*, Appendix, 3, Firenze, 1846, 85.
10. João de Barros, *Asia. Dos feitos que os Portuguezes fizeram no Descobrimento e conquista dos Mares do Oriente*, Lisboa, 1973, Decada III, parte I, chapter 3, pp.135-36; J.J.A. Campos, *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, Patna, 1979, pp.26-30; Armando Cortesão, "Os Portugueses em Bengala-Primeira Visitas", in *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, 62, nos.7&8, July-August 1944, pp.433-47; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Improvising Empire: Portuguese Trade and Settlement in the Bay of Bengal*, pp.103-105.
11. For details about Diogo Pereira see Luis Filipe Thomaz, "Diogo Pereira, O Malabar", in *Mare Liberum*, 5, 1993, pp.49-64.
12. ANTT, *Nucleo Antigo*, No.808, fols. 5-6; see also Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Improvising Empire*, p.122.

13. ANTT, *Corpo Cronologico*, I, Maço 52, doc.23; K.M. Panikkar, *Malabar and the Portuguese*, pp.111-13.
14. In fact the Portuguese under Antonio da Silva Menezes set fire to the port-city of Chittagong in their attempt to liberate Martim Afonso de Mello and his men who were detained by Mahmud Shah in the midst of their expedition, for the alleged involvement of a certain Damião Bernaldes in corsair activities. For more details see Diogo do Couto, *Da Asia dos feitos que os Portuguezes fizeram na Conquista e descobrimento das Terras e Mares do Oriente, Decada IV*, Lisboa, 1777-78, Parte I, Livro, IV, capitulo X; João de Barros, *Da Asia dos feitos que os Portuguezes fizeram no Descobrimento e Conquista dos Mares e Terras do Oriente, Decada IV*, Lisboa, 1777-88, Parte II, Liv. IX, Cap.V.
15. Gaspar Correa, *Lendas da India*, Vol.III, Lisboa (1858-1864), p.649; J.J.A. Campos, *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, Patna, 1979, p.37.
16. Iqtidar Husain Siddiqui, *Mughal Relations with the Indian Ruling Elite*, New Delhi, 1983, pp.78-89.
17. Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *Historia do Descobrimento e Conquista da India pelos Portugueses*, Lisboa, 1921-25, Liv. VIII, Cap. CXXVIII; João de Barros, *Da Asia, Decada IV*, Parte II, Livro IX, Cap.VII, p.500; J.J.A. Campos, *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, pp.38-40.
18. Abul-fazl 'Allami, *Akbar-nama*, ed. by Abdur Rahim, vol.I, Calcutta, 1873, pp.151-3; Richard M. Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier*, pp.138-40.
19. Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India 1556-1707*, New Delhi, 1999, pp.454-456; W.H. Moreland, *The Agrarian System of Moslem India: A Historical Essay with Appendix*, Delhi, 1968, pp.189-200; W. H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar: An Economic Study*, Delhi, 1962; Shireen Moosvi, *The Economy of the Mughal Empire, c. 1595: A Statistical Study*, Delhi, 1987, pp.26-27; Richard M. Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier*, pp.194-227.
20. For details on the *Jama* of Bengal for the period from 1595 to 1720, see Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp.454-456.

21. Richard M. Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier*, p.199.
22. For details about this consuming class see W. H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, pp.59–89.
23. During the 1540s we find a lot of treatises on the navigation to Bengal, attesting to the frequency with which the ships used to visit the ports of Bengal. For example, see A. Fontoura da Costa(ed.), *Livro de Marinharia de Bernardo Fernandes(cerca de 1548)*, Lisboa, 1940, pp.89–91; Jacinto Ignacio de Brito Rebello, *Livro de Marinharia: Tratado da Agulha de Marear de João de Lisboa. Roteiros, Sondas e outros Conhecimentos realtivos a Navegação, Codice do seculo XVI*, Lisboa, 1903, pp.231–33.
24. W.W. Hunter, *Orissa*, vol.I, 1872, p.37; J.J.A. Campos, *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, p.98.
25. The Portuguese were said to have established this settlement immediately after their settlement in Pipli (1514). For further details, see J.J.A. Campos, *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, pp.94–95.
26. Chittagong and Satgaon had the principal trading establishments of the Portuguese; however there were many other minor Portuguese enclaves in Bengal, which developed at different phases of history. For details about these minor Portuguese enclaves see J.J.A. Campos, *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, pp.66–99.
27. Frederick Caesar in Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation made by Sea or Overland to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at anytime within the Compasse of these 1600 Yeeres*, vol.V, New York, 1969, pp.411, 439.
28. ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Proc. 12292, fols. 17–22, 36–8, 42–3, 72, 77–79.
29. ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, Proc. 7296, fol.77.
30. ANTT, *Corpo Cronologico*, I, Maço 76, doc.8.
31. ANTT, *Corpo Cronologico*, I, Maço 77, doc.26. The details are analyzed in Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in*

- Asia, 1500–1700: A Political and Economic History*, London, 1993, pp.98–99.
32. ANTT, *Corpo Cronologico*, II,, Maço 240, doc.60.
 33. Elaine Sanceau, *Colecção de São Lourenço*, vol.II, Lisboa, 1975, p.275.
 34. ANTT, *Corpo Cronologico*, I, Maço 68, doc.86; ANTT, *Corpo Cronologico*, III, Maço 9, doc.94; Luis Filipe Tomaz, *Os Portugueses em Malacca, 1511–1580*, Dissertação de Licenciatura (inedita), Faculdade de Letras, Universidade de Lisboa, vol.II, pp.35, 122, 177; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Improvising Empire*, pp.107,116,124–125; Ralph Fitch, "The Voyage of Master Ralph Fitch Merchant of London to Ormus and so to Goa in the East India, to Cambaia, Ganges Bengala", in *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes*, by Samuel Purchas (1625) vol.X, Glasgow, 1905, p.185.
 35. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Improvising Empire*, p.124.
 36. Pius Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India, 1500–1663* (a volume in the South Asian Study Series of Heidelberg University), Delhi, 2001, pp.123–25.
 37. Antonio Baião, *Historia Quinhentista(inedita) do Segundo cerco de Dio*,Coimbra, 1927, p.321.
 38. Bibliotheca do Palacio da Ajuda, *Livro das Mercês que fez D.João de Castro*, 51–8–46, fol.129.
 39. Antonio Baião, *Historia Quinhentista (inedita) do Segundo cerco de Dio*, p.298.
 40. *Ibid.*, pp.306, 309–10.
 41. *Ibid.*, p.312.
 42. *Ibid.*, p.321.
 43. Bibliotheca do Palacio da Ajuda, *Livro das Mercês que fez D.João de Castro*, 51–8–46, fol.121.
 44. Bibliotheca do Palacio da Ajuda, *Livro das Mercês que fez D.João de Castro*, 51–8–46, fol.170.
 45. ANTT, *Chancellaria de D.João III, Doações* 69, fol.98v.
 46. Bibliotheca do Palacio da Ajuda, *Livro das Mercês que fez D.João de Castro*, 51–8–46, fol.193v.

47. Bibliotheca do Palacio da Ajuda, *Livro das Mercês que fez D.João de Castro(1545-1548)*, 51-8-46, fol.57.
48. R.O.W Goertz, "The Portuguese in Cochin in the Mid-Sixteenth Century", in *Indica*, vol.23, nos.1&2, March-September 1986, pp.63-78; Elaine Sanceau, *Colecção de São Lourenço*, vol.II, p.283; Pius Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India*, pp.128; 170-81.
49. About 12 to 15 Chinese junks were sent annually to these places to collect pepper. ANTT, *Corpo Cronologico*, I, Maço 77, doc.18; ANTT, *Corpo Cronologico*, II, Maço 240, doc.57.
50. ANTT, *Corpo Cronologico*, I, Maço 77, doc.30.
51. On 15 May 1546, Henrique de Sousa Chichorro wrote to the governor that Alexis de Sousa permitted the Chinese junks to load pepper from Cochin. Bibliotheca do Palacio da Ajuda, *India Portuguesa*, 51-8-43. In 1543 and 1544 the pepper that reached China seem to have caused excess supply. So, in these two years, the traders had to bring pepper back to the port of Cochin. See the letter of Duarte de Miranda d' Azevedo, Goa, dated 27 November, 1545. ANTT, *Corpo Cronologico*, I, Maço 77, doc.31.
52. See the remarks of Domingos Rabelo about pepper diversion to China written in 1545 in ANTT, *Cartas dos Vice-Reis da India*, no.75. He says that the pepper that reached China was in such a great quantity that profit from it was very little.
53. See the remarks of João Fernandes Galego about the flow of pepper to various destinations in the Indian Ocean. See ANTT, *Cartas dos Vice-Reis da India*, no.75.
54. The letter of the Sultan to the Portuguese crown in ANTT, *Corpo Cronologico*, I, Maço 74, doc.108.
55. R.O.W.Goertz, "The Portuguese in Cochin", pp.63-67.
56. *Ibid.*, p.66.
57. *Ibid.*, pp.66-67.
58. For details on this policy of mixed economy see Pius Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India*, p.25.
59. For details see Elaine Sanceau, *Colecção de São Lourenço*, Lisboa, vol.II, pp.230, 300-301, 308; vol.III, pp.80,

- 501, 505; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Cochin in Decline, 1600–1650: Myth and Manipulation in the Estado da India", in *Portuguese Asia: Aspects in History and Economic History (Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries)*, ed. by Roderich Ptak, Stuttgart, 1987, pp. 66–67.
60. The letter of Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha to the governor, Cochin dated 25 December 1547 in Elaine Sanceau, *Colecção de São Lourenço*, Lisboa, vol.III, p. 408.
61. Pius Malekandathil, *The Germans, the Portuguese and India*, Münster, 1999, p.41; Elaine Sanceau, *Colecção de São Lourenço*, vol.II, p.309.
62. Richard M.Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier*, pp. 142–46.
63. J.J.A. Campos, *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, pp.49–60.
64. Pius Malekandathil, *The Germans, the Portuguese and India*, pp.75–96; Pius Malekandathil, "Merchants, Markets and Commodities: Some Aspects of Portuguese Commerce with Malabar", in *The Portuguese, Indian Ocean and European Bridgeheads: Festschrift in Honour of Prof. K.S. Mathew*, ed. by Pius Malekandathil and Jamal Mohammed, Fundação Oriente, 2001, pp. 259–60.
65. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Improvising Empire*, p.109–10.
66. Caesar Frederick in Richard Hakluyt (ed.), *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, pp.410–40.
67. *Ibid.*, p.393.
68. *Livro das Cidades e Fortalezas que a Coroa de Portugal tem nas Partes da India*, ed.by Francisco da Luz in *Boletim da Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra*, vol.XXI, Coimbra, 1953. It gives details about the selling price of the voyages to the ports of Bengal, Southeast Asia, China as well as Japan. For detailed table of voyages see Luis Filipe Thomaz, "The Portuguese in the Seas of the Archipelago during the 16th Century", in *Archipel*, 18, 1984, p.87.
69. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Improvising Empire*, p.112; Luis Filipe Thomaz, "The Portuguese in the Seas of the Archipelago during the 16 Century", p.87.

70. Richard M. Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier*, p.199.
71. For details on the purchasing power of this consuming class see W.H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, pp.59-66.
72. Antonio Bocarro, *Livro das Plantas de todas as povoações, cidades e fortalezas do Estado da India Oriental*, in A.B.de Bragança Pereira (ed.), *Arquivo Portugues Oriental*, Tomo IV, vol.II, Parte I, Goa, 1937, pp.353-54.
73. *Fürstlich und Gräfllich Fuggersches Familien und Stiftungs Archiv, Dillingen/Donau*, MSS Codex no.46.1.fols.50-51v; Pius Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India*, p.202.
74. Francisco da Costa, "Relatorio sobre o Trato da Pimenta", in Antonio da Silva rego(ed.), *Documentação Ultramarina Portuguesa*, vol.III, Lisboa, 1963, p.315.
75. *Relação das Plantas & Dezcripções de todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoações que os Portuguezes tem no Estado da India*, Lisboa, MCMXXXVI, pp.38-39.
76. *Boletim da Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa*, no.2, Lisboa, 1955, p.457.
77. Richard M. Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier*, pp.194-267.
78. BNL, *Fundo Geral*, Cod. No.1980, *Livro das Despezas (Taboada)*, fols.12;40.
79. BNL, *Fundo Geral*, Cod. No.1980, *Livro das Despezas (Taboada)*, fol.25.
80. As a result of surplus production, the price of rice was very low in Bengal, which is testified by Caesar Frederick who writes in 1565 that a sack of rice in Bengal could be obtained "for a thing of nothing". Caesar Frederick as quoted by Richard M. Eaton, *The Rise of Islam and the Bengal Frontier*, p.201.
81. See for details, the table of export given for the period between 1587 and 1609 by Niel Steensgaard, *Carracks, Caravans and Companies: The Structural Crisis in the European Trade in the Early Seventeenth Century*, Kopenhagen, 1973, p.166; Om Prakash, *The Dutch East India Company and the Economy of Bengal, 1630-1720*, Princeton, 1985, pp. 183-86; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Cochin in Decline", p.65.

82. AHU, *Caixas da India*, Caixa 3, doc. 152.
83. Francisco da Costa, in Antonio da Silva Rego, *Documentação Ultramarina Portuguesa*, vol.III, pp.355–56; see also Antonio de Gouveia, *Jornada do Arcebispo*, Coimbra, 1606, p.213.
84. AHU, *Caixas da India*, Caixa 2, doc.107. The letter of the city council of Cochin sent to Philip II (Philip III of Spain) giving an account of the economic condition of Cochin dated 21 December 1613; Pius Malekandathil, "The Portuguese and the Ghat-Route Trade: 1500–1663", in *Pondicherry University Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, vol.I, no.1&2, 2000, pp.145–46.
85. Pius Malekandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India*, p.254.
86. AHU, *Caixas da India*, Caixa 2, doc.107; AHU, *Caixas da India*, Caixa 3, doc.29 dated 25 January 1615; AHU, *Caixas da India*, Caixa 3, doc.31 dated 25 January 1615. The Viceroy D.Jeronimo de Azevedo in his letter addressed to the Portuguese crown refers to the reduction of the population of Cochin to one-third following these developments. HAG, *Livro das Monções*, No.12 (1613–17), fols.254–80, March 1617.
87. AHU, *Caixas da India*, Caixa 16, doc. 34, dated 12 February 1644; AHU, *Caixas da India*, Caixa 17, doc. 42, dated 3 December 1644.
88. AHU, *Caixas da India*, Caixa 16, doc. 34, dated 12 December 1644; AHU, *Caixas da India*, Caixa 17, doc. 42, dated 3 December 1644.
89. BNL, *Fundo Geral*, Codice 1816, fol.151. Report on the illegal pepper trade of Cochin with Bengal, dated 25 January 1624.
90. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Improvising Empire*, p.113.
91. J.J.A. Campos, *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, pp.66–80; 88–99.
92. George D. Winus, "The Shadow-Empire of Goa in the Bay of Bengal", *Itinerario*, vol.VII, no.2, 1983, pp.94–96. For details about the exploits of these personalities see J.J.A. Campos, *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, pp. 67–68; 72; 78–87.