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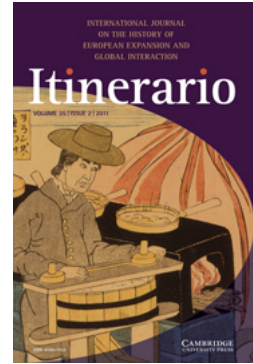
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# Economic Processes, Ruralisation, and Ethnic Mutation

## A Study on the Changing Meanings of Lusitanian Space in India, 1780-1840

PIUS MALEKANDATHIL \*

The period between 1780 and 1840, which is often called the age of revolutions in the West, witnessed significant change in the Lusitanian space in India, due to radical alterations in the politico-economic activities and socio-ecclesiastical institutions. On the one hand, the commercial ventures that the Portuguese had officially maintained as their major economic activity for more than two centuries were relegated to the background or handed over to the Saraswat Brahmins of Goa and some private entrepreneurs. On the other hand, the Portuguese state in India began to focus more on agriculture as a means of sustaining itself against the backdrop of intensified threats from the British encroaching on their peripheral commerce. The agrarian policy of the Portuguese Prime Minister Marques de Pombal to acquire new cultivable territories and expand agriculture had already brought several neighbouring areas of Goa, under the Portuguese control during the period between 1763 and 1783, which were named New Conquests. This was followed by the establishment of a Department of Agriculture in 1776 to supervise cultivation and to introduce new crops, such as pepper, cotton and areca-nuts in Goa and in the newly conquered territories. At the same time that the king of Portugal fled from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro and began to rule the metropolis and its colonies from Brazil, following severe threats from Napoleonic wars, the Portuguese possessions in India—particularly in Goa—were moving towards increasing ruralisation. The Department of Agriculture even clamoured for the closure of the municipal councils of Goa, and also for the liquidation of the *gaonkar* system (communal ownership of land) that would facilitate distribution of land to enterprising individuals to increase production and to make Goa self-sustaining.

However, the gains from the private trade of the Saraswat Brahmins and the Luso-Indians operating between the Portuguese trading centres of Macao, Moçambique, Bahia as well as Lisbon, on the one hand, and the British Presidency towns of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta on the other, saved Goa from total ruralisation, even though a major share of the benefits from such private trade often went into the hands of those linked to British Presidency towns. While the power centre of Goa was becoming ruralised, the erstwhile enclaves where the Portuguese retained their influence and control through the ecclesiastical device of *Padroado*<sup>1</sup> were slipping away from their hands. The Portuguese descendants residing in these

cities eventually underwent ethnic transformations. The missionaries of Propaganda Fide, which was established in 1622 by Pope Gregory XV for evangelisation in non-Portuguese pockets, were increasingly used by the British to wean the Portuguese descendants of their cities away from Portuguese *Padroado* authorities and to integrate them into the British system. The frequent conflicts between the *Padroado* and Propaganda Fide facilitated strong links between Propaganda missionaries and British authorities for the purpose of keeping *Padroado* missionaries as far away from British possessions as possible, particularly in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. In this process, the Luso-Indians and the descendants of the Portuguese in these Presidency towns, thus detached from the *Padroado* authorities, were eventually absorbed as commercial intermediaries, soldiers and wives for the British, causing a transformation from Luso-Indians into Anglo-Indians in the erstwhile Portuguese possessions.

The central purpose of this study is to explore the changing meanings that the Portuguese possessions and the Lusitanian descendants acquired in different parts of India during the period between 1780 and 1840. This is done by analysing the socio-economic and political processes of Goa on the one hand, and by examining the transformation that the Portuguese descendants underwent in the erstwhile Lusitanian enclaves on the other.

## Historical Setting

The Portuguese possessions in Monsoon Asia underwent significant changes in their extent, economic content and social processes from mid-eighteenth century onwards. The major trading centres of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean had already fallen into the hands of the Dutch and the British as early as the mid-seventeenth century.<sup>2</sup> Most of the navigational lines of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean were interrupted by the formidable presence of these newcomers in this maritime space. The western Indian Ocean also slipped from their hands with the emergence of Omanis as a significant maritime power. The frequent attacks by the Ja'ariba forces of Oman on the Portuguese settlements along the littorals of Western India and East Africa from the 1660s onwards, jeopardised the commerce of the Portuguese still further. Maintaining good rapport with the coastal principality chieftains of western India, the Omanis soon appropriated a major chunk of trade previously controlled by the Portuguese in western zones of the Indian Ocean.<sup>3</sup> The result was a considerable shrinking of Portuguese and Luso-Indian commercial activities on the one hand, and the emergence of Saraswat Brahmins and banians as prominent commercial groups in the Lusitanian enclaves on the other.<sup>4</sup>

The discovery of gold from Minas Gerais in Brazil in the mid-1690s<sup>5</sup> temporarily shifted the economic gravity of the Portuguese from India to South America, peripheralising their Indo-European commerce still further. The dwindling of Portuguese trade in the second half of the seventeenth century was followed by decline of their urban settlements in India. The city of (old) Goa, infested with recurring pestilence and epidemics, was almost fully abandoned by the end of the seventeenth century. Its residents fled to peripheral regions of their erstwhile empire, to the cultivable space of rural Goa, or to *Provincia do Norte*, which was the generic term given to the long chain of agrarian settlements that the Portuguese

had from Thana to Daman.<sup>6</sup> On 3 December 1687, Fr. Inacio do Rosario wrote that a major part of the city of Goa then remained deserted and abandoned.<sup>7</sup> Meanwhile, Diu and Daman thrived on East African trade—carried out principally through banians and local merchants between the 1680s and 1740s—and continued to maintain a considerable amount of commercial vibrancy.<sup>8</sup> However, the core area of economic life of the Portuguese in India in the initial decades of the eighteenth century was the *Provincia do Norte*, with its capital city at Bassein. The Portuguese holders of *foreiro* (a donatorial system) in the agrarian enclaves of the Northern Province pumped a significant share of the surplus from their agrarian holdings into the cities of Bassein, Chaul, and Daman, causing them to emerge as the major urban centres of coastal western India.<sup>9</sup> However, with the Maratha occupation of Bassein in 1739 and the consequent shattering of the Lusitanian hold over the Northern Province<sup>10</sup> a severe crisis emerged in the Portuguese enclaves, including Goa, which had until then been fed by the major food-producing centres of the Northern Province.

By the 1750s, the Portuguese possessions in India had shrunk to the provinces of Salcete, Bardez, Tiswadi, and the small settlements of Daman and Diu. Interestingly, the majority of Luso-Indians lived not in these small Portuguese-controlled pockets but in the erstwhile Portuguese enclaves, including the emerging British Presidency towns. A few others lived in the Dutch-controlled urban settlements of Cochin, Cranganore, and Quilon.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, these Luso-Indians among the non-Portuguese European enclaves of India were linked to the power centres of Goa and Lisbon through the instrumentality of *Padroado* personnel and religious institutions, causing religion to evolve as a mechanism not only for cohesion and linkage of these groups to the centre but also for extending Portuguese authority to such areas and communities where weapons of war would not normally succeed.<sup>12</sup>

### Ruralisation and Socio-Economic Processes

With the intensification of economic crisis in Goa following the loss of the agrarian pockets of the Northern Province to the Marathas, the officers of Marques Pombal resorted to a project of conquering new territories in the vicinity of Goa from the 1760s onwards. These newly conquered territories were developed as the agrarian base of the Portuguese power centre. The Portuguese seized the agrarian pockets of Ponda and Canacona from the king of Sunda in 1763, while Bicholim as well as Sanquelim were captured in 1781 and Pernem in 1783. By 1783 a large terrain of cultivable space encompassing Bicholim, Sanquelim, Pernem, Sattari, Canacona, Ponda, Quepem, and Sanquem was incorporated into Goa. These newly conquered areas, almost double the size of earlier Portuguese possessions, were generally called New Conquests or *Conquistas Novas* to differentiate them from the Old Conquests or *Conquistas Velhas*.<sup>13</sup> With the acquisition of new territories, the extent of rural Goa became augmented, making cultivational activities relatively dominate over commercial enterprises.

The new territories were occupied for expanding agriculture and ensuring regular food supply to the Portuguese in Goa. To this end, diverse strategies to keep the agrarian and aristocratic elites of the New Conquests in good spirits were resorted

to. Most significant among these was that the residents of the New Conquests could follow their Hindu religion as well as cultural traditions. This was a radical departure from the earlier Lusitanian policy of forceful conversion of residents of Old Conquest territories in the sixteenth century. The Portuguese made no effort to convert the settlers of the New Conquests to Christianity. Interestingly, during this period between 1760 and 1840 no religious order tried to expand its proselytisation to these newly conquered territories either. Consequently, the New Conquests evolved as a culturally different space over the course of a century and a half, with about 95 per cent of its settlers remaining Hindu. Thus, during the age of revolutions, the imagery of a "Catholic Goa" with a monoculture started disappearing and a notion of a mosaic Goa with cultural pluralism started evolving out of these processes.<sup>14</sup> For all practical purposes, Goa by this time consisted of two cultural geographies: the Catholic-dominated geo-physical unit of Old Conquests and the Hindu-dominated New Conquests.<sup>15</sup>

The socio-economic processes of these two segments of Goa also diverged, due to the two different policies followed by the Portuguese in these terrains. The Old Conquests, with a primarily Catholic population, retained the old agrarian institution of *Comunidade* or *Gaoncaria*, which meant that the land was collectively owned and cultivated by the villagers. From time immemorial, the proprietorship of land had rested with the descendants or representatives of those by whom the village had at some remote period in time been conquered or reclaimed from waste. But the Portuguese, through their frequent interventions, either evicted the traditional *gaonkars* or got them converted to Christianity from 1526 onwards.<sup>16</sup> About 12 per cent (36522.7440 hectares) of the total land of Goa was under the possession of various *comunidades*. By contrast, in the Hindu-dominated New Conquests, the system of *Dessaidos* was in usage. *Dessaidos* is a system under which the feudatory chiefs of the New Conquests were allowed to possess individual private property along with the duty to collect taxes, imposts and other contributions. This paved the way for the dilution of the *comunidade* system and the emergence of private ownership of land. The *desais* controlled about 2,650 hectares of land in the New Conquests during this period, from which the annual revenue used to be about 1,10,000 *xerafins*.<sup>17</sup> These *desais* were in turn required to maintain sufficient cavalry and infantry forces for meeting the military needs of the Portuguese. This system of constructing rural intermediaries out of the *desais* of the New Conquests ensured not only a supportive agrarian base for the Portuguese but also a fighting force from the local population in times of emergency. In this system, however, the *desais* enjoyed only the usufructuary rights, while the actual ownership was with the Portuguese. We find the villages of Curvem and Navelim in Ponda being granted to Ibaim Kan and Assan Kan, who in turn were required to maintain a cavalry force of fifty soldiers each. Givagi Sinai was granted the village of Usgao in 1807 and in return he was required to raise a cavalry force of fifty soldiers. The *desai* of Pernem was given the village of Alorna and in return he was to maintain an infantry force of fifty sepoy.<sup>18</sup> The inability of the *Estado da India* to raise a sufficient fighting force from its own resources against the background of dwindling fortunes was more than compensated for by this system of parcelling out land in the New Conquests to rural intermediaries in return for their timely military support.

From the mid-eighteenth century onwards, many parts of the Old Conquests of

Goa, which retained the traditional agrarian institution of *comunidade* and maintained community ownership of land, began to experience radical change in land relations. The beginnings of individual proprietorship of land first appeared in the Old Conquests with the policy of land-distribution and re-distribution resorted to by Marques Pombal after the suppression of Jesuit Order in 1759.<sup>19</sup> Salcete was the most fertile agrarian pocket in the Old Conquests of Goa, to which the Jesuits had held a monopoly from 1543 till 1759.<sup>20</sup> This was the major rice-bowl of Goa. With the suppression of Jesuit Order by Marques Pombal and their expulsion from India, the entire cultivable land space of Salcete, controlled by the Jesuits, was confiscated and redistributed among enterprising farmers for cultivation. The bulk of Jesuit land in Salcete and Tiswadi became fragmented and was distributed among enterprising segments of farmers, both Christians and Hindus, causing non-communitarian ownership to emerge in the Old Conquests.<sup>21</sup> Some of them were given this land in return for a nominal amount. Thus we find people like Antonio Luiz being awarded a portion of the confiscated coconut plantations of the Jesuits for the duration of three generations in 1771, in return for a token amount of four *xerafins*. Even Hindu entrepreneurs appropriated Jesuit land by paying token remunerations. A certain Rama Camotim was given confiscated Jesuit coconut plantations for three generations in 1773 for four *xerafins*.<sup>22</sup> A part of the confiscated Jesuit property of St. Paul College of old Goa was given in perpetuity to a certain Custam Poi in 1781 for a nominal amount of two *xerafins*. The rice fields confiscated from the Jesuits from Chorão, Jua, Calapor, Neura o grande, Morombim o grande, and Morombim o pequeno were granted to several Christian enterprising farmers in perpetuity in 1781. In the same year, a portion of the coco-nut plantations of the Jesuit land was given to Seguna Camotim for twenty-seven years for an amount of 1,355 *xerafins*.<sup>23</sup> The appropriation and re-distribution of Jesuit land among individual farmers emitted a new economic force into rural Goa.

With the possession of a large track of land in Goa, both in the form of confiscated property of the Jesuits and the newly conquered terrains of New Conquests, the Portuguese authorities began to concentrate more on expansion of agriculture in their pockets rather than maritime trade, which by this time had become a predominantly private affair handled chiefly by the Saraswat Brahmins and Luso-Indians linked with the Presidency towns of the British.<sup>24</sup> For carrying out effective cultivational activities and for ensuring maximum utilisation of the newly conquered cultivable space of Goa, an agricultural department was set up in 1776, and remained operational until 1834.<sup>25</sup> The officers of the Department of Agriculture brought with them the spirit of agrarian revolution in Europe and took measures to maximise production. Consequently, paddy production of Goa rose from twenty-five *cumbos* in 1777 to 146 *cumbos* in 1780 and seven-hundred *cumbos* in 1790.<sup>26</sup> By 1835, rice production reached nineteen thousand *cumbos*. Meanwhile attempts were also made by the Department of Agriculture to introduce new crops like cotton and pepper in Goa with a view to gaining the upper hand in the trade of these commodities, which were in high demand in Europe. Due to the high demand for cotton in international markets, cotton saplings were repeatedly planted at different sites in Goa during the period between 1776 and 1794, although the venture was not profitable. Pepper, which was the major commodity of Portuguese export from India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries until the loss of the spice ports of

South India, was introduced in Goa by the Department of Agriculture in the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century. Pepper vines were planted in Goan areca-nut and coconut plantations, making coconut and areca-nut trees act as the supporting device for the pepper-vines to climb.<sup>27</sup>

While the ideas emitted by French revolution and the Napoleonic wars of expansion shook Europe, Goa was increasingly moving towards ruralisation. The ruralisation process is further indicated by the closure of the textile manufacturing centres of Betim, Taleigão, Mandur, Divar, and Mapusa by the 1790s and the terrible losses incurred at the Portuguese main textile production centre of *fabrica de Cambarjua* established in Goa in 1783.<sup>28</sup> Concomitantly, there was decline of Goa's urban centres. The city of Goa (present day old Goa) had long been abandoned by the residents due to the increasing problems of water pollution, which was caused by the porous nature of the soil and frequent outbreaks of pestilence and water-related diseases. The Viceroy Francisco de Tavora (1681-6) transferred the capital to Mormugão, which only hastened the decline of the city of Goa. Consequently, many wealthy families moved to the suburbs and other villages such as Batim (Guadalupe), S. Lourenço, Naroa, and Chorão, and private edifices in the city began to crumble. In the last decade of the seventeenth century, the viceroy and the archbishop shifted their residences to Panelim, a suburb of the old city of Goa. Though repeated orders came from Portugal until the second decade of the eighteenth century to demolish the public edifices of the declining city of old Goa and to use it as building material to construct Mormugão as the capital, the project did not materialise. All the cities of Goa were dying during this period, which is again suggestive of the increasing ruralisation.<sup>29</sup> At this juncture, the Department of Agriculture even attempted to suppress the municipal councils (*camara municipal*) of these cities, which by this time were no more than decorative bodies.<sup>30</sup> However, the phase of urban decadence later changed with the intensification of trade and the emergence of Panjim (by 1843) as the new capital, having grown out of the wealth accruing from the private trade of the Saraswat Brahmins and Luso-Indians.

### **Commerce, Unrest, and “the Pinto Revolt of 1787”**

Even while Goa became increasingly ruralised, there was a relatively vibrant strand of trade connecting Goa to the various marts of the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic. However, the direction, value and mode of operations of this trade indicate a marked difference from the early period. Goa at this juncture was used mainly as a port for the re-exportation of cargo from Brazil and Portugal to various marts and markets of the Indian Ocean and vice versa, rather than being intrinsically linked to its hinterland and its newly acquired territories. Hence the volume of its trade does not seem to have influenced its socio-economic structure. The private trading groups from the Saraswat Brahmins, such as the Mhamais, Kushta Sinai Dhempe, Govind Sinai Navelkar, Shaba Sinai, Anta Sinai, and Rama Pai, or from the Portuguese and the Luso-Indians, such as João Baptista Goethals, Antonio Pereira, and Sebastião Gracias, were principally engaged in the re-exportation trade of Goa by collecting textiles from Gujarat, Bengal, and the Coromandel and dispatching them to Portugal, Brazil, Mozambique, and Macao.<sup>31</sup> As a variety of textiles were obtained at cheaper prices from these trading centres, Goa's textile manufacturing

suffered severely, ultimately leading to the shutting down of its many weaving centres.<sup>32</sup> The huge demand for Brazilian tobacco in India made the private traders of Goa frequent Bahia with Indian wares, including textiles, saltpetre and diamonds. In return, tobacco was brought to India for chewing, smoking, and sniffing. By 1750, the Portuguese had drafted a plan to launch a trading company in Bengal to obtain saltpetre and textiles from Bengal with the proceeds from tobacco.<sup>33</sup> The large volume of Bahian tobacco flowing to Goa and the British Presidency towns (often as leaf, but also in the form of powder and cords) in return for textiles, created an extensive network of Luso-Indian merchants and Saraswat Brahmins, both for commodity procurement and distribution. With the inclusion of opium for the Macao trade, the nodal points of the circuits comprised Macao, Calcutta, Madras, Goa, Bombay, Daman, Surat, Mozambique, Bahia, as well as Lisbon. Consequent to the shifting of the Portuguese royal seat from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro in Brazil following the Napoleonic attacks on Portugal in 1807 there was an unprecedented flow of commodities through these nodal centres, often managed by the native and Luso-Indian merchants.<sup>34</sup>

As early as the 1780s, with the liberalisation of trade in Lisbon, there was a renewed interest in commercial activities in the Portuguese enclaves of India, which the private traders of Goa linked, on the one hand, to the major commercial centres of the British and French in Asia; and on the other, to Brazil as well as Portugal. The commercial activities of Hubens, Ribeiro & Companhia, Colffs Guimaraes e Loureiros, the Mhamais of Goa, the Farias, the Souzas, and the Barretos connected the various Portuguese enclaves to the various British and French trading centres in the Indian Ocean,<sup>35</sup> causing a vibrant strand of private trade to evolve into trans-colonial dimensions. The success of these commercial houses in doing business effectively in the major centres of other European powers depended on rendering their agents or family members acceptable to their political masters, and on their ability to network with native merchants. These developments made the residence of trade agents or family members of these Portuguese and Goan business houses inevitable in the major trading centres of the British and French territories. Thus we find the Loureiro brothers João Gomes Loureiro and Henrique Gomes Loureiro stationed at Surat, while another brother, Manoel Jose Gomes Loureiro, resided at Goa and held influential positions in Lisbon, Mozambique, Brazil, and Goa during this period.<sup>36</sup> João de Faria had his commercial base in Calcutta, while his son Rogerio de Faria, conducting opium trade on a monopoly basis with Macao, kept Daman, Diu, Surat, and Bombay as major bases of operation.<sup>37</sup> In the case of the Souza brothers, Minguel de Lima e Souza had kept the British Presidency town of Bombay as his base and his brother Antonio de Souza resided at Madras, while another brother, Manoel de Souza, made circulatory trips between Bengal, Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta in the 1790s.<sup>38</sup>

The major beneficiaries of this trans-colonial trade linking Brazil, Lisbon and the Portuguese enclaves in the Indian Ocean to British Presidency towns, were the Luso-Indians who resided in Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, and the Saraswat Brahmins of Goa. It seems that Goa benefited mostly by way of customs duty, which eventually led to the evolution of a quasi-urban unit at Panjim. Generally speaking, however, the impact of this trade on the larger economy and society of Goa was limited. The preference of these private traders for the cheaper textiles of



Bengal, Coromandel, and Gujarat over Goan textiles for trading with Brazil and Lisbon led to the augmentation of production and commerce in their markets and to the eventual decline of cloth manufacturing in Goa. The high volume of re-export trade from Goa does not seem to have affected the nature of primary production in a radical way either, as this strand of trade was almost extraneous and did not transform the structure and nature of Goa's rural economy much.

From the 1780s onwards, we find the emergence of a very strong group of discontented elements in Goa, sandwiched between the gloomy aspects of ruralisation on the one hand and the commercial prosperity as well as inordinate wealth-accumulation of the Saraswat Brahmins and a few enterprising Luso-Indians on the other. Those who were denied the higher military and ecclesiastical posts that they had aspired to in Portuguese India led this disgruntled segment, and they chalked out a detailed plan to oust the Portuguese from Goa. The main leaders of the conspiracy to revolt against the Portuguese were Goan priests such as Fr. Cajetano Francisco do Couto, Fr. Jose Antonio Gonçalves, and Fr. Cajetano Vitorino de Faria, who had been in Lisbon since 1780 mobilising support for their appointment as bishops for the *Padroado* dioceses of Cochin, Mylapore, and Goa respectively.<sup>39</sup> Another leading figure that took part in the conspiracy was Abbe Faria (Fr. Jose Custodio de Faria), who was the son of Fr. Cajetano Vitorino de Faria and later became one of the pioneers of the scientific study of hypnotism and a leading figure in the intellectual circles of France.<sup>40</sup>

However, their plan did not materialise. These priests returned to Goa and worked among Goan priests, the disgruntled segments of the military and common people, mobilising their support for ousting the Portuguese from Goa. They used to hold the meetings at times in the presbyteral house of the church of Verem. The Pintos of Candolim held important positions in the church and the military forces, and extended liberal support to the project, allowing detailed discussions and planning to take place in their palatial house of Candolim. Because of the involvement of several members of the Pinto family—such as Fr. João Baptista Pinto of Candolim, Manoel Cajetano Pinto (the lieutenant of the Ponda division of the army), and his cousin Manoel Pinto from Saligão—as key figures of the conspiracy, this is often called the Pinto Conspiracy or the Pinto Revolt of 1787.<sup>41</sup> Many Catholic priests (around nineteen in total) and several high-ranking army men, as well as students and ordinary soldiers, were attracted to them. They had decided that the military regiments of Ponda and Bardez would mobilise forces to fight against the Portuguese on 10 August 1787 for the purpose of expelling them from Goa.<sup>42</sup> They had also decided to seek the support of Tipu Sultan of Mysore to simultaneously invade Goa from outside. However, before the materialisation of the project, the news was leaked on 5 August 1787 and about forty-seven people, including fifteen Catholic priests, were arrested and put in jail. In 1788, fifteen lay people were executed, while fourteen priests were deported to Portugal.<sup>43</sup> The large involvement of Catholic priests in the conspiracy and revolutionary processes suggests influence from the French revolution, in which the lower clergy actively participated. Interestingly, most of the priests who took part in the conspiracy were principally active in Goa's country-side, such as in Ponda, Pomburpa, Pilerne, Chorão, Moira, S. Lourenço de Linhares, Guirim, Candolim, and Sirula.<sup>44</sup> The areas over which these Catholic priests exercised spiritual jurisdiction as parish priests was predomi-

nantly agrarian, which further indicates that this move was not something that evolved out of a few disgruntled clergy and military-men only. It was a reflection of the popular unrest and rural dissatisfaction that fomented in Goa against the background of being squeezed between intensified ruralisation on the one hand and inordinate wealth accumulation on the other by a few individuals and private traders.

### **Ethnic Mutation of Luso-Indians into Anglo-Indians**

During the ruralisation process, a large number of Portuguese descendants residing in various commercial centres of India underwent radical ethnic and identity transformations. The former Portuguese pockets of Bombay, Mylapore and Bengal had a large number of Portuguese settlers and their descendants, who were spiritually catered to through the Portuguese ecclesiastical system of *Padroado* even after their passage into the hands of the British. Though the *Padroado* system was instituted initially to ensure evangelisation works in the newly conquered and discovered territories of the Portuguese, it in fact turned out to be a mechanism that enabled the crown of Portugal, as the King and the Grand Master of the Order of Christ, to combine temporal and spiritual powers in his person and use the institutions and personnel of both the domains interchangeably, empowering the national monarch.<sup>45</sup> Despite the loss of political control, the Portuguese continued to maintain a hold over their erstwhile colonies in India through *Padroado* priests, challenging the domains of power of other Europeans. The king of Portugal, as patron of the missions, continued to claim the right to send *Padroado* dignitaries and missionaries to their erstwhile possessions, which the British and the Dutch (in Cochin) viewed as a threat to their political domination. As the continued presence of the Portuguese *Padroado* missionaries was viewed as an attempt to compensate the loss of their political power in these places, the British and the Dutch wanted to keep the Portuguese *Padroado* missionaries away from their settlements. To this end, they sought the help of the dignitaries and missionaries of Propaganda Fide. The British, as a Protestant power, did not have an ecclesiastical frame similar to the *Padroado*, so they had to depend mostly on the French and later on the Italian and German missionaries operating under Propaganda Fide to attack the hold of the Portuguese *Padroado* over their territories, and to wean the Portuguese descendants away from Lusitanian influence and integrate them into the British system.<sup>46</sup>

The ongoing conflicts between the *Padroado Real* and Propaganda Fide on the issues related to spiritual jurisdiction over territories not politically controlled by the Portuguese, provided the British with opportunities to manipulate the *Propaganda* devices for keeping the *Padroado* personnel as far away as possible from their enclaves. In 1713 there were about 11,000 Catholics and Luso-Indians in Bombay with *Padroado* priests catering to their spiritual needs. The British wanted the jurisdictional authority over these Christians and their Bombay churches to be transferred from *Padroado* to Propaganda Fide, for which negotiations had already started in Rome and London as early as 1716.<sup>47</sup> In the midst of these discussions the Apostolic Vicar of the Great Moghuls, Msgr. Maurice of St. Teresa shifted his residence from Karwar to Bombay in 1717 so that the spiritual jurisdiction over the Catholics of Bombay might be taken over immediately, replacing the *Padroado*

priests of the city.<sup>48</sup> This process culminated in 1720 with the expulsion of all Portuguese priests from Bombay by British governor Charles Boon. He handed over their four principal churches to Propaganda jurisdiction.<sup>49</sup> Though the Goan priests could remain in Bombay, they were not allowed by the British to work under *Padroado* jurisdiction; instead they were to work under the jurisdiction of the Vicar Apostolic of Propaganda Fide residing in Bombay. Predictably, the king of Portugal and the Goan Archbishop seriously objected to these changes on the grounds that they were infringements upon the privileges that the earlier papal documents had bestowed upon the Portuguese. However, Rome replied that the Propaganda jurisdiction of the Vicar Apostolic over Bombay was both necessary and inevitable, as the British were not ready to allow *Padroado* priests to work in the city.<sup>50</sup>

The situation became complex as most of the Portuguese descendants and city-dwellers of Bombay turned against the missionaries of Propaganda Fide, indicating their reluctance to suspend their contacts with the *Padroado*. As many of the city-dwellers of Bombay (as was the case in Madras and Calcutta) were descendants of the Portuguese or their dependents, they were not ready to accept anybody other than the Portuguese *Padroado* priests. Consequently, the churches in the city, instead of integrating the urban dwellers into the social base of British rule, turned into platforms for frequent conflicts. The Portuguese were attempting to gain domination over Bombay through the ecclesiastical frames of the *Padroado*, while the British were using the personnel of Propaganda Fide for countering such moves. However, when the conflicts began to disrupt life in the city, the British had to find ways and means of reconciling the two. They did so principally by allocating two major churches to the *Padroado* and the other two to the Propaganda Fide in 1794.<sup>51</sup>

Following the political peripheralisation of the Portuguese in the eighteenth century, the Portuguese *Padroado* authorities were struggling hard to retain their hold over their erstwhile possessions through their dioceses of Goa, Mylapore, and Cochin. In 1838, however, Rome restricted the jurisdiction of the *Padroado* to Goa alone and created different vicariates and later dioceses under Propaganda for the rest of India. In these vicariates, predominantly non-Portuguese bishops were put in charge, as they were acceptable to the British, who were then politically expanding to larger areas of the sub-continent.<sup>52</sup> This carved out large territories previously under *Padroado* jurisdiction and reduced the latter's control and influence. Vicariates (for all practical purposes they may be equated with dioceses) were erected in the British Presidency towns under Propaganda Fide. The Propaganda Vicariate of Bombay, which was established in 1832, took away the spiritual authority and influence of the *Padroado* Archbishop of Goa over the settlers of the British Presidency town of Bombay, while the Vicariates of Madras (1832) and Bengal (1834) loosened the hold of the *Padroado* diocese of Mylapore over the urban dwellers of the Presidency-towns of Madras and Calcutta respectively.<sup>53</sup> An Irish Jesuit priest, Robert St. Leger, was sent as Vicar Apostolic (bishop) to Calcutta when the area was raised to the status of an Apostolic Vicariate (diocese) in 1834, and later the Belgian Jesuits provided personnel for the Propaganda institutions of Calcutta, anglicising the Luso-Indians of Bengal.<sup>54</sup>

According to the papal Brief *Multa Praeclare* of 1838, by which these changes were brought out, *Padroado* rights were allowed to be exercised only in the territo-

ries of the Archdiocese of Goa. The territories of other Portuguese dioceses were to be handed over to the newly established Apostolic Vicariates of Bombay, Madras, and Bengal. This step was taken to cut the wings of the Portuguese *Padroado*, as the liberal government that came to power in Portugal following the civil war in 1833 was anti-religious and anti-clerical, suppressing the various religious Orders and monasteries of Portugal and the Portuguese enclaves of India. Instead of patronising Catholicism, the new Portuguese government was influenced by the anti-religious ideals of the French revolution of 1789. It suspended all proselytisation carried out by religious and monastic Orders in India and other Portuguese colonies, and deported religious members from their houses from 1835 onwards. Consequently, appointments to many ecclesiastical posts, including bishoprics under *Padroado* administration, remained unfilled for years. The new Portuguese government imposed its own personnel as administrators for the Archdiocese of Goa and for Mylapore, without papal approval. Against this backdrop, Rome felt that the Portuguese rulers were taking advantage of the *Padroado* privileges for their mileage without carrying out the corresponding responsibilities.<sup>55</sup>

The Portuguese civil and ecclesiastical authorities opposed the expansion of the jurisdiction of Propaganda Fide in erstwhile Portuguese enclaves, particularly in the Presidency towns, whose missionaries they viewed as insolent intruders. Meanwhile, the Propaganda Fide authorities viewed the *Padroado* priests, who would challenge the papal decision for the next fifty years, as schismatics and dissidents. Though the *Padroado* system was officially not terminated until 1953, its wings were cut in the 1830s, converting it into a marginal ecclesiastical administrative institution in India with relatively insignificant influence.

While the Propaganda Fide priests ensured that the Luso-Indians or the descendants of the Portuguese living in the Presidency towns were removed from the jurisdictional frames of *Padroado*, the British drew from them as commercial intermediaries, spouses and fighting forces, making the Luso-Indian segment integral to their political processes in India. The ecclesiastical task of Propaganda Fide to dissociate the Luso-Indians from the jurisdictional framework of *Padroado* was thus followed by colonial manipulation and the transformation of Luso-Indians by the British. A supportive population was created in these cities, and in this process, the Luso-Indians were denied their original identities and were merged into the category of Anglo-Indians.<sup>56</sup> One of the principal ways by which the transformation and redefinition of the descendants of the Portuguese, from Luso-Indians into Anglo-Indians, took place, was through marriages between British soldiers and girls of Portuguese descent. Mixed marriages became frequent in these settlements in the eighteenth century.<sup>57</sup> The marriage between British company servants and Luso-Indians became so frequent in Calcutta, that even Company officials began to object to it, probably fearing an increase of Catholic influence through these Luso-Indian women.<sup>58</sup> In the late 1750s, there were about 180 Luso-Indians operating as soldiers for the British in Bengal.<sup>59</sup> Eventually, through increasing economic and military collaboration as well as intermarriage, a large number of Luso-Indian children were brought up in British ways, Anglo-Saxon customs and at times in Protestant faith and were made to merge into the category of Anglo-Indians in Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta. The burgeoning of Anglo-Indian category out of the Luso-Indians was a colonial exigency for the British and their efforts ensured the

cessation of links to their Portuguese past, reducing chances for the Portuguese *Padroado* missionaries to intervene in British settlements in the name of their spiritual administration.

The foregoing discussions show the complex facets of Lusitanian space in India and throw light into the nuanced processes by which the core areas of Portuguese control moved away from mercantilism towards ruralisation, while the Luso-Indians living in the erstwhile Portuguese enclaves and British Presidency towns increasingly lost their ethnic identity. While the political processes following the French revolution and the Napoleonic wars made the king of Portugal flee from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, leaving the metropolis and its other colonies into the hands of fate, the private traders of Goa redefined their economic space by engaging in commodity movements at times conveniently bypassing Lisbon but linking Bahia-Moçambique and Macao. This often complemented British trade but at times competed with it. Another important development following these international changes was the increasing ruralisation of Goan economy and society, followed by the decline of Goan cities and the final attempt by the Department of Agriculture to liquidate city councils (*camaras municipal*) of Goa, which had by this time become mere decorative bodies. The beginning of rural expansion can be traced back to the Pombaline period, in which a chain of cultivable space was attached to Goa as the New Conquests (*Conquistas Novas*) and in which the confiscated landed property of the suppressed Jesuit Order was made available to individuals for cultivation. However, the ruralisation process intensified when the British, who appeared as saviours to the Portuguese at the time of Napoleon's attack on Portugal, profited from the trans-colonial trade carried out by the Saraswat Brahmins and Luso-Indians, causing their circuits to revolve around the Presidency towns. The consequent rural dissatisfaction and restlessness that fomented in Goa culminated in the conspiracy of 1787, when several Catholic priests of rural Goa joined hands with the leading military personnel of Bardez and Ponda to expel the Portuguese from Goa.

Corresponding to the ruralisation process at the centre of power, the erstwhile Portuguese enclaves, which had numerous Lusitanian descendants, underwent significant ethnic transformations. The Portuguese descendants formed the majority of the city population of the British presidency towns of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, and were spiritually catered to by the Portuguese *Padroado* missionaries. The missionaries thus enjoyed a considerable amount of clout and power in these cities. The British consequently sought the services of the dignitaries and missionaries of Propaganda Fide to wean the Portuguese descendants away from Portuguese *Padroado* missionaries in order to integrate them into the British colonial system. Subsequently, the Luso-Indians in these cities became a supportive social base, providing commercial intermediaries, soldiers and spouses. Through repeated intermarriage and through the rearing of their children in British ways, Anglo-Saxon customs and at times in Protestant faith, as well as by keeping the Luso-Indians as their principal collaborators in Presidency towns, the Luso-Indians became a significant part of the Anglo-Indian population. This process of Anglicisation of the Portuguese descendants was actively promoted by the British, as it ensured the erasure of their linkages with the Portuguese past. It was also favoured by the Propaganda Fide officials as it minimised the claims of *Padroado* missionaries to exercise jurisdiction over them. By the 1830s, when new Apostolic

Vicariates were established in Bombay, Madras and Calcutta under Propaganda Fide, the Portuguese roots of this social group diminished and their integration into the category of Anglo-Indians became decisive in this process of ethnic mutation.

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## Notes

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- 1 For details on Portuguese *Padroado* see Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825*, 228-9. See Silva Rego, *Le Patronage Portugais de l'Orient*; Almeida and Peres, *Historia da Igreja em Portugal*; Bethencourt and Chaudhuri, eds., *Historia da Expansão Portuguesa*, vol. 1, 369-86; Sa, "Ecclesiastical Structures and Religious Action."
- 2 Meilink-Roelofs, *De Vestiging der Nederlanders ter Kuste Malabar*, 29-52, 105-9. See also Veen, *Decay or Defeat?*
- 3 For details see Malekandathil, "From Slumber to Assertion," 4-10. See also Barendse, *The Arabian Seas*, 16-17, 48-9; Carreira, "Aspectos Politicos," 5:1, 29-31, 34-6.
- 4 Malekandathil, "Portuguese and the Changing Meanings of Oceanic Circulations between Coastal Western India and the African Markets, 1500-1800," 214-6; Barendse, *The Arabian Seas*, 333; Antunes, "A Crise do Estado da India no final do seculo XVII e criação das Companhias de Comercio das Indias Orientais e dos Baneanes de Diu," 19-29. The word Banians or banias was used in the early modern period to signify the powerful Gujarati merchants who spread over the principal parts of the Indian Ocean as bankers and merchants. As a mercantile segment acceptable both before the Asian and European traders and power groups, the banians used to bridge the indigenous trade networks with the high value intense-European commercial enterprises. They were the principal Indian traders in Malacca, East Africa, Oman, Persia, and Red sea ports.
- 5 Schwartz, "The Economy of the Portuguese Empire," 34-35.
- 6 Malekandathil, "City in Space and Metaphor," 29-30.
- 7 Rivara, "Tentativa de Mudança de Goa para Mormugão," 229.
- 8 Antunes, "The Trade Activities of the Banyans in Mozambique," 301-31; Lobato, "Relações entre India e a costa Africana nos seculos XVI e XVII: O Papel do Guzerate no Comercio de Moçambique," 161-70.

- 9 Souza, "North-South in the Estado da India," 453-7; Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India*, 73-4.
- 10 Kulkarni, *The Marathas (1600-1848)*, 108, 110.
- 11 In Madras, there were 8,000 Catholics in 1687. Frank Penny, *The Church in Madras*, 220-3. In 1713, there were 11,000 Catholics in Bombay. Meersman, *The Ancient Franciscan Provinces in India*, 232-3. In Calcutta, the number of Catholics increased from 10,000 in 1724 to 25,000 in 1774. Hambye, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. 3, 460. See also Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. 2, 110-24.
- 12 Malekandathil, *Jornada of Dom Alexis de Menezes*, iv-lvi.
- 13 Dias, "Socio-Economic History of Goa with Special Reference to the Comunidade System, 1750-1910," 182-3; Xavier, *Codigo dos Usos e Costumes dos Habitantes das Novas Conquistas*, 1-20. The Portuguese had established their spheres of influence in these places long before their annexation and incorporation into Goa. See Biker, ed., *Collecção de Tratados e Concertos de Pazos que o Estado da India Portuguesa fez com os Reis e Senhores com quem teve Relações nas Partes da Asia e Africa Oriental desde o Principio da Conquista ate ao fim do Seculo XVIII*, vol. 1, 5-7, 22-5.
- 14 Malekandathil and Dias, eds., *Goa in the Twentieth Century*, xi-xii. See also Souza, "Glimpses of Hindu Dominance of Goan Economy in the 17th Century," 27-35.
- 15 Malekandathil and Remy Dias, eds., *Goa in the Twentieth Century*, ix-xiii.
- 16 It was in 1526 that the Portuguese began to intervene in this institution through the charter titled, *Foral dos Usos e Costumes dos Gaocares e Lavradores das Ilhas de Goa e Outros anexas a Ela*. For details see Rivara, *Archivo Portugues Oriental*, fasc. 5, pt. 1, doc. 58, pp. 118-33. See also Souza, *Goa Medieval*.
- 17 The xerafin was an Indo-Portuguese coin used in India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The term was initially derived from the name of the Mamluk coin Ashrafi. In course of time the Portuguese minted separate xerafin coins for conducting Indian trade. Though originally it was made of gold, later it was made out of silver. Its face value was 300 reis.
- 18 Xavier, *Desenvolvimento da Natureza dos Bens dos Desaidos das Novas Conquistas*, 13-8; Dias, "Socio-Economic History of Goa

- with Special Reference to the Comunidade System," 95-193. For details of land-grants to desais see Dias, "Socio-Economic History of Goa," 187-90.
- 19 The Jesuits were deprived of their possessions and institutions with the suppression of the Order. Casimiro Christovão de Nazareth, *Mitras Lusitanas no Oriente catalogo dos Prelados da Igreja Metropolitana e Primacial de Goa e das Dioceses Suffraganeas*, 278. Marques Pombal, who was the Secretary of State for War and Foreign Affairs of the Portuguese king Dom Jose I, rose almost to the level of a dictator making the king a puppet. Marques Pombal saw the hidden hand of the Jesuits in all the difficulties and oppositions that he faced in Portugal and its colonies and resorted to anti-Jesuit propaganda, besides suppressing them in Portugal and expelling them from the mother country and its colonies including India. For details see Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825*, 177-93.
  - 20 For details see Borges, *The Economics of the Goa Jesuits, 1542-1759: An Explanation of their Rise and Fall*, 1994; Souza, *Oriente Conquistado a Jesus Cristo pelos padres da Companhia de Jesus da Provincia de Goa*, 1978; Correia-Afonso, *Jesuits in India, 1542-1773*, 1997.
  - 21 Dias, "Socio-Economic History of Goa with Special Reference to the Comunidade System," 170-4.
  - 22 *Ibid.*, 461.
  - 23 *Ibid.*, 172, 460-73.
  - 24 For details on the trading activities of Goa during this period see, Pinto, *Trade and Finance in Portuguese Asia*, 1994; Pinto, "Goa-Brazil Commercial Relations, 1770-1825," 43-61; Antony, *The Goa-Bahia Intra-Colonial Relations, 1675-1825*, 2004.
  - 25 Dias, "Socio-Economic History of Goa with Special Reference to the Comunidade System," 210-8.
  - 26 *Ibid.*, 212-20.
  - 27 *Ibid.*, 212-42.
  - 28 Pinto refers to the closing down of many textile production centers of Goa. Cf. Pinto, *Situating Indo-Portuguese Trade History: A Commercial Resurgence, 1770-1830*, 27, 145; Pinto, *Trade and Finance*, 190-2.
  - 29 Malekandathil, "Colonial City of Goa;" Velinker, "The Portuguese Conquest and Goa's Political and Administrative History up to 1788," 3-9.
  - 30 Xavier, *Defesa dos Direitos das Gãocarias, Gãocarese dos seus Privilegios, contra a proposta da sua Dissolução*, 50.
  - 31 Pinto, *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India. A Study of the Portuguese Country Trade, 1770-1840*, 60-73.
  - 32 Cf. n. 25, above.
  - 33 Antony, *The Goa-Bahia Intra-Colonial Relations, 1675-1825*, 249-50, 272.
  - 34 Pedreira, "Costs and Financial Trends in the Portuguese Empire, 1415-1822," 71; Russell-Wood, "A Brazilian Commercial Presence beyond the Cape of Good Hope, 16th-19th Centuries," 191-208; Pinto, *Trade and Finance in Portuguese Asia*; Pinto, "Goa-Brazil Commercial Relations, 1770-1825," 43-61; Antony, *The Goa-Bahia Intra-Colonial Relations, 1675-1825*, 119-333.
  - 35 Pinto, *Situating Indo-Portuguese Trade History*, 37-85; Souza, "Rogerio de Faria: An Indo-Portuguese Trader with China Links;" Pinto, *Trade and Finance*, 58-78; Antony, *The Goa-Bahia Intra-Colonial Relations*, 227-327.
  - 36 Pinto, *Situating Indo-Portuguese Trade History, A Commercial Resurgence*, 41-2.
  - 37 Souza, "Rogerio de Faria: An Indo-Portuguese Trader with China Links," 6-8.
  - 38 Pinto, *Situating Indo-Portuguese Trade History, A Commercial Resurgence*, 72-3.
  - 39 Rivara, *A Conjurção de 1787 em Goa e varias Cousas desse Tempo Memoria Historica*, 13-14, 42-56; Fr. Thomas Paremakkal, a Syrian Catholic priest who went to Rome with Fr. Joseph Kariyattil to present to the Pope the grievances of the Syrian Catholic community against the Carmelite missionaries then working in Kerala met these Goan priests in Rome and Lisbon in 1780s. He refers to the entire project of these three Goan priests in detail. See Thommankathanar, *Varthamanapusthakam* (written in Malayalam in 1790s), 119, 222, 280, 282-6. Fr. Thomas Paremakkal, who was with these priests in Lisbon, discusses in detail their plan to make Fr. Cajetano Vitorino de Faria archbishop of Goa, Fr. Cajetano Francisco do Couto bishop of Cochin, Fr. Jose Antonio Gonçalves bishop of Mylapore, and a Franciscan friar bishop for Malacca. For details see Thommankathanar, *Varthamanapusthakam*, 247-48.
  - 40 For details see Stubbe, "Jose Custodio de Faria in the History of the World of Psychology: A Dialogue between Indian and European Psychologies," 337-53. Abbe Faria was born of Cajetano Vitorino de Faria out of a legitimate marriage. Fr. Thomas Paremakkal says that he left his wife and his two children

- to become a priest and later took his son Jose Custodio de Faria (Abbe Faria) to the Propaganda college of Rome for his priestly studies. Thommankathanar, *Varthamana-pusthakam*, 119. See also Rivara, *A Conjurção de 1787 em Goa*, 88.
- 41 Rivara, *A Conjurção de 1787 em Goa*, 10-12. See also Borges, *Goa and the Revolt of 1787*.
- 42 Rivara, *A Conjurção de 1787 em Goa*, 10-23.
- 43 *Ibid.*, 36-38.
- 44 *Ibid.*, 11-12.
- 45 This central idea is highlighted later in the works of Pe. Antonio Vieira (1608-97). According to him the prophecies of the Bible are to be fulfilled through the kingdom of Portugal and the Portuguese were entrusted with the task of establishing the kingdom of God on earth. He even goes so far as to equate the second coming of Christ with the establishment of Portuguese rule on earth (the fifth universal monarchy), which ensures civilisation process and conversion of people to Christianity. For a detailed study of the ideas of Antonio Vieira, see Cantel, *Prophetisme et Messianisme dans l'oeuvre d'Antonio Vieira*. See also Malekandathil, *Jornada of Dom Alexis de Menezes: A Portuguese Account of the Sixteenth Century Malabar*, liv-lvi.
- 46 Malekandathil, "Cross, Sword and Conflicts: A Study on the Political Meanings of the Conflicts between Padroado Real and Propaganda Fide in India (1623-1800)," 3-9.
- 47 Dominic, "The Latin Missions under the Jurisdiction of Propaganda (1637-1838)," 108.
- 48 Hull, *Bombay Mission History with a Special Study of the Padroado Question*, 28-30.
- 49 Hambye, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. 3, 382-3; Dominic, "The Latin Missions under the Jurisdiction of Propaganda (1637-1838)," 108.
- 50 Dominic, "The Latin Missions under the Jurisdiction of Propaganda (1637-1838)," 109.
- 51 *Ibid.*, 109; Hambye, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. 3, 383-6; Costa, "A Missiological Conflict between Padroado and Propaganda," 129-30. This decision was taken by the British under the pressure from the landlords and wealthy citizens of Bombay. However the British also did not allow the Vicar Apostolic Peter de Alcantara to leave Bombay surrendering everything into the hands of *Padroado* as that was supposed to result in the re-extension of Portuguese influence and power back into the area. For details see Hull, *Bombay Mission History*, 68-70; Gense, *The Church at the Gate of India*, 70-93.
- 52 For nuances of these developments see Rego, *Le Patronage Portugais de l'Orient*, 124-42; Moraes, "The Catholic Church under the Portuguese Patronage in the 18th and 20th Centuries," 157-8.
- 53 See Moraes, "The Catholic Church under the Portuguese Patronage in the 18th and 20th Centuries," 157.
- 54 Campos, *History of the Portuguese*, 126.
- 55 Rego, *Le Patronage Portugais de l'Orient*, 124-42.
- 56 One of the principal ways by which the transformation and redefinition of the descendants of the Portuguese from being Luso-Indians into Anglo-Indians was through the marriages conducted between the British soldiers and the girls of Portuguese descent and mixed-marriages became very frequent in these settlements in the eighteenth century. In fact the clauses of transfer of Bombay to the British attached to the treaty of marriage between Charles II and Catherine had stipulated that the inhabitants of the island of Bombay would enjoy the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion in the same manner as they did earlier. However, with the increasing practice of the British marrying these Portuguese descendants, eventually their children were brought up only in British ways and Protestant faith. It is interesting to note here that the Anglicisation process in this community amplified the weight of British power and authority in India. For details on the early instances of Anglicisation of this community see Meersman, *The Ancient Franciscan Provinces in India, 1500-1835*, 237-9.
- 57 Though the clauses of transfer of Bombay to the British, attached to the treaty of marriage between Charles II and Catherine in 1661, had stipulated that the inhabitants of the island of Bombay would enjoy the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion in the same manner as they did earlier, this was seldom followed.
- 58 Hambye, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. 3, 461.
- 59 Campos, *History of the Portuguese*, 191.