Craftsmen and Artisans in Goa (A.D. 1000 to 1700)

A Thesis submitted to the Goa University for the award of the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in History

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this Ph.D. thesis entitled, "Craftsmen and Artisans in Goa (A.D. 1000 to 1700)", submitted to Goa University forms an independent work carried out by me in the Department of History, Goa University under the supervision of Dr. Nagendra Rao, Professor and Head of the Department of History, Goa University and this thesis has not previously formed the basis of award of any Degree, Diploma, Associateship, Fellowship or other similar titles.

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Certificate

I certify that this Ph.D. thesis entitled "Craftsmen and Artisans in Goa (A.D. 1000 to 1700)", submitted by Christopher H. de Souza for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History, Goa University, is a record of research work done by him during the period from September 2015 to September 2020 when he worked under my guidance. This has not previously formed the basis for the award of any Degree, Diploma, Associateship or Fellowship to Christopher H. de Souza.

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Dedication

To my parents and sister

Contents

List of Illustrations

Figures

Tables

List of Appendices

Appendix

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

ACE	*Assentos do Conselho do Estado*
ANTT	Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon
APO-CR	*Archivo Portuguez-Oriental* edited by J. H. da Cunha Rivara
ARIE	*Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*
ARSI	*Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*
ARSIE	*Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*
BIMB	*Boletim do Instituto Menezes Bragança*
BIVG	*Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama*
CAA	*Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque*
CII	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*
CT	*Collecção de tratados e concertos de pazes que o Estado da India Portugueza fez com os reis e senhores com quem teve relações nas partes da Asia e Africa Oriental desde o principio da conquista até ao fim do seculo XVIII*
DI	*Documenta Indica*
DMP: Índia	*Documentação para a história das missões do Padroado Português do Oriente: Índia*
DRI	*Documentos remettidos da India ou Livros das Monções*
EI	*Epigraphia Indica*
HAG	Historical Archives of Goa, Panjim
IA	*The Indian Antiquary*
JBBRAS	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JBHS	*Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JKU: H	*Journal of the Karnatak University: Humanities*
JKU: SS	*The Journal of Karnatak University: Social Sciences*
JNSI	*The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*
KI	*Karnatak Inscriptions*
OP	*O Oriente Portuguez / O Oriente Português*
PIHC	*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*
QJMS	*The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*
SII	*South Indian Inscriptions*

Glossary

Abridor dos cunhos	One who prepared the coin moulds
Acunhador	Coin-puncher
Akkasale	Goldsmith
Alparqueiro	Shoemaker
Anikara	Supervisor of minting operations
Armaria	Where weapons were deposited
Badagi	Carpenter
Baddi	Interest
Baledere	Tax on manufacture of bangles
Begari	Forced labour or unpaid labour
Beirame	A very fine white cotton cloth from India
Bitti	Forced labour or unpaid labour
Calafate	Caulker
Carpinteiro	Carpenter
Casado	Portuguese married settler
Chamar	Cobbler
Cordoaria	Rope manufactory
Cordoeiro	Rope-maker
Cotonia	Piece of cotton cloth
Cunhador	Coin-puncher
Davorne	Load-rest
Dere	Tax
Dovornim	Load-rest
Ensaiador	Assaying chief
Escrivão	Clerk
Espingardeiro	One who manufactured or sold guns
Faraz	Basket-maker
Férias	Daily wages
Ferraria	Workshop where iron from the mines was prepared
Ferreiro	Blacksmith
Fundição	Workshop for the casting of metals

Fundidor	A staff of the foundry
Gana	Oil-mill
Ganadere	Tax on oil-mills
Ganaka	Oil-mill
Ganv	Village
Kammara	Blacksmith
Kammarapaga	Tax on blacksmiths
Kammata	Mint
Kammatakara	Mint master
Kanchugar	Coppersmith
Kankonnkar	Bangle seller
Kara	Tax
Kansar	Coppersmith
Kharvi	Fisherman
Kumbhar	Potter
Lohar	Blacksmith
Madival	Washerman
Madivalapaga	Tax on washermen
Maggadere	Loom tax on weaving
Mahar	Basket-maker
Mainato	Washerman
Mantimento	An allowance which was paid in kind or in cash
Mocadão	Headman
Modvol	Washerman
Mukaddam	Headman
Mukhya	Elder
Namasy	Land given to the village servants in return for their service
Nomoxim	Land given to the village servants in return for their service
Oja	From Sanskrit *upadhyaya* meaning teacher
Oleiro	Potter
Ourives	Goldsmith
Paga	Tax
Patrão	Superintendent

Pedreiro	Stonemason
Postura	Regulation
Sapateiro	Shoemaker
Sarraf	Moneychanger
Seni	From Sanskrit *shreni* meaning guild
Sese	Tax, levy
Shimpi	Tailor
Shroff	Moneychanger
Sirgueiro	One who worked with silk threads and cords
Sonar	Goldsmith
Sthapati	Architect
Sunka	Customs duty or toll
Sutar	Carpenter
Sutradhara	Mason, engraver
Suvarnakar	Goldsmith
Tafecira	Kind of fabric from India
Tanoeiro	Cooper
Teada	A piece of linen
Telliga	Oil-presser
Thavaya	Carpenter
Thovi	Carpenter
Vadde	Wards of a village
Vetti	Forced labour or unpaid labour
Vinani	Blacksmith
Visti	Forced labour or unpaid labour
Xaraffo	Moneychanger

Chapter 1

Introduction

Political and geographical setting

Goa lies on the west coast of India. The coastline has the Arabian Sea. The states of Karnataka and Maharashtra are along the land boundary. The Ratnagiri and Kolhapur districts of Maharashtra lie towards the north. On the other boundaries lie the districts of Dharwar, Belgaum and North Kanara of Karnataka.[1] The name Goa is believed to have its origin from Govarashtra. This was the name by which the southern Konkan was known. Goa was known by names including Gopakapuri and Gopakapattana. Goa was also known as Gova and Gove.[2]

In Karnataka, the Rashtrakutas of Malkhed reigned from AD 757 till 973. With their decline, the Later Chalukyas who ruled from Kalyani in the Bidar district came to power. Their rule extended from AD 973 to 1198. Towards the end of their rule, their power was seized by the Kalachuris. However, the Later Chalukyas were able to regain power, only to hold it briefly. There had been a growing presence of the Hoysalas from the south from AD 1173 and from the Yadavas of Devagiri in the north from AD 1185.[3] The Chalukyas of Kalyani were also known as the Western Chalukyas.[4] The Yadavas of Devagiri were also known as the Seunas.[5] They were also referred to as the Sevunas.[6] The forces of Ala-ud-din Khilji carried out attacks and the Yadavas of Devagiri fell in the early fourteenth century AD. The Hoysalas fought the forces of Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq until they were routed in AD 1342. It was in AD 1336 that the Vijayanagara empire arose.[7]

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[1] V. T. Gune, ed., *Gazetteer of the Union Territory: Goa, Daman and Diu*, part 1: Goa (1979; repr., Panaji, Goa: Gazetteer Department, 2009), 2-3.

[2] José Nicolau da Fonseca, *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa, Preceded by a Short Statistical Account of the Territory of Goa* (Bombay: Thacker & Co, Limited, 1878), 114-16.

[3] P. B. Desai, "Historical Glimpses of Karnataka," *JKU: H* 5 (June 1961): 31-34.

[4] Pratima Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade* (Panaji, Goa: Goa Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 2009), 49.

[5] P. B. Desai, Shrinivas Ritti, and B. R. Gopal, *A History of Karnataka (From Pre-History to Unification)*, ed. P. B. Desai (Dharwar: Kannada Research Institute, Karnatak University, 1970), 219.

[6] B. R. Gopal, "Kadambas of Goa," *JKU: SS* 4 (1968): 174.

[7] Desai, "Historical Glimpses of Karnataka," 34-35.

In the Konkan, the Rashtrakutas and the Western Chalukyas were the overlords where the Silaharas and the Goa Kadambas reigned. There were three branches of the Silaharas which ruled the region. The South Konkan Silaharas were in power between AD 750 and 1020. The North Konkan Silaharas ruled between AD 800 and 1250. The Kolhapur Silaharas ruled between AD 1000 and 1205. With the decline of the South Konkan Silaharas, the Goa Kadambas ruled under the Western Chalukyas of Kalyani from AD 1020. The North Konkan Silaharas and the Kolhapur Silaharas ruled portions of the Goa region when the Goa Kadamba power deteriorated.[8]

The Kharepatan copper-plates dated AD 1008 of Rattaraja of the South Konkan Silaharas referred to his title as a *mandalika*.[9] The Ballipattana copper-plates dated AD 1010 of Rattaraja of the South Konkan Silaharas referred to him as a *mahamandalika*.[10] The Kharepatan copper-plates dated AD 1095 of Anantadeva I of the North Konkan Silaharas recorded that two merchants of Ballipattana or modern Kharepatan were provided some privileges.[11] In one section of the inscription, Anantadeva I is referred to as Anantadeva with the title of *mahamandaleshvaradhipati*. In another part, he is referred to as Anantadevaraja with the title of *mahamandaleshvara*. In another section of the inscription, he is called Anantadeva with the title of *mahamandalika*.[12] The Talale copper-plates dated AD 1110 of Gandaraditya of the Kolhapur Silaharas recorded the title of Gandaraditya as *mahamandaleshvara*.[13] A *mahamandaleshvaradhipati* was a feudatory title which was superior to the position of the *mahamandaleshvara*. A *mahamandaleshvara* referred to a feudatory ruler and was superior to a *mandaleshvara*. A *mandaleshvara* referred to a ruler of a *mandala* or a district.[14] A *mahamandaleshvara* was the same as a *mahamandalika*.[15] A *mandaleshvara* was the same as a *mandalika* and was a feudatory title and referred to a feudatory chief. It meant a ruler of a *mandala*

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[8] Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory: Goa, Daman and Diu*, part 1: Goa, 82-83.

[9] Vasudev Vishnu Mirashi, ed., *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1977), 183-85.

[10] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 193-94.

[11] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 115-16.

[12] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 120.

[13] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 207-08.

[14] D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1966), 179-80.

[15] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 180.

or a district.[16] Thus, the South Konkan Silaharas, the North Konkan Silaharas and the Kolhapur Silaharas used titles which indicated their feudatory status.

The copper-plates dated AD 988 believed to be of Avasara II of the South Konkan Silaharas recorded that some merchants paid forty *dinaras* to Avasara II for some hereditary rights. The inscription informed that Chandramandala was conquered. Chandramandala has been identified as the region of modern Chandor in Goa.[17] The South Konkan Silaharas possessed a large part of Goa and the coastal area up to Thana. It is believed that they controlled Tiswadi as well. Their capital was Gopakapattana. The port of Ballipattana was an important one. The South Konkan Silaharas ruled as feudatories of the Rashtrakutas. Then, they were the feudatories of the Western Chalukyas of Kalyani.[18]

It appears that the North Konkan Silaharas were attacked by Jayakesi I of the Goa Kadambas with the assistance of the Arabs. Jayakesi I with a powerful navy and Arab mariners were a dominant force. However, with the death of Jayakesi I in AD 1080 or 1081, his successor was weak.[19] The copper-plates dated AD 1095 of Anantadeva I of the North Konkan Silaharas recorded that Anantadeva provided certain privileges to two merchants of Ballipattana or modern Kharepatan. Anantadeva also appeared to have occupied the southern Konkan and the Goa region. He is referred to with titles such as *Nihsanka-Lankesvara* and *Konkana-Chakravartin*. The title of *Nihsanka-Lankesvara* or the fearless lord of Lanka may have indicated his control over Lanka or the Goa region. The title of *Konkana-Chakravartin* denoted his rule over the whole of the Konkan.[20]

The plates dated AD 1110 of Gandaraditya of the Kolhapur Silaharas recorded a maintenance grant and donation of land by the ruler.[21] The grant while giving the genealogy of the family informed that when Marasimha was the ruler, Lanka was conquered.[22] Hence, it can be seen that Goa was under the South Konkan Silaharas as

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[16] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 195.

[17] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 178-82.

[18] Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, 49.

[19] Pius Malekandathil, "Maritime Trade and Political Economy of Goa, 800-1500," in *Maritime India: Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, rev. ed. (Delhi: Primus Books, 2015), 24.

[20] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 115-16.

[21] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 207-09.

[22] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 212.

well as under the North Konkan Silaharas and the Kolhapur Silaharas at different points of times.

The Goa Kadambas were the feudatories of the Western Chalukyas. Thereafter, they were the feudatories of the Yadavas of Devagiri. Their inscriptions informed that they were *mahamandaleshvaras* or feudatories.[23] An inscription dated AD 1125 from Mugad in the district of Dharwar is of the reign of Vikramaditya VI of the dynasty of the Western Chalukyas. It informed of a *mahasamanta* named Bammadeva. This was when the Kadamba ruler, Tribhuvanamalla Guhalladeva was governing Konkana Nine Hundred and Palasige Twelve Thousand.[24] An inscription dated AD 1155 from Tambur in the taluka of Kalghatgi of the district of Dharwar informed that when Permadideva was ruling from Gove, a *samanta* named Kagga was governing certain regions.[25] A *mahasamanta* was also a feudatory title which was superior to a *samanta*.[26] A *samanta* was a feudatory title and was a chief with a subordinate position.[27] Despite their feudatory status, the Goa Kadambas governed their territory with autonomy.[28] The Goa Kadambas and the officers under them also used titles which indicated their feudatory status.

The Goa Kadambas came into prominence with the decline of the rule of the South Konkan Silaharas in c. AD 1015. They controlled Goa, certain regions of North Kanara and north Konkan as well as Dharwar and Belgaum. They had their capital at Goa and also provincial capitals in the region of the district of Dharwar. Thus, the coastal region was connected with inland Karnataka.[29] The inscriptions of the Goa Kadambas were found in Goa, as well as in the Belgaum and Dharwar districts. Places where these inscriptions were found in the Belgaum district included Golihalli, Kittur and Halsi.[30]

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[23] Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory: Goa, Daman and Diu*, part 1: Goa, 116.

[24] N. Lakshminarayan Rao, ed., *SII*, vol. 11 part 2: Bombay-Karnatak Inscriptions vol. 1 part 2, In Vol. 11 of South Indian Inscriptions (repr., Mysore: Archaeological Survey of India, 1986), 231.

[25] S. L. Shantakumari, *The Kadambas of Goa & Their Inscriptions* (Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, 2015), 202.

[26] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 187.

[27] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 289.

[28] Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory: Goa, Daman and Diu*, part 1: Goa, 116.

[29] P. B. Desai, "Goa and Karnataka: Historical Relations," *JKU: SS* 1 (1965): 18.

[30] J. F. Fleet, *The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency from the Earliest Historical Times to the Muhammadan Conquest of A.D. 1318* (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1882), 89-90.

At one point of time, Jayakesi I of the Goa Kadambas offered assistance to Vikramaditya VI against the Chola ruler, Virarajendra.[31] Jayakesi II of the Goa Kadambas attempted to assert his independence from the Western Chalukyas. This was at a time when the Hoysalas had attacked the Western Chalukyas. However, Vikramaditya VI sent a loyal feudatory named Achugi II of the Sindas to act against Jayakesi II.[32] Achugi II and his son, Permadi prevailed against the Hoysalas as well as subdued Jayakesi II. However, Jayakesi II reconciled with Vikramaditya VI. Vikramaditya VI gave his daughter, Mailaladevi in marriage to Jayakesi II.[33] Despite their feudatory status, attempts were made at times to act independently.

In around AD 1147, Jayakesi II was succeeded by his two sons, Permadideva and Vijayaditya II who ruled jointly. The period of their rule saw the Kalachuris, the Yadavas and the Hoysalas vying for power. In around AD 1180, the Kalachuri king, Ahavamalla came to power. His general is believed to have destroyed the territory of Vijayaditya II of the Goa Kadambas.[34] However, it is unknown if the Kadambas accepted their overlordship. Around this time, the Kalachuris were in conflict with the Hoysalas. The Hoysalas were able to overpower the Kalachuris. Thereafter, the Goa Kadambas were feudatories of the Hoysalas. The Goa Kadambas paid tribute to the Hoysala ruler.[35]

Somesvara IV of the Western Chalukyas had to face the rising power of the Yadavas and the Hoysalas. He sought refuge with the Goa Kadambas.[36] However, a record indicated the status of Jayakesi III as a subordinate governor. He still appeared to have been loyal to his Western Chalukya feudal overlord. This was despite in AD 1186 when Somesvara IV had taken refuge in Goa and was ruling from Goa. The Western Chalukyas had lost most of their territory and power to the Yadavas and the Hoysalas.[37] The allegiance of the Kadambas of Goa to the Western Chalukyas is

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[31] Desai, Ritti, and Gopal, *A History of Karnataka (From Pre-History to Unification)*, 170.

[32] Pratima Kamat, "Historical Geography and Natural Resources," in *Goa through the Ages: An Economic History*, ed. Teotonio R. de Souza, vol. 2 (1990; repr., New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1999), 13.

[33] Desai, Ritti, and Gopal, *A History of Karnataka (From Pre-History to Unification)*, 257-58.

[34] Gopal, "Kadambas of Goa," 174-75.

[35] Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory: Goa, Daman and Diu*, part 1: Goa, 109.

[36] Shantakumari, *The Kadambas of Goa & Their Inscriptions*, 77-78.

[37] B. R. Gopal, ed., *KI*, vol. 5 (Dharwar: Kannada Research Institute, Karnatak University, 1969), xx.

exhibited as Somesvara IV was no longer powerful. Further, the Kadambas of Goa had to face the threat of the Yadavas and the Hoysalas.[38]

It is believed that Jayakesi III ruled till about AD 1225. Towards the end of the rule of Jayakesi III, his elder son, Vajradeva assisted in governance. Tribhuvanamalladeva, who was the younger son of Jayakesi III ruled shortly thereafter.[39] Singhana II of the Yadavas of Devagiri ruled between AD 1199 and 1247.[40] Singhana II is believed to have attacked the Goa Kadambas. The AD 1206 Mankani inscription informed that Simhanadevarasa attacked Jayakesi who ruled Konkana-Gove. However, the details are not clear.[41] Tribhuvanamalladeva, the other son of Jayakesi III, is believed to have ruled under the authority of the Yadavas.[42] Tribhuvanamalladeva was followed by Shashtha III. However, there is not much information of these two. The Goa Kadambas may have probably succumbed to the invasions of the Hoysalas and the Yadavas.[43]

The rule of Jayakesi II saw the territory of the Goa Kadambas at its zenith. However, by the middle of the thirteenth century AD, their territory and power had greatly reduced.[44] Under the Goa Kadambas, their territory included Palasige Twelve Thousand, Konkana Nine Hundred, Gopakarashtra and other places. Palasige Twelve Thousand included parts of the district of Belgaum as well as parts of the district of Dharwar.[45] Haive Five Hundred comprised of parts of North Kanara while Velugrame Seventy comprised of parts of Belgaum.[46] Konkana Nine Hundred included the district of Ratnagiri. Goa is believed to have been included in this division as well. However, due to its importance, it was separately known as Gopakarashtra. It was also known as Gopaka-dvipa-vishaya.[47] An inscription of the Goa Kadambas referred to some places. Pahjanikhali is modern Panjim. Mathagrama is present Margão. Shatt-Shastti is present

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[38] Gopal, *KI*, vol. 5, xxvi.

[39] Gopal, "Kadambas of Goa," 175.

[40] Desai, Ritti, and Gopal, *A History of Karnataka (From Pre-History to Unification)*, 228.

[41] Gopal, "Kadambas of Goa," 175.

[42] Shantakumari, *The Kadambas of Goa & Their Inscriptions*, 80-81.

[43] Gopal, "Kadambas of Goa," 176.

[44] Kamat, "Historical Geography and Natural Resources," 12-13.

[45] Shantakumari, *The Kadambas of Goa & Their Inscriptions*, 23-24.

[46] Kamat, "Historical Geography and Natural Resources," 12-13.

[47] Shantakumari, *The Kadambas of Goa & Their Inscriptions*, 27.

Salcete.[48] The rule of the Goa Kadambas saw their territory comprising not just of Goa but also extending to North Kanara, parts of the north Konkan, Dharwar and Belgaum as well.

Malik Kafur, the general of Ala-ud-din Khilji entered the territory of the Yadavas of Devagiri in AD 1310. After the encounter with the Yadavas, Malik Kafur went further south. A mosque was built by him at Rameswur.[49] Rameswur is believed to be located to the south of Goa.[50] There was an attack on Goa in AD 1327 by the military of Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq. In the early 1340s, the forces of Jamal-ud-din, the ruler of Honavar attacked Goa. Shortly thereafter, the Bahmani rulers are believed to have ruled Goa.[51] The first ruler of the Bahmani empire was Ala-ud-din Hasan Bahman Shah who was also known as Ala-ud-din I. He ruled from AD 1347 to 1358. Under him, the ports of Goa and Dabhol came under Bahmani territory.[52] The second half of the fourteenth century AD saw Goa under the rule of the Bahmani and Vijayanagara rulers.[53]

Madhava, who was a minister of the Vijayanagara empire, conquered territory in the Konkan region. In AD 1366, he captured Goa and established Vijayanagara rule in the area.[54] During the Vijayanagara period, the western part of their possessions had a number of provincial divisions. These included Konkana, Haive, Barakuru-rajya, Mangaluru-rajya and others. Goa was a separate territory and was called Goveya-rajya.[55] A *rajya* referred to a district or a province.[56] A stone inscription dated AD 1377 of the reign of Harihara II of the Vijayanagara dynasty found at Kalapur (Calapor) in Santa Cruz near Panjim informed that the Vijayanagara king made a gift to the temple of Vatesvara. Some were of the opinion that Goa came under Vijayanagara rule around

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[48] P. B. Desai, "Copper-Plate Grant of Kadamba Tribhuvanamalla; Saka 1028," *EI* 30 (1953-54): 75.

[49] Mahomed Kasim Ferishta, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India, till the Year A.D. 1612: Translated from the Original Persian of Mahomed Kasim Ferishta*, trans. John Briggs, vol. 1 (Calcutta: R. Cambray & Co., 1908), 373-74.

[50] Ferishta, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India, till the Year A.D. 1612: Translated from the Original Persian of Mahomed Kasim Ferishta*, vol. 1, 374n.

[51] Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, 52.

[52] Desai, Ritti, and Gopal, *A History of Karnataka (From Pre-History to Unification)*, 393-94.

[53] Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, 52.

[54] Desai, Ritti, and Gopal, *A History of Karnataka (From Pre-History to Unification)*, 341.

[55] R. S. Panchamukhi, ed., *KI*, vol. 1 (Dharwar: Karnatak Research Office, 1941), xi-xii.

[56] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 274.

AD 1366. However, others believe that it happened in AD 1391 or 1392. This inscription informed that by AD 1377, their rule was already established.[57] From the inscriptions, it is seen that the governors of the Vijayanagara king had control over Gove as well as the adjoining regions. In one instance, the governor who controlled Gove was later placed in charge of other regions. This was noticed in the case of Bachanna Odeya of Gove who was the *mahapradani* during the rule of Bukka II.[58] The designation *mahapradani* referred to an administrator or a chief minister.[59] Bachanna Odeya also served as the governor of Mangaluru in AD 1406, of Barakuru in AD 1411 and of Honnavara in AD 1415.[60] The copper-plates dated AD 1391 of the reign of Harihara II of the Vijayanagara dynasty recorded the grant of a village to a number of Brahmanas by Madhava-mantri, who ruled Gova as an officer of the Vijayanagara king, Harihara II.[61] The copper-plate inscription also referred to a number of places. These included Trinchadvattica which was Tissuari (Tiswadi). There was also the mention of Dvadasha-desha which was Bardes (Bardez), Shatt-Shastti which was Salcete, Saptati which was Sattari and Antruz which was Ponda.[62] Trinchadvattica or Tissuari referred to thirty villages.[63] Dvadasha-desha referred to Bardez which stood for the region of twelve localities.[64] Shatt-Shastti referred to sixty-six villages.[65] Saptati referred to seventy villages.[66]

In AD 1472, the Bahmani kingdom took Goa, which until then had been in the hands of the Vijayanagara empire.[67] The Bahmani kingdom had provinces, each with a

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[57] P. B. Desai, "Archaeological Discoveries," *JKU: SS* 2 (1966): 50-51.

[58] K. G. Vasantamadhava, "Gove - Karnataka Cultural Contacts from 1000-1600 A.D.," in *Goa: Cultural Trends (Seminar Papers)*, ed. P. P. Shirodkar (Panaji, Goa: Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum, Government of Goa, 1988), 23-24.

[59] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 183.

[60] Vasantamadhava, "Gove - Karnataka Cultural Contacts from 1000-1600 A.D.," 24.

[61] S. S. Ramachandra Murthy, "Panjim Plates of the Time of Harihara II, Saka 1313," *EI* 42 (1977-78): 112-13.

[62] Panduranga Pissurlencar, "Um passo do cronista Barros elucidado à luz duma inscrição Sânscrita," *OP* (2nd series) 18 (1937): 39-41.

[63] Pissurlencar, "Um passo do cronista Barros elucidado à luz duma inscrição Sânscrita," 39n15.

[64] Pissurlencar, "Um passo do cronista Barros elucidado à luz duma inscrição Sânscrita," 40n19.

[65] Pissurlencar, "Um passo do cronista Barros elucidado à luz duma inscrição Sânscrita," 40n17.

[66] Pissurlencar, "Um passo do cronista Barros elucidado à luz duma inscrição Sânscrita," 41n20.

[67] Haroon Khan Sherwani, "The Bahmanis," in *History of Medieval Deccan (1295-1724)*, ed. Haroon Khan Sherwani and P. M. Joshi, vol. 1: Mainly Political and Military Aspects (Hyderabad: The Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1973), 188.

governor called a *tarafdar*. However, under the direction of Mahmud Gawan, the empire had grown and included a vast territory including Goa. Mahmud Gawan attempted to reorganise the provinces of the Bahmani kingdom. The area of Anandapur as well as the regions between Daman, Bassein, Belgaum and Goa encompassed the province of Junair.[68] After AD 1472, attempts were made by the Vijayanagara empire to retake Goa. However, their efforts failed.[69]

In AD 1498, there was the collapse of the Bahmani kingdom and Goa came under the control of Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur.[70] All these indicate that Goa was part of the Konkan and was ruled by rulers whose territory extended to areas which are presently not a part of the state of Goa.

The Portuguese attacked Goa for the first time in March 1510. However, by May 1510, the Adil Shah manage to retake Goa from the Portuguese. On the second attempt, the Portuguese captured the islands of Goa on 25 November 1510.[71] In November 1510, the territory under Afonso de Albuquerque comprised of the islands of Goa, Chorão, Divar, Vanxim and Jua.[72] By AD 1543, the surrounding areas of Bardez and Salcete were taken over. These areas, including Tiswadi or Ilhas, were called the *Velhas Conquistas* or the Old Conquests as they were acquired by the Portuguese early on. In time, more territories were added and these were collectively known as the *Novas Conquistas* or the New Conquests.[73] These included Ponda which was acquired from the Marathas in AD 1763. From the ruler of Sonda, they got Sanguem, Quepem as well as Canacona in AD 1764. Between AD 1781 and 1788, they got from the Bhosles of Sawantwadi, the territories of Pernem, Sattari and Bicholim.[74] All these regions together would later comprise the state of Goa.

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[68] Haroon Khan Sherwani, *Mahmud Gawan: The Great Bahmani Wazir* (Allahabad: Kitabistan, 1942), 157-58.

[69] Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory: Goa, Daman and Diu*, part 1: Goa, 133-34.

[70] Malekandathil, "Maritime Trade and Political Economy of Goa, 800-1500," 29.

[71] Kamat, "Historical Geography and Natural Resources," 15.

[72] P. D. Xavier, *Goa: A Social History 1510-1640*, 2nd ed. (Panaji, Goa: Rajhauns Vitaran, 2010), 8.

[73] Kamat, "Historical Geography and Natural Resources," 15-17.

[74] Xavier, *Goa: A Social History 1510-1640*, 8.

Nature and scope of the study

In the case of Goa, as with most places, the craftsmen and artisans were a part of the society. Their services were utilised in the rural as well as in the urban areas. This study attempts to look at the craftsmen in Goa and the surrounding areas which came under the control of the different rulers, based primarily in Goa, between AD 1000 to 1700. At different points of time, Goa and its surrounding regions formed part of the territory of rulers based in Karnataka and their feudatories based in the Goa region. This study utilises inscriptions of dynasties from Goa and certain surrounding regions which had come under their rule. It also looks at certain inscriptions which were issued by the overlords of the area. With the arrival of the Portuguese in the area, the study limits itself to AD 1700 to the Old Conquests which were under the Portuguese.

The inscriptions made mention of a number of craftsmen and artisans as participants in activities such as making donations and well as providing services. The copper-plates and stone inscriptions are themselves an evidence of the work done by metalsmiths and stonemasons in collaboration with scribes. An attempt will be made to study the caste status, social mobility and literacy of the craftsmen. The professionals also contributed to the economy in the form of taxes, which were levied on them. They also contributed to religious institutions. These aspects will also be looked at. The craftsmen and artisans also had a number of organisations which they were a part of. They also contributed to trade in the region. These aspects will also be studied. Further, the craftsmen were engaged in the building of temples and the carving of images. They were influenced by the designs of the surrounding regions. Some of these aspects will also be looked at.

During the Portuguese period, there are records which indicate that the craftsmen were involved in a number of activities. These will be studied. In the villages, the artisans were maintained by the village communities. The remuneration of these artisans will also be studied. During the sixteenth century, there were a number of legislations which discriminated against the non-Christians. This study will attempt to examine how far these affected the craftsmen communities. The craftsmen contributed to minting, shipbuilding and metal works. These will also be looked at. There are archival records which provide details of the craftsmen. These include their use by the state as well as by the religious orders in Goa. In the urban areas, there was significant

control of the craftsmen by the state. A number of rules and regulations had to be followed by the craftsmen to carry out their trade. These aspects will also be studied.

Theoretical Framework

There are some works which deal with the craftsmen and artisans in the Indian context. Carla M. Sinopoli has discussed craft production activities under the Vijayanagara empire. An attempt is made to study those who controlled the activities of craft production. The state played an important role in craft production. Besides the state, there were a number of elites and other leaders, who played a part in the economy as well as in the political sphere. The elites consumed goods produced by the craft producers. The craft producers also received patronage from the higher classes. The demand for goods led some of the craft producers to raise their economic standard of living. This also had an impact on their social status. The elites also benefitted through craft production. They were able to tax the materials and the finished goods. Only a portion of the taxes collected went to the administrators and rulers. A large portion of the taxes went to the temples. Many of the temples employed a large number of craftsmen. Thus, taxes generated from craft production were vital to the economy. Important relations such as those between the producers and the state, temples and merchants have been studied.[75]

Vijaya Ramaswamy has looked at textiles and weavers in south India from the tenth to the seventeenth centuries. The rulers were patrons of the weavers and traders which led to an improvement in their economic status. Economic mobility was an important factor in social mobility among the weavers. This led to clashes between different castes. The study emphasises the relation between economic power and social mobility. The relation between the left-hand or *idangai* and the right-hand or *valangai* castes was also seen.[76]

Vijaya Ramaswamy informed that the social status of the craftsmen changed over time. This depended upon the material with which they work on. In ancient India, wood was the preferred building material. Thus, the *takshakas* or carpenters enjoyed a relatively higher place in society. However, over time, the use of stone became popular.

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[75] Carla M. Sinopoli, *The Political Economy of Craft Production: Crafting Empire in South India, c. 1350-1650* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 2-5.

[76] Vijaya Ramaswamy, *Textiles and Weavers in Medieval South India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1985), 3-4.

Due to this, the *shilpis* or stonemasons came to enjoy a prominent position.[77] Vijaya Ramaswamy has also focussed on the Vishwakarma craftsmen in early medieval peninsular India. The artisans inscribed their names with suffixes which were usually the names given to Brahmins. It is believed to be evidence of Sanskritisation.[78]

Ram Sharan Sharma has discussed aspects of serfdom in the north Indian context, wherein artisans were transferred in religious donations to the donee. However, an inscription from Kharepatan dated AD 1008 of Rattaraja was also used as an example to inform that such a practice took place in the region.[79] These same Kharepatan plates dated AD 1008 are of Rattaraja of the South Konkan Silaharas.[80] He has also discussed the feudalisation of commerce and crafts in relation to north India. This took place when income which was intended for the state and derived from craft production and commercial activities, was diverted to the temples.[81]

Eugenia Vanina has studied the situation of the craftsmen in medieval India from the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Based on the level of production, there was a categorisation of craft production. In one case, agriculture was the central occupation. Some craft items were produced for use by the family. In another case, craft production was taken up to earn an additional income. There was another situation where craft producers were hereditary. They received a piece of land in return for their craft production services. Finally, there were the craft producers in the towns and cities. These were specialised craftsmen who produced goods of a high quality.[82]

Hiroshi Fukazawa in a study of the village servants in Maharashtra attempted to classify the village servants in the rural setting into the demiurgic labour and *jajmani* systems. This study looked at how the village servants were perceived through their relations with the village community and other individual villagers. Certain writers were of the opinion that the village servants performed duties for the entire village and

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[77] Vijaya Ramaswamy, "Sectional President's Address: Crafts and Artisans in South Indian History," *PIHC* 64th Session, Mysore (2003): 301.

[78] Vijaya Ramaswamy, "Vishwakarma Craftsmen in Early Medieval Peninsular India," *JESHO* 47, no. 4 (2004): 559.

[79] Ram Sharan Sharma, *Indian Feudalism c. AD 300-1200*, 3rd ed. (2006; repr., Delhi: Macmillan Publishers India Ltd., 2013), 199-200.

[80] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 183-85.

[81] Sharma, *Indian Feudalism c. AD 300-1200*, 202-04.

[82] Eugenia Vanina, *Urban Crafts and Craftsmen in Medieval India (Thirteenth-Eighteenth Centuries)* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 2004), 106-08.

were remunerated by the whole village. However, other writers were of the opinion that the village artisans performed services only to certain specific individuals or families. They did not serve the village as a whole.[83]

These different theories and ideas about the craftsmen and artisans in different parts of India have been used to understand the situation of the craftsmen and artisans in Goa and the surrounding regions, which were at some point of time under the rulers based in Goa.

Historiography

There are some works which deal with the history of Goa and the craftsmen and artisans in the region. One such work is the *Ethnography of Goa, Daman and Diu* by A. B. de Bragança Pereira. It provides details of the different artisan communities, the items which they made and their customs. It also provides information about the interactions between the different artisan communities.[84]

A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara is a work which details the history of Goa up to the Vijayanagara period. It also makes mention of the different communities of craftsmen and the caste system. This work discusses matters relating to different sculptures which were carved under different dynasties. It also provides information on the different styles of architecture and iconography utilised by the sculptors in their work. It also informs of some inscriptions which were engraved.[85]

The *Gazetteer of the Union Territory: Goa, Daman and Diu, part 1: Goa* is a work which provides details of the land and the people. It informs of the history of Goa from the earliest times. The history also includes the Portuguese period. There is mention of a number of inscriptions of the different dynasties which ruled the region.[86]

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[83] Hiroshi Fukazawa, "Rural Servants in the Maharashtrian Village - Demiurgic or Jajmani System?," in *The Medieval Deccan: Peasants, Social Systems and States: Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1991), 199-207.

[84] A. B. de Bragança Pereira, *Ethnography of Goa, Daman and Diu*, trans. Maria Aurora Couto (New Delhi: Penguin Books India Pvt. Ltd., 2008).

[85] V. R. Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara* (Panaji, Goa: Institute Menezes Braganza, 1999).

[86] Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory: Goa, Daman and Diu*, part 1: Goa.

George M. Moraes makes mention of the different branches of the Kadambas. He also refers to the Goa Kadambas. His work informs of inscriptions which indicate that craft production activities took place in the region.[87]

The work of B. H. Baden-Powell studies the *Foral* of the villages of Goa in the sixteenth century. The *Foral* was prepared under the Portuguese and provided details of life in the villages of Goa during those times as well as during the prior period. It informed that the village servants were maintained with the help of rent-free land grants. It also emphasised that unpaid labour could be exacted from the villagers in order to perform public works.[88]

A. S. Altekar makes mention of the village communities and its officials. It is a work which explores the working of the village communities in western India. The *balutedars* who were the village servants were paid in grain at the harvest time.[89]

Goa: Hindu Temples and Deities, vol. 1 by Rui Gomes Pereira discusses matters related to the different communities in Goa. It also informs that certain artisan communities worshipped their deities in certain temples in Goa.[90] *Goa: Gaunkari (The Old Village Associations), vol. 2* by the same author is another work which makes mention of the artisan and craftsmen communities. It discusses them in context of the village communities and the caste system. It also refers to payments made to the artisans.[91]

Textiles and Weavers in Medieval South India by Vijaya Ramaswamy makes mention of the weaver communities in southern India. Certain concepts like Sanskritisation have been discussed. The artisan communities had an improvement in their economic status. Due to this, they attempted to raise their social position.[92]

The study of Teotonio R. de Souza is important for the understanding of sixteenth and seventeenth century Goa. It informs that artisans in the villages had

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[87] George M. Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula: A History of Ancient and Mediaeval Karnataka* (Bombay: B. X. Furtado & Sons, 1931).

[88] B. H. Baden-Powell, "The Villages of Goa in the Early Sixteenth Century," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 32, no. 2 (April 1900).

[89] A. S. Altekar, *A History of Village Communities in Western India* (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1927).

[90] Rui Gomes Pereira, *Goa: Hindu Temples and Deities*, ed. A. Gomes Pereira, trans. Antonio Victor Couto, vol. 1 (Panaji, Goa: n.p., 1978).

[91] Rui Gomes Pereira, *Goa: Gaunkari (The Old Village Associations)*, ed. A. Gomes Pereira, trans. Angelo das Neves Souza, vol. 2 (Panaji, Goa: A. Gomes Pereira, 1981).

[92] Ramaswamy, *Textiles and Weavers in Medieval South India*.

namasy lands set apart for them. It also informs of the different items they produced for the village community. In the context of the city of Goa, there is important information about the municipal administration of the city. The Portuguese introduced into Goa the guild system as was prevalent in Lisbon. This work informs how the administration worked under the Portuguese and the new rules which were introduced. The craftsmen find mention in this work and it provides an insight into how they lived in those times.[93]

Conversions and Citizenry: Goa under Portugal 1510-1610 by Délio de Mendonça is a work which provides details of the religious aspect under the Portuguese. A number of agents played a part in the process of religious conversions. These included the king of Portugal, the officers of the state like the viceroys and governors, and finally the religious orders.[94]

Bosquejo historico das communidades das aldeas dos concelhos das Ilhas, Salsete e Bardez, vol. 1 by Filippe Nery Xavier, edited by José Maria de Sá makes mention of the village artisans in the rural setting. It provides details of the artisans during the time of the Portuguese.[95]

A Study on the Indo-Portuguese Coinage and the Working of the Goa Mint by Teotonio R. de Souza provides details of the mint in Goa. It informs of the different workers who were involved in minting operations.[96] *Contributions to the Study of Indo-Portuguese Numismatics* by J. Gerson da Cunha informs of the different types of coins which were issued under the Portuguese.[97] *Apontamentos numismaticos* by Sousa Viterbo is an article which informs of the craftsmen who were involved in the mint in Goa.[98] *Numismatica Indo-Portuguesa* by Manoel Joaquim de Campos is another work which discusses the different types of coinage present under the Portuguese.[99]

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[93] Teotonio R. de Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 2nd ed. (Saligão, Goa: Goa,1556 and Panjim, Goa: Broadway Book Centre, 2009).

[94] Délio de Mendonça, *Conversions and Citizenry: Goa under Portugal 1510-1610* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 2002).

[95] Filippe Nery Xavier, *Bosquejo historico das communidades das aldeas dos concelhos das Ilhas, Salsete e Bardez*, ed. José Maria de Sá, vol. 1 (Bastorá, Goa: Typographia Rangel, 1903).

[96] Teotonio R. de Souza, "A Study on the Indo-Portuguese Coinage and the Working of the Goa Mint," *The Indian Numismatic Chronicle* 10, pt. 1-2 (1972).

[97] J. Gerson da Cunha, *Contributions to the Study of Indo-Portuguese Numismatics* (Bombay: Education Society's Press, 1880; repr., New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1995).

[98] Sousa Viterbo, "Apontamentos numismaticos," *O Archeologo Português* (1st series) 7, no. 2 & 3 (February & March 1902).

[99] Manoel Joaquim de Campos, *Numismatica Indo-Portuguesa* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1901).

The article of C. R. Boxer entitled *Asian Potentates and European Artillery in the 16th-18th Centuries: A Footnote to Gibson-Hill* informs of metal works which were present in Goa. It informs that there were highly skilled workers under the Portuguese. One of these men, Manuel Tavares Bocarro was highly accomplished and even operated the foundry at Macau.[100] *Artes e industrias metallicas em Portugal: Serralheiros e ferreiros* by Sousa Viterbo provides the names of the different metal workers who contributed.[101]

Portuguese Society in the Tropics: The Municipal Councils of Goa, Macao, Bahia, and Luanda, 1510-1800 by C. R. Boxer depicts how the municipality in Goa worked. It informs of the representatives of the workers and the other members of the municipal council.[102]

These works briefly give an idea of the craftsmen and artisans communities in Goa. An attempt will be made to study these communities in a deeper manner.

Sources

This study makes use of unpublished as well as published primary sources. Inscriptions provide important evidence of the activities of different craftsmen. The *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas* provides details of the inscriptions of the Silaharas and is an important source for the study. This study makes mention of the North Konkan Silaharas, the South Konkan Silaharas as well as the Kolhapur Silaharas, who were present in the region. There are stone as well as copper-plate inscriptions which mention the craftsmen.[103]

The series of the *South Indian Inscriptions* provide inscriptions of the dynasties which controlled the region. The inscriptions include those of the Goa Kadambas, the Rashtrakutas, the Western Chalukyas and others.

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[100] C. R. Boxer, "Asian Potentates and European Artillery in the 16th-18th Centuries: A Footnote to Gibson-Hill," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 38, pt. 2, no. 208 (December 1965).

[101] Sousa Viterbo, *Artes e industrias metallicas em Portugal: Serralheiros e ferreiros* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1908).

[102] C. R. Boxer, *Portuguese Society in the Tropics: The Municipal Councils of Goa, Macao, Bahia, and Luanda, 1510-1800* (Madison and Milwaukee: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1965).

[103] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas.

The *Karnatak Inscriptions* series also provides information on the ruling dynasties. Information about taxes, the contributions of the artisan communities and the involvement of the trading classes can also be gleaned from these inscriptions.

There were also a number of inscriptions mentioned in the *Epigraphia Indica* series which have contributed to the understanding of the craftsmen and artisans. Detailed information regarding different inscriptions is present in this series. It allows for a study of the pre-Portuguese period. It also makes mention of the different craftsmen communities who contributed to the economy and to the society.

The *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* series makes a mention of inscriptions, some of which refer to the craftsmen communities. The *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* series also provides inscriptions of the different dynasties in the region. Some of these inscriptions inform of the names of the engravers of the records. They inform of the contributions which the different communities made to the temples and the state.

The *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque* series chronicles information of the orders of Afonso de Albuquerque. Some of these records make mention of the activities of the craftsmen. They inform that the craftsmen were paid in cash as well as in kind. They also name a number of craftsmen and their professions. It was seen that a number of craftsmen employed were Indians.

The *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental* series edited by J. H. da Cunha Rivara informs of the legislations passed during the Portuguese period. This series contains details of the kings of Portugal as well as the viceroys and governors in Goa. It informs of the different measures taken by the government in the administration. Some of these matters pertain to the craftsmen and artisans in Goa.

The *Documenta Indica* series edited by Josef Wicki is important for the study of the religious history during the Portuguese period. Some instances recorded made mention of religious conversions of different artisans and craftsmen.

O tombo do Estado da India by Simão Botelho which appears in *Subsidios para a historia da India Portugueza* and was edited by Rodrigo José de Lima Felner informs of the economic history during the Portuguese period. This work provides details of the salaries of the workers at the *Ribeira* at Goa.[104] *O orçamento do Estado da Índia 1571*

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[104] Simão Botelho, "O tombo do Estado da India," in *Subsidios para a historia da India Portugueza*, ed. Rodrigo José de Lima Felner (Lisboa: Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1868).

edited by Artur Teodoro de Matos also indicates important economic details of those times.[105]

The Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo in Lisbon contains records which makes mention of the craftsmen. These records inform of the names of the different professionals. There are also records wherein payments to different craftsmen have been made in cash as well as in kind.

The Historical Archives of Goa in Panjim is also an important source of information for the study of the Portuguese period. The *Livro das Monções do Reino* series of documents are important as they contain different matters pertaining to the administration of Goa. The *Registos gerais* and *Registo das cartas patentes* series of documents have also been consulted. They provide information on the licences which were issued to the craftsmen of Goa.

Foreign traveller accounts such as those of Jan Huyghen van Linschoten inform of the period under the Portuguese. It informs of Goa during the latter part of the sixteenth century. In the account, there is reference made to different craftsmen and artisans. The record provides an important account of the main streets of the city of Goa where a number of craftsmen had their workshops.[106]

The account of François Pyrard de Laval also provides an important first-hand account of the craftsmen in the beginning of the seventeenth century. There is an important description of the *Ribeira* where a number of craft production activities were carried out. The works at the *Ribeira* in Goa included shipbuilding, the minting of coins and the casting of cannons. There is also a detailed description of the craftsmen as they went about their duties.[107]

The work of A. Lopes Mendes entitled *A India Portugueza: Breve descripção das possessões Portuguezas na Asia, vol. 1* is important for the study of the Portuguese

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[105] Artur Teodoro de Matos, ed., *O orçamento do Estado da Índia 1571* (Lisboa: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, Centro de Estudos Damião de Góis, 1999).

[106] John Huyghen van Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies: From the Old English Translation of 1598*, ed. Arthur Coke Burnell, vol. 1 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1885).

[107] François Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil: Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619*, ed. and trans. Albert Gray and H. C. P. Bell, vol. 2 part 1 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1888).

period. The work provides details of the people who inhabited Goa.[108] *A India Portugueza: Breve descripção das possessões Portuguezas na Asia, vol. 2* by the same author makes mention of the preparation of iron in Goa and informs how the local artisans prepared the ore for use by the blacksmiths.[109]

Besides these sources, secondary sources were referred to at the Krishnadas Shama Goa State Central Library, Panjim. The Xavier Centre of Historical Research, Porvorim and the Goa University Library were also consulted. The Karnatak University Library in Dharwar, the library of the Deccan College Post Graduate and Research Institute in Pune, the library of the University of Mumbai, the University of Mysore Library and the Mangalore University Library were also visited.

Chapters

This study consists of eight chapters. Included are three chapters which deal with aspects related to the pre-Portuguese period and three chapters which study the Portuguese period.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

This chapter looks at the political and geographical setting, nature and scope of the study, the theoretical framework, historiography, the sources utilised and a brief outline of the contents of the chapters involved in the study.

Chapter 2 - Pre-Portuguese period: Aspects of society

This chapter looks at the different craftsmen and their caste identities. The Vishwakarma Panchalas and the Rathakaras are looked at. Concepts like Sanskritisation and its appearance in Goa will also be seen. Some of the craftsmen referred to myths which indicated that they initially had a high status and thereafter suffered a fall in their fortunes. The use of certain names by the craftsmen community may also point to Sanskritisation. These ideas will be explored. Usually, crafts were transmitted in a hereditary manner down the generations. It was noticed that some craft producers had epithets to their names which suggest that they were literate. These will be studied in

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[108] A. Lopes Mendes, *A India Portugueza: Breve descripção das possessões Portuguezas na Asia*, vol. 1 (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1886).

[109] A. Lopes Mendes, *A India Portugueza: Breve descripção das possessões Portuguezas na Asia*, vol. 2 (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1886).

detail. Evidence of serfdom, feudalisation of crafts and commerce as well as the presence of forced labour among the artisan and craftsmen communities in the Goa region will be looked at.

Chapter 3 - Pre-Portuguese Period: Economic life and taxation

The craft producers in the region were associated with different craft groups which are believed to have been craft guilds. Besides the craft guilds, there were trade guilds which were active in the region. Goa and the surrounding region also had significant maritime trade. There were ships which visited the region for trade. There were different communities of merchants who were involved in this trade. Some of these aspects will be seen. Craft production was taken up to meet the need of maritime trade. It was also noticed that a number of merchants who were involved in trade managed to accumulate political power. The situation in Goa will be studied. The craft producers were involved in the payment of taxes as well. These aspects will also be discussed. The different taxes levied as well as the payments to the craft producers in the region will also be seen.

Chapter 4 - Pre-Portuguese period: Industries, influence and contributions

Certain activities where the craftsmen were employed, such as in the minting of coins, the carving of hero-stones, *sati*-stones and *nishidhi*-stones will be seen. The craftsmen were also involved in the construction of memorial structures. It was noticed that the styles of the craftsmen were influence by the different dynasties and the surrounding regions. This will be looked at in detail. The knowledge of the craftsmen regarding iconography will also be studied. They would have also been involved in the crafting of weapons as well as in the building and maintenance of different religious structures. The craftsmen would have provided their services to the rulers, elites as well as the common people. These aspects will be studied in detail.

Chapter 5 - Portuguese period: Social and religious aspects

The distribution of land under the *comunidades* and land allotted to the craftsmen in the rural setting will be discussed. The demiurgic labour and *jajmani* systems will also be seen. The arrival of the Portuguese and the situation of the craftsmen will be studied. It was noticed that a number of people provided help to Afonso de Albuquerque in the conquest of Goa and even later. The contributions of the

craftsmen communities will be looked at. There were a number of Portuguese craftsmen in Goa. There is also record of a number of Indian craftsmen who worked under the Portuguese. Some of these records and some works carried out in Goa will be studied. Over time, different legislations were issued which caused difficulties to the people. The effect of these on the craftsmen communities will be studied. It was also noticed that a number of members of the craftsmen communities converted to Christianity. Some of these records will examined. The effects of the Inquisition on the craftsmen communities will also be looked at.

Chapter 6 - Portuguese period: Some areas of craft production

Some important production activities of the craftsmen will be studied. The mint and its staff, moneylending, salaries of certain craftsmen, shipbuilding and craftsmen on board ships will be seen. Also, other industries like metal and weapon manufacture, gunpowder manufacture, jewellery and precious stones and some aspects of painting and cartography will also be looked at. Some other crafts production activities like those of the goldsmiths, carpenters, washermen and others will be seen. People involved in the working of the printing press in Goa will also be looked at. The use of stonemasons in the production of secular and religious structures and items will be studied. The construction of some structures and inscriptions in the surrounding territory which would later come under the Portuguese will also be looked at. The Indo-Portuguese style which developed and the intermingling of styles in religious art, due to the use of craftsmen will also be studied.

Chapter 7 - Portuguese period: Craftsmen in the urban setting and theoretical aspects

The presence of the craftsmen and artisans in the urban setting will be seen. The presence of possible caste conflict will also be studied. The migration of craftsmen into Goa will be looked at. Some records of the emigration of the craftsmen communities to the surrounding regions will also be seen. Unpaid and forced labour and the use of slave labour in Goa will also be discussed. The manumission of slaves of the craftsmen communities will also be looked at. The guild organisation under the municipality of Goa, the administration of the craft guilds, the examination of craftsmen, including Hindu craftsmen will be looked at. Some of the craftsmen who left their identifying marks, symbols and signatures on documents will also be seen. The presence of the

craftsmen communities in welfare organisations will also be studied. The categorisation of non-agricultural production and the diversification of craft production will be studied. The self-sufficiency and disintegration of the village communities will also be discussed.

Chapter 8 - Conclusion

This chapter deals with the findings of the study. There is also mention of areas which this work has not looked at and the possibility for further research.

Chapter 2
Pre-Portuguese period: Aspects of society[1]

The craftsmen and artisans were an important part of society. Caste played a significant role in the status hierarchy of the craftsmen. There were certain Vishwakarma Panchalas who claimed a higher caste status. There are a number of records which provide the names of the artisans. Among them, there were also a few women who were involved in craft production. Crafts were transmitted down the generations. Certain craftsmen were highly skilled and a number of them were literate as well. The craftsmen were also involved in the making of copper-plate and stone inscriptions. These inscriptions were found in Sanskrit, Kannada and Marathi. Some artisans were transferred to the donee in inscriptions. In certain cases, revenue from craft production was allocated to the temples. The practice of forced labour was also known.

Craftsmen and artisans

The craftsmen and artisans comprised of professionals who included the *sonars* or goldsmiths, *sutars* or carpenters and *lohars* or blacksmiths. There were also the *modvol* or *parits* or washermen, *kumbhars* or potters, *kansars* or coppersmiths, *mahars* or basket-makers and *chamars* or cobblers.[2]

The word *sonar* referred to the goldsmith and it originated from the Sanskrit *suvarnakar*. They are similar to the Brahmins with regards to their customs. They wear the sacred thread and are known as Daivadnya Brahmins.[3] The families of this community usually have the surname Shet. This name is from the Sanskrit word

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[1] Certain sections of this chapter have appeared in the following journal article by the author in requirement of the Ph.D. degree: Christopher H. de Souza, "Craftsmen and Some Social Aspects in the Goa Region (AD 1000 to 1510)," *The Quarterly Review of Historical Studies* 58, no. 1 & 2 (April 2018-September 2018): 9-24.

[2] A. B. de Bragança Pereira, *Ethnography of Goa, Daman and Diu*, trans. Maria Aurora Couto (New Delhi: Penguin Books India Pvt. Ltd., 2008), 26-27.

[3] Pereira, *Ethnography of Goa, Daman and Diu*, 40.

shresthin.[4] They also have the surname Chatim.[5] It is also noticed that some village communities have the Daivadnya Brahmin goldsmiths as members. This would mean that they had settled in Goa quite early on.[6] In Kansarpale in the taluka of Bicholim, the Daivadnya Brahmin goldsmith community worship the deity Kalika Devi.[7] In the Kalika temple, the *sonars* are the confraternity members or *mahajans* of the temple.[8] In some temples, the *purush* was considered to be the image of an original ancestor. The goldsmiths have their *purush* in the temple of Mhalsa as well as in the temple of Kalika at Kansarpale.[9]

In Goa, the carpenters are known as *thavaya*. The carpenter is also known as the *thovi*. This term is derived from the Sanskrit *sthapati* which refers to an architect. In the temples, they were involved in the carving of pillars and ornamental ceilings.[10] The carpenters are also called *sutars* and the sacred thread was also worn by them.[11] Their surname of Chari shows that they are the Panchalas. During the Portuguese period, a number of carpenters left Goa. They established themselves in the neighbouring region of Karwar. These places also included Sirsi and Bhatkal.[12]

In the village of Cuncolim in the taluka of Salcete, the blacksmith is known as *kammar*. This is a Kannada word.[13] The blacksmiths are also called *lohars* and the sacred thread is also worn by them.[14] In Goa, the blacksmiths and the carpenters are also called *mesta*.[15] The word *mesta* (*mest*) was derived from the Portuguese term

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[4] S. S. Desai, "An Ethnological Study of Goan Society," in *Goa: Cultural Trends (Seminar Papers)*, ed. P. P. Shirodkar (Panaji, Goa: Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum, Government of Goa, 1988), 36.

[5] Rui Gomes Pereira, *Goa: Gaunkari (The Old Village Associations)*, ed. A. Gomes Pereira, trans. Angelo das Neves Souza, vol. 2 (Panaji, Goa: A. Gomes Pereira, 1981), 45.

[6] V. R. Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara* (Panaji, Goa: Institute Menezes Braganza, 1999), 55.

[7] Pratima Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade* (Panaji, Goa: Goa Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 2009), 128.

[8] Pereira, *Ethnography of Goa, Daman and Diu*, 40.

[9] Anant Ramkrishna Sinai Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa: From 10000 B.C. to 1352 A.D.*, ed. Nandkumar Kamat and Ramesh Anant S. Dhume, 2nd ed. (Panjim, Goa: Broadway Book Centre, 2009), 188.

[10] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 55-56.

[11] Pereira, *Ethnography of Goa, Daman and Diu*, 40.

[12] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 56.

[13] Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa: From 10000 B.C. to 1352 A.D.*, 45.

[14] Pereira, *Ethnography of Goa, Daman and Diu*, 40.

[15] Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa: From 10000 B.C. to 1352 A.D.*, 45.

mestre.[16] The word *mestre* in Portuguese meant a teacher or master.[17] The word *mestre* or *mester* was also used in the sense of a master craftsman.[18] The carpenters have their *purush* or image of an original ancestor in some temples which is called *mestancho purush*. In these temples, the *mest* or carpenters are the *mahajans*.[19]

The sculptors are called *sthapatis* or architects. They may have had knowledge of the *vastu-shilpa* texts and the *Samarangana Sutradhara*. They were involved in the building of temples, some of which have survived.[20] The undated Degave inscription informs of the construction of a temple which is believed to have been built between AD 1174 and 1176.[21] This Degave inscription informs that Kamaladevi was the wife of Sivachitta Permadideva of the Goa Kadambas. She ordered the construction of the temple of Kamala-Narayana and Mahalakshmi at Degave. Tippoja and his son, the *pratapa sutradhari* Bagoja constructed the temple. The inscription speaks highly of Tippoja. It informs that he had knowledge of fine arts and the *shastras*. Holoja, who was the father of Tippoja, was also an expert in the building of shrines and sculpting. Holoja was the *sutradhari* of Huvinabage. Tippoja was the *sutradhari* of Bankeswaradeva.[22] An inscription from Tambur gives the names of those who built the *nakara-jinalaya* there. These were the architects, Jatoja and his sons named Keta and Mudda who were involved in the construction.[23] With Goa under the Portuguese, a number of sculptors migrated to other parts of south India including the Uttara Kannada region.[24]

The coppersmiths in Goa are known as *kansar*. This term is derived from the Sanskrit word *kasyakar*. They were involved in the production of copper utensils for

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[16] Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa: From 10000 B.C. to 1352 A.D.*, 187.

[17] D. José de Lacerda, *A New Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1871), 613.

[18] F. J. Caldas Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Lisboa: Typographia da Parceria Antonio Maria Pereira, 1925), 286-87.

[19] Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa: From 10000 B.C. to 1352 A.D.*, 187-88.

[20] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 54-57.

[21] S. G. Kadamb, *Sources of History of the Kadambas of Goa: Inscriptions* (Panjim, Goa: Broadway Publishing House, 2013), 293.

[22] J. F. Fleet, "Some Further Inscriptions Relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa," *JBBRAS* (Old Series) 9, no. 27 (1870): 295.

[23] S. L. Shantakumari, *The Kadambas of Goa & Their Inscriptions* (Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, 2015), 66.

[24] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 57.

the everyday needs of the people. They also produced copper bangles. They probably obtained the ore necessary for their work from mines in Bijapur and Dharwar. However, it is believed that with the breakup of the Bahmani empire and the difficulties in obtaining raw materials, they probably turned to making bangles of glass. The coppersmiths in the village of Keri in the taluka of Ponda were known to produce glass bangles.[25] They also perform the thread ceremony like the Panchalas.[26]

In Goa, the washermen are known by the name of *modvol*.[27] They are also known as *madival* which is a Kannada word.[28] The potters are called *kumbhars*. The term was derived from a combination of two words. *Kumbh* in Sanskrit refers to a container of water. *Kar* refers to the one who manufactured it.[29] The *mahars* make items of bamboo. They are also involved in the removal of the bodies of dead animals. They lived in areas away from the village. A tradition informs that the Dhangars descending the Ghats and arrived in the Konkan. When they went back, they informed of the region they had seen. The *mahars* were impressed by the description of the region. They crossed the Ghats and made the Konkan their home.[30] The *chamars* are involved in tanning hides. They are of low caste status and are considered to be of the same status as the *mahars*.[31]

Caste

The word caste is derived from the Portuguese word *casta* meaning breed. When the Portuguese arrived in the Malabar, they found that the locals were divided into hereditary groups which had a certain grading. The Portuguese referred to these as castes.[32] Caste was studied by a number of people. One view was that race played an

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[25] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 56-57.

[26] Desai, "An Ethnological Study of Goan Society," 37.

[27] Pereira, *Ethnography of Goa, Daman and Diu*, 26.

[28] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 60.

[29] Pereira, *Ethnography of Goa, Daman and Diu*, 42.

[30] Pereira, *Ethnography of Goa, Daman and Diu*, 48.

[31] Pereira, *Ethnography of Goa, Daman and Diu*, 47-48.

[32] Émile Senart, *Caste in India: The Facts and the System*, trans. E. Denison Ross (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1930), 1.

important part in the development of castes. Another view was that different occupations led to the formation of castes.[33]

In Goa, the four *varnas* of the caste system were arranged in a graded order. The Brahmins were at the top. They were followed by the Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras.[34] Those of the fourth *varna* were also known as the *chaturtha*. It is believed that they usually helped the traders and agriculturalists. There were also caste divisions determined by the occupations of the people. These occupational groups were also in the *chaturtha varna* category. These professionals included the goldsmiths, blacksmiths, potters and washermen.[35]

The caste system is static and there were limitations on matrimonial alliances and social interactions. There was a restriction on the acceptance of food from a member of a different caste. A person born in one caste could not change it and it was based on heredity. There was a ranking of the *varnas* and the various castes in a hierarchy.[36] It was only the Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas who could perform the thread ceremony. The ceremony was considered to be a second birth. Thus, these three castes were considered to be the *dvijas* or twice born.[37] The Shudras were not accorded this status. Another division developed below the Shudras and these were the untouchables. Their category was considered to be the most inferior.[38]

The *smritis* inform that the activities of the Brahmanas should be centred around religious duties. But, authors like Yajnavalkya and others differed in their views. They opined that during times of difficulties, the Brahmanas could take up other professions. Certain Brahmanas were involved in farming. Other Brahmanas may have taken up positions in the government. The Kaseli inscription of Bhoja II informs of a Brahmana engraver. It states that he was a *vipra* or Brahmana.[39] This inscription dated AD 1191

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[33] G. S. Ghurye, *Caste and Race in India*, 5th ed. (1969; repr., Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 2008), 114.

[34] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 45.

[35] Shantakumari, *The Kadambas of Goa & Their Inscriptions*, 112.

[36] Ram Sharan Sharma, *Perspectives in Social and Economic History of Early India*, 2nd rev. ed. (1995; repr., New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 2003), 49.

[37] F. E. Keay, *Ancient Indian Education: An Inquiry into Its Origin, Development, and Ideals* (London: Oxford University Press, 1918), 27.

[38] Romila Thapar, *The Penguin History of Early India: From the Origins to AD 1300* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2003), 124.

[39] Vasudev Vishnu Mirashi, ed., *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1977), lviii-lix.

of the Kolhapur Silaharas informs that the Brahmana Vamiyena engraved it.[40] This would indicate that some Brahmins were also involved in crafts such as the engraving of inscriptions.[41]

In Goa, certain professionals perform the thread ceremony just like the Brahmins. However, they are not looked upon as Brahmins. These include the *sonars* or goldsmiths, *lohars* or blacksmiths and *sutars* or carpenters. The *kansars* or coppersmiths also claim the same status as the *sonars* or goldsmiths. However, their position is not accepted by all. Apart from the goldsmiths, blacksmiths and carpenters, all the artisans are considered to belong to the caste of the Shudras. They are subdivided as per professions which include the *modvol* or washerman, the *kumbhar* or potter, the *kankonnkar* or bangle seller, the *shimpi* or tailor, the *kharvi* or fishermen and others.[42] The *mahars* and the *chamars* formed the lowest group and were considered to be untouchables.[43]

Vishwakarma

Tvashtri was a Vedic god who was considered to be a craftsman due to the skill he possessed. His origin in uncertain, however, later he is identified as Vishwakarma.[44] The *Manasara* informs of the divine architects. These four included Vishwakarma, Tvashtri, Maya and Manu. It is said that they originated from the four faces of Brahma. It further informs that the son of Vishwakarma was the *sthapati*, the son of Tvashtri was the *vardhaki*, the son of Maya was the *sutragrahin* and the son of Manu was the *takshaka*.[45] The *sthapati* was an architect or mason.[46] The *vardhaki* was a carpenter.[47]

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[40] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 267-73.

[41] Souza, "Craftsmen and Some Social Aspects in the Goa Region (AD 1000 to 1510)," 13.

[42] Rui Gomes Pereira, *Goa: Hindu Temples and Deities*, ed. A. Gomes Pereira, trans. Antonio Victor Couto, vol. 1 (Panaji, Goa: n.p., 1978), 28-29.

[43] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 62.

[44] Lionel D. Barnett, *Antiquities of India: An Account of the History and Culture of Ancient Hindustan* (London: Philip Lee Warner, 1913), 28.

[45] R. N. Misra, *Ancient Artists and Art-Activity* (Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1975), 34.

[46] D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1966), 323.

[47] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 364.

The *sutragrahin* was a surveyor as well as a designer.[48] The *takshaka* was a carpenter.[49] However, there is also a view which informed that the five original craftsmen emerged from the five faces of a universal essence known as Visvabrahma. These were Visvajna who was a goldsmith, Manu who was a blacksmith, Tvashtri who was a coppersmith, Maya who was a carpenter and Shilpi who was a sculptor.[50] It is also noted that one view indicated that these five entities were the five sons of Vishwakarma. It was from these five sons of Vishwakarma that the goldsmith, blacksmith, brazier, carpenter and stone-carver of the Kammalar artisan community claim to have originated.[51]

In a study of south Indian craftsmen, the Vishwakarma Panchalas claim that they descended from Vishwakarma, the divine architect. The *Vishwakarma Puranam* in the Tamil language is a compilation of myths. The author of the work is unknown. Some of these myths are from pre-Vijayanagara times. The text is believed to have been written in the eighteenth century and has some references to the East India Company. The text informs that the universe was formed by Brahma and Vishwakarma. It goes on to mention that Vishwakarma was born wearing the sacred thread which the Brahmins used. This shows that the Panchalas claimed Brahmin status. There are also inscriptions which allude to this divine origin. An inscription dated AD 1177 from Macherla of the district of Guntur of Andhra Pradesh mentions the connection between Brahma and the Vishwakarma community. It informs that the smiths were the descendants of Vishwakarma. It also informs that Vishwakarma was the son of Brahma.[52] It was noticed that the craftsmen in India have the belief that the skills they possess originated from Vishwakarma.[53]

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[48] Misra, *Ancient Artists and Art-Activity*, 12.

[49] Vijaya Ramaswamy, "Vishwakarma Craftsmen in Early Medieval Peninsular India," *JESHO* 47, no. 4 (2004): 558.

[50] Jan Brouwer, "The Visvakarma Worldview," in *Prakrti: The Integral Vision*, ed. Baidyanath Saraswati, vol. 1: Primal Elements: The Oral Tradition (New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts and D. K. Printworld (P) Ltd., 1995), 76.

[51] Vijaya Ramaswamy, "Artisans in Vijayanagar Society," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 22, no. 4 (December 1985): 430.

[52] Vijaya Ramaswamy, "Sectional President's Address: Crafts and Artisans in South Indian History," *PIHC* 64th Session, Mysore (2003): 303-04.

[53] Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *The Indian Craftsman* (London: Probsthain & Co., 1909), 73.

Panchalas and Rathakaras

In the context of medieval south India, the community was the centre of identity for the craftsmen. This was in the place of caste. Although there were differing *jatis* and professions, the craftsmen identified themselves as belonging to the Kammalar in the Tamil region. In the Andhra region, they were known as the Panchanamuvaru. They were known as the Panchala in the Karnataka region. At times, they were also called the Rathakara or known as the Kammala-Rathakara. In present times, they are called the Vishwakarma. They claim to be descendants of the divine architect Vishwakarma.[54]

In ancient India, during the period up to c. 800 BC, the performance of laborious tasks was not looked down upon. The Rathakara was one professional who had a high standing in society. The chief of the guild of the Rathakaras was a member of the twelve *ratnins* or courtiers.[55] The king performed a ceremony called the *rajasuya*. This ceremony was meant to give him divine power. The king had to make offerings to the twelve *ratnins*. This was done to obtain their allegiance.[56]

The word Rathakara meant a chariot-maker. It is difficult to determine the caste status of the Rathakara. The *Purvamimamsa Sutra* of Jaimini informs that the Rathakara were a caste called the Saudhanvanas. They did not belong to the three *varnas* nor were they Shudras. Their status was lower than the upper three *varnas*. The *Baudhayana Grhyasutra* informs that they could perform the *upanayana* or the ceremony with the sacred thread.[57]

The changes in time also determined the status of craft producers. In ancient north India, carpenters were known as the Rathakaras and had a privileged position. However, in the aftermath of the Mauryan age, the stonemasons or *shilpis* came to the forefront. This was because construction made use of stone instead of wood.[58] Those who claimed the status of the Rathakara included the silversmiths, goldsmiths, stonecutters, carpenters and masons. A Chola inscription informs that groups of inferior artisans came together to claim a higher status. This inscription dated AD 1118 informs

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[54] Ramaswamy, "Sectional President's Address: Crafts and Artisans in South Indian History," 302-03.

[55] A. S. Altekar, *Education in Ancient India* (1934; repr., Delhi: Isha Books, 2009), 168-69.

[56] Thapar, *The Penguin History of Early India: From the Origins to AD 1300*, 121.

[57] Vivekanand Jha, "Status of the Rathakara in Early Indian History," *PIHC* 34th Session, Chandigarh, Vol. 1 (1973): 104-05.

[58] Ramaswamy, "Sectional President's Address: Crafts and Artisans in South Indian History," 301.

that in order to be recognised as the Rathakara, the Brahmana assembly was petitioned by the village artisans. Due to this, the Brahmanas met and deliberated. The Brahmanas went through the views of Kautilya, Yajnavalkya and others. They finally came to a decision that the artisans were the Rathakara. It was also felt that the artisans could be allowed to carry out the thread ceremony. This was because they had descended from a father who was a Mahisya and a mother who was a Karana.[59] A Mahisya was considered a Vaishya while a Karana was a Shudra. In medieval India, the Kammala-Rathakara were considered to be a mixed caste which was *anuloma*. In such a case, it was seen as born to a low caste mother and a high caste father. However, there appears to have been some confusion. The *Vaikansa Dharmasutra* mentioned them as being *pratiloma*. This meant born to a high caste Vaisya mother. The father was a low caste Shudra.[60] An *anuloma* relation was one between a man of a high caste and a woman of a low caste. A *pratiloma* relation was one between a woman of high caste and a man of a low caste. Between these two types of relations, *anuloma* relations were considered better.[61] Thus, it is observed that the craftsmen and artisans usually occupied the lower levels in the community. But, attempts were made by them to improve their status in the society.[62]

The Vishwakarma Panchalas are a group of five professionals. These were the goldsmith, brass-smith, carpenter, mason and blacksmith. Records of this community initially appear in the eighth-ninth centuries AD. It is thought that the services of these professionals were utilised by the Cholas for temple construction during this time.[63] In Goa, the community of the Panchalas are made up of the goldsmiths, coppersmiths, carpenters, stoneworkers and blacksmiths.[64]

In a study of the Vishwakarma community in present day Karnataka, Jan Brouwer informed that not all goldsmiths, ironsmiths, braziers, carpenters and stonemasons are considered to be the Vishwakarma. Only craftsmen who practiced

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[59] Ramendra Nath Nandi, *State Formation, Agrarian Growth and Social Change in Feudal South India c. AD 600-1200* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributors, 2000), 195.

[60] Ramaswamy, "Vishwakarma Craftsmen in Early Medieval Peninsular India," 566.

[61] Raju Kalidos, "Varna Samkara in Ancient India," *QJMS* 75, no. 4 (October-December 1984): 375.

[62] Souza, "Craftsmen and Some Social Aspects in the Goa Region (AD 1000 to 1510)," 11.

[63] Ramaswamy, "Sectional President's Address: Crafts and Artisans in South Indian History," 303.

[64] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 54.

these crafts and who belonged to certain sub-castes are the Vishwakarma. For example, the goldsmith communities of the Sonargara caste are not considered to be the Vishwakarma. Similar is the case with the goldsmith community of the Uttaradi Akkasaliga caste. Further, even among the Vishwakarma sub-castes, there were differentiations. An example from southern Karnataka is of the Vishwakarma sub-caste of the Sivachars. Until the recent past, the community of the Sivachar goldsmiths did not have matrimonial alliances with members of the community of the Sivachar ironsmiths and carpenters. The community of the Sivachar founders and sculptors had matrimonial alliances only within their community. Also, the Sivachar goldsmiths of certain districts did not have matrimonial links with Sivachar goldsmiths of particular districts.[65]

In modern Karnataka, it was noticed that the craftsmen community of the Vishwakarma claim the status of Brahmins or even higher than the Brahmins. There are certain communities of metalsmiths and carpenters who are not a part of the community of the Vishwakarma. These craftsmen claim Kshatriya status. There is the community of the Gadulia Lohars, who had originally migrated from Rajasthan, who claim the Kshatriya status. There are the blacksmith communities of the Bayala Kammaras and the Gejjagara Kammaras. They consider themselves as original blacksmiths. They state that the community of the Vishwakarma learnt the skills of craftsmanship from them. Therefore, these two communities claim to be higher in status when compared to the Vishwakarma.[66] Thus, it can be seen that the Panchalas are not one uniform community. There are even differences between different communities practicing the same craft.

Difference between the craftsmen and the artisans

In medieval peninsular India, there were differences among the Panchalas. The distinction between these craftsmen and artisans depended on their geographic location and also the work they performed. In terms of location, in the villages the artisans faced immobility and less changing living conditions. However, there was economic security.

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[65] Jan Brouwer, "The Latecomers: A Case Study of Caste and Sub-Caste of Goldsmiths in Karnataka, South India," in *Ritual, State and History in South Asia: Essays in Honour of J. C. Heesterman*, ed. A. W. van den Hoek, D. H. A. Kolff, and M. S. Oort (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), 433-34.

[66] Jan Brouwer, *Coping with Dependence: Craftsmen and Their Ideology in Karnataka (South India)* (Leiden: Repro Psychologie and Karstens Drukkerij, 1988), 29-30.

The craftsmen who were based in the towns had a greater number of customers, were more mobile and could increase their earnings. However, there was always a possibility of losing the support of their patrons. There was also the danger of economic ruin of the towns and a loss of their livelihoods when ruling dynasties collapsed. In terms of the work they performed, there were artisans who worked at a lower level for a lower salary. At the higher level, there were master craftsmen who employed others under them.[67] Further, the craftsmen and artisans were both skilled and involved in the production of goods. But the craftsmen were probably highly skilled when compared to the artisans. Also, the artisans produced goods for the locality and these were on a larger scale to satisfy the requirements of the society.[68]

Social mobility and legitimation

At certain points of time, economic power led some groups to attempt to raise their social status. This process was called Sanskritisation. The process of Sanskritisation took different forms. In one case, there was Brahmanisation. In this situation, the practices of the Brahmins were imitated. Therefore, there was the use of *gotras*. The sacred thread was also used by them.[69] In this process, the customs and lifestyles of the higher castes were emulated by the lower castes.[70] In Goa, the *sonar* or goldsmith, the *sutar* or carpenter and the *lohar* or blacksmith perform the thread ceremony. However, they are not seen as being of the Brahmin caste.[71] The texts of the Brahmins inform of these communities as being at a lower level in the society. However, the elites were probably patrons of the goldsmiths and stonemasons. The services of the goldsmiths were probably utilised by the state in the production of coins. They also produced items for the temples. The goldsmiths as well as the stonemasons were familiar with Sanskrit and the *shilpa* texts. These factors probably facilitated their economic rise. Their claim to a higher status would have been because of this.[72]

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[67] Ramaswamy, "Vishwakarma Craftsmen in Early Medieval Peninsular India," 551-52.

[68] Nagendra Rao, *Craft Production and Trade in South Kanara: A.D. 1000-1763* (New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, 2006), 37.

[69] Vijaya Ramaswamy, *Textiles and Weavers in Medieval South India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1985), 52.

[70] M. N. Srinivas, "A Note on Sanskritization and Westernization," in *Caste in Modern India and Other Essays* (1962; repr., Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1964), 44.

[71] Pereira, *Goa: Hindu Temples and Deities*, vol. 1, 28-29.

[72] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 54-55.

The other direction which Sanskritisation took was when there was a rejection of the rituals and the practices of the Brahmins. The Vira Shaiva or Lingayat movement took this path.[73] This movement came into prominence under Basava in the region of Karnataka in the twelfth century AD. They did not follow the caste hierarchy and the marriage of widows was permitted. Instead of the cremation of the dead, they practiced the burial of the bodies. The weavers as well as tanners, shoemakers and traders like the *Banajigas* of Ayyavole and others joined the movement.[74] The traders of Ayyavole were an important commercial establishment. Their centre of operations was in Ayyavole or modern Aihole in the district of Bijapur. They operated in parts of Karnataka. They also spread to the Tamil, the Telugu and to other regions.[75] Around the twelfth century AD, there was a growth in production which led to the rise of the artisans and traders. However, it is believed that the religious authorities like the temples and the Brahmanas usurped their benefits. The Vira Shaiva movement included the goldsmiths and carpenters. There were also basket-makers, tanners and others who joined the movement. Initially, the movement opposed the caste hierarchy. However, gradually the movement followed the social hierarchy of earlier times.[76]

It was noticed that medieval texts tended to lower the status of the different craft producers. The commentary of Bharuci on the *Manusmriti* indicated that the artisans were inferior to the Shudras and that they were untouchables. In south India, the artisans and others attempted to safeguard their interests in different ways. In north-western Karnataka, there was the Vira Shaiva or Lingayat movement. In the case of the Tamil region, there were the divisions of the *idangai* and the *valangai* castes. Usually the traders and artisans made up the left-hand or *idangai* castes. The agriculturalists generally comprised the right-hand or *valangai* castes.[77] By the end of the eleventh century AD, these divisions were seen in the Coromandel region. Gradually, these were seen in a large part of the Tamil region. These divisions were also noticed in southern

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[73] Ramaswamy, *Textiles and Weavers in Medieval South India*, 52.

[74] Ramaswamy, *Textiles and Weavers in Medieval South India*, 60.

[75] P. B. Desai, *Jainism in South India and Some Jaina Epigraphs* (Sholapur: Jaina Samskrti Samrakshaka Sangha, 1957), 318.

[76] Nandi, *State Formation, Agrarian Growth and Social Change in Feudal South India c. AD 600-1200*, 196-97.

[77] Nandi, *State Formation, Agrarian Growth and Social Change in Feudal South India c. AD 600-1200*, 191-92.

Karnataka. The Kannada terms used were *edagey* for the left-hand division and *balagey* for the right-hand division.[78]

In the context of medieval south India, it was noticed that, in certain parts, there was the growth of temple building activities. This was performed by the artisan groups. It is believed that this was connected to the claim for higher status by them.[79] Also in the context of medieval south India, it is believed that the artisan and trading castes improved their economic situation in the eleventh century AD. The association of the artisans with the Brahmanas also led them to claim a higher position in society. The artisan castes of the *idangai* division have a myth to explain their origin. A thirteenth century AD Chola inscription from the taluka of Lalgudi in the district of Tiruchirapalli informs of this. It states that demons were disturbing the sacrifices of the Brahmanas. The artisans emerged from a fire-pit or *agni-kunda* to protect the Brahmanas. The artisans were linked to Kasyapa. Kasyapa was the priest of Vishwakarma. Thereafter, king Arindama settled the Brahmanas in a new village. The chariot which brought the Brahmanas, also had the artisans who escorted them in the back of the chariot. Throughout the journey, the artisans looked after the umbrellas and slippers of the Brahmanas.[80] In Goa, one myth informs that around c. 2500 BC, the Saraswat Brahmins were led by Parashurama to Goa. The craftsmen community accompanied them to help them perform their sacrifices. These craftsmen who accompanied them were the Panchalas.[81] In Goa, the *idangai* and *valangai* divisions are not seen during this period. However, with this myth, there is evidence of Sanskritisation wherein the craftsmen attempted to raise their social status by associating themselves with the Brahmins.[82]

Downfall of the Vishwakarmas and other artisans

There are myths which inform of the ruin of the Vishwakarmas. One myth in the *Vishwakarma Puranam* informs that in the beginning, there were five artisans who worked for the gods. They would only have to imagine an object and it would be

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[78] Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999), 174.

[79] Arjun Appadurai, "Right and Left Hand Castes in South India," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 11, no. 2-3 (April 1974): 225-26.

[80] Nandi, *State Formation, Agrarian Growth and Social Change in Feudal South India c. AD 600-1200*, 192-93.

[81] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 54.

[82] Souza, "Craftsmen and Some Social Aspects in the Goa Region (AD 1000 to 1510)," 12.

created. These five artisans were celibate. The fort where they lived had certain properties which did not allow their enemies to destroy it. This fort could only be destroyed with the burning of a particular type of grass and this was a secret. One of their enemies, the king Karunakaran devised an idea to gain entry and defeat them. He placed beautiful women within the fort. In certain versions of this myth, these women are said to be Brahmin women. The Vishwakarma married these women and broke their celibacy. From their husbands, these women learned the secret of how the fort could be destroyed. The women then passed this information to Karunakaran. Finally, the fort was destroyed. Thereafter, the Vishwakarma spread to different places and they had to work for ordinary people. They were then involved in the construction of houses and temples. They also took part in the manufacture of weapons and household goods.[83]

In modern Karnataka, a study of the Vishwakarmas revealed that despite their claim to Brahmin status, this was not accepted by the Brahmins. Jan Brouwer informed that the Vishwakarmas recount the fort story to indicate their loss of recognition as Brahmins. There are a number of variants of the story of the fort among the Vishwakarmas of Karnataka. Among the Konnurpanta sub-caste of the Vishwakarmas, there is a similar story of the fort, however, there are some differences. It informs that the Vishwakarmas lived a pious life in a fort. The people in this kingdom were content and consisted only of the Vishwakarmas. The fort in which they lived in was indestructible, except when a particular type of grass was burnt. They had knowledge of the Veda as well as scientific knowledge. The kings as well as the Brahmins disliked the Vishwakarmas. A Brahmin named Vedavyasa devised an idea to gain entry into the fort. Vedavyasa had a beautiful daughter who participated in the plan. A Vishwakarma gatekeeper fell in love with her and allowed her entry into the fort. She learned the secret of how the fort could be destroyed from him and informed her father. Vedavyasa then destroyed the fort. Due to this, a number of Vishwakarma fled, while some remained behind.[84] The story indicates that at one point of time, the Vishwakarmas were rulers. This was when they lived independently in their fort and were rulers of their kingdom which consisted only of the Vishwakarmas. They had knowledge of the

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[83] Ramaswamy, "Sectional President's Address: Crafts and Artisans in South Indian History," 305.

[84] Jan Brouwer, "The Story of the Magnetic Fort," in *The Leiden Tradition in Structural Anthropology: Essays in Honour of P. E. de Josselin de Jong*, ed. R. de Ridder and J. A. J. Karremans (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1987), 161-63.

Veda and thus were Brahmins. Thereafter, due to the attack on the fort, there was division amongst themselves.[85]

Another myth informs that due to a problem with balance, the Vindhyas in the south had begun to move downwards. As a solution, sage Agastya was instructed by Shiva to hold the Vindhyas. However, Agastya agreed to perform the task only on one condition. The condition was that he had to see his own face. In this situation, Vishwakarma came to the assistance of Shiva. Vishwakarma polished brass and reflected the face of Agastya so he could see himself. As the condition was fulfilled, Agastya had to go to the south. However, Agastya cursed Vishwakarma and his descendants. Henceforth, they would be spread to different places. These myths attempt to indicate that the Vishwakarma community held a high status. However, there was a decline of their position.[86]

There is also a mention of the fall of the craftsmen in the *Brahmavaivarta Purana*. It informs that Vishwakarma was cursed by an *apsara* and was sent to earth. Here, a Brahman woman gave birth to him. He excelled in the field of architecture. Through relations with a Shudra woman, he had nine illegitimate sons. These included the blacksmith, metalworker, potter, weaver, garland maker and the conch-shell carver. Also included were the goldsmith, architect and painter.[87] The *Brahmavaivarta Purana* is believed to have been composed in the eight century AD. However, it is thought to have undergone changes over the years until the sixteenth century and possibly later. The text is believed to have been authored in Bengal.[88] This record makes mention of other artisans as well. It indicates that such myths depicting the fall in fortunes of the craftsmen were prevalent in other regions as well.

Names of craftsmen

In ancient India, Manu informed that even when people were named, it was to be done as per the *varna* system. The top three *varnas* were to be named as per their

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[85] Brouwer, "The Story of the Magnetic Fort," 166.

[86] Ramaswamy, "Sectional President's Address: Crafts and Artisans in South Indian History," 305-06.

[87] Stella Kramrisch, "Traditions of the Indian Craftsman," in *Traditional India: Structure and Change*, ed. Milton Singer (1975; repr., Jaipur: Rawat Publications, 2018), 20.

[88] R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, 2nd rev. ed. (1975; repr., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited, 2017), 166.

status. The Shudras were to be provided names which were detestable or referred to work. However, it is not known if these rules were practiced.[89] In the records from the regions of Andhra and Karnataka, the engravers names had *achari*, *oja* and *bhatta* added to them. The craftsmen in south India were Shudras, however, they used names that were given to Brahmins. It is believed that this points to Sanskritisation.[90] The term *oja* was from the Sanskrit word *upadhyaya*.[91] *Upadhyaya* referred to a teacher. It was also a designation of the Brahmanas.[92] The use of this word in their names also points to Sanskritisation.

In medieval south India, the masons used suffixes for their names like *achari* and *bhatta*. It is thought that this may have indicated an improvement in their social position.[93] Vijaya Ramaswamy informed that *acharya* and *achari* had the same meaning.[94] However, Ramendra Nath Nandi had a different opinion. He informed that there was a difference in their meanings. Usually, Jains and Brahmins had the title of *acharya*. The word *achari* or *acharin* meant a person who pursued a particular practice. Due to this, the craftsmen who followed their craft may have used *achari* in their names. In south India, a number of inscriptions which make mention of the smiths and masons, inform that *achari* was their family name.[95]

A hero-stone from Bailandur dated AD 1115 informed that the sculptor was Kampanoja.[96] A hero-stone from Kavalwad dated AD 1127 of the reign of Jayakesi II belonging to the Goa Kadambas informed that Kaliyanna died fighting. Malevanayaka, who was Kaliyanna's elder brother, got the hero-stone set up in memory of his brother.

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[89] Ram Sharan Sharma, *Sudras in Ancient India: A Social History of the Lower Order down to circa A.D. 600*, 3rd rev. ed. (1990; repr., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited, 2014), 219-20.

[90] Vijaya Ramaswamy, "Name Analysis of Craftsmen in Inscriptions (South India 7th to 12th Centuries)," *PIHC* 52nd Session, New Delhi (1991-1992): 175-76.

[91] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 222.

[92] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 350.

[93] Nandi, *State Formation, Agrarian Growth and Social Change in Feudal South India c. AD 600-1200*, 199.

[94] Ramaswamy, "Name Analysis of Craftsmen in Inscriptions (South India 7th to 12th Centuries)," 175.

[95] Nandi, *State Formation, Agrarian Growth and Social Change in Feudal South India c. AD 600-1200*, 199-200.

[96] R. N. Gurav, "Hero-Stones of the Kadambas of Goa," in *Memorial Stones: A Study of Their Origin, Significance and Variety*, ed. S. Settar and Gunther D. Sontheimer (Dharwad: Institute of Indian Art History, Karnatak University; New Delhi: South Asia Institute, University of Heidelberg, Germany: 1982), 221.

The inscription on the hero-stone also stated that Bharatoja sculpted it.[97] A hero-stone from Goa dated AD 1380 of the period of Harihara II of the Vijayanagara dynasty was found.[98] It informed that a person died in a battle. The inscription further informed that the sons of the person who lost his life had the stone set up. The hero-stone was engraved by Anamandacharya.[99] A hero-stone dated AD 1427 near a Jain *basti* in Kaikini in the district of North Kanara belonging to the rule of Devaraya II, the Vijayanagara king was found. It refers to a clash between *mahapradhana* Timmana Odeya and Ummaramarakala of Honnavara. Ummaramarakala was the *hanjamana* chief. It informs that a hero died in the conflict. Maniyachari, who was the son of Ramachari, carved the hero-stone.[100] The suffixes such as *oja*, *achari* and *acharya* were used by the stoneworkers in the Goa region. Further, the word *achari* and *acharya* were possibly similar in meaning as pointed out by others. In the Goa region, these names were used by the craftsmen.[101]

In Goa, the goldsmiths call themselves Daivadnya Brahmins. In some parts of south India, the goldsmiths are referred to as *achari* which is the word denoting a teacher or a religious head. The carpenters are known as *chari* while in Uttara Kannada they are also called *achari*. The use of these terms for the community indicates their claim to the position of Brahmins. It is believed that royal patronage and the knowledge of Sanskrit and other texts led the goldsmiths and *sthapatis* to strengthen their economic position. This played a part in their claim to a higher status in society. In Goa, the surname of a number of carpenters is Chari and this indicates their claim to the Panchala status.[102]

The Pattanakudi plates dated AD 988, thought to be of Avasara II of the South Konkan Silaharas informs that some merchants paid a certain amount of money to Avasara II to obtain some rights. Devapala wrote the inscription while it was Vajjada who engraved it.[103] An inscription was found at Thana of Arikesarin of the North

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[97] R. N. Gurav, "The Kadambas of Goa and Their Inscriptions" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Karnatak University, 1969), 181-82.

[98] H. Heras, "Goa Viragal of the Time of Harihara II of Vijayanagara," *QJMS* 19, no. 1 (July 1928): 1-2.

[99] Heras, "Goa Viragal of the Time of Harihara II of Vijayanagara," 28.

[100] R. S. Panchamukhi, ed., *KI*, vol. 1 (Dharwar: Karnatak Research Office, 1941), 110-11.

[101] Souza, "Craftsmen and Some Social Aspects in the Goa Region (AD 1000 to 1510)," 13.

[102] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 54-56.

[103] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 178-80.

Konkan Silaharas dated AD 1017. It informs that a priest was granted three villages by the king. The scribe of the inscription was Joupaiya. The engraver of the inscription was Manadharapaiya, who was the son of Vedapaiya.[104] The Asoge plates dated AD 1134 of Jayakesi II of the Goa Kadambas records the grant of a village. Jayakesi II granted it for the maintenance and worship of a temple. It further stated that the inscription was drafted by Somadeva. The artisan Ramadeva was the engraver.[105] Thus, these records indicate that the name *oja* and *achari* were not used by all engravers in the region.[106]

Women artisans

There are some cases in south India where women were involved in craft production. In the case of the blacksmiths, the women were not allowed to forge the iron. However, they were permitted to work the bellows. But in the case of the Bayala Akkasaliga, which was a goldsmith community, it appears that the women were trained in the craft in addition to the men. This community was a nomadic or migratory community.[107] In a study of modern Karnataka, it was noticed that the Bayala Akkasaliga community allowed the women of their community to practice the craft. However, the Bayala Kammara community, who were migrant blacksmiths, did not allow the women of their community to practice the craft to a large extent. Jan Brouwer believed that, among other reasons, one reason may have been due to the location of raw materials. Gold was usually found in rivers. Iron was usually procured from forested regions.[108] It was noticed that women were usually involved in crafts where raw materials were near rivers or water bodies. They were usually not involved in crafts where raw materials were obtained from forests or hills.[109]

In the context of medieval south India, there is mention of female cooks being employed. An inscription dated AD 1158 from Talagunda in Karnataka makes mention

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[104] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 44-46.

[105] G. H. Khare, "Asoge Plates of Kadamba Jayakesin (II); Saka 1055," *EI* 26 (1941-42): 304-07.

[106] Souza, "Craftsmen and Some Social Aspects in the Goa Region (AD 1000 to 1510)," 13.

[107] Ramaswamy, "Sectional President's Address: Crafts and Artisans in South Indian History," 308.

[108] Jan Brouwer, "A Matter of Liminalities: A Study of Women and Crafts in South India," *Man in India* 67, no. 1 (March 1987): 12-14.

[109] Brouwer, "A Matter of Liminalities: A Study of Women and Crafts in South India," 10.

of this. It informs that three women were employed to prepare meals in an *agrahara* or a Brahmin settlement. It is believed that these women were Brahmins widows, as food prepared by other castes would not have been accepted.[110] An inscription dated AD 978 from Sogal in the district of Belgaum of the rule of Taila II of the Western Chalukya dynasty records the name of a woman called Kanchikabbe. It is recorded that she made a donation to the *sattra* or alms-house which was attached to the temple. One of the clauses informed that the food in the alms-house was only to be prepared by a Brahmin woman.[111]

Women generally did not take part in sculpting. However, one inscription dated to the eleventh century AD below the image of Uma Mahesvara from Gadag in the district of Dharwar, informs of a woman involved in sculpting. It records that it was made by the wife of Vavanarasa, who was called Revakabbarasi. Another inscription dated to the twelfth century AD from Kalkeri in the district of Dharwar makes mention of another woman. It records that Saraswati Gandidasi Malloja made the sculpture of Suryadeva. There are a few examples where women were involved in craft production.[112]

Also in the case of south India, the making of garlands was usually done by women. An inscription from the eleventh century AD in a temple from the district of South Arcot informs that the services of women were utilised in the production of flower garlands.[113] There is mention of a woman called Basantikabbe in an inscription from Jinnur. She is referred to as a *malakara* who made flower garlands.[114] The Tambur inscription of Jayakesi II of the Goa Kadambas dated AD 1144 informs that a Jain *nakara-jinalaya* was built by a family of artisans. It mentions the names as Jatoja and his wife Jakauve. Keta and Mudda were their sons.[115] The names of women artisans

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[110] Vijaya Ramaswamy, "State of the Field: Perspectives on Women and Work in Early South India," in *Women and Work in Precolonial India: A Reader*, ed. Vijaya Ramaswamy (New Delhi: SAGE Publications India Pvt Ltd, 2016), 236.

[111] Lionel D. Barnett, "Sogal Inscription of the Reign of Taila II Saka 902," *EI* 16 (1921-22): 1-2.

[112] Ramaswamy, "Sectional President's Address: Crafts and Artisans in South Indian History," 308-09.

[113] Ramaswamy, "State of the Field: Perspectives on Women and Work in Early South India," 228.

[114] Shantakumari, *The Kadambas of Goa & Their Inscriptions*, 125.

[115] Gurav, "The Kadambas of Goa and Their Inscriptions," 176-78.

and those involved in craft production do appear to a small extent in certain inscriptions.[116]

Status of the basket-makers

A stone inscription in the Prince of Wales Museum dated AD 1185-86 informs of Jayakesi III of the Goa Kadambas. It makes mention of a grant of an area of twenty-six hands in length and twenty-one hands in breadth. This land was near the temple of god Shrinigeshwar. The *kuriba shrinigas* who were basket-makers from Navilur agreed to this donation. The donation was made with their permission and the land was given for the building of a school.[117] The community of basket-makers of the *kuriba shrinigas* finds mention as the *kuriba senigas* while the god Shrinigeshwar is mentioned as Senigesvara as per another reading of the same inscription.[118] The inscription indicates that although the basket-makers were of a low caste status, their consent was still taken when their land was used for some construction work.

In the Shantadurga temple in Kavlem in the taluka of Ponda, the *mahars* are allowed to enter the temple up to the *garbhakuda* or *sanctum sanctorum*. This practice takes place on the day after the annual festival. The *mahars* have been bestowed this honour. It is believed that in the seventeenth century, due to oppression under the Portuguese, the deity had been transferred from Kelshi or Quelossim in the taluka of Salcete, and a new area was sought for the construction of a temple. It is believed that the *mahars* vacated their land to allow for the temple to be constructed.[119] Here is an example of the *mahars* being remembered for parting with their land. This indicates that despite the low social status of some of the artisans, their rights were still respected and the benefits they provided to the society were acknowledged.

Conflict between the communities

The inscription on a copper-plate dated AD 1348 refers to a disagreement between two communities. This was between the communities of the goldsmiths and

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[116] Souza, "Craftsmen and Some Social Aspects in the Goa Region (AD 1000 to 1510)," 13-14.

[117] V. T. Gune, ed., *Gazetteer of the Union Territory: Goa, Daman and Diu*, part 1: Goa (1979; repr., Panaji, Goa: Gazetteer Department, 2009), 109.

[118] George M. Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula: A History of Ancient and Mediaeval Karnataka* (Bombay: B. X. Furtado & Sons, 1931), 473-74.

[119] Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa: From 10000 B.C. to 1352 A.D.*, 79.

the Vanis or Vaishyas of Khandepar in the taluka of Ponda. The origin of the disagreement is unknown, however the Vanis of Savoi-Vere got involved in order to assist. A resolution between the communities was reached in a meeting held in the temple of Gananath in Khandepar. For their help in resolving the matter, the goldsmiths assured the Vanis of Savoi-Vere that during their naming and marriage ceremonies, they would be honoured.[120] This inscription gives the names of a number of people who were involved. These included Nag Sette, Bhair Sette, Gomo Sette and Lakhu Sette who were all from the city of Govêm or Goa Velha. Other people present included Sat Sette, Soma Sette and Vazar Sette from Naroa.[121]

The copper-plate dated AD 1352 of Nagadeva makes mention of the coppersmiths. The village of Kansarpale in the taluka of Bicholim is named after the coppersmiths. The temple of Kalika in the village had this community as the *mahajans*. However, it is believed that with the downfall of the Bahmani empire and a difficulty in procuring ore from those areas, the economic prosperity of the coppersmiths declined. It appears that they lost their position as *mahajans* of the temple in the fifteenth or sixteenth century to the goldsmiths due to economic hardships.[122] Thus, we have some records of conflicts between the communities.

Craft transmission

In ancient India, the training of professionals like the sculptors, carpenters, goldsmiths and others took place through an apprenticeship. The *Narada Smriti* and other works refer to this process. Upon undertaking an apprenticeship, the student worked under a teacher. The teacher would offer free accommodation and train the apprentice for a certain number of years. If the apprentice learned the craft prior to the number of years usually required for the completion of the training, the apprentice would serve in the workshop of the teacher. The salary earned would be given to the teacher. At the end of the training, he could work for the teacher or look elsewhere for employment. Training was provided and the apprentice had to study Sanskrit works on iconography which were required for the occupation. The *shilpa-shastras* also focused

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[120] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 55.

[121] Panduranga Pissurlencar, "Inscrições Pre-Portuguesas de Goa," *OP* (2nd series) 22 (1938): 409.

[122] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 56-57.

on the moral development of the apprentice. Usually, a teacher was approached to carry out an apprenticeship in cases where home training was not possible. It was also done when a different profession, other than the family profession, was chosen. Otherwise, the usual mode of transmission of professions was hereditary. The head of the family passed down knowledge to the succeeding generations.[123]

In ancient and medieval Karnataka, the *sutradharas* carved sculptures and constructed temples.[124] The *sutradhara* was a mason or an engraver of inscriptions in stone.[125] Whether there were schools, which taught the principles of architecture, is not known. However, the creation of sculptures and structures would have been possible only if there was an in-depth study of architecture. It is also likely that hereditary played an important role in passing down the crafts from one generation to the next. The inscriptions make mention of the genealogy of the sculptors and architects indicating that families practiced the craft through the generations.[126]

Rajan Gurukkal informed that the production of knowledge was an essential feature of most people. The craftsmen produced and transmitted their knowledge in their hereditary crafts. This was transmitted orally and through training down the generations.[127] The artisanal castes were endogamous. This allowed for the skills and craft to pass down the generations.[128] An inscription of the Chalukya ruler Somesvara III from Dharwar informs that the engraver was Aloja. He was the son of Mudda Bammoja. It also informed that Jatoja was the grandfather of Aloja. This informs that craft production was passed down the generations.[129] The Kiruvatti hero-stone dated AD 1126 of the period of Jayakesi II of the Goa Kadambas refers to a person who died.

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[123] Altekar, *Education in Ancient India*, 186-93.

[124] S. L. Shantakumari, "The System of Education in Ancient and Medieval Karnataka," in *Epigraphy, Numismatics and Other Aspects in Karnataka (Papers Presented at the National Seminar on Archaeology, 1985)*, ed. D. V. Devaraj and Channabasappa S. Patil (Mysore: Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, 1995), 136.

[125] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 329.

[126] Shantakumari, "The System of Education in Ancient and Medieval Karnataka," 136.

[127] Rajan Gurukkal, "An Introductory Outline of Knowledge Production in Pre-Colonial India," *Indian Journal of History of Science* 51, no. 1 (March 2016): 10.

[128] Teotonio R. de Souza, "Rural Economy and Life," in *Goa through the Ages: An Economic History*, ed. Teotonio R. de Souza, vol. 2 (1990; repr., New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1999), 87.

[129] Ramaswamy, "Vishwakarma Craftsmen in Early Medieval Peninsular India," 561.

The son of the deceased got the hero-stone engraved. The architect involved was Kalidasoja who was the son of Varddhamanoja.[130]

The Degave inscription which is undated informs of the construction of a temple. It is believed to have been built between AD 1174 and 1176.[131] This inscription of the Goa Kadambas informs that Kamaladevi ordered the construction of the temple at Degave. It gives the names of those involved in the construction. It informs that Bagoja, the son of Tippoja, was called the *pratapa sutradhari*. Tippoja, the *sutradhari* of Bankeswaradeva was the son of Holoja, the *sutradhari* of Huvinabage who was skilled in building temples and carvings.[132] Huvinabage was Raibag in the district of Belgaum. Bankeswaradeva or the Lord Bankesa is believed to have been at Bankapur.[133] The *shilpa-shastras* make mention of the *sutradhara*. The *Manasara* goes on to inform that the *sutradhara* must have knowledge of the Vedas and Sastras.[134] The Degave inscription speaks highly of Tippoja stating that he was proficient in the *Bharatagama*, the *shastras* and the arts. Holoja, who was the father of Tippoja, was also an expert in the building of shrines and sculpting.[135]

An inscription from Kamadhanu dated AD 1171 of the time of Permadideva informs that some grants were made to the temple of Somanatha which was situated at Kamadhanu. It also informs that on the same day, *padavala* Udayaditya made a grant to god Mukesvara at Ogani. Ogani or modern Ugnikeri is located between Kalghatgi and Hubli. Some grants were also made to god Padavalesvara. The engraving of the inscription was done by Sovoja, who was the son of Malloja of Bankapura.[136] All these inscriptions give the names of family members which indicates that the craft was passed down the succeeding generations in the region.[137] Further, there is record of two craftsmen families with links to Bankapur.

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[130] Gurav, "The Kadambas of Goa and Their Inscriptions," 181.

[131] Kadamb, *Sources of History of the Kadambas of Goa: Inscriptions*, 293.

[132] Fleet, "Some Further Inscriptions Relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa," 295.

[133] R. N. Gurav, "Permadi Deva and Vijayaditya of Kadambas of Goa," *QJMS* 57, no. 1-4 (April 1966-January 1967): 20.

[134] Misra, *Ancient Artists and Art-Activity*, 39.

[135] Fleet, "Some Further Inscriptions Relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa," 295.

[136] Gurav, "Permadi Deva and Vijayaditya of Kadambas of Goa," 14.

[137] Souza, "Craftsmen and Some Social Aspects in the Goa Region (AD 1000 to 1510)," 14.

Professional hierarchy

In medieval peninsular India, professional hierarchy can be gleaned from some inscriptions. A carpenter was called a *takshaka*. One inscription called a carpenter the greatest of all *takshakas*. This points out that the person was a master carpenter.[138] An inscription dated AD 1147 of the reign of Jagadekamalla II of the Western Chalukya dynasty found in Lakshmeshvar informs that the inscription was carved by Chavoja. Chavoja is informed as being the oldest son of Jinnoja. Jinnoja is stated as being from Purigere. He is called a *ruvari-chakravartti*. This translated to emperor of stonemasons.[139] An inscription dated AD 1153 from Lakshmeshvar of the reign of Taila III of the Western Chalukya dynasty informs of some grants. It states that Rajoja did the carving. Rajoja was the son of Jinnoja. Rajoja was also Chava's younger brother. Jinnoja is called a world-famed and skilled engraver.[140] The undated Degave inscription of the Goa Kadambas informs of the construction of a temple which is believed to have been built between AD 1174 and 1176.[141] This inscription informs of those involved in the construction. It informs that Bagoja, the son of Tippoja, was called a *pratapa sutradhari*. Tippoja, the *sutradhari* of Bankeswaradeva was the son of Holoja, the *sutradhari* of Huvinabage.[142] The inscriptions indicate that the craftsmen were highly skilled and excelled in their craft. This can be seen by the epithets to their names which also indicate their status as master craftsmen.[143]

Literacy among the craft producers

In ancient India, there were numerous crafts practiced. Metal works find mention in the *Arthashastra*. However, there is no in-depth description of it. The Pali texts also mention a number of crafts. However, the details of craft production were not mentioned. The craft was usually transmitted down the generations in the family. Apprentices also would have received training from master craftsmen. This were done through instructions and practice. Unusually, the *shilpa-shastra* texts which relate to

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[138] Ramaswamy, "Vishwakarma Craftsmen in Early Medieval Peninsular India," 560.

[139] Lionel D. Barnett, "Three Inscriptions of Lakshmeshwar," *EI* 16 (1921-22): 45-52.

[140] Barnett, "Three Inscriptions of Lakshmeshwar," 35-44.

[141] Kadamb, *Sources of History of the Kadambas of Goa: Inscriptions*, 293.

[142] Fleet, "Some Further Inscriptions Relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa," 295.

[143] Souza, "Craftsmen and Some Social Aspects in the Goa Region (AD 1000 to 1510)," 14.

architecture and iconography would have been utilised by the higher castes. Ram Sharan Sharma informs that generally the craftsmen belonged to the Vaishya and Shudra castes and were not literate. Therefore, the craftsmen could not put down the techniques of their craft in the written form.[144]

In medieval northern India, Romila Thapar informs that texts like the *shilpa-shastras* were used in the building of temples. Since the status of the carpenters, stonecutters and other craftsmen was low, it is not known who wrote these texts. One suggestion is that these were written together with the Brahmins. However, there is no clear answer. If the *sutradharas* who supervised the building of the temples knew Sanskrit, there would have been an improvement in their status.[145]

With regards to the situation in medieval peninsular India, Vijaya Ramaswamy informs that some engravers inscribed their names. This indicates that they were literate. In the society, the Brahmins were generally literate. A large portion of the other groups were not. Further, the Shudras and the communities below them were not educated. However, it was noticed that the Kammala-Rathakara were usually literate. They not just incised the inscriptions but also made a mention of themselves in these inscriptions. The references to themselves are full of praise.[146]

An inscription dated AD 1010 of the rule of Vikramaditya V of the Western Chalukya dynasty found in Alur in the taluka of Gadag of the district of Dharwar informs that a monastery was granted some land. It records that Maruloja wrote the inscription and he was given the title of *prasada-chakravartti*.[147] This title translated to emperor of palaces.[148]

An inscription dated AD 1084-85 of the reign of Tribhuvanamalla II or Vikramaditya VI of the Western Chalukya dynasty was found in Hadali in the taluka of Nawalgund of the district of Dharwar. It records that Kavoja did the writing. Kavoja is referred to as a *vidyadhara* in architecture.[149] The *vidyadharas* referred to mythical

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[144] Sharma, *Perspectives in Social and Economic History of Early India*, 127-28.

[145] Thapar, *The Penguin History of Early India: From the Origins to AD 1300*, 476.

[146] Ramaswamy, "Vishwakarma Craftsmen in Early Medieval Peninsular India," 561.

[147] Lionel D. Barnett, "Alur Inscription of the Reign of Vikramaditya V: Saka 933," *EI* 16 (1921-22): 27-31.

[148] Barnett, "Alur Inscription of the Reign of Vikramaditya V: Saka 933," 31n3.

[149] K. B. Pathak, "An Old-Canarese Inscription at Hadali," *IA* 13 (1884): 91-94.

beings. However, the meaning of the term *vidyadhara* was a wisdom-bearer.[150] A stone inscription with no date and of the rule of Jagadekamalladeva of the Western Chalukya dynasty was found in Gudugudi in the taluka of Hangal. It records that when Hanumgal Five Hundred was governed by *dandanayaka* Sovarasa some dues were to be paid. The inscription goes on to mention that *lekhacharya* Bhairavoja did the engraving.[151] The Talale copper-plates dated AD 1110 of Gandaraditya of the Kolhapur Silaharas records that the grant was composed by the poet Damodara. It further mentions that the plates were written by the scribe Appoja.[152] The inscription speaks highly of Appoja. It informs that he was proficient in the principles of architecture and the knowledge of engraving. It is mentioned that he had written a number of inscriptions.[153] The Kannada word *kandarana* was used which referred to engraving.[154]

The Nandikatta hero-stone dated AD 1138 of the period of Jayakesi II of the Goa Kadambas informs that Nariya Bonna fought the enemy and was ultimately killed. His younger sister got the stone sculpted in his memory. For this work, Haloja received two gold coins as payment. Haloja is referred to as a gifted son of goddess Saraswati.[155] In the *puranas*, the goddess Saraswati was connected with speech and music. The deity was also associated with knowledge.[156]

A hero-stone inscribed in characters of the twelfth century AD in the Kannada language was found at Betgi in the taluka of Ponda in Goa. It does not contain the name of the dynasty. It records the death of the *prabhu* of Bettagi named Jaya. It goes on to inform that the writer of the inscription was the *sutradhari* Tikkama.[157] From these inscriptions, it is noticed that the titles and descriptions referring to some of the

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[150] Rabindra J. Vasavada, "Ethereal Imagery: Symbolic Attributes in the Art and Architecture of India," in *Spirits in Transcultural Skies: Auspicious and Protective Spirits in Artefacts and Architecture Between East and West*, ed. Niels Gutschow and Katharina Weiler (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2015), 174.

[151] N. Lakshminarayan Rao, ed., *ARIE for 1947-48*, In Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy (1945-1952) (repr., New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1986), Appendix B, No. 197, 24.

[152] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 207-09.

[153] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 214.

[154] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 214n1.

[155] Gurav, "The Kadambas of Goa and Their Inscriptions," 188-89.

[156] Catherine Ludvik, *Sarasvati: Riverine Goddess of Knowledge: From the Manuscript-Carrying Vina-Player to the Weapon-Wielding Defender of the Dharma* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 127.

[157] G. S. Gai, ed., *ARIE for 1965-66*, In Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy (1964-1965) (repr., New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1986), Appendix B, No. 54, 43.

craftsmen in the region indicate that they were literate.[158] The use of certain terms for the craftsmen also indicate that they were well-versed and knowledgeable in their craft.

Language in inscriptions

Some inscriptions in the region made use of Sanskrit. The Thana copper-plates dated AD 1017 of Arikesarin of the North Konkan Silaharas were found in Thana. The inscription made use of the Sanskrit language and utilised Nagari characters.[159] The Chinchani plate dated AD 1034 of the reign of Chhittaraja of the North Konkan Silaharas was found in the district of Thana. The inscription was in Sanskrit with Nagari characters. It was partly in prose and partly in verse form.[160] The grant dated AD 1107 of Tribhuvanamalla of the Goa Kadambas made use of the Sanskrit language with Nagari characters.[161] The Talale plates dated AD 1110 of Gandaraditya of the Kolhapur Silaharas made use of Sanskrit along with Nagari characters. It was in part verse and part prose.[162] The Goa plates of king Shashthadeva II of the Goa Kadambas were found in Goa. It was inscribed in Sanskrit with Nagari characters.[163] This inscription is dated to AD 1250.[164] The Panjim plates dated AD 1391 of the rule of Harihara II of the Vijayanagara dynasty made use of Sanskrit. It had Telugu and Nagari characters.[165]

There were certain inscriptions in the region where the Kannada language was used. The Miraj plates dated AD 1058 of Marasimha of the Kolhapur Silaharas records a grant by the ruler. The Sanskrit language and alphabets of Kannada characters were used.[166] An inscription from a slab in a Jain *basti* in Amminbhavi in the district of Belgaum makes use of the Kannada language. The inscription records that a Shiva

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[158] Souza, "Craftsmen and Some Social Aspects in the Goa Region (AD 1000 to 1510)," 18.

[159] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 44-46.

[160] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 71-72.

[161] P. B. Desai, "Copper-Plate Grant of Kadamba Tribhuvanamalla; Saka 1028," *EI* 30 (1953-54): 71-72.

[162] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 207-08.

[163] J. F. Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions: No. CLVIII. Goa Plates of Shashthadeva II - Kaliyuga 4348," *IA* 14 (1885): 288.

[164] J. F. Fleet, "Miscellanea: Calculation of Hindu Dates," *IA* 17 (1888): 300-01.

[165] S. S. Ramachandra Murthy, "Panjim Plates of the Time of Harihara II, Saka 1313," *EI* 42 (1977-78): 112.

[166] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 200-01.

temple was built by Sivadasa. Land was also granted for worship.[167] The date of the inscription was AD 1071. It also informed that during that period, Jayakesi I of the Goa Kadambas ruled at Gove. He was under Vikramaditya VI of the Western Chalukya dynasty.[168] A stone inscription bearing the dates AD 1142 and 1144 of Vijayaditya of the Kolhapur Silaharas was found in Miraj in the district of Sangli. The Kannada language was used. The characters were in old Kannada.[169] An inscription on a stone slab before the Siddhesvara temple in Siddhapur in the district of Belgaum was found. It made use of the Kannada language. It records that land and items for rebuilding of a temple and worship were gifted. The donors of the gift included the gardeners or *tontigas* of Hosavolala.[170] The inscription was of the period of Sivachitta Permadi of the Goa Kadambas. It was dated AD 1158-59.[171] An inscription in stone before a temple in Devara Hubballi was found. The language used is Kannada. It records that the *mahajans* of Huppavali built a temple. There was also a grant of shops and fields in order to conduct worship.[172] This inscription is dated AD 1206 and is of the period of Jayakesi III of the Goa Kadambas.[173] The Budarsingi inscription dated AD 1257 of Chattayyadeva or Shashtha of the Goa Kadambas was found outside the Hanuman temple. The temple is in the taluka of Hubli of the district of Dharwar. The language used is Kannada. The characters used are also Kannada. There is also a Sanskrit verse.[174]

There were some inscriptions in which the Marathi language was used. The Ballipattana plates dated AD 1010 of Rattaraja of the South Konkan Silaharas makes mention of certain grants. Sanskrit was used with Nagari characters. The inscription also utilised some Marathi words.[175] The stone inscription of Mandavi dated AD 1204 of Kesideva II of the North Konkan Silaharas was found in the district of Thana. The

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[167] G. Venkoba Rao, ed., *ARSIE for 1925-26*, In Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy (1922-1925) (1927; repr., New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1986), Appendix C, No. 431, 74.

[168] Rao, *ARSIE for 1925-26*, 93.

[169] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 241-42.

[170] Rao, *ARSIE for 1925-26*, Appendix C, No. 464, 78.

[171] Rao, *ARSIE for 1925-26*, 94.

[172] Rao, *ARSIE for 1925-26*, Appendix C, No. 434, 74.

[173] Rao, *ARSIE for 1925-26*, Appendix E, 82.

[174] R. N. Gurav, "Budarsingi Inscription of Kadamba Chattayyadeva, Saka 1179," *EI* 36 (1965-66): 164.

[175] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 193-94.

language used was Sanskrit in Nagari characters. The Marathi influence is seen in the inscription.[176] The stone inscription of Akshi dated to probably AD 1209 of Kesideva II of the North Konkan Silaharas was found in the district of Kolaba. It made use of the language of old Marathi with Nagari characters. There were also words in Sanskrit.[177] Inscriptions of the region made use of Sanskrit, Kannada and Marathi. The language used depended on the dynasty and the geographic location. Thus, the craftsmen in these regions were literate and had knowledge of the language to engrave the inscriptions.[178]

Production of inscriptions on copper-plates and stones

The *Yajnavalkya-smriti* thought to be written in the fourth century AD makes mention of the making of *raja-sasanas* or royal charters. The *Vishnu-smriti* believed to be of a date later than the *Yajnavalkya-smriti* also makes mention of it. At the time of making a grant, a document was prepared informing what the donee received. It also served as a record for future generations. This record was written on a *pata* or cloth or engraved on a *patta* or copper-plate. The minister for war and peace was the one who usually drafted the wording of the grant. The *Vasya-smriti* dated to the sixth century AD goes on further to inform that the draft was to be initially written with chalk on the floor or on a slab. The writing was then to be corrected and put on the desired material.[179]

The Kharepatan copper-plates dated AD 1008 of Rattaraja of the South Konkan Silaharas was made up of four plates. A ring held the plates together and some of the plates had engravings on both the sides. The ring had the figure of the mythical bird Garuda on it. The Garuda is depicted as a winged man in a squatting position with clasped hands. A serpent is seen under the wing of the left shoulder. The height of the ring and the Garuda is about twelve centimetres.[180] The Talale copper-plates dated AD 1110 of Gandaraditya of the Kolhapur Silaharas is made up of three plates. It contains an inscription as well as some images. It is noticed that south Indian inscriptions associated with land grants have these images. The image depicts a cow and a calf. The

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[176] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 165-66.

[177] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 167-68.

[178] Souza, "Craftsmen and Some Social Aspects in the Goa Region (AD 1000 to 1510)," 17.

[179] D. C. Sircar, "Inscriptions in Sanskritic and Dravidian Languages (In Chapter: Epigraphical Research by B. Ch. Chhabra, D. C. Sircar and Z. A. Desai, pages 207-232)," *Ancient India* 9 (1953): 218.

[180] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 183-85.

image of the cow denotes the land and its yield. The calf represents the donee. Royal authority is signified by a sword. Over all these, is the image of the moon and the sun. This denoted that the grant was to be enjoyed as long as the moon and the sun existed, which meant permanently.[181]

The copper-plate grant dated AD 1107 of Tribhuvanamalla of the Goa Kadambas consists of three plates. A ring along with a seal held the plates together. The seal contained the image of a lion and a legend.[182] The Asoge plates dated AD 1134 of Jayakesi II of the Goa Kadambas were a set of three plates. A ring along with a seal held them together. The seal contained the image of a boar.[183] The Gadivore plates dated AD 1262 of Shashthadeva II of the Goa Kadambas was found in Bandora in Goa. A ring with a seal held the plates together. The seal had the name of the ruler and the lion emblem.[184] The Panjim plates dated AD 1391 of the rule of Harihara II of the Vijayanagara dynasty consists of three plates. A ring along with a seal held the plates together. The seal has some images engraved on it. These included a human figure, a crescent moon and the sun.[185] The copper-plates have differently designed seals and images according to the dynasties in power. These copper-plates are an indication of the technique and skills of the craftsmen.[186]

Generally, it is believed that the services of partly literate or uneducated artisans were utilised to engrave copper-plates and stone. This is thought to have been the case as inscriptions ordered by individuals had a large number of mistakes. Usually, kings had trained engravers employed in their service. Important officers would write on the stone or copper-plates. This was usually with ink or a pointed instrument so that the engraver did not make a mistake.[187]

The Kharepatan inscription dated AD 1008 of Rattaraja of the South Konkan Silaharas only gives the name of the scribe. It states that it was Lokaparya, who was the

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[181] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 207-08.

[182] Desai, "Copper-Plate Grant of Kadamba Tribhuvanamalla; Saka 1028," 71-72.

[183] Khare, "Asoge Plates of Kadamba Jayakesin (II); Saka 1055," 304-06.

[184] G. S. Gai, "Gadivore Grant of Shashthadeva (II), Kali Year 4357," *EI* 34 (1961-62): 105-06.

[185] Murthy, "Panjim Plates of the Time of Harihara II, Saka 1313," 112.

[186] Souza, "Craftsmen and Some Social Aspects in the Goa Region (AD 1000 to 1510)," 16.

[187] Sircar, "Inscriptions in Sanskritic and Dravidian Languages (In Chapter: Epigraphical Research by B. Ch. Chhabra, D. C. Sircar and Z. A. Desai, pages 207-232)," 220.

son of Devapala.[188] An inscription of the rule of Jayakesi I of the Goa Kadambas from Ittagi in the district of Belgaum informs that Jayakesi I and a minster solved a problem relating to the collection of revenue of a village. They did this by visiting the area and delineating the village boundary. This event took place in AD 1062. It informs that the text was composed by Visvarupa. The text was written on the plates by Nagogi who also engraved them.[189] An inscription of the reign of Vikramaditya VI of the Western Chalukya dynasty in the Kannada language from the taluka of Bankapur records that a person made a grant when Vira-Nolamba-Pallava-Permanadi was ruling. It states that the details were written by the *pergade* Simgimayya on the stone with a chalk. The stone was then incised by Revavoja.[190] An inscription at the temple of Basavesvara dated AD 1144 from Ablur of the rule of Perma Jagadekamalla II of the Western Chalukya dynasty was found. It informs that the composition or writing was carried out by the poet Mahadevabhatta as well as Malliyana. The engraving of the same inscription was carried out by Satoja, who was the son of Lalara-Chandoja.[191] The word used for writing was *barapa*.[192] The word mentioned for engraving was *khandarane*.[193]

The Muragundi plates dated AD 1183 of Somesvara IV of the Western Chalukya dynasty found in the taluka of Athani of the district of Belgaum mentions that the composer was Agnisarman and the writer was Lakshmidhara. But, there are some copper-plate inscriptions which provide more information. Certain plates of Somesvara IV and the Kalachuris records the names of the composer, writer and engraver.[194] In certain Karnataka inscriptions the name of the composer is stated. There is also the record of the engraver. However, at times the name of the person who wrote the inscription on the stone with a pleasant handwriting is mentioned. Afterwards, the stonemason carved the inscription on the stone.[195] From records in the region, at times,

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[188] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 183-85.

[189] B. K. Thapar, ed., *Indian Archaeology 1974-75 - A Review* (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1979), 54.

[190] D. C. Sircar, ed., *ARIE for 1952-53*, In Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy (1945-1952) (repr., New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1986), Appendix B, No. 63, 33.

[191] J. F. Fleet, "Inscriptions at Ablur," *EI* 5 (1898-99): 232-34.

[192] Fleet, "Inscriptions at Ablur," 234n5.

[193] Fleet, "Inscriptions at Ablur," 234n7.

[194] R. N. Gurav, "Muragundi Plates of Somesvara IV," *JKU: SS* 1 (1965): 28-32.

[195] B. R. Gopal, ed., *Epigraphia Carnatica (New Series)*, vol. 2: Sravanabelagola (Mysore: Institute of Kannada Studies, University of Mysore, 1973), xciii.

it seems that three people took part in the work. These were the composer, writer and engraver. It is unknown as to why there is reference to a writer who wrote on the stone or copper-plates if the engraver was literate. The services of a writer on the copper-plate or stone may have been used as they had a handwriting that was pleasant as pointed out by others.[196]

Value of copper-plate and stone inscriptions

The items produced by the craftsmen in south India were practical and useful.[197] An inscription dated AD 1172 of the reign of Vishnuchitta Vijayaditya of the Goa Kadambas in the Narasimha temple in the taluka of Khanapur of the district of Belgaum was found. It informs that a village was given as a gift to a temple. It further informs that the inscription was got written on stone by Sankararya after he saw the copper-plate inscription.[198] The Panjim plates dated AD 1391 of the reign of Harihara II of the Vijayanagara dynasty records the grant of a village and taxes. It also informs that this was done after the copper-plates of the earlier rulers like the Kadambas were examined.[199] The copper-plates and stone inscriptions produced by the craftsmen were a vital source of information for the administrators. The above records indicate that the inscriptions were consulted. Thus, these items were useful.[200]

Production of goods

A study of Neolithic and Chalcolithic locations in the Deccan shows the presence of pottery and gold items. The presence of these articles since ancient times indicates that pottery and metal workers were present in the region.[201] There was the discovery of a basalt item having three moulds which was triangular in shape in an excavation in Chandor in south Goa. It had characters of the fourth century AD. It had a left facing swan as well as the figure of a four-handed goddess in a seated position.

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[196] Souza, "Craftsmen and Some Social Aspects in the Goa Region (AD 1000 to 1510)," 18.

[197] Ramaswamy, "Sectional President's Address: Crafts and Artisans in South Indian History," 301.

[198] B. R. Gopal and Shrinivas Ritti, *Summaries of Inscriptions (1943-44 to 1949-50)*, ed. P. B. Desai (Dharwar: Kannada Research Institute, Karnatak University, 1966), 12-13.

[199] Murthy, "Panjim Plates of the Time of Harihara II, Saka 1313," 112-15.

[200] Souza, "Craftsmen and Some Social Aspects in the Goa Region (AD 1000 to 1510)," 15.

[201] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 54.

Studies indicated that it was a goldsmith's mould.[202] This indicates that while some artisans may have accompanied the Saraswat Brahmins to the Konkan in c. AD 800, artisans were present in the region before this time.[203]

Copper-plates of the Bhoja ruler Devaraja belonging to c. AD 400 have been found. There was also a stone inscription of an unknown dynasty belonging to Simharaja in Arvalem which is believed to belong to c. AD 500.[204] There was a stone Gajalakshmi panel dated to the ninth century AD found at Carambolim. It depicts two elephants on a platform and a seated goddess.[205] As informed by others, all these items confirm that from early times, metal and stone workers also active in Goa.[206]

In south India, goods produced were utilised by the towns, the temples and their staff. There were craftsmen who were attached to the temples. Temple worship made use of silver and gold items. Silver and gold jewellery were used by the elites. Copper and brass items were utilised by the people. The royals also had a requirement for portrait sculpture.[207] Under the Vijayanagara rule, the carving of portraits of the royals was present. In Goa, one example is the portrait of Madhava mantri who governed Goa during the Vijayanagara rule. This portrait sculpture shows him with a bow, sceptre and a quiver of arrows. He is shown wearing armlets, anklets and a necklace.[208] Hence, the situation in Goa would have been the same as well. The craftsmen provided the diverse groups in society with different goods.[209]

Serfdom

In northern India, in the early medieval period, Lallanji Gopal informs of inscriptions which show the presence of serfdom. A twelfth century AD inscription from Nanana in the Marwar region records that some people were allotted to the temple.

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[202] C. Babu Rajeev, ed., *Indian Archaeology 2000-01 - A Review* (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 2006), 25.

[203] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 54.

[204] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 109-10.

[205] Alvita Mary D'Souza, "Reconstructing the Urban Maritime History of Goa: A Study of the Port-Capitals of Chandrapur, Gopakapattana and Ella" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Goa University, 2007), 58.

[206] Souza, "Craftsmen and Some Social Aspects in the Goa Region (AD 1000 to 1510)," 15.

[207] Ramaswamy, "Sectional President's Address: Crafts and Artisans in South Indian History," 315.

[208] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 226.

[209] Souza, "Craftsmen and Some Social Aspects in the Goa Region (AD 1000 to 1510)," 15.

However, they were not slaves and they included agriculturalists and musicians. They were independent individuals who were permanently allotted to a temple. From records in Orissa, it is understood that the king had a sort of ownership over certain professionals. These people belonged to certain crafts and the king transferred his rights over them. Further, the Dibbida inscription from the Vizagapatam region dated AD 1269 of the Matsya dynasty informs that a village was granted. The grant included the village artisans as well as the carpenter, blacksmith, goldsmith, potter and others. Similarly, the Kharepatan plates dated AD 1008 of Rattaraja informs of a grant made by him. The grant included the transfer of the families of the washermen, oilmen, potters, gardeners and others.[210]

Ram Sharan Sharma also uses this same inscription which reveals that artisans were transferred in religious donations. The Kharepatan plates dated AD 1008 of Rattaraja makes mention of the grant of villages to some ascetics. The record also informs of the allotment of families of washermen, oilmen, potters and others. It appears that the services of craftsmen and others were utilised by the ascetics. This inscription provides evidence of serfdom. It is seen that the likelihood of mobility of the artisans was less. Further, it is believed that when villages were granted and even when the inscriptions did not make mention of the transfer of artisans and agriculturalists, the donee likely had authority over the people. He was to be provided with services and received dues from them. It is believed that when villages were granted, the people living in them were also automatically transferred in the donation.[211] Ram Sharan Sharma tries to reason as to why some grants informed that agriculturalists and artisans were also transferred in the donation. He refers to the outer regions of Assam and Orissa in an attempt to clarify. In certain regions, this may have been followed as these areas did not have many people arriving into them. This policy of transferring artisans and agriculturalists was probably due to a shortage of labour. There may have also been plentiful of land to be developed. The donated lands could only have been settled with the use of serfdom.[212] The Kharepatan plates dated AD 1008, which have been referred to, wherein families of washermen, oilmen, potters and others

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[210] Lallanji Gopal, *The Economic Life of Northern India c. A.D. 700-1200*, 2nd rev. ed. (1989; repr., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Limited, 2013), 19-22.

[211] Ram Sharan Sharma, *Indian Feudalism c. AD 300-1200*, 3rd ed. (2006; repr., Delhi: Macmillan Publishers India Ltd., 2013), 199.

[212] Sharma, *Indian Feudalism c. AD 300-1200*, 199-200.

are transferred in the donation, are of Rattaraja of the South Konkan Silaharas.[213] Thus, an inscription of the South Konkan Silaharas from the region makes mention of transferring artisans in religious donations.

An inscription from Hasarambi dated AD 1170 informs of an officer by the name of Devagavunda. His son, Sovagavunda made a grant to god Somesvara of Hasurige. Hasurige is modern Hasarambi near Kalghatgi. The grant to the god included land and three houses, of which one house was that of a *telliga*.[214] A *telliga* was an oilman.[215] The presence of the house of an oilman in the grant may also indicate that the oilman was transferred to the temple under the rule of the Goa Kadambas.

The *Foral* dated AD 1526 was a document related to the customs of the village communities in Goa. In clause twelve of this document, it is informed that the *ganvkars* could give the village servants such as the blacksmith, carpenter, cobbler, washerman and others, rent-free lands in return for their services. These grants were permanent and hereditary. The village servant could not be removed. In case future generations did not continue the service, a replacement was made with another person of the same occupation who would provide the service.[216] This document informs of the practices prevalent during the pre-Portuguese period which were continued in the villages. It suggests that the village servants were provided for by the village community. However, at the same time, it is also seen that the village servants and their descendants were also tied down to the land which would guarantee their services and those of their descendants to the village community.

Feudalisation of commerce, crafts and trade

Ram Sharan Sharma, with reference to the north Indian context, informed that there was a feudalisation of commerce and crafts. He informed that this occurred when the income which was intended for the state and derived from craft production, was granted to the temples. This could be seen in places including Rajasthan and Gujarat. A record of the Cahamanas dated AD 1132 informed of the grant of two *palikas* from each *ganaka* or oil-mill. This was from what was due to the royal family. This was to

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[213] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 183-85.

[214] Gurav, "Permadi Deva and Vijayaditya of Kadambas of Goa," 13-14.

[215] Gurav, "The Kadambas of Goa and Their Inscriptions," 176.

[216] B. H. Baden-Powell, "The Villages of Goa in the Early Sixteenth Century," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 32, no. 2 (April 1900): 261-68.

be given to Jain saints. Another record of the Cahamana ruler Alhanadeva dated AD 1161 informs that five *drammas* were granted to a Jain temple on a monthly basis. This was from a custom-house in Naddula.[217] The inscriptions of the Goa Kadambas also indicate a similar situation.

The Hasarambi inscription dated AD 1171 was found in the Hasarambi village near Kalghatgi. It informs of a *sunka-adhikari* or revenue officer by the name of Lakshmadevi. It states that the officer granted the tax on oilmen called the *telligar-okkalu-dere* and the tax on the potters called the *kumbara-okkala-dere* to the temple of god Somesvara of Hasurige.[218] The Managundi inscription dated AD 1203 informs that the *sunka-adhikaris* Devayya and Chandayya granted some tax to the temple. This was the *talasarige* tax on the oil-mills.[219] These inscriptions indicate that under the Goa Kadambas, income from crafts was transferred to the temples. There appears to have been a feudalisation of commerce and crafts in the Goa region as well.

Ram Sharan Sharma also pointed out, in the north Indian context, that feudalisation of industry and trade could also be seen under the Paramaras. An inscription of the Paramara ruler, Chamundaraja from Arthuna in Rajasthan dated AD 1080 informs of grants to the temple in cash as well as in kind. It also makes a list of professionals who had to pay. It is believed that every shop of braziers was to a pay a *dramma* monthly. Other contributions included one *varnika* on a certain quantity of sugar and jaggery. One *manaka* on a certain quantity of salt was levied. One *palika* was levied on a container of butter. It can be seen that taxes were granted towards the maintenance of a temple.[220] A similar situation can be seen in the Goa region as well.

The Kolhapur inscription dated AD 1135 of the rule of Gandaraditya of the Kolhapur Silaharas records that certain taxes were imposed on items in the market of Kavadegolla. Kavadegolla is believed to have been located in the district of Kolhapur. The taxes were to be utilised for the worship and maintenance of the Parsvanatha temple at Kavadegolla. Taxes were collected on various items in cash or kind. This was done by the *Vira-Bananjas* who were more commonly known as the trading group of

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[217] Sharma, *Indian Feudalism c. AD 300-1200*, 202.

[218] Gurav, "Permadi Deva and Vijayaditya of Kadambas of Goa," 13-14.

[219] Gurav, "The Kadambas of Goa and Their Inscriptions," 334.

[220] Sharma, *Indian Feudalism c. AD 300-1200*, 203.

Ayyavole. Also included were the royal merchant of Gandaraditya and others.[221] The inscription makes mention of a number of taxes levied on the professionals. Each shop of the goldsmiths and cloth-merchants was liable for a tax of one *pana*. This was on every *honge* or gold coin worth of articles sold. Every carpenters house had to provide items such as a stool and a *maravi* on a six-monthly basis. They had to provide a bedstead on a yearly basis.[222] A *maravi* was some wooden furniture.[223] Every potters shop had to provide one pot. Each basket of flowers had a tax of one garland. There was a levy of a *sollage* on every container of oil and clarified butter.[224]

The Miraj inscription of the rule of Vijayaditya of the Kolhapur Silaharas is a record of two grants. It was found carved on a slab in the fort of Miraj in the district of Sangli in Maharashtra. The first grant is dated AD 1142 and the other is dated AD 1144. The gifts mentioned were to go towards the worship of the temple of god Madhavesvara at Sedambal. Sedambal is modern Shedbal in the taluka of Athani of the district of Belgaum. It records that the *Vira-Bananja* merchant community and others made a donation of certain dues. The gifts consisted of certain taxes levied on the shops of oilmen, grain-merchants, etc. The collectors of tolls were also to make donations from the revenue of the tolls received by them.[225] The guild members in the settlement were to contribute a *haga* per house. This was to be used to procure the oil necessary for the lighting of lamps during the *Dipavali* festival. Each shop of the potters was liable to contribute one pot. The goldsmiths were to pay a certain amount on every gold *honga* or gold coin assayed by them. Every six months, the shoemakers were to provide a pair of slippers, while the cobblers would provide a strap for the same period. The basket-makers would give one *moru* at each fair.[226] A *moru* is believed to have referred to a head-load.[227] Thus, just like in the north Indian situation, tolls were donated to the local temple for its maintenance. Therefore, there appears to have been a feudalisation of industry and trade in the Goa region as well.

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[221] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 229-31.

[222] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 235.

[223] Lionel D. Barnett, "Two Inscriptions from Kolhapur and Miraj: Saka 1058 & 1066," *EI* 19 (1927-28): 35n5.

[224] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 235.

[225] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 241-43.

[226] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 245.

[227] Barnett, "Two Inscriptions from Kolhapur and Miraj: Saka 1058 & 1066," 40n8.

Ram Sharan Sharma also informs that gold coins which the state received from trade, from the arrival of ships, were given in a religious donation in the Konkan.[228] The Kharepatan plates dated AD 1008 of Rattaraja of the South Konkan Silaharas informs of these additional dues in a religious donation. There was the assignment of a gold *gadyana* from ships that arrived from foreign places. There was also the assignment of a *dharana* of gold from ships that came from Kandalamuliya. Ships from Chemulya or Chaul and Chandrapura or Chandor in Goa were exempted from payment.[229]

There was an inscription dated AD 1053 of Jayakesi I of the Goa Kadambas.[230] It informs that Sadano or Saddhan was a minister of Jayakesi I who established a *mijiguiti* or *mesquita* in Gopakapura. Jayakesi I permitted the collection of certain taxes on commercial ships which arrived from different places to the port of Goa. The taxes were to go towards the upkeep of the *mesquita* established by Sadano. The taxes were to be collected in coins called *gadyanacas* and *dracmas*.[231] A *mesquita* referred to a mosque.[232] Gopakapura referred to the port of Goa Velha.[233] The coins referred to in the inscription were the *gadyanas* and *drammas* which were current in those times.[234] Thus, there is evidence that in certain cases, income from trade received from the arrival of ships, went to religious institutions.

Forced Labour

Forced labour was practiced in India since ancient times. It was known by the term *visti* which was also understood as unpaid labour or forced labour. Kings had the authority to levy forced labour on peasants and artisans. Land grants also make mention of *bitti* along with other rights which were transferred to the donee.[235] The term *bitti*

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[228] Sharma, *Indian Feudalism c. AD 300-1200*, 204.

[229] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 184-87.

[230] Pissurlencar, "Inscrições Pre-Portuguesas de Goa," 386.

[231] Pissurlencar, "Inscrições Pre-Portuguesas de Goa," 391-92.

[232] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 2, 286.

[233] Pissurlencar, "Inscrições Pre-Portuguesas de Goa," 395.

[234] Pissurlencar, "Inscrições Pre-Portuguesas de Goa," 398.

[235] S. G. Ghatapanadi, "Forced Labour in Ancient and Mediaeval Karnataka," *JKU: SS* 12 (1976): 146-47.

was equivalent to the Sanskrit term *visti*.[236] *Visti* and the word v*etti* also meant the same and referred to unpaid labour.[237]

With regards to medieval Karnataka, there are differing views on what *visti* or forced labour meant. One view is of the opinion that forced labour was to compensate for the non-payment of taxes. Another view understood *visti* as a tax paid to the state to avoid forced labour. Yet another interpretation was that it was a tax in addition to the regular taxes to which the people were subjected.[238] Forced labour was usually used in works of public utility and included the building of roads, irrigation facilities or fortifications. Damodar Dharmanand Kosambi was of the opinion that in ancient India, labour performed under *vishti* or *visti* was paid. Later, under feudal conditions, the term came to refer to labour which was of the unpaid kind. The cultivators and artisans had to provide labour in place of tax or in addition to tax.[239]

Visti or forced labour was prevalent in the Rashtrakuta territories. The occurrence of this practice leads to the belief that there was a lack of labour. It is not known how forced labour was utilised. It is also not known if the donees forced the people to cultivate land or provide labour for public works. However, the donees were given the right of imposing forced labour.[240] The Sanjan copper-plates of the Rashtrakuta ruler Amoghavarsha I from Sanjan in the district of Thana believed to be of AD 871 informs that a village was granted to some Brahmans for religious services.[241] Among the various clauses mentioned, the inscription informs that the land was granted along with the right to forced labour as needed, it could not be seized by any officials of the king and could be enjoyed by succeeding generations.[242]

In the context of early medieval south India, the Tamil word *vetti* was the same as the Sanskrit word *visti*. They both referred to the requirement to provide labour. It was a kind of *corvée* labour or a rent paid by providing labour. It is believed that since

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[236] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 411.

[237] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 426.

[238] Ghatapanadi, "Forced Labour in Ancient and Mediaeval Karnataka," 147.

[239] Damodar Dharmanand Kosambi, *The Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India in Historical Outline* (repr., New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., 2011), 153.

[240] Sharma, *Indian Feudalism c. AD 300-1200*, 103-04.

[241] D. R. Bhandarkar, "Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarsha I: Saka-Samvat 793," *EI* 18 (1925-26): 235-38.

[242] Bhandarkar, "Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarsha I: Saka-Samvat 793," 256-57.

labour was obtained, it could be considered as labour rent.[243] The practice of forced labour or *visti* was prevalent in western and south India according to inscriptions from the latter part of the first millennium. However, from around AD 1000, it appears that this practice was gradually diminishing.[244]

The Panjim plates of Jayakesi I of the Goa Kadambas dated AD 1059 records the grant of the deserted village of Laghu Morambika in Gopaka-dvipa. The donee was an officer by the name of Chhadama. The grant informs that the family of the donee was a Tajiya or an Arab family settled at Chemulya. Chhadama was the son of Madhumada and the grandson of Aliyama. Chemulya is modern Chaul. Morambika is believed to be modern Morambi. Gopaka-dvipa is the island of Goa. Besides the mention of various terms, it informs that no one was to exact *vetthi* or v*etti* or forced labour.[245] The mention of forced labour in the inscription of this period indicates that the practice was known in Goa. However, it is difficult to understand how it was enforced.

In the case of south India, Vijaya Ramaswamy and Ramendra Nath Nandi described the myths which were used to explain the fall as well as the rise in the status of the craftsmen community. These included myths which attempted to associate the craftsmen with the Brahmins. In Goa, one such myth which associated the Panchalas with the Saraswat Brahmins was noticed. As in the situation in south India, the economic betterment of some of the craftsmen may have led them to claim a higher social status. This was notice in the case of Goa by V. R. Mitragotri. Thus, it is seen that the craftsmen were generally lower in the hierarchy of the caste system. However, there were attempts made by the Panchalas to raise their status. It was noticed that in the region, crafts were usually transmitted down the generations by the family. Certain inscriptions indicate that some craftsmen were highly skilled. They had epithets to their names which indicate this. Certain records also indicate that some of them were literate as well. The craftsmen of the region made items to serve the needs of the different

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[243] Kesavan Veluthat, "Labour Rent and Produce Rent," in *The Early Medieval in South India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009), 103.

[244] Bhairabi Prasad Sahu, "Introduction," in *Land System and Rural Society in Early India*, ed. Bhairabi Prasad Sahu (1997; repr., New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributors, 2004), 31-32.

[245] Moreshwar G. Dikshit, "Panjim Plates of Jayakesi (I); Saka 981," in *Indica: The Indian Historical Research Institute Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume*, ed. B. G. Gokhale (Bombay: St. Xavier's College, 1953), 89-94.

categories of customers from the elites to the common people. They produced copper-plate and stone inscriptions which were by themselves a record of their work. These have been found in the Sanskrit, Kannada and Marathi languages.[246]

A few inscriptions made mention of women artisans. There was mention of a woman *malakara* or one who made flower garlands. It was also noticed that an inscription regarding the construction of a Jain temple, mentioned an artisan along with his wife and sons. There was an instance where the permission of the basket-makers was taken when their land was utilised for some construction work. It was also noticed that the *mahars* were accorded respect for parting with their land for the construction of a temple. This was despite their low social status.

It was believed that artisans were transferred in a religious donation. Some have made mention of the Kharepatan plates dated AD 1008 of the South Konkan Silaharas which indicated that artisans were transferred in a religious donation. It is believed that this took place when there was a shortage of labour or where land was plentiful. The *Foral* of AD 1526 informed that rent-free lands were given to the village servants in return for their services. These professionals could not be removed and the lands could not be taken back. Another person could not be put in the place of the artisan. These were hereditary in nature and passed down the generations. It was only in the case where there was a failure to continue the service could another of the same profession be appointed. Hence, it can be seen that the village artisans and their descendants were in a way tied down to the land.

It was also seen that there was a feudalisation of commerce, crafts and trade. This took place when income due to the state from craft production activities was transferred to religious institutions. It was noticed that craft producers in the region had to contribute in cash or kind to the temple. This went towards the celebration of festivals and the maintenance of the temples. It was informed that the same Kharepatan plates dated AD 1008 mentioned that gold coins received from trade from the arrival of ships were transferred in a religious donation under the South Konkan Silaharas. It was seen that under the Kadambas of Goa, Jayakesi I permitted the collection of coins which were received from ships which arrived in Goa. These were to go towards the maintenance of a mosque which was established by a minister of Jayakesi I. An inscription of the Goa Kadambas informed that forced labour was not to be exacted.

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[246] Souza, "Craftsmen and Some Social Aspects in the Goa Region (AD 1000 to 1510)," 18-19.

Hence, forced labour was known in the region during this period, but it is not known how it was imposed.

Chapter 3
Pre-Portuguese period: Economic life and taxation

There were a number of groups in the Karnataka region of which the craftsmen and artisans were members. Some of these were seen in the inscriptions of the rulers of Goa as well. There were also trade guilds which were active in the region. Goa and the region was an important commercial area. A number of taxes were imposed on the craft producers. There are also records of payments made to the artisans.

Craft guilds

S. G. Ghatapanadi was of the opinion that in medieval Karnataka, guilds of artisans were known by different names. These included the *seni*, *kottali*, *hittu*, *okkalu* and others.[1] Some of these groups were noticed in the inscriptions of the Goa region as well.

The *seni*

The word *seni* comes from the Sanskrit *shreni*.[2] In the ancient north Indian context, guilds were referred to by various names. These include the *shreni*, *puga*, *kula*, *sangha* and others. While these terms were understood in a number of ways, it is generally believed that they were different groupings of craftsmen and artisans.[3] In ancient north India, the *sreshthi* was the guild leader. It is believed that the guild system started in northern India as this term had a north Indian origin. However, even in Karnataka, there were local guild organisations of merchant and craft producers. There were craft guilds of metalsmiths and carpenters. There were also guilds of stoneworkers, potters and others. They would have had an influence in the commercial activity of the towns. Temples received money from kings and merchants who invested it with some of the guilds. The interest generated was used to carry out the activities mentioned in the grants. They also served as local banks and looked after the interest

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[1] S. G. Ghatapanadi, "Guilds of Artisans in Mediaeval Karnataka," *JKU: SS* 6 (1970): 195.

[2] Ghatapanadi, "Guilds of Artisans in Mediaeval Karnataka," 195.

[3] Kuldeep Singh Thind, *Artisans and Craftsmen of Northern India* (New Delhi: D. K. Printworld (P) Ltd., 2009), 159.

of their members. The guilds also played a role in religious ceremonies.[4] The Lakshmeshvar inscription of Vikramaditya of the Chalukyas of Badami makes mention of two guilds. These were the *kanchugar seni* or the guild of braziers and the *telliga seni* or the guild of oil merchants. The guilds were authorised by the king to collect taxes.[5]

The *kottali*

The term *kottali* was found referring to some professional groups. It also referred to guilds of artisans. In the inscription of Yewur of Vikramaditya VI there is mention of two guilds. The stonecutter's guild was called the *kalkutiga-gottali*. The brazier's guild was called the *kanchugar-gottali*.[6] It appears that the term *kottali* and *gottali* were the same.

An inscription dated AD 1118 of the reign of Vikramaditya VI of the Western Chalukya dynasty found in Tilivalli in the taluka of Hangal of the district of Dharwar makes mention of the *kottali*. It informs of a gift of two hundred and fifty *gadyanas*. This was made from the money given by the Five Hundred *kottalis*.[7] The type of *kottali* mentioned here is not known, however, the term *kottali* was a grouping of professionals.

The *hittu*

Some professionals have also been referred to by the term *hittu*. The Kolhapur inscription dated AD 1003 of the reign of the Hoysala ruler Ballala refers to them. The blacksmith is called a *hittina-kammari*. The goldsmith is called a *hittina-akkasale*. The carpenter is called a *hittukare badagi*. An inscription dated AD 1186 from Hosur in the district of Dharwar mentions a carpenter. The carpenter named Kaloja is referred to as a *hittukara badagi*. Some professionals were referred by designations like *hittina* and *hittukara*. These were other forms of the word *hittu*.[8]

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[4] George M. Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula: A History of Ancient and Mediaeval Karnataka* (Bombay: B. X. Furtado & Sons, 1931), 284-85.

[5] Ghatapanadi, "Guilds of Artisans in Mediaeval Karnataka," 195.

[6] Ghatapanadi, "Guilds of Artisans in Mediaeval Karnataka," 195-96.

[7] B. R. Gopal, ed., *KI*, vol. 5 (Dharwar: Kannada Research Institute, Karnatak University, 1969), 59-60.

[8] Ghatapanadi, "Guilds of Artisans in Mediaeval Karnataka," 197.

There were a number of attempts to define the term *hittu*. One opinion was that *hittu* meant food or subsistence. This was when, at the harvest time, the artisans received grain for their services. Another opinion was that *hittu* referred to labour or occupation. Yet another opinion was that *hittu* referred to a guild and the term *entu-hittu* stood for eight guilds.[9] In Kannada, the number eight is *entu*.[10] The *entu-hittu* were present at the time of donations, important events and the building of temples. This leads to believe that they were guilds.[11]

An inscription dated to the thirteenth century AD of an unknown dynasty makes mention of the *hittus*. This inscription is from Kalkeri. It is in the taluka of Hangal of the district of Dharwar. It records the gift of land and money by the eight *hittus* and others to a temple.[12] An inscription dated AD 1207 refers to the reign of Somesvara IV of the Western Chalukya dynasty. It makes mention of a grant of an oil-mill as well as land and taxes to the *pandita* of a temple. Among those who made the donations were the *entu-hittu*. It states that the gifts were given to them by Vira Jayakesideva. This was when he ruled from Gove. His title is mentioned as *mahamandaleshvara*.[13] The Bailur inscription of the Goa Kadamba ruler Permadideva informs of four *hittus*. These included the *akkasale* Singoja, *kammara* Dasoja and *madivala* Soppayya.[14] The word *akkasale* was a Kannada or Telugu word which referred to a goldsmith.[15] The word *kammara* referred to a blacksmith.[16] The word *madivala* referred to a washerman.[17] Hence, we find the mention of the *hittu* and *entu-hittu* in inscriptions of the rulers of Goa as well.

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[9] Ghatapanadi, "Guilds of Artisans in Mediaeval Karnataka," 197-98.

[10] C. S. Ramachandra, "Numerals in Kannada," *Journal of the Mysore University* (New Series) Section A-Arts 46 (March & September 1984): 9.

[11] Ghatapanadi, "Guilds of Artisans in Mediaeval Karnataka," 198.

[12] G. S. Gai, ed., *SII*, vol. 20: Bombay-Karnatak Inscriptions vol. 4 (1965; repr., New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1988), 353.

[13] B. R. Gopal and Shrinivas Ritti, *Summaries of Inscriptions (1943-44 to 1949-50)*, ed. P. B. Desai (Dharwar: Kannada Research Institute, Karnatak University, 1966), 10-11.

[14] R. N. Gurav, "The Kadambas of Goa and Their Inscriptions" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Karnatak University, 1969), 477.

[15] D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1966), 15.

[16] Malati Mahajan, *A Cultural History of Maharashtra and Goa: From Place Names in Inscriptions* (Delhi: Sundeep Prakashan, 1989), 317.

[17] Gurav, "The Kadambas of Goa and Their Inscriptions," 476.

The crucial distinguishing feature of the *hittus* was that payment was made to them in grain at the time of the harvest. This was in return for their services. The services of the carpenters, smiths, potters and some others were indispensable to the survival of the village. The services of the braziers, merchants and those whose services were used only on certain occasions were not included in this grouping.[18]

Some inscriptions call the *hittu* as *entu-hittu* or eight *hittus*. Other inscriptions mention them as *hanni-hittu* or twelve *hittus*. The number of *hittus* in the village possibly depended on the needs of the village. The *hanni-hittu* system is believed to be the origin of the *ayagara* and the *barabalute* system of later times.[19] In the context of medieval south India under the Vijayanagara period, the *ayagars* served the villages. They included the potter, washerman, smith, watchman, astrologer and others. Their services were paid in the form of a share of the grain or a tax-free land called a *manyam*. These groups of people were usually twelve in number.[20] In the context of the medieval Deccan and Maharashtra, the village artisans were called the *balutedars* or *bara balutedars*. They were usually twelve in number and comprised of the village artisans. These included the carpenter, potter and blacksmith. There was also the washerman, shoemaker, *mahar* and others. They were remunerated at the time of the harvest in kind or sometimes in cash. These remunerations were called the *balute*.[21]

The Shedbal inscription records all three categories, such as the *seni*, *kottali* and *hittu*. This would indicate that these were distinct groupings of guilds of artisans.[22] S. G. Ghatapanadi informs that the date of this inscription was AD 1156.[23] This inscription is the same Shedbal inscription of the reign of Vijayaditya of the Kolhapur Silaharas. This inscription was found in the taluka of Athani in the district of Belgaum. Vasudev Vishnu Mirashi dates this inscription to AD 1153.[24] Thus, it is seen that all these appear to have been bodies of different types of artisans.

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[18] Ghatapanadi, "Guilds of Artisans in Mediaeval Karnataka," 199.

[19] Ghatapanadi, "Guilds of Artisans in Mediaeval Karnataka," 198-99.

[20] Vijaya Ramaswamy, *Textiles and Weavers in Medieval South India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1985), 94-95.

[21] Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib, eds., *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, vol. 1: c. 1200-c. 1750 (1982; repr., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 249-52.

[22] Ghatapanadi, "Guilds of Artisans in Mediaeval Karnataka," 199-200.

[23] Ghatapanadi, "Guilds of Artisans in Mediaeval Karnataka," 196.

[24] Vasudev Vishnu Mirashi, ed., *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1977), 254.

The *okkalu*

The Kannada term *okkalu* denoted a family or an agriculturalist. The Sanskrit term comparable to it was the *grihapati* or *kutumbin*. Usually, at the time of settling into villages, it was done in groups. The designation for a group of fifty households was *aivottokkalu*. The designation for a group of sixty households was *aravattokkalu*.[25] In Kannada, *aivattu* means the number fifty. *Arvattu* means the number sixty.[26]

An inscription dated AD 1125 of the reign of Vikramaditya VI of the Western Chalukya dynasty found in Abbigeri in the taluka of Ron records the gift of land to a temple. The grant was made on the request of the sixty *okkalu*.[27] An inscription dated AD 1158 from Siddhapur in the taluka of Dharwar in the district of Dharwar makes mention of Sivachitta Permadi belonging to the dynasty of the Goa Kadambas. It informs that some groups including the *aravattokkalu* made a gift. This was towards worship and maintenance of a temple.[28] An inscription dated AD 1173 Sivachitta Permadideva belonging to the dynasty of the Goa Kadambas in Golihalli in the taluka of Khanapur in the district of Belgaum also informs of a donation made in AD 1163. A grant of income from taxes was made by some groups towards a temple. These included the *aravattokkalu*.[29]

Besides these references, there is also mention of the *angadi okkalu* which denoted shopkeepers. There was also a mention of the *kalkutigara okkalu* referring to stonecutters. In these cases, the term before the expression *okkalu* referred to the occupation of the family. When the word *okkalu* was used just by itself, it denoted agriculturalists.[30] But, in the case where the Fifty *okkalu* is mentioned, it had a different meaning. This specifically denoted oil merchants who were called the *telligara aivottokkalu*. They were also simply referred to as *aivottokkalu*. A record dated AD 917 from Hattimattur in the district of Dharwar informs that the *aivottokkalu* was headed

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[25] G. S. Dikshit, "Okkalu - A Corporate Body of Mediaeval Karnatak," *JKU: H* 4 (June 1960): 58-59.

[26] Ramachandra, "Numerals in Kannada," 11.

[27] N. Lakshminarayan Rao, ed., *SII*, vol. 11 part 2: Bombay-Karnatak Inscriptions vol. 1 part 2, In Vol. 11 of South Indian Inscriptions (repr., Mysore: Archaeological Survey of India, 1986), 230.

[28] P. B. Desai, ed., *SII*, vol. 15: Bombay-Karnatak Inscriptions vol. 2 (1964; repr., Mysore: Archaeological Survey of India, 1986), 280.

[29] Gopal, *KI*, vol. 5, 239-40.

[30] Dikshit, "Okkalu - A Corporate Body of Mediaeval Karnatak," 59.

by oilmen. Another record dated AD 1240 from Kundgol in the district of Dharwar mentions that the *aivottokkalu* provided oil to a temple.[31]

An inscription dated AD 1138 of the period of Jayakesi II of the dynasty of the Goa Kadambas informs of the *telligas* or *telligara aivottokkalu* who gifted oil to a temple. This inscription was from Jinnur in the taluka of Kalghatgi in the district of Dharwar.[32] An inscription dated AD 1203 from the district of Dharwar of the period of Jayakesi III belonging to the dynasty of the Goa Kadambas mentions that some items were gifted. These included land and oil. Among the various groups were the *telligara aivottokkalu* of Manigundage.[33] An inscription dated AD 1221 of the dynasty of the Goa Kadambas of the period of Vajradeva records that the *aivottokkalu* of Manigundage made a gift of oil to the *nakara-jinalaya*.[34] Thus, the inscriptions indicate that such groups were present in the Goa region as well.

Trade guilds

There were a number of trade guilds in medieval south India. These included the *hanjamana*.[35] The *nagaras* or *nakaras* were also a commercial guild.[36] At times, the *hanjamana* was found along with the *nagaras* or *nakaras*.[37] The *nanadesis* were another trade group. Another important trading group was the Ayyavole Five Hundred. The trading group of the Ayyavole Five Hundred kept contact with craft producers and agriculturalists.[38] Some of these trade groups were noticed in the inscriptions of the Goa region as well.

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[31] Dikshit, "Okkalu - A Corporate Body of Mediaeval Karnatak," 62-63.

[32] S. L. Shantakumari, *The Kadambas of Goa & Their Inscriptions* (Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, 2015), 184.

[33] Gopal and Ritti, *Summaries of Inscriptions (1943-44 to 1949-50)*, 12-13.

[34] Gopal and Ritti, *Summaries of Inscriptions (1943-44 to 1949-50)*, 16-17.

[35] Y. Subbarayalu, "Anjuvannam: A Maritime Trade Guild of Medieval Times," in *South India under the Cholas* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014), 184-85.

[36] Meera Abraham, *Two Medieval Merchant Guilds of South India* (New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1988), 43.

[37] Subbarayalu, "Anjuvannam: A Maritime Trade Guild of Medieval Times," 179-80.

[38] Carla M. Sinopoli, *The Political Economy of Craft Production: Crafting Empire in South India, c. 1350-1650* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 103-04.

The *hanjamana*

The Bhandup plates dated AD 1026 of Chhittaraja of the North Konkan Silaharas was addressed to a number of people. These included those of the town of Hamyamana. In the Kharepatan plates of AD 1095, the term *hamjamana* is mentioned.[39] J. F. Fleet was of the opinion that these referred to the same place. He felt it meant a Parsee settlement and it was related to the Parsee word *anjuman* meaning a communal meeting. This term *anjuman* was of Zoroastrian origin. It was derived from the word *han* which meant together and the word *jam* which meant to go. He was of the opinion that *hamjamana* was the city of Samjan or Sanjan. It was situated in the district of Thana.[40]

However, D. C. Sircar had a different opinion. There were a number of people addressed in the Chinchani plates from the district of Thana. Among them were the *hamjamana paura* or *hamyamaniya mukhya*. The record made mention of Samyana or modern Sanjan and *hamyamana* in the same paragraph. Hence, it was felt that the word *hamyamana* was not another word for the place named Samyana. The word *hamyamana* or *hanjamana* as another word for *anjuman*, which referred to a Parsee settlement, was also not clear. Other inscriptions in the area made mention of this term. An inscription dated AD 1427 from Kaikini in the district of North Kanara referred to this. It informs that the *mukhya* Ummaramarakala of the *hanjamana* community from Honnavara faced a problem. This was at the hands of Timmana Odeya.[41] The term *mukhya* referred to an elder.[42] An inscription dated AD 1465 from Basrur in the district of South Kanara records that a gift was made to a temple by Pandarideva Odeya. This temple was where members of the *hanjamana* community were donating.[43] It was doubtful that both these areas had Parsee settlements. Due to this, it was felt that *hamyamana* or *hanjamana* was probably derived from the Kannada word *pancha-vanna*. This term was the same as the Tamil *anju-vannam* and the Sanskrit *pancha-varna*. These terms referred to the five artisans. They included the goldsmiths, carpenters, braziers, blacksmiths and

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[39] J. F. Fleet, "Bhandup Plates of Chhittarajadeva; A.D. 1026," *EI* 12 (1913-14): 252-58.

[40] Fleet, "Bhandup Plates of Chhittarajadeva; A.D. 1026," 258-59.

[41] D. C. Sircar, "Epigraphic Notes," *EI* 35 (1963-64): 291-92.

[42] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 205.

[43] Sircar, "Epigraphic Notes," 292.

stonemasons. Thus, it was felt that the *hamjamana-paura* were the artisan community and others. The term *hamyamaniya-mukhya* may have denoted their leader.[44]

Along these lines, Vasudev Vishnu Mirashi was of the opinion that the term *hamyamana nagara* was made up of two Kannada words. The *hamyamana* referred to artisans while *nagara* stood for guild.[45] The Chinchani copper-plate dated AD 1034 of the period of Chhittaraja of the North Konkan Silaharas found in the district of Thana was addressed to a number of people. Among them were *hamyamana-mukhyas*. He understood these to be chief artisans.[46] Also, the Pattanakudi inscription of the South Konkan Silaharas made mention of a *nagar*. This was thought to refer to a body of traders. The reference to the *hanjaman* was understood as a body of the craftsmen. The mention of a *nagar-sandhivigrahika* was thought to be a government minister and that his duty was to control the *hanjaman nagara*.[47]

Ranabir Chakravarti while discussing the north Konkan, refers to the transfer of some tax to a monastic complex in AD 1047 and 1053. This was under the Modha rulers who ruled in certain areas which used to be in the north Konkan under the Silaharas. During the time of the transfer of the tax, on both occasions, some important officers were present. These included the representatives of the *hamyamana* which he referred to as the guilds of craftsmen.[48]

With regards to south India, R. Champakalakshmi informed that the term *anjuvannam* referred to a group of foreign traders. An early record indicates that it stood for a group of Jewish traders. It was not a group of five different castes. The use of the word *anjuvannam* may have come from the term *anjuman* which was used by Arab traders. The word made have continued to be used as *hanjamana* referring to Muslim traders.[49]

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[44] Sircar, "Epigraphic Notes," 292.

[45] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 58n8.

[46] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 71-72.

[47] V. T. Gune, "Goa's Coastal and Overseas Trade: From the Earliest Times till 1510 A.D.," in *Goa through the Ages: An Economic History*, ed. Teotonio R. de Souza, vol. 2 (1990; repr., New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1999), 131.

[48] Ranabir Chakravarti, "Monarchs, Merchants and a Matha in Northern Konkan (c. AD 900-1053)," in *Trade in Early India*, ed. Ranabir Chakravarti (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001), 275.

[49] R. Champakalakshmi, "Phases of Urbanization: An Overview," in *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization: South India 300 BC to AD 1300* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006), 49.

K. V. Ramesh refers to the Kaikini inscription dated AD 1427 and goes on to examine the name of the *hanjamana-mukhya* or the chief of the *hanjamana* who is called Ummaramarakala. He informs that Umar was a Persian name, while *marakala* referred to a sailor. Therefore, the *hanjamana* referred to a group of Arab and Persian traders.[50]

It was also believed that the location of the *hamjamana* on chief trade routes indicate that they dealt in foreign trade. They were not a group of local castes. The word *hamjamana* was possibly linked to the Persian *anjuman* meaning an association.[51] It was also understood that an *anjuman* referred to a place where Muslims had settled. Also, the *hanjamanas* were believed to be Muslim settlements as inscriptions made mention of *pallis*. The word *palli* was considered to be a mosque. But, it could also have referred to a village. The presence of *hanjamanas* in Basrur and Mangalore have been recorded. It is believed that the *hanjamanas* may have dealt with horse trade.[52]

According to Y. Subbarayalu, the term *anjuvannam* was known in the Kerala and Tamil Nadu regions. The word *anjuvannam* was probably the same as the *hanjamana*. However, it may not have represented the artisans. This was because in the early medieval period, the social position of the artisan communities was not high. It was only during the Vijayanagara period that their position increased with a growth of production.[53] Besides this, there was also mention of the *anjuvannam* in Indonesian inscriptions. These inscriptions had words like *hunjeman* and *hinjaman*. These were probably the same as the *hanjamana*. The *anjuvannam* or *hanjamana* existed in Indonesia since the ninth century AD. It is thought that the term *anjuvannam* was the same as the *hanjamana* and initially referred to West Asian merchants who conducted trade by sea. By the eleventh century AD, the *anjuvannam* comprised largely of Muslim traders found usually in the coastal regions.[54]

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[50] K. V. Ramesh, *A History of South Kanara (From the Earliest Times to the Fall of Vijayanagara)* (Dharwar: Karnatak University, 1970), 253-54.

[51] Abraham, *Two Medieval Merchant Guilds of South India*, 25.

[52] Nagendra Rao, "Muslim Merchants in Pre-Modern South Western India," *Indica* 43, no. 2 (September 2006): 128-29.

[53] Subbarayalu, "Anjuvannam: A Maritime Trade Guild of Medieval Times," 180.

[54] Subbarayalu, "Anjuvannam: A Maritime Trade Guild of Medieval Times," 184-85.

The presence of a *hanjamana* was noticed in Goa as well. It is believed that the place name of Anjuna in Goa was from the word *hanjamana*.[55] The South Konkan Silaharas had established the *hanjamanas* by the coast. The *hanjamanas* or Arab commercial settlements conducted trade in horses which was lucrative. The Goa Kadambas and the North Konkan Silaharas fought to exert their power over these. There was a *hanjamana* in Gopakapattana as well. One resident of this settlement was Saddhan who was a *pradhan* under Jayakesi I of the dynasty of the Goa Kadambas. Aliya, who was his grandfather had provided assistance to Guhalladeva when his ship was in distress at sea. Guhalladeva was the grandfather of Jayakesi I.[56] Thus, the *hanjamanas* were likely to have been trade guilds along the coast and not a body of craftsmen.

The *nagaras* or *nakaras*

The word *nagara* referred to a town or city. However, the word also referred to a commercial town as well as a merchant guild.[57] The word *nagara* in Sanskrit was the same as the Kannada word *nakara* or *nakhara*.[58] In ancient India, the Sanskrit *nagara* was used to describe cities which were fortified. These cities were used to carry out control and commerce. With reference to south India, the *nagaram* was a commercial area which was separate from an agricultural settlement.[59] The word *nagaram* found in Tamil inscriptions also referred to a market town or a merchant guild.[60]

An inscription dated AD 1109 from Yali-Sirur in Gadag of the period of Vikramaditya VI of the dynasty of the Western Chalukyas informs of a grant. The grant included land, gold and tolls. These were made by different groups including the Five Hundred Nakara.[61] An inscription from Tambur thought to belong to the twelfth century AD found in the taluka of Kalghatgi of the district of Dharwar records that the *nakaras*

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[55] Teresa Albuquerque, *Anjuna: Profile of a Village in Goa* (New Delhi: Promilla & Co., Publishers, 1987), 9.

[56] Pratima Kamat, "Of Settis and Their Deities: Historicising the Mercantile Communities and the Commercial Culturescape of Pre-Colonial Goa," *Indica* 50, no. 1 & 2 (December 2013): 324.

[57] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 208.

[58] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 210.

[59] Kenneth R. Hall, *Trade and Statecraft in the Age of Colas* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1980), 122.

[60] Sircar, "Epigraphic Notes," 292.

[61] Rao, *SII*, vol. 11 part 2: Bombay-Karnatak Inscriptions vol. 1 part 2, 201.

and others made some grants to a Jain temple.[62] The Panjim plates dated AD 1391 of the period of Harihara II of the Vijayanagara dynasty records that Madhava mantri granted a village. Among those present were the *nagaras* and others of Gova-desa 70, Shatt-Shastti or modern Salcete and others.[63] Thus, the *nakaras* or *nagaras* functioned in the Goa region as well.

The *nanadesis*

The *nanadesis* were an important trading organisation. Their operations took them beyond territorial boundaries. They conducted trade in a number of regions. Their activities were well known in the Chola dominions.[64] An inscription dated AD 1163 on a slab in the premises of the Kalamesvara temple in Golihalli in the taluka of Khanapur of the district of Belgaum of the reign of Sivachitta Vira Permadideva of the dynasty of the Goa Kadambas informs that taxes were collected on a number of commodities from different organisations from some villages. The grant of these taxes was probably made to the temple of god Somesvara at Kirusampagadi which is mentioned earlier on the stone engraving.[65] The same inscription also informs that besides the *svamis* of the Ayyavole Five Hundred, there were *settis* of various places and the *nanadesis* who also made a grant. Besides this inscription, there is another one in the same place dated AD 1173 which informs of a gift from taxes collected on items to the temple by a number of groups including the *nanadesis*.[66] This indicates that the *nanadesis* operated in territories under the rule of the Goa Kadambas.

The Ayyavole Five Hundred

Trade guilds played an important role in the Vijayanagara economy. One important trading group was the Ayyavole Five Hundred. Records indicate their origin in Aihole in Karnataka in the eight century AD. Thereafter, they spread to Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. It was an organisation which was important even before

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[62] Shantakumari, *The Kadambas of Goa & Their Inscriptions*, 233.

[63] S. S. Ramachandra Murthy, "Panjim Plates of the Time of Harihara II, Saka 1313," *EI* 42 (1977-78): 112-15.

[64] K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*, 2nd rev. ed. (Madras: University of Madras, 1955), 597.

[65] Gopal and Ritti, *Summaries of Inscriptions (1943-44 to 1949-50)*, 30-31.

[66] Gopal, *KI*, vol. 5, 239-40.

Vijayanagara rule in the region.[67] The original members of this trading group are believed to have comprised of five hundred *svamis*. They traded with various places in India as well as Burma and even far off places like Thailand and Sumatra.[68] Aihole was also known by various names including Ayyavole and Ahichchatra. The members of this guild were also known by different names. These included the Five Hundred *svamis* of the town of Ayyavole.[69] This group originated in Aihole. However, it was not its fixed centre of operations. Further, the membership of the group also varied over time to include different communities.[70] The origins of the Ayyavole Five Hundred was probably due to a need to have an organised basis for trade and commerce.[71]

In the context of medieval south India, there is a mention of craft groups along with the trade group of the Five Hundred *svamis* of Ayyavole. It is likely that there was an association between the two for the trade and sale of items of craft production.[72] In the tenth century AD, in south India, the Ayyavole Five Hundred developed as the predominant merchant guild. A large number of trade guilds in the region were linked to it.[73] An inscription dated AD 1000 informs that the Five Hundred *svamis* of Ayyavole had a private army and courts to dispense justice.[74]

The Kolhapur stone inscription dated to AD 1135 of the rule of Gandaraditya of the Kolhapur Silaharas informs of taxes on certain items sold in the market which were to go towards the worship of a temple. Among those who imposed the dues was the trading corporation of Ayyavole or Ahichchatra. They were also known as the *Vira-Bananjas* or Heroic Traders.[75] The Miraj stone inscription dated AD 1142 and 1144 of the period of Vijayaditya of the Kolhapur Silaharas records that some merchants who

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[67] Sinopoli, *The Political Economy of Craft Production: Crafting Empire in South India, c. 1350-1650*, 103-04.

[68] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 231.

[69] Abraham, *Two Medieval Merchant Guilds of South India*, 42.

[70] R. Champakalakshmi, "The Medieval South Indian Guilds: Their Role in Trade and Urbanization," in *Trade in Early India*, ed. Ranabir Chakravarti (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001), 329-30.

[71] Champakalakshmi, "Phases of Urbanization: An Overview," 50.

[72] Champakalakshmi, "The Medieval South Indian Guilds: Their Role in Trade and Urbanization," 329-30.

[73] Subbarayalu, "Anjuvannam: A Maritime Trade Guild of Medieval Times," 185.

[74] Ramendra Nath Nandi, *State Formation, Agrarian Growth and Social Change in Feudal South India c. AD 600-1200* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributors, 2000), 32.

[75] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 229-31.

were well known among the *Vira-Bananjas* donated certain dues to the temple.[76] An inscription from Sirasangi in the taluka of Saundatti in the district of Belgaum of the rule of Somesvara IV belonging to the Western Chalukya dynasty dated AD 1186 makes mention of this guild. The inscription states that different trade guilds were present at the temple in Hirisige and received certain tax exemptions. Besides the *nakharas* and others, among those present were the *svamis* of the trade group of the Ayyavole Five Hundred.[77]

An inscription dated AD 1163 of the period of Sivachitta Vira Permadideva of the dynasty of the Goa Kadambas from Golihalli in the taluka of Khanapur of the district of Belgaum records that some groups made a gift of taxes to the temple. Among others who were present, were the *svamis* of the Ayyavole Five Hundred.[78] Thus, the Ayyavole Five Hundred were present in the Goa region as well.

Settis, settiguttas and sreshthins

The trading classes were usually made up of the Vaishyas. The traders were known by a number of names which included *settis* and *settiguttas*.[79] A *setti* was the same as the Sanskrit word *sresthin* and referred to an important member of a guild.[80] An undated inscription from Chinchani of the reign of Krishna III of the Rashtrakutas is believed to belong to the time of his rule between AD 939 to 967. The record indicates that a trader by the name of *sreshthin* Gambhuvaka of Samyana was allowed to mint coins by the ruler.[81] The term *sresthin* referred to a merchant as well as a banker.[82] The word was the same as *sreshthin*. It is seen that they were involved in various commercial activities.

The Pattanakudi copper-plates dated AD 988 believed to belong to the rule of Avasara II of the South Konkan Silaharas records that three merchants paid Avasara II a sum of forty *dinaras* as *padapuja* or *nazrana* as well as some levy.[83] *Nazrana* referred

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[76] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 241-42.

[77] R. S. Panchamukhi, ed., *KI*, vol. 1 (Dharwar: Karnatak Research Office, 1941), 38-40.

[78] Gopal, *KI*, vol. 5, 239-40.

[79] Shantakumari, *The Kadambas of Goa & Their Inscriptions*, 111.

[80] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 309.

[81] D. C. Sircar, "Rashtrakuta Charters from Chinchani," *EI* 32 (1957-58): 55-57.

[82] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 317.

[83] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 178-79.

to some customary presents.[84] This payment was done in order to obtain some hereditary rights in Pulisa and Kinjala. The location of Pulisa is unknown. In the district of Ratnagiri, there are three locations named Kinjale. It is not known if Kinjala referred to one of these places.[85] These merchants have been named. The first merchant was Nagai Sreshthin who was the son of Reuma Sreshthin and the grandson of Siddhai Sreshthin. The next merchant was Lokkai Sreshthin who was the son of Revana Sreshthin and the grandson of Chhaththamai Sreshthin. The final merchant was Adityavarman who was the son of Khetraiya Indra Sreshthin and the grandson of Mahadai Sreshthin.[86]

An inscription dated AD 1129 from Kamadhanu of Jayakesi II of the Goa Kadambas informs of a merchant named Mallisetti and his wife Bichiyakka. The inscription informs that he granted some land for the maintenance of a temple.[87] An inscription dated AD 1173 Sivachitta Permadideva belonging to the Goa Kadambas in Golihalli in the taluka of Khanapur in the district of Belgaum also informs of a donation made in AD 1163. A grant of income from taxes were made by some groups towards a temple. Among others who were present, were the *settis* and *settiguttas* who belonged to Kirusampagadi.[88] An inscription dated AD 1206 of the reign of Jayakesi III of the Goa Kadambas was found in Devara Hubballi in the district of Dharwar. It was on a slab near the Kodi Basavanna temple. It records that a number of grants were made. Among them were the trading communities as well as the *settiguttas* who donated oil for the temple lamp.[89] The inscriptions indicate that the merchant communities took part in commerce as well as in making donations to religious institutions.

Trade in the Goa region - land routes and sea ports

In medieval Karnataka, roads are mentioned in inscriptions. Some of these roads would have helped commercial activities. There is also reference made to *raja-vittis* or

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[84] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 215.

[85] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 179-80.

[86] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 183.

[87] Gurav, "The Kadambas of Goa and Their Inscriptions," 170-71.

[88] Gopal, *KI*, vol. 5, 239-40.

[89] Desai, *SII*, vol. 15: Bombay-Karnatak Inscriptions vol. 2, 284.

raja-pathas or royal roads which connected places.[90] The royal road called the *raja-vitti* was an important road under the Goa Kadambas. It helped in trade activities and to link Gopakapattana with other regions.[91] There were roads which would have helped trade. Goa was connected to Vijayanagara. This was through Bankapur. The use of carts and pack-animals were common.[92]

In Goa, there were a number of *davorne* or load-rests. These indicate that trade flourished in the region.[93] These were also known as *dovornim*. They were built on the side of the roads. It was on these that travellers could rest their items.[94] These load-rests may have been erected during the Kadamba period. They were made of laterite. These were placed vertically and the platform on top was placed horizontal to the ground. They have been found in Uttara Kannada and Tamil Nadu as well.[95]

There were a number of ports in the Konkan region. Sanjan or Samyana was one of them. Nearby was the port of Sristhanaka or Thana. Chemulya or modern Chaul was another Konkan port. Under the South Konkan Silaharas, the port of Ballipattana or modern Kharepatan was an important one. The Goa Kadambas utilised the port of Sindabur or Chandrapura or modern Chandor. Gopakapattana or Old Goa was also another important port under their rule.[96] Gopakapattana on the Zuari river was used by the Goa Kadambas to trade with a number of places. It was known as a centre for building boats. It was also known for oil extraction as well as salt manufacture.[97] It was seen that a number of *vanijyas* or traders came from distant places to trade at

[90] S. Gururajachar, *Some Aspects of Economic and Social Life in Karnataka [A.D. 1000-1300]* (Mysore: Prasaranga, University of Mysore, 1974), 128.

[91] Pratima Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade* (Panaji, Goa: Goa Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 2009), 5.

[92] B. S. Shastry, "Socio-Economic Relations between Karnataka and Goa - III," *The QJMS* 73, no. 3-4 (July-December 1982): 45.

[93] Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade*, 4.

[94] Olivinho J. F. Gomes, *The Goan Village Communes* (Panaji, Goa: Vasantrao Dempo Education & Research Foundation, 2006), 86.

[95] V. R. Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara* (Panaji, Goa: Institute Menezes Braganza, 1999), 254-55.

[96] Ranabir Chakravarti, "Merchants, Merchandise and Merchantmen in the Western Seaboard of India: A Maritime Profile (500 BCE-1500CE)," in *The Trading World of the Indian Ocean, 1500-1800*, ed. Om Prakash, Vol. 3 part 7 of History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization (New Delhi: Centre for Studies in Civilizations and Pearson Education in South Asia, 2012), 83-84.

[97] Pratima Kamat, "Safety, Succour, (At) Sea: Documenting the Worship of the 'Maritime' Madonna in Goa," *Indica* 49, no. 2 (September 2012): 169.

Gopakapattana. They may have dealt with trade in horses.[98] Gopakapattana was a port which had trade relations with other places in the Indian Ocean region.[99] The term *pattana* was used to refer to a commercial centre. It may have also referred to a settlement on the coast of a water body.[100] Gopakapattana is also believed to have had trading contacts with a number of places including Malaya-desa or Malaya, Zangavar or Zanzibar and Khyata or Kuwait.[101] There were a number of maritime ports in the region.

Ram Sharan Sharma informed that gold coins were collected when ships arrived for trade. These were gold *gadyanas* and *dharanas*. This is mentioned in an inscription dated AD 1008. It indicated that there was a growth of trade in the Konkan.[102] This is mentioned in the Kharepatan plates dated AD 1008 which are of Rattaraja of the South Konkan Silaharas. This levy was applicable on ships from foreign lands and Kandalamuliya. Ships from Chemulya and Chandrapura were exempted.[103] Chemulya referred to modern Chaul. Chandrapura referred to modern Chandor in Goa.[104] There was an inscription dated AD 1053 of Jayakesi I of the Goa Kadambas.[105] It informed that Jayakesi I permitted the collection of certain taxes on commercial ships which arrived from different places to the port of Goa. The taxes were to be collected in coins called *gadyanacas* and *dracmas*.[106] The coins referred to in the inscription were the *gadyanas* and *drammas*.[107] Thus, trading activities were present in the region.

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[98] V. T. Gune, ed., *Gazetteer of the Union Territory: Goa, Daman and Diu*, part 1: Goa (1979; repr., Panaji, Goa: Gazetteer Department, 2009), 117-18.

[99] Pratima Kamat, "Historical Geography and Natural Resources," in *Goa through the Ages: An Economic History*, ed. Teotonio R. de Souza, vol. 2 (1990; repr., New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1999), 12.

[100] Chakravarti, "Merchants, Merchandise and Merchantmen in the Western Seaboard of India: A Maritime Profile (500 BCE-1500CE)," 82.

[101] Pius Malekandathil, "Maritime Trade and Political Economy of Goa, 800-1500," in *Maritime India: Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, rev. ed. (Delhi: Primus Books, 2015), 23.

[102] Ram Sharan Sharma, *Indian Feudalism c. AD 300-1200*, 3rd ed. (2006; repr., Delhi: Macmillan Publishers India Ltd., 2013), 210.

[103] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 183-85.

[104] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 187.

[105] Panduranga Pissurlencar, "Inscrições Pre-Portuguesas de Goa," *OP* (2nd series) 22 (1938): 386.

[106] Pissurlencar, "Inscrições Pre-Portuguesas de Goa," 391-92.

[107] Pissurlencar, "Inscrições Pre-Portuguesas de Goa," 398.

Different communities of merchants in the Goa region

In the mid first millennium AD, records indicate that Persian Christian merchants conducted trade with ports such as Sibor or Sindabor or Chandrapura in Goa. They also traded with Saurashtra, Kalyan and the Malabar coast. These Persian Christian merchants from Fars were linked with the Sasanian empire of Persia. These merchants from Fars spoke Pahlavi.[108] In Danddi in Agaçaim in Goa, on the banks of the Zuari river, a damaged cross with a Pahlavi inscription was found. It is believed to belong to the seventh century AD.[109] This cross was found in Agaçaim which is located in the region of the Gopakapattana port. Such crosses bearing Pahlavi inscriptions have been found in other places as well including Mylapore, Kottayam and Alengad.[110]

The ports of the Konkan also had places where Arab merchants had settled.[111] The Chinchani copper-plate dated AD 1034 of the reign of Chhittaraja of the North Konkan Silaharas was found in the district of Thana. The grant was addressed to a number of people including some merchants. These people were Alliya, Mahara and Madhumata. It is believed that these were Muslims who had established themselves in the area.[112] The grant also mentioned other people who included the *sreshthin* Kesari and the merchant Uva. Kakkala and Somaiya who were goldsmiths also find mention.[113] The Panjim plates of Jayakesi I of the Goa Kadambas dated AD 1059 informs of a *Tajiya* or an Arab family who had established themselves at Chemulya. This was a *nauvittaka* family. Chhadama mentioned in the grant is informed as belonging to this family.[114] *Tajiya* was the same as a *Tajika* or *Tajjika* and referred to an Arab.[115] Inscriptions in Sanskrit refer to the *nauvittaka*. It meant a person whose *vitta*

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[108] Pius Malekandathil, "Maritime Traditions of Goa and the Indian Ocean: A Study of the Society and Economy up to A.D. 1500," in *Globalization: Pre Modern India*, ed. Nagendra Rao (New Delhi: Regency Publications, 2005), 151-52.

[109] Cosme Jose Costa, *The Heritage of Govapuri (A Study on the Artifacts in and around the Pilar Seminary Museum)* (Pilar, Goa: Pilar Publications, 2002), 10.

[110] Malekandathil, "Maritime Traditions of Goa and the Indian Ocean: A Study of the Society and Economy up to A.D. 1500," 151-52.

[111] Chakravarti, "Merchants, Merchandise and Merchantmen in the Western Seaboard of India: A Maritime Profile (500 BCE-1500CE)," 84.

[112] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 71-72.

[113] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 74-75.

[114] Moreshwar G. Dikshit, "Panjim Plates of Jayakesi (I); Saka 981," in *Indica: The Indian Historical Research Institute Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume*, ed. B. G. Gokhale (Bombay: St. Xavier's College, 1953), 89-91.

[115] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 332.

or wealth was derived from his *nau* or ship. The word *nauvittaka* was equivalent to the Arabic and Persian term *nakhuda*. *Nakhuda* was derived from *nau* or ship and *khuda* or lord. It referred to a merchant who owned ships.[116] Chhadama was the same as Sadano who finds mention in the inscription of Jayakesi I dated AD 1053.[117] This inscription dated AD 1053 informs that Sadano or Saddhan was a minister of Jayakesi I of the Goa Kadambas who established a *mijiguiti* or *mesquita* in Gopakapura. Jayakesi I permitted the collection of certain taxes on commercial ships which arrived from different places to the port of Goa. The taxes were to go towards the upkeep of the *mesquita* established by Sadano.[118] A *mesquita* referred to a mosque.[119] Gopakapura referred to the port of Goa Velha.[120] Jayakesi I probably did this in order to encourage merchants from Arabia.[121]

The Kharepatan copper-plates dated AD 1095 of Anantadeva I of the North Konkan Silaharas records that two merchants, Bhabhana-sreshthin and Dhanama-sreshthin of Ballipattana or modern Kharepatan, were not liable to pay certain dues when their ships arrived into certain ports. These ports included Chemulya, Sristhanaka and Surparaka. Chemulya referred to modern Chaul.[122] Sristhanaka is modern Thana and Surparaka is modern Sopara.[123]

In AD 1116-17, there is a record of a Jewish merchant named Allan b. Hassun who traded between Aden and Sindabur or Chandrapura.[124] There is also record of a letter written in c. AD 1145 by a Jewish shipowner or *nakhoda* called Mahruz b. Jacob. His ship plied between Aden and India. It mentions the ports of Tana, Kanbayat and

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[116] Chakravarti, "Merchants, Merchandise and Merchantmen in the Western Seaboard of India: A Maritime Profile (500 BCE-1500CE)," 93.

[117] Dikshit, "Panjim Plates of Jayakesi (I); Saka 981," 92-93.

[118] Pissurlencar, "Inscrições Pre-Portuguesas de Goa," 391-92.

[119] F. J. Caldas Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Lisboa: Typographia da Parceria Antonio Maria Pereira, 1925), 286.

[120] Pissurlencar, "Inscrições Pre-Portuguesas de Goa," 395.

[121] Malekandathil, "Maritime Trade and Political Economy of Goa, 800-1500," 23.

[122] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 115-16.

[123] Chakravarti, "Merchants, Merchandise and Merchantmen in the Western Seaboard of India: A Maritime Profile (500 BCE-1500CE)," 83-84.

[124] Malekandathil, "Maritime Trade and Political Economy of Goa, 800-1500," 25.

Mangalore.[125] Tana referred to modern Thana.[126] Kanbayat referred to Cambay.[127] The letter also mentions a *nakhoda* Tinbu. There is also reference to Abul-Qasim Ibn Qattan who dealt with cotton, who was in Mangalore.[128] Tinbu is believed to have been a Hindu while Abul-Qasim was a Muslim.[129] The coast of Gujarat as well as the coast of Malabar were linked to the Konkan region by sea. Mangalore was another vital port on the Kanara coast.[130] *Nakhoda* was probably the same as *nakhuda*. The mention of these harbours indicates that trade was conducted by the sea-route through these ports. There were traders of different communities in the region.

Trade activities in the Goa region

Goa was also attacked on a number of occasions. The forces of Malik Kafur attacked in AD 1310. In AD 1327, the forces of Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq invaded the region. Around AD 1342-44, there was an attack of Jamal-ud-din of Honavar. He sent a fleet to capture Gopakapattana under the captainship of Ibn Battuta.[131] Ibn Battuta informed that Jamal-ud-din had fifty-two vessels which set out to capture Goa. Upon attack, a number of inhabitants of Goa fled into the castle of the ruler. However, after fire was thrown into it, they surrendered and were captured. They were later released and their families were returned to them. They were allowed to settle in a part of the city. Shortly thereafter, the ruler of Goa made an attempt to retake it.[132] It is believed that after this attack, trade dwindled at Gopakapattana.[133]

In due time, the Zuari river got silted. Thereafter, there was a movement towards the Mandovi river. This took place during the Vijayanagara and Bahmani periods. Under the Vijayanagara rule, Raya bandar or modern Ribandar which was the royal

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[125] S. D. Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders* (1973; repr., Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2015), 62-64.

[126] Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*, 63n4.

[127] Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*, 64n9.

[128] Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*, 64.

[129] Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*, 64n12.

[130] Chakravarti, "Merchants, Merchandise and Merchantmen in the Western Seaboard of India: A Maritime Profile (500 BCE-1500CE)," 84.

[131] Malekandathil, "Maritime Trade and Political Economy of Goa, 800-1500," 26-27.

[132] Ibn Battuta, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*, trans. H. A. R. Gibb (London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1929), 239-41.

[133] Malekandathil, "Maritime Trade and Political Economy of Goa, 800-1500," 27.

port became an important port along the Mandovi river. The city of Ella was located at a short distance from it.[134] Goa had been a port under the Vijayanagara kings. Mahmud Gawan of the Bahmani empire and his forces knew of the fame of Goa and captured it in AD 1472.[135] The Bahmanis then controlled Ella. The number of Muslim traders increased. In AD 1479, a number of *navayats* from Honavar and Bhatkal arrived. Their arrival was due to the oppression they faced under the Vijayanagara rule. This was because they provided horses to the Bahmanis in the course of trade.[136] It is believed that the community of *navayats* were Arabs who had married locals. They were also known as the *naiteas*.[137] In present day Goa, the local Muslims are known as *Moir*. This was derived from the word used to refer to the Moors. It is believed that a number of Muslims from Goa are possibly the descendants of the Arabs who were involved in trading activities.[138]

With the breakup of the Bahmani empire, Goa fell into the hands of Yusuf Adil Shah of Bijapur in AD 1498. It is believed that Goa paid one hundred thousand *pardãos* annually to Yusuf Adil Shah. This was largely from the income on trading activities conducted in the port.[139] Under Yusuf Adil Shah of the Adil Shahi dynasty, trade thrived at the port of Ella.[140] With the defeat of the Adil Shah of Bijapur in AD 1510, this port became an important centre under the Portuguese.[141] After the arrival of the Portuguese, there were cordial relations between them and Vijayanagara. This was because the Portuguese supplied them with horses which were imported from Arabia. These horses were used in wars against the Bahmanis.[142]

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[134] Kamat, "Safety, Succour, (At) Sea: Documenting the Worship of the 'Maritime' Madonna in Goa," 169.

[135] Haroon Khan Sherwani, *The Bahmanis of the Deccan: An Objective Study* (Hyderabad-Deccan: Saood Manzil, 1953), 315-17.

[136] Malekandathil, "Maritime Trade and Political Economy of Goa, 800-1500," 29.

[137] Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, vol. 2 (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1921), 95-96.

[138] Prajal Sakhardande, *Goa Gold Goa Silver: Her History Her Heritage from Earliest Times to 2019* (Panjim, Goa: Broadway Publishing House, 2019), 83-84.

[139] Malekandathil, "Maritime Trade and Political Economy of Goa, 800-1500," 29.

[140] Kamat, "Historical Geography and Natural Resources," 14-15.

[141] Kamat, "Safety, Succour, (At) Sea: Documenting the Worship of the 'Maritime' Madonna in Goa," 169.

[142] N. Shyam Bhat, "Socio-Economic Relations between Goa and Karnataka: A Historical Perception," *Indica* 45, no. 2 (September 2008): 168.

Pius Malekandathil was of the opinion that during the early medieval period, the economy of Goa was at an activated stage. This was mainly due to the sea trade that was carried out in the ports of Goa. Further, people also took up craft production. The commodities produced were suited to meet the requirements of this sea trade.[143] It can be seen that Goa and the surrounding region had a number of commercial centres. There were a number of ports in the region which carried out trade by sea. The inscriptions of the region also indicate that overland trade groups were present in the region. The importance of trade in the region would have definitely had an effect on craft production in the region of Goa and the surroundings.

Trade, wealth accumulation and political power

A number of inscriptions dated to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries AD from Hoysala territories indicate that merchants had important administrative positions in the government.[144] These traders and merchants had designations which included *mahapradhana*, *mandalika* and others which show that they were important government functionaries. Some merchants had titles like *rajasresthigal* or royal merchant. This was due to the wealth they accumulated.[145] It was noticed that traders who had conducted sea trade and owned ships were able to amass wealth. They managed this through their trading activities. Gradually, they were able to wield political power. One example was that of Jamal-ud-din of Honavar. He was the son of a Muslim shipbuilder from Goa. In the AD 1340s, Jamal-ud-din became the ruler of Honavar with the help of wealth received through the trading activities of his family.[146] There were also other examples from the region, under the North Konkan Silaharas and Goa Kadambas, wherein families of merchants and those owing ships, had positions in the government.

The Kharepatan copper-plates dated AD 1095 of Anantadeva I of the North Konkan Silaharas records that two merchants of Ballipattana or modern Kharepatan were provided some privileges, possibly in recognition for some services. They were

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[143] Malekandathil, "Maritime Trade and Political Economy of Goa, 800-1500," 29-30.

[144] Hanuma Nayaka, "Merchants as Agents of the State under the Hoysalas," *PIHC* 64th Session, Mysore (2003): 241.

[145] Nayaka, "Merchants as Agents of the State under the Hoysalas," 238.

[146] Malekandathil, "Maritime Traditions of Goa and the Indian Ocean: A Study of the Society and Economy up to A.D. 1500," 161.

not liable to pay certain dues when their ships arrived into certain ports. These ports included Chemulya, Sristhanaka and Surparaka. One merchant was *mahapradhana* Bhabhana-sreshthin. The other was his brother, *mahasandhivigrahika* Dhanama-sreshthin.[147] The position of *mahapradhana* referred to a chief minister or administrator.[148] The position of *mahasandhivigrahika* referred to a chief minister for peace and war.[149] They were also exempted from the levy charged on the movement of their sailors. These exemptions were even given to their sons and grandsons.[150]

The Panjim plates of Jayakesi I of the Goa Kadambas dated AD 1059 informs of a *Tajiya* or an Arab *nauvittaka* family who had established themselves at Chemulya. Chhadama mentioned in the grant is informed as belonging to this family.[151] Chhadama was the same as Sadano who finds mention in the inscription of Jayakesi I dated AD 1053.[152] This inscription informs that Sadano or Saddhan was a minister of Jayakesi I who established a *mijiguiti* or *mesquita* or mosque in Gopakapura.[153] Thus, in the region, a number of merchants and owners of ships who were involved in trade rose to important positions in the government.

Taxes and craft production

The Kolhapur inscription dated AD 1135 of the rule of Gandaraditya of the Kolhapur Silaharas records that taxes were imposed on goods in the market of Kavadegolla. The taxes were levied by the *Vira-Bananjas* or the trading group of Ayyavole, the royal merchant of Gandaraditya and merchants of other towns including Mirinje and Balyevattanna. Mirinje is modern Miraj in the district of Sangli. Baleyavattana was probably Ballipattana or modern Kharepatan. Ballipattana was a capital of the South Konkan Silaharas. Taxes were collected on various items in cash or kind.[154] The inscription makes mention of a number of taxes levied on the craftsmen. There was a *pana* levied on every *honge* or gold coin worth of items sold in the shop of

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[147] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 115-16.

[148] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 183.

[149] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 116.

[150] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 120.

[151] Dikshit, "Panjim Plates of Jayakesi (I); Saka 981," 89-91.

[152] Dikshit, "Panjim Plates of Jayakesi (I); Saka 981," 92-93.

[153] Pissurlencar, "Inscrições Pre-Portuguesas de Goa," 391-92.

[154] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 229-31.

the goldsmiths. Every six months, every house of the carpenters had to provide items including a stool and a tripod. They had to provide one bed every year. Each basket of flowers had a tax of one garland. The shops of the potters had to provide one pot.[155]

The Miraj inscription of the reign of Vijayaditya of the Kolhapur Silaharas is a record of two grants dated AD 1142 and 1144. The gifts mentioned were to go towards the worship of god Madhavesvara at Sedambal. Sedambal is modern Shedbal in the district of Belgaum. It records that the *Vira-Bananja* merchant community and others made a donation of certain dues.[156] Each shop of the potters was to contribute one pot. The goldsmiths were to pay a certain amount on every gold *honga* or gold coin assayed by them. Every six months, the shoemakers were to provide a pair of slippers while the cobblers would provide a strap for the same period. The basket-makers were to give one *moru* during each fair.[157] A *moru* is believed to have referred to a head-load.[158]

The taxes collected in Goa were similar to those levied in the Karnataka region. Some of these taxes included the *totadaya*. This was a tax on the revenue earned from garden land. The *kuniya sunka* was the tax on water sources for the irrigation of fields. The skilled workers were taxed the *chittani kayalu dasom*. This was one-tenth of levy of tax collected from them. The *talasari* was a transit duty. The *biruvani* was a tax for the upkeep of traders.[159] The existence of all these taxes indicate that the economy was active. It also shows that the people had the ability to pay these taxes. The *kuniya sunka* shows that agricultural production was present. The *chittani kayalu dasom* points to the growth of craft production. The *biruvani* informs that trade was practiced.[160] The village of Halsi in the taluka of Khanapur of the district of Belgaum was an important town under the Goa Kadambas. The Halasige Twelve Thousand division included parts of Uttara Kannada, Belgaum and Dharwar.[161] In a study of Halsi, the term *sunka* meant

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[155] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 235.

[156] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 241-43.

[157] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 245.

[158] Lionel D. Barnett, "Two Inscriptions from Kolhapur and Miraj: Saka 1058 & 1066," *EI* 19 (1927-28): 40n8.

[159] K. G. Vasantamadhava, "Gove - Karnataka Cultural Contacts from 1000-1600 A.D.," in *Goa: Cultural Trends (Seminar Papers)*, ed. P. P. Shirodkar (Panaji, Goa: Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum, Government of Goa, 1988), 23.

[160] Malekandathil, "Maritime Trade and Political Economy of Goa, 800-1500," 25-26.

[161] Smita P. Surebankar, "Taxation System in Halasige - 12000: A Study," *PIHC* Millennium 61st Session, Kolkatta, Part One (2000-2001): 242.

a tax. Hence, the *balegara-sunka* was a tax on bangle sellers. The *vaddaravula* was a levy on land which was on the banks of rivers. However, some were of the opinion that it was a tax on moneylenders. This was because the word *vaddi* or *baddi* meant interest.[162]

The term *kammara* referred to a blacksmith. *Paga* meant a tax. Thus, the *kammarapaga* was a tax on the blacksmiths. The word *madivala* referred to a washerman and the term *paga* referred to a levy or tax. Hence, the *madivalapaga* was a tax on the washermen. The *telligas* were oil-pressers and *sese* referred to a tax or levy. The *teligara-sese* was thus a tax on oil-pressers. The word *taila* referred to oil and *sarige* was tax. Thus, the *taila sarige* was a tax on oil manufacture. The *badagi sese* was a tax on carpenters derived from *badagi* meaning carpenter and *sese* meaning tax. The *kumbharakara* was a tax on potters derived from *kumbhara* meaning potter.[163] The term *kara* referred to certain dues or generally referred to tax.[164] The word *dere* referred to a tax. The word *bale* referred to bangles. *Gana* was an oil-mill while the term *magga* referred to looms. Therefore, the *baledere* was a tax on the manufacture of bangles, the *ganadere* was a tax on oil-mills and the *maggadere* was a tax on weaving.[165] All these indicate that there were a wide range of craft production activities in the region.[166]

The Tambur inscription of AD 1156 informs that various professionals including the *senigas* who were involved in business and the *asagas* who were washermen had to pay taxes. The Sigigatti inscription dated AD 1162 informs that oilmen and potters had taxes levied on them. The Muttage inscription of AD 1223 also mentions that certain taxes were levied on the *badagis* or carpenters.[167] These records indicate that the craftsmen and artisans were involved in tax contributions to the state.

Karuka and *pancha karuka*

The *Lekhapaddati* documents relating to Gujarat dated to c. AD 1000 informs of the *pancha karuka* or the five village artisans. These included the carpenter,

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[162] Surebankar, "Taxation System in Halasige - 12000: A Study," 243-44.

[163] Surebankar, "Taxation System in Halasige - 12000: A Study," 245.

[164] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 144-45.

[165] Surebankar, "Taxation System in Halasige - 12000: A Study," 245.

[166] Malekandathil, "Maritime Trade and Political Economy of Goa, 800-1500," 26.

[167] Gurav, "The Kadambas of Goa and Their Inscriptions," 331.

blacksmith and barber. Also included were the potter and washerman. The peasants used to give them grain.[168]

The Panjim plates dated AD 1391 of the rule of Harihara II of the Vijayanagara dynasty informed that Madhava mantri granted an *agrahara*. There is also mention of taxes imposed on certain professionals. These included the *sthapatis* or architects, the *kammaras* or smiths and the *charmakaras* or leather workers. The *malakaras* or garland makers and the *rajakas* or washermen also find mention on the list. Besides these people, levies were also imposed on other artisans referred to as the *karu-praja*. The *vanijakas* or merchants and the *nau-vahakas* or ferrymen were also included. The taxes like the *sulkas* as well as ten *danakas* of the *karuka* tax were imposed on these professionals and others.[169]

An inscription near the Kalinatha temple in Araga in the taluka of Tirthahalli in the district of Sivamoga of the reign of Harihara II of the Vijayanagara dynasty dated AD 1404 informs that certain *nadus* of Araga-venthe and the *halaru* made a gift of land. The land was a *sarvanamasya* which was free from payments such as the *karuka*, *pancha karuka*, *sunka* and others. This was for the worship in the temple.[170] Another inscription on a stone in Hosakoppa in the taluka of Tirthahalli of the district of Sivamoga of the rule of Harihara II of the Vijayanagara dynasty dated AD 1404 informs that the *nadus* of a certain place made a grant of a village and land to a person. These gifts were free of taxes such as the *sumka karuka*, the *pancha karuka* and others.[171] The term *karuka* referred to an artisan and may have referred to the five artisans like the carpenter, barber, washerman, blacksmith and potter. However, the term *karuka* also referred to a tax on the craftsmen and artisans.[172]

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[168] Irfan Habib, "Caste in Indian History," in *Essays in Indian History: Towards a Marxist Perspective* (1997; repr., New Delhi: Tulika Books, 2010), 171.

[169] Murthy, "Panjim Plates of the Time of Harihara II, Saka 1313," 112-14.

[170] B. R. Gopal, ed., *Vijayanagara Inscriptions*, vol. 3 (Mysore: Directorate of Archaeology & Museums, Government of Karnataka, 1990), 368.

[171] Gopal, *Vijayanagara Inscriptions*, vol. 3, 381.

[172] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 149.

Dasabandha

In medieval Karnataka, there is mention of a term known as *dasavanda* or *dasavandha* or *dasavanna*. It was the same as the *dasabandha*.[173] The *dasabandha* has been understood in various ways. It may have been a tenth of the revenue. This was used for the maintenance of irrigation tanks and wells. It may have also referred to a tenth of the produce of the land. This was for the person who maintained the water source which irrigated the land under cultivation.[174]

An inscription dated AD 1118 from Lakkundi in the taluka of Gadag on a pillar in the temple of Somesvara of the reign of Vikramaditya VI of the Western Chalukya dynasty informed that Ketoja and Ganga made a grant. They gifted the *dasavanda* income to the temple. This was from the smithy of god Bharatesvara.[175] The *dasabandha* tax, also called the *dasavamda*, was levied on the *binnanis* or artisans can be seen in the Tambur inscription dated AD 1144. The *dasabandha* also finds mention in the Panjim plates dated AD 1059.[176] The Panjim plates dated AD 1059 of Jayakesi I of the dynasty of the Goa Kadambas records the grant of the village of Laghu Morambika in Gopaka-dvipa. It further informs that the property was to be free from the collection of various taxes including the *dasabandha*.[177] The mention of the *dasabandha* in an inscription of the Goa Kadambas indicates that the tax was known in Goa.

Tax officials

An inscription from Lakshmeshvar of the Chalukya dynasty of Badami refers to the guild of braziers. It informed that they had the right to collect taxes which was authorised by the king. It was of the reign of Vikramaditya.[178] The inscriptions of the Goa Kadambas make mention of tax officials. These included the *sunka-adhikari*, the *sunka-vergade* and others.[179] The term *sunka* was a customs duty or toll. It was the same

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[173] Gururajachar, *Some Aspects of Economic and Social Life in Karnataka [A.D. 1000-1300]*, 31.

[174] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 84.

[175] Rao, *SII*, vol. 11 part 2: Bombay-Karnatak Inscriptions vol. 1 part 2, 250.

[176] Gurav, "The Kadambas of Goa and Their Inscriptions," 331.

[177] Dikshit, "Panjim Plates of Jayakesi (I); Saka 981," 89-91.

[178] Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula: A History of Ancient and Mediaeval Karnataka*, 285.

[179] Surebankar, "Taxation System in Halasige - 12000: A Study," 247.

as the term *sulka*.[180] The *sunka-adhikari* Dinakara Nayaka granted to a temple the *talasarige* tax that was levied on the house of the oil-pressers. At times, the governors also collected taxes. This was done in addition to their political duties. They were assisted by the *pergades* and the *nadagavundas*.[181]

The Hasarambi inscription dated AD 1171 was found in the Hasarambi village near Galigi near Kalghatgi in the taluka of Kalghatgi. It informs of a *sunka-adhikari* or revenue officer by the name of Lakshmadevi. It states that the officer granted a tax on oilmen called the *telligar-okkalu-dere* and a tax on the potters called the *kumbara-okkala-dere* to the temple of god Somesvara of Hasurige. The inscription is important as it informs of a female revenue officer.[182]

Smita P. Surebankar noticed that while there were a significant number of taxes levied, there were also a large amount of exemptions made. The state returned a large amount of taxes which were taken. This was in the form of expenditure for welfare matters including education and arts. These also included the construction of roads, irrigation facilities and other buildings. It was noticed that a large part of the revenue collected was invested for the benefit of the people.[183] Thus, it can be seen that the craftsmen and the artisans who were taxed, contributed indirectly to the economy and the society.

Payments and exemptions to artisans

In medieval peninsular India, there were records of house-sites or land being given to the artisans.[184] An inscription dated AD 1047 from Medur in the taluka of Hirekerur of the rule of Somesvara I of the Western Chalukya dynasty records the grant of land and a garden to the temple of god Makalesvaradeva in Edavatte Seventy. It also mentions that one *mattar* of land was given to Gavare, the stonemason.[185] A *mattar* in Kannada referred to a unit of land measurement. It was the same as the *mattaru* or the

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[180] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 327.

[181] Surebankar, "Taxation System in Halasige - 12000: A Study," 247-48.

[182] R. N. Gurav, "Permadi Deva and Vijayaditya of Kadambas of Goa," *QJMS* 57, no. 1-4 (April 1966-January 1967): 13-14.

[183] Surebankar, "Taxation System in Halasige - 12000: A Study," 248-49.

[184] Vijaya Ramaswamy, "Vishwakarma Craftsmen in Early Medieval Peninsular India," *JESHO* 47, no. 4 (2004): 575.

[185] Gopal and Ritti, *Summaries of Inscriptions (1943-44 to 1949-50)*, 62-63.

nivartana.[186] The *nivartana* was a unit of land measure. However, it varied across regions and periods of time.[187] The Cintra inscription of Aparaditya I of the North Konkan Silaharas dated AD 1137 records that thirteen houses were exempted from the payment of house tax. These houses were associated with the temple of goddess Jogesvari. Besides the owner of the *matha* and others who are named, the house of the potter was also exempted from the tax.[188] An undated stone inscription from the taluka of Haveri of the reign of Jagadekamalladeva II of the Western Chalukya dynasty informs of the construction of a *sivalaya* and a gift of land to the temple of Bachesvaradeva. This was when Banavasi Twelve Thousand was being ruled by *mahamandaleshvara* Tailapadeva. It also records that Devaja, the mason received a gift of land. It is informed that he had constructed the temple *sukanasi*. This was done with bricks. He had also served the temple of Bachesvara.[189] The *sukanasi* was an outcrop of the body of the *sikhara*.[190] The *sikhara* of the temple was the portion constructed above the main shrine of the temple.[191]

An inscription dated AD 1149 from Belvantar near Kalghatgi informs that Permadideva of the dynasty of the Goa Kadambas was the feudatory of Jagadekamalla. The inscription goes on to mention that the *hergade* Kama had a temple of Shiva called Hadavalesvara constructed. One of the recipients of a grant was the sculptor Maroja who was probably involved in the construction of the temple.[192] An inscription dated AD 1160 from Golihalli of the time of Permadideva of the dynasty of the Goa Kadambas informs that Bavanayya constructed the temple of Hemmesvaradeva in Kirusampagadi. He also granted a house for a potter. This was done to supply pots to the temple. Also a house for an oilman to start an oil-mill was given. Oil was to be supplied to the temple for the *Chaitra* and *Pavitra* festivals.[193] The *Chaitra* ceremony took place in the month of *Chaitra* while the *Pavitra* ceremony took place in the month

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[186] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 202.

[187] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 220.

[188] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 127-30.

[189] C. R. Krishnamacharlu, ed., *ARSIE for 1932-33*, In Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy (1930-1934) (repr., New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1986), Appendix D, No. 3, 92.

[190] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 326.

[191] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 311.

[192] R. N. Gurav, "Permadideva and Vijayaditya of the Kadambas of Goa," *QJMS* 55, no. 1 (April 1964): 28-29.

[193] Gurav, "Permadideva and Vijayaditya of the Kadambas of Goa," 32-33.

of *Sravana*.[194] Hence, it appears that in the Goa region as well, the artisans were provided with land or a house-site in return for their services.

In medieval peninsular India, there were some records indicate that the artisans were paid in cash.[195] The Nandikatta hero-stone informs of the death of Nariya Bonna. It was dated AD 1138. It goes on to inform that when the fort at Gutti was attacked, Nariya Bonna fought the enemy and was ultimately killed. Makavve or Mayakka, who was his younger sister got the stone sculpted in his memory. For this work, Haloja received two gold coins as payment. Haloja is referred to as a gifted son of goddess Saraswati. The cost of carving a hero-stone appears to have been two *honnas*.[196] A hero-stone dated AD 1139 from Tambur of the reign of Bulokamalla informs that a son of Sidila Keta died when *samanta* Malarasa attacked Medanige. The family members of the deceased had the hero-stone erected. They paid two gold coins for this.[197] A damaged hero-stone in the Kannada language which is undated and in characters of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries AD and without any dynasty was found lying near the ruins of a temple in Madanahalli in the taluka of Halyala of the district of North Kanara. It informs of the death of Saptaya Nayaka, son of Gamgeya-nayaka in a cattle raid. A gift of one *pana* was made to the *oja* or sculptor.[198]

A stone inscription dated AD 1402 of the period of the Vijayanagara rule was found at Veluz in the taluka of Sattari in Goa. It records that payments were made for certain services and to the temple servants who were involved in the worship of the deity called Ravalnath. The payments included one *tanka* to the priest and four *tankas* towards lighting of the lamp. There were also six *tankas* to the washerman and three *tankas* to the other temple servants.[199] Thus, it is seen that in some cases, the artisans were paid in cash as well.

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[194] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 64.

[195] Ramaswamy, "Vishwakarma Craftsmen in Early Medieval Peninsular India," 575.

[196] Gurav, "The Kadambas of Goa and Their Inscriptions," 188-89.

[197] Gurav, "The Kadambas of Goa and Their Inscriptions," 189-90.

[198] P. R. Srinivasan, ed., *ARIE for 1975-76* (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1986), Appendix B, No. 134, 56-57.

[199] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 111-12.

Grants after death

Inscriptional evidence suggests that when works of public benefit were carried out by someone, they were rewarded with a grant of land. Further, families of those who died while defending the village from attacks or those preventing the capture of cattle also received gifts.[200] An inscription dated AD 1072 from Tamadi Kallala in the taluka of Siddapur of the district of North Kanara was of the reign of Somesvara II. It states that *mahamandaleshvara* Chattayyadeva was attacked by his brother, Tailapadeva.[201] Tailapa was the ruler of the Kadambas of Hangal.[202] During the battle, Biranna who was a servant of Chattayyadeva fought and was killed. In order to support the family of Biranna, the income from the *balagara-sumkada* or tax on the bangle sellers was granted. The inscription was written by Devamanada Lakkanayya of Kallapala. It was engraved by Jakoja. He was the nephew of Aytavarmoja of Kavana-bana.[203]

An inscription dated AD 1412 was found on a slab in the Virabhadra temple in Sanguru in the taluka of Haveri of the reign of the Vijayanagara king, Devaraja I. It informs that *pradhana-dandanatha* Savanna-vodeya was administering Gove-rajya when a grant of land was made in Sanguru in the Gutti Eighteen *kampana*. The land was gifted to four people by the sons of Padimukhi Jaina Mallapa of Gove. The gift was made as a blood grant. This was known as *nettaru-godage*. The donors were accompanied by others who included the *kumbharas* or potters, the *patresaligas* or silk weavers.[204] A *kodage* was a grant made in gratitude. This was for some deed which was performed. A *nettaru-kodage* or *rakta-kodage* was a grant of land to the family of the deceased who had sacrificed their life.[205] The *godage* was probably the same as the *kodage*. The inscriptions indicate that the craftsmen of the region contributed at times when there was a death in the service of the community. They were also present at the time of making such grants.

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[200] Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula: A History of Ancient and Mediaeval Karnataka*, 273.

[201] Gopal, *KI*, vol. 5, 25.

[202] Gopal, *KI*, vol. 5, xvi.

[203] Gopal, *KI*, vol. 5, 25.

[204] B. R. Gopal, ed., *Vijayanagara Inscriptions*, vol. 2 (Mysore: Directorate of Archaeology & Museums, Government of Karnataka, 1986), 119.

[205] Gururajachar, *Some Aspects of Economic and Social Life in Karnataka [A.D. 1000-1300]*, 30.

There were a number of organisations which had different artisans and craft producers associated with them. These included the *seni*, the *kottali*, the *hittu*, the *okkalu* and others. There were also a number of trade guilds active in the region. These included the *hanjamana*, the *nagaras* or *nakaras*, the *nanadesis*, the Ayyavole Five Hundred and others. There were various views about the nature of the *hanjamana*. Initially, it was believed that it was a group made up of artisans. However, it is now believed to be a group of Muslim traders in the coastal regions.

Records also make mention of a number of *settis* and *sreshthins* who were traders. It was noticed that there were a number of ports in the Goa region which dealt with maritime trade. There is record of coins collected from ships which arrived from different ports. This can be seen in the inscriptions of the South Konkan Silaharas as well as the Goa Kadambas. There were members of different communities who conducted trade in the region. From early times, it is believed the Persian Christian merchants traded with the region. There were also Arab and Jewish merchants who took part in trade.

It was noticed that merchants who conducted trade were able to accumulate wealth as well as political power. This was seen under the Hoysalas. It was also seen in the case of Jamal-ud-din of Honavar. This was even noticed during the prior period under the North Konkan Silaharas. It was seen that some merchants were important ministers in the government. Their ships were exempted from payments of certain dues on arrival into certain ports. The same was also noticed in the case of the Goa Kadambas. A minister under Jayakesi I of the Goa Kadambas is believed to have been from an Arab family who owned ships. It is believed that these ship owing merchants who conducted trade were able to gain political power.

The maritime trade in the region played an important role in the economy. Craft production activities focussed to meet the requirements of this trade. It was noticed that craft production activities were also taxed. The craftsmen who were taxed included the goldsmiths, carpenters, potters as well as the oil-pressers and others. There is also mention of a *karuka* tax and the *dasabandha* tax. There was also a record of tax officials who were involved in tax collection.

There are also inscriptions which record that certain craftsmen were paid for their services. At times, it was in the form of land or house-sites. Some of them were also paid in cash for their services. The presence of the artisans in the region was also

seen when financial contributions were made in gratitude when people lost their lives in the service of the community.

Chapter 4

Pre-Portuguese period: Industries, influence and contributions[1]

There were a number of coins in circulation in the region. These would have been produced by skilled craftsmen. Besides these, there were also hero-stones, *sati*-stones and *nishidhi*-stones which were created by the stoneworkers and engravers. There were certain hero-stones which showed ships. The works of the craftsmen were influenced by the rulers as well as the surrounding regions. The works created also appear to have adhered to the rules of iconography. The rulers provided patronage to Hindu temples, Jain *basadis* and mosques. The craftsmen also provided their services to the rulers, elites and common people.

Coinage

In ancient India, coins were generally produced through three methods. These were through punching, casting and die-striking. In the case of punch-marked coins, all the images on the coin were individually stamped. In the case of the casting method, moulds were used to manufacture the coins. In the die-striking method, a die with the required symbol, size and shape was used. This method saved time and also standardised the coins.[2]

In the north Konkan, a number of coins were in circulation. The silver *dramma* was also known as the *rajata-nishka*.[3] The copper-plates of the Bhadana grant dated AD 997 of the reign of Aparajita of the North Konkan Silaharas makes mention of the *drammas*.[4] Land revenue and house-tax were paid in *drammas*. There is mention of a *griha-dramma* which meant a tax of one *dramma* for each house.[5] The *dharana* was also a coin which finds mention in the inscriptions of the Silaharas. The Kharepatan

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[1] Certain sections of this chapter have appeared in the following journal article by the author in requirement of the Ph.D. degree: Christopher H. de Souza, "Craftsmen and Some Political and Religious Aspects in the Goa Region (AD 1000 to 1510)," *International Journal of Social Science and Economic Research* 4, no. 4 (April 2019): 3175-81.

[2] T. P. Verma, "A Study on Manufacturing of Coins in Ancient India as Revealed from the Arthasastra," *JNSI* 33, pt. 2 (1971): 25-26.

[3] Vasudev Vishnu Mirashi, ed., *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1977), lxv.

[4] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 36-38.

[5] Vasudev Vishnu Mirashi, "Coins Mentioned in the Inscriptions of the Silaharas," *JNSI* 36 (1974): 77.

plates of Rattaraja refers to it as a *suvarna dharana* and it was most likely a gold coin. However, the *dharana* also known as a *purana* was known to be a silver coin, as can be seen from the *Yajnavalkya-smriti*. The gold *gadyana* finds mention in inscriptions. The *suvarna gadyana* is mentioned in the Kharepatan plates of Rattaraja.[6] The Kharepatan plates of Rattaraja of the South Konkan Silaharas is dated AD 1008.[7] The Chanje inscription dated AD 1260 of Somesvara of the North Konkan Silaharas records a gift of coins called *visovas*.[8] The *visova* corresponded to one-twentieth of a *dramma*. It was the equivalent of the Marathi *vimsopaka*.[9]

Two gold coins believed to belong to the Kolhapur Silaharas were found near Kolhapur. Although there is no inscription or name of a dynasty, these coins are believed to belong to the Kolhapur Silaharas. This was because they had the figure of a Garuda and the image of a trident. The Kolhapur Silaharas were known to have ruled the area and also used these figures in their copper-plates. It is believed that these gold coins are quite similar to the coins of the Goa Kadambas.[10] This can be observed from the use of the trident and the size of the coins.[11]

Under the Western Chalukya dynasty, coins like the *dramma*, *gadyana* and *pana* were known. Coins like the *honnu*, *haga*, *visa* and others were also utilised. It is believed that one *gadyana* was equivalent to ten *panas*. One *pana* was equivalent to one *haga*. One *haga* was equivalent to four or five *visas*. Finally, one *haga* was equivalent to two *bele*. The *gadyana* was also commonly used.[12]

The coins issued were named after the places where they were minted. The *lokkigadyana* is an example of this. Lokkigundi was modern Lakkundi in the district of Gadag. It had an important mint under the Western Chalukya dynasty. The coins bearing the names *lokki-priya-sraheya-gadyana* and the *lokki-achchina-gadyana* were

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[6] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, lxv.

[7] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 183-85.

[8] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 175-76.

[9] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 176n1.

[10] Moreshwar G. Dikshit, "Discovery of the Gold Coins of Silaharas of Kolhapur," *JNSI* 14, pt. 1 (June 1952): 15-16.

[11] Dikshit, "Discovery of the Gold Coins of Silaharas of Kolhapur," 16n3.

[12] A. V. Narasimha Murthy, *Coins and Currency System in Karnataka* (Mysore: Directorate of Archaeology & Museums in Karnataka, 1997), 120-21.

minted there.[13] A record of Somesvara IV of the Western Chalukya dynasty from Dharwar consists of inscriptions of Jayakesi III of the Goa Kadambas. It bears the dates AD 1202-1203, 1211 and 1215. One section informs that land was sold for fifty-two *gadyanas* of the Lokki mint. Another section informs that land was purchased after a payment of sixty *lokki gadyanas*.[14]

There was also a temple at Lokkigundi called Kammatesvara. It was named after the *kammata* or mint. It was probably maintained from the fees charged at the mint.[15] In medieval peninsular India, the production of coins required the presence of smiths. The mint may have been near the palace or courts. In Karnataka, private minting was done under the supervision of government officials. The mint workers belonged to a separate category under the Vishwakarma craftsmen. They were known as the *kammatas*.[16]

In Karnataka, private mints were allowed to operate. They charged a fee for minting which was utilised for various activities including maintaining temples, irrigation facilities and other works. While the term *kammata* referred to a mint, the mint master was the *kammatakara*. The minting operations were carried out by various people. The *bidigammata* made the metal into the required shape. The *undigeyagammata* affixed the seals on them. The *chaukattukaras* or *saukattukaras* standardised the shape to the coins. The *anikara* took part in the supervision of the operations.[17] An inscription dated AD 1173 from Lakkundi in the taluka of Gadag of the period of Rayamurari Sovideva of the Kalachuris informs of a gift of money made by *anikara* Nagisetti to the Jain *basadi*.[18] An inscription dated AD 1184 from Lakkundi in the taluka of Gadag of the period of Somesvara IV of the Western Chalukya dynasty records a gift of money by Achisetti to the temple of god Mallikarjuna. This money was from the revenue derived from minting. It also mentions that *anikara* Mahadevasetti

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[13] S. L. Shantakumari, *The Kadambas of Goa & Their Inscriptions* (Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, 2015), 131-32.

[14] B. R. Gopal, ed., *KI*, vol. 5 (Dharwar: Kannada Research Institute, Karnatak University, 1969), 123-24.

[15] A. V. Narasimha Murthy, "Some Aspects of Minting in Karnataka," *JNSI* 50, pt. 1 & 2 (1988): 164.

[16] Vijaya Ramaswamy, "Vishwakarma Craftsmen in Early Medieval Peninsular India," *JESHO* 47, no. 4 (2004): 572.

[17] Murthy, "Some Aspects of Minting in Karnataka," 163.

[18] P. B. Desai, ed., *SII*, vol. 15: Bombay-Karnatak Inscriptions vol. 2 (1964; repr., Mysore: Archaeological Survey of India, 1986), 149.

made a gift.[19] Another inscription dated AD 1186 from Lakkundi in the taluka of Gadag of the period of Somesvara IV of the Western Chalukya dynasty informs that *anikara* Sankara Setti, who was the son of Bandiya Basavisetti made a gift to the temple of Nannesvara. The gift was of five *panas* out of the income derived from minting.[20] An inscription from Sudi in the taluka of Ron informs that a goldsmith named Uttavoja had control over the supply of coins. These were of a particular standard which were minted by goldsmiths under him. It is understood that Uttavoja was the royal mint master. In his custody was the *kammatada-ani*, which was the die with the *undige*, which was the royal seal which was used in the minting of coins.[21]

An undated inscription of the reign of Taila III of the Western Chalukya dynasty found in Naragund in the Naragund Petha informs of a grant of land made by *kuppati* Echisetti who was from Hemamgeri. It is informed that the king had given him the responsibility of the *achchu* or mint. It was for this reason that he was called *hema-kuppati*. This referred to the person who cast gold coins.[22] The word *achchu* was used to refer to a mint. However, it also referred to a coin mould or a coin at times. The term *kuppati* was used as an epithet of Echisetti. However, this word also meant a pan or *aggistike*. It is believed that this was a particular instrument possessed by Echisetti to mint coins. Hence, he was called *kuppati* Echisetti.[23]

In the twelfth century AD, there are records of mints being present in Lakkundi and Sudi in Dharwad as well as in Panjim in Goa.[24] The Panjim plates dated AD 1059 of Jayakesi I of the Goa Kadambas makes mention of *nishkas* called *bhairavas*. It also refers to coins called *gadyanakas*.[25] The *gadyanakas* were the same as the *gadyanas*.[26]

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[19] Desai, *SII*, vol. 15: Bombay-Karnatak Inscriptions vol. 2, 87.

[20] Desai, *SII*, vol. 15: Bombay-Karnatak Inscriptions vol. 2, 95.

[21] Om Prakash Prasad, "Trade in the Growth of Towns: A Case Study of Karnataka (c. 600-1200 A.D.)," *PIHC* 41st Session, Bombay (1980): 155-56.

[22] N. Lakshminarayan Rao, ed., *SII*, vol. 18: Bombay-Karnatak Inscriptions vol. 3 (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1975), 218.

[23] A. V. Narasimha Murthy, "Numismatic Data from a Chalukyan Inscription," in *Studies in Karnataka Numismatics* (Mysore: Directorate of Archaeology & Museums, 1996), 55-56.

[24] Meera Abraham, "The Currency System and Monetisation in Karnataka in Vijayanagar Times " *QJMS* 69, no. 1-2 (January-June 1978): 17.

[25] Moreshwar G. Dikshit, "Panjim Plates of Jayakesi (I); Saka 981," in *Indica: The Indian Historical Research Institute Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume*, ed. B. G. Gokhale (Bombay: St. Xavier's College, 1953), 89-91.

[26] D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1966), 108.

The coins were also named after deities. Such coins included the *bhairava nishkas* and the *bhairava gadyanas*.[27] *Nishkas* and *gadyanas* were usually gold coins. The copper-plate grant believed to be dated to AD 1107 of Tribhuvanamalla of the Goa Kadambas makes reference to the *bhairava nishkas* and the *bhairava gadyanas*. There is also reference to a coin called the *brihat bhairava gadyana*. This coin was probably of the *bhairava* type but larger than the usual size.[28]

A coin of the reign of Jayakesi I of the Goa Kadambas had the figure of a lion with a raised front paw. It had the figure of a trident and a Devanagari legend. Another coin of the reign of the same king had the figure of a Gajasimha. This creature has the trunk of an elephant. It has the mane and tail of a lion. The coin also had the figure of a trident and a Devanagari legend. The unique feature of this coin is that it has the figure of the Gajasimha instead of the lion which was associated with the Goa Kadambas. Although no date is mentioned on these coins, the palaeographic study of the inscribed words indicate that they belong to the eleventh century AD. There is no mention of the ruler as well, however, they are believed to be of the period of Jayakesi I. This is because the words *Sri-malege-bhairava* which occur on the coins also appears on the seal of the Panjim copper-plate grant of this ruler. It is believed that these coins were the gold *bhairavas* as indicated in the copper-plate grants.[29]

A gold coin belonging to the reign of Jayakesi II was found in Pedne in Goa. The coin had the figure of a lion with one raised foreleg. There is also the presence of old Kannada characters and on the reverse are Nagari characters.[30] The Goa Kadambas were devotees of the deity Saptakoteshwara. A number of their coins contain the legend *Sri Saptakotisvaralabdha Vara* referring to a gift received from the deity Saptakoteshwara. One of the coins dated to AD 1181 has the legend Sivachitta written. This is in Nagari with Kannada characters.[31]

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[27] Shantakumari, *The Kadambas of Goa & Their Inscriptions*, 131.

[28] P. B. Desai, "Copper-Plate Grant of Kadamba Tribhuvanamalla; Saka 1028," *EI* 30 (1953-54): 71-75.

[29] Moreshwar G. Dikshit, "Some Gold Coins of the Kadamba Dynasty," *JNSI* 11, pt. 2 (December 1949): 88-89.

[30] Moreshwar G. Dikshit, "Some Gold Coins of the Kadambas of Goa," *JNSI* 10, pt. 2 (December 1948): 143.

[31] A. V. Narasimha Murthy, "Recent Evidences on the Coins of Ancient Karnataka," *Journal of the Mysore University* (New Series) Section A-Arts 48 (March & September 1986): 42-43.

The Halsi copper-plate dated AD 1199 of Jayakesi III of the Goa Kadambas records the grant of land and as well as the grant of money for various purposes. Halsi is located in the taluka of Khanapur of the district of Belgaum.[32] The inscription makes mention of coins called *malavaramari nishkas*, *lokki nishkas* and *panas*. An amount of eight *malavaramari nishkas* were allotted for oil for the temple lamp. The *malakara* or florist was allotted six *lokki nishkas* per year. The *pachaka* or cook was allotted four *lokki nishkas* per year.[33] The *malavaramari nishkas* referred to the *nishkas* of the *malavaramari*. These were probably gold coins.[34] There is a record which indicates that Sivachitta Permadideva was associated with the title of *malavaramari*. It is believed that this translated to a slayer of the Malavas. This title was probably used to commemorate the victory of the Goa Kadambas over these people.[35] Jayakesi III, who was the nephew of Sivachitta Permadideva also used the term *malavaramari*.[36]

George M. Moraes informs that the striking of the reverse and obverse of the coins with different designs was known under the Kadambas of Banavasi. But it became widespread under the Goa Kadambas. The coins issued by the Goa Kadambas are also believed to have influenced the pattern of the *varahas* which became popular under the Vijayanagara empire. Another feature of the coins of the Goa Kadambas was the use of inscriptions in parallel lines. This practice was also followed by the Vijayanagara rulers. Under the descendants of Jayakesi II, there was a change in the dimensions of the coins. There was a change in proportion, from the big and thin size of earlier times, to the small and thick size.[37]

Under the sultans of Delhi, gold and silver *tankas* were issued. The gold *tankas* were used mostly for hoarding by the elites and for use when the value of the amount was high. The silver *tanka* was first minted by Iltutmish. The silver *tanka* and the half *tanka* served as cash for carrying out various transactions. Billon coins which were valued at lesser than half *tanka* were also issued. These coins came to be known by the

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[32] D. C. Sircar, "Coins in the Halsi Plates of Jayakesin III," *JNSI* 35 (1973): 175-76.

[33] Sircar, "Coins in the Halsi Plates of Jayakesin III," 177-78.

[34] Sircar, "Coins in the Halsi Plates of Jayakesin III," 181.

[35] George M. Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula: A History of Ancient and Mediaeval Karnataka* (Bombay: B. X. Furtado & Sons, 1931), 200-01.

[36] Sircar, "Coins in the Halsi Plates of Jayakesin III," 181.

[37] Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula: A History of Ancient and Mediaeval Karnataka*, 386.

name of *jital*. They served as cash for various daily transactions.[38] The Panjim copper-plates dated AD 1391 of the reign of Harihara II of the Vijayanagara dynasty, refers to the grant of an *agrahara*. This *agrahara* was formed by joining the two villages of Govali and Mauli. The income of these villages was three hundred and sixty-seven *tamkas* and thirty-four *jaithalas*.[39] The *jaithala* was the same as the *jital* and was a copper coin.[40] A stone inscription dated AD 1402 of the Vijayanagara period was found at Veluz in the taluka of Sattari. The inscription informs of payments to be made for certain services and to the temple servants. These comprised of one *tanka* for the priest and four *tankas* for the lighting of the temple lamp. There were also three *tankas* for the other temple servants and six *tankas* for the washerman.[41] The services of goldsmiths would probably have been used in the manufacture of coins for use by the people.[42]

The forces of Malik Kafur had attacked the region in AD 1310, while those of Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq attacked in AD 1327.[43] It was probably after the attacks of the forces of Malik Kafur and Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq that the north Indian coinage became popular in Goa. These coins may have subsequently been used in the area under the Vijayanagara rulers and thus find mention in their inscriptions.

Phillip B. Wagoner informs that there was an Islamicisation at the Vijayanagara court wherein the men wore clothing which resembled clothes worn in the Muslim world.[44] The Vijayanagara rulers also took the title *suratrana* which when translated alluded to the word sultan. The Vijayanagara rulers did not assert that they were sultans but claimed to have the status as sultans. This word sultan was a Muslim title. During the period of the Vijayanagara rule, the surrounding regions had seen the rule of the

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[38] Najaf Haider, "Coinage and the Silver Crisis," in *Economic History of Medieval India, 1200-1500 by Irfan Habib (with contributions from Najaf Haider, Iqtidar Alam Khan, Shireen Moosvi and Pushpa Prasad)*, Vol. 8 part 1 of History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization (New Delhi: Centre for Studies in Civilizations and Pearson Education in South Asia, 2011), 149-50.

[39] S. S. Ramachandra Murthy, "Panjim Plates of the Time of Harihara II, Saka 1313," *EI* 42 (1977-78): 112-13.

[40] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 433.

[41] V. R. Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara* (Panaji, Goa: Institute Menezes Braganza, 1999), 111-12.

[42] Souza, "Craftsmen and Some Political and Religious Aspects in the Goa Region (AD 1000 to 1510)," 3177.

[43] Pius Malekandathil, "Maritime Trade and Political Economy of Goa, 800-1500," in *Maritime India: Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean*, rev. ed. (Delhi: Primus Books, 2015), 26-27.

[44] Phillip B. Wagoner, ""Sultan among Hindu Kings": Dress, Titles, and the Islamicization of Hindu Culture at Vijayanagara," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 55, no. 4 (November 1996): 853.

Delhi Sultanate, the Bahmani empire and then the successor states. The Vijayanagara rulers took up this clothing and title in order to be accepted by their subordinates. It was also done in order to be accepted as rulers, on par with the neighbouring sovereigns.[45] This may also have been a reason why the coinage of the earlier Muslim rulers may have been used under the Vijayanagara rule in Goa.

Stone sculptures

A stone statue of Parsvanatha in the seated position on a pedestal with its head broken was found in Narva in Goa. The date inscribed on the pedestal is equivalent to AD 1150. The stone statue is of the reign of the Goa Kadamba king, Sivachitta Permadi.[46] The emblem of the Goa Kadambas was the lion. A sandstone sculpture of a lion with one of its paw raised was found at Pilar.[47] (see figure 4.1). These stone sculptures indicate the work and the skill of the sculptors.

Figure 4.1. Sculpture of the lion emblem of the Goa Kadambas
Source: Photograph by the author. Sculpture preserved in the Pilar Seminary Museum, Pilar, Goa.

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[45] Wagoner, ""Sultan among Hindu Kings": Dress, Titles, and the Islamicization of Hindu Culture at Vijayanagara," 862-63.

[46] Debala Mitra, ed., *Indian Archaeology 1981-82 - A Review* (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1984), 91.

[47] Cosme Jose Costa, *The Heritage of Govapuri (A Study on the Artifacts in and around the Pilar Seminary Museum)* (Pilar, Goa: Pilar Publications, 2002), 20.

Memorial items

Gritli v. Mitterwallner classified memorial items found in Goa into two groups. The first group consisted of the *viragal* or *virakallu* or hero-stones and the *satikal* or *sati*-stones. The hero-stone was setup to commemorate the life of the *vira* or hero whose life was lost. The *sati*-stone was created in memory of the *sati* or faithful wife who sacrificed herself at the funeral of her husband. In the second group were walled memorial structures which were built of laterite.[48]

Hero-stones

In peninsular India, from the mid-eight century AD onwards, there was the presence of a large number of *viragals*. The *viragals* mention the names of the heroes. They also make mention of the actions they performed and the names of their overlords. Generally, they are a record that they performed their duty at the call of their chief.[49] The *viragals* were the same as the *virakals* or hero-stones.[50] In ancient and medieval Karnataka, hero-stones were erected in the village of the deceased hero. This was in commemoration of their sacrifice. At times, the family of the deceased were also maintained by the villagers. The elites often granted land as well as money to the family and succeeding generations of the deceased hero.[51] Hero-stones were found in Goa and the adjoining regions. The relatives of those who lost their lives would receive land grants.[52]

Gritli v. Mitterwallner attempted to group the hero-stones of the Goa Kadambas according to when they were created. The first set of hero-stones of the eleventh century AD, had carvings with a slight depth. The second set of the twelfth century AD, moved towards bold relief. The third set of hero-stones were carved during the thirteenth century AD. Here, the carvings turned flat again. However, during this phase, the

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[48] Gritli v. Mitterwallner, "Testimonials of Heroism: Memorial Stones and Structures," in *Goa: Cultural Patterns*, ed. Saryu Doshi (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1983), 41-42.

[49] Ramendra Nath Nandi, *State Formation, Agrarian Growth and Social Change in Feudal South India c. AD 600-1200* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributors, 2000), 62.

[50] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 375.

[51] Shrinivas Ritti, "Memorial Stones in Ancient Karnataka," *JKU: SS* 5 (1969): 183.

[52] K. G. Vasantamadhava, "Gove - Karnataka Cultural Contacts from 1000-1600 A.D.," in *Goa: Cultural Trends (Seminar Papers)*, ed. P. P. Shirodkar (Panaji, Goa: Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum, Government of Goa, 1988), 27.

difference was that the carved heads and the bodies were not in proportion. The Molkornem hero-stone found in the taluka of Quepem was an example of this type.[53]

There were hero-stones which had two or three panels. However, there were those which had more panels. A hero-stone with six panels was found which belonged to the reign of Harihara II of the Vijayanagara empire. A majority of the hero-stones in Goa do not have inscriptions. However, some are inscribed in Sanskrit. The languages of Kannada or Marathi are also noticed on some of the inscriptions. The depiction of the arrangement of scenes of the hero-stones in Goa is similar to the ones in the rest of India. The depiction of the scenes begins at the bottom and ends at the top. The bottommost panel displays the hero's death. The middle panel shows the hero going to heaven. The uppermost panel shows the hero in heaven.[54] In Goa, there are no hero-stones which inform of cattle raids. However, there are a number which show naval battles. This was due to the location of Goa on the coast.[55]

A hero-stone with an inscription was found by Gritli v. Mitterwallner at Chandor in the taluka of Salcete in Goa. It was carved on basalt and consisted of four lines. The first two lines were in the Kannada script and language. The next two lines were in Sanskrit. The record refers to the death of a person in a battle. The name of the person is lost. The same incident is mentioned in both languages. It is believed to belong to the second half of the tenth century AD.[56]

The Kiruvatti hero-stone dated AD 1126 of the period of Jayakesi II refers to a hero who died fighting. His name is not legible due to damage to the hero-stone. In memory of his death, his son got the hero-stone engraved by the architect Kalidasoja, who was the son of Varddhamanoja. Another hero-stone of the period of Jayakesi II from Kavalwad dated AD 1127 informs of the death of a hero named Kaliyanna. Kaliyanna, who was loyal to *mahasamanta* Lasamayya died while fighting against the soldiers and cavalry of *dandanayaka* Chattivanna. Malevanayaka, who was the elder

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[53] Mitterwallner, "Testimonials of Heroism: Memorial Stones and Structures," 42-43.

[54] Mitterwallner, "Testimonials of Heroism: Memorial Stones and Structures," 43.

[55] Gunther D. Sontheimer, "Hero and Sati-Stones of Maharashtra," in *Memorial Stones: A Study of Their Origin, Significance and Variety*, ed. S. Settar and Gunther D. Sontheimer (Dharwad: Institute of Indian Art History, Karnatak University; New Delhi: South Asia Institute, University of Heidelberg, Germany: 1982), 271.

[56] Gritli v. Mitterwallner and P. B. Desai, "Inscriptions from Goa," *JKU: SS* 5 (1969): 102-03.

brother of Kaliyanna had the hero-stone set up in memory of his deceased brother. The inscription further states that the sculptor of the hero-stone was Bharatoja.[57]

An inscription in Kannada dated AD 1152 of the Goa Kadambas on a hero-stone lying near the ruins of a temple in Baildundhur in the taluka of Yellapur of the district of North Kanara was found. It informs that there was an attack and a cattle raid by Boppeya-mandalika. It was during this time that a person named Holla died.[58] Another inscription dated AD 1167 of the Goa Kadambas on a hero-stone in the same place informs of the death of a person. This took place when the village of Kalukere was attacked by Mallayasavanta of Tammiyur.[59] An undated hero-stone inscription without the name of a dynasty from Devageri in the taluka of Haveri is on a wall of the Basavanna temple. It informs that *akkasale* Dasoja died fighting the enemy when the village was raided and cattle were captured.[60] The word *akkasale* was a Kannada and Telugu word which referred to a goldsmith.[61] It can be seen that the services of the craftsmen were required on a constant basis in order to craft hero-stones for the society. At times, the artisans were the subject of the hero-stones themselves for sacrificing their lives. Some of the hero-stones also had inscriptions which inform of the craftsmen who carved them.

Hero-stones and sculptures depicting ships and shipbuilding technology

In Goa, there are some hero-stones which have the images of ships on them and portray battles in the sea. It is believed that these are scenes from when the Goa Kadambas attacked the north Konkan. Some of these are datable to the twelfth century AD. In one of the hero-stones, it is noticed that the sequence of events moves from the bottom to the top. The lowermost panel shows a boat. The vessel has soldiers who are carrying arms like bows and shields. The middle panel shows the hero ascending to

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[57] R. N. Gurav, "The Kadambas of Goa and Their Inscriptions" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Karnatak University, 1969), 181-82.

[58] G. S. Gai, ed., *ARIE for 1972-73* (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1983), Appendix B, No. 92, 40.

[59] Gai, *ARIE for 1972-73*, Appendix B, No. 93, 40.

[60] C. R. Krishnamacharlu, ed., *ARSIE for 1932-33*, In Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy (1930-1934) (repr., New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1986), Appendix D, No. 39, 95.

[61] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 15.

heaven. The top panel shows a *linga*.[62] The artisans were involved in the carving of such hero-stones which depicted naval vessels and war scenes (see figure 4.2).
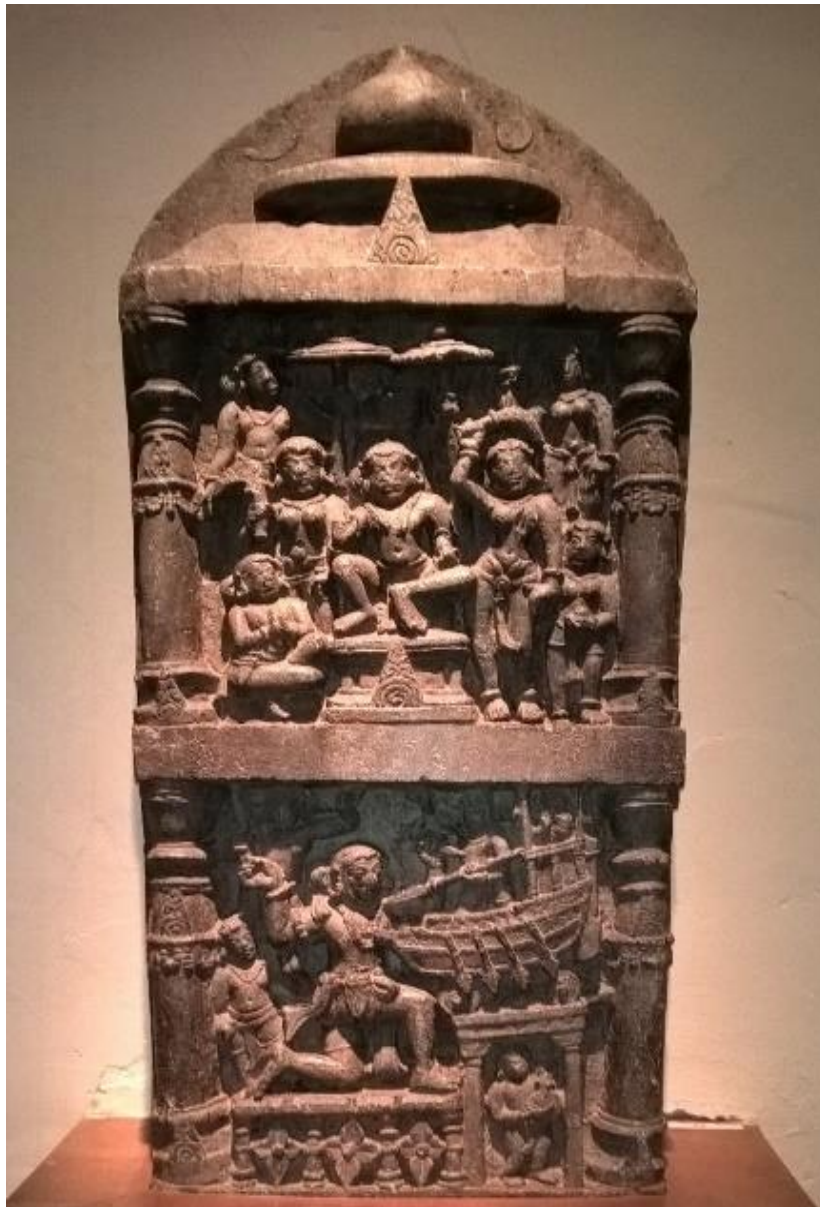

Figure 4.2. Depiction of a naval vessel and a war scene on a hero-stone
Source: Photograph by the author. Sculpture preserved in the Archaeological Survey of India Museum, Old Goa, Goa.

There is a hero-stone in Goa dated to the twelfth century AD which shows a vessel. It depicts the vessel with small oars and a central rudder. It is believed to be the first record of such steering technology used in the Indian Ocean. The text reference to

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[62] Sila Tripati, "Ships on Hero Stones from the West Coast of India," *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 35, no. 1 (April 2006): 91.

this technology can be found in two sources. One is the al-Hariri manuscript of AD 1237. The other is in the details of Hormuz by Marco Polo.[63] A hero-stone from Quepem in Goa depicts the structure of the vessel in very fine detail. The parts of the vessel portrayed include the rudder and planks of the vessel.[64]

There was also a sculpture from Sanvarde which portrays a boat. It was a flat-bottomed boat and the carving of the boat shows a lot of detail. The vessel has vertical lines which may possibly have been ribs. There was also the depiction of two lines of intertwined chain. This may have represented the sewing on the boat. A sculpture from Shayll-Melauli which shows a boat has been found. There is a depiction of rollers under the boat. These would indicate that there was a boatbuilding industry present.[65] Thus the hero-stones and sculptures show detailed aspects of the ship and boat building industry. It shows how the local industries influenced the craftsmen. It also indicates that the craftsmen who created these sculptures produced very detailed work.

Sati-stones

Another memorial stone was to commemorate the wife who committed self-immolation. This was on the death of her husband.[66] The women were called *satis* or *mahasatis*. In Kannada, these stones were also referred to as *mahasati kallu* or *masti kallu*.[67] The practice of *sati* was prevalent even in Goa. The *sati*-stones were also known as *satikals*. A number of types have been found. Some *sati*-stones had the carving of a single hand on them. Some carvings depicted two hands on the *sati*-stone. This indicated that there were two widows of the dead man who committed *sati*. There are other *sati*-stones which depict the widow preparing to immolate herself.[68] It can be seen that the artisans were involved in the carving of *sati*-stones as well (see figure 4.3).

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[63] Pierre-Yves Manguin, "Asian Ship-Building Traditions in the Indian Ocean at the Dawn of European Expansion," in *The Trading World of the Indian Ocean, 1500-1800*, ed. Om Prakash, Vol. 3 part 7 of History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization (New Delhi: Centre for Studies in Civilizations and Pearson Education in South Asia, 2012), 603.

[64] B. Arunachalam, "The Maritime Heritage of India," *Indica* 42, no. 1 (March 2005): 11-12.

[65] Pratima Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade* (Panaji, Goa: Goa Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 2009), 81.

[66] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 75.

[67] Ritti, "Memorial Stones in Ancient Karnataka," 187.

[68] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 75.

Figure 4.3. A *sati*-stone
Source: Photograph by the author. Sculpture preserved in the Archaeological Survey of India Museum, Old Goa, Goa.

Nishidhi-stones

In the Jain religion, the vow known as *sallekhana* was practiced by some devotees. In this vow, there was a gradually halt in the consumption of food which led to the death of the devotee. This was done with the understanding that it would free the soul of the person from the bondage of the body.[69] Stones which were erected to commemorate this act were referred to as *nishidhi-kallu* in Kannada. They were also known as *nisadi*. Generally, these stones were slabs with three panels. The lowermost

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[69] P. B. Desai, "Sallekhana and Nishidhi," *JKU: SS* 6 (1970): 1-2.

panel shows the teacher and the devotee. The panel above shows the devotee who had died, being carried to a higher plane. The topmost panel shows Jina and the devotee. There were also inscriptions indicating the details of the person who committed *sallekhana*.[70] The *nishidhi*-stones indicate that Jain devotees performed the ritual of *sallekhana* and died.[71] The *nishidhi*-stones commemorated the deaths of men as well as women who died through the rite of *sallekhana*.[72]

In the territories of the Goa Kadambas, a *nishidhi*-stone dated AD 1060 was found in Chabbi in the taluka of Hubli. It informs that a teacher named Kanakanandi died. *Kanti* Bhagiyabbe had the stone set up. A *kanti* referred to a female Jain hermit.[73] There was another *nishidhi*-stone found at Garag in the taluka of Dharwar. It is believed to belong to AD 1230 during the reign of Tribhuvanamalladeva of the Goa Kadambas. It records the death of a teacher named Samtiviradeva.[74] A stone inscription from Goa of the period of the Vijayanagara empire records three dates related to the first half of the fifteenth century AD. It informs that in AD 1432, a Jain *muni* performed self-immolation.[75] A *muni* referred to a Jain monk.[76] The inscription further informs that Simhanandi set up a *nisadi* in memory of this act.[77] Thus, the services of the craftsmen would also have been used for the carving of *nishidhi*-stones.

Memorial structures

In the second category of memorial items were walled memorial structures. These usually did not have any elegant carvings and were constructed with laterite. These were probably constructed in remembrance of certain people. These people may not have died while carrying out heroic deeds.[78] These have been found in a number of

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[70] Desai, "Sallekhana and Nishidhi," 2-3.

[71] Shantakumari, *The Kadambas of Goa & Their Inscriptions*, 18.

[72] S. Settar, "Memorial Stones in South India," in *Memorial Stones: A Study of Their Origin, Significance and Variety*, ed. S. Settar and Gunther D. Sontheimer (Dharwad: Institute of Indian Art History, Karnatak University; New Delhi: South Asia Institute, University of Heidelberg, Germany: 1982), 196.

[73] Gurav, "The Kadambas of Goa and Their Inscriptions," 357.

[74] Gurav, "The Kadambas of Goa and Their Inscriptions," 358-59.

[75] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 124.

[76] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 206.

[77] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 124.

[78] Mitterwallner, "Testimonials of Heroism: Memorial Stones and Structures," 42.

places in Goa and are called *thadgems*. They are believed to belong to the Silahara and Kadamba periods. At Utorda in the taluka of Salcete, a single *thadgem* was found. In Mandrem in the taluka of Pernem, two *thadgems* were found near a temple.[79] Near Deul-vada in Kudnem in the taluka of Bicholim, a number of *thadgems* were found. The central *thadgem* has the appearance of a temple with a *sikhara* and a *sukanasi*. The *thadgems* cannot be entered. However, they have openings like niches. The *thadgems* appear to be structures to memorialise an ancestor. In Marathi, *thadgem* meant a structure which was built over the body of a deceased person which was buried or burnt.[80] However, a study of the base of a *thadgem* in the village of Kudnem indicated that it did not contain any human remains.[81]

Boat deities

At Nagve in Goa, a schist sculpture was found which shows a goddess standing in a boat. She is wearing a beaded necklace. It is probably a flat-bottomed boat with a triangular sail. There is also depiction of people bearing oars which are round in shape.[82] At Dhamashe, a sculpture shows a goddess sitting with one foot resting on the boat. There is also the depiction of two people bearing oars. Also present are the figures of a bull, a lizard and a lion. It is difficult to date these sculptures. However, there was the presence of the lion which was the Kadamba insignia on one of the sculptures. This leads to believe that they may have been produced in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries AD or later.[83]

There are sculptures which show a female deity seated or standing in a boat. There are also sculptures of male deities standing on a boat. There is no local name for these. The female deity or *devi* in the boat has been referred to as Tarini. The male deity or *dev* in the boat has been referred to as Tar-vir. These have been named after the Tara-

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[79] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 253-54.

[80] Mitterwallner, "Testimonials of Heroism: Memorial Stones and Structures," 51-52.

[81] V. R. Mitragotri, "Memorial Monuments of Shilahara-Kadamba Period from Goa," in *Goa: Cultural Trends (Seminar Papers)*, ed. P. P. Shirodkar (Panaji, Goa: Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum, Government of Goa, 1988), 67.

[82] Rajendra Kerkar and A. S. Gaur, "Mother Goddesses with Boat Motifs on Stone Sculptures from Goa," *Journal of Indian Ocean Archaeology* 3 (2006): 151-52.

[83] Kerkar and Gaur, "Mother Goddesses with Boat Motifs on Stone Sculptures from Goa," 153-54.

Tarini goddess found on the coast of Odisha.[84] These boat deities are usually found along the banks of the Mhadei river. They are usually of schist which is known as *pashaan*. The services of the local temple sculptors were utilised in carving these. It is believed that this is the reason why these sculptures do not show the classic forms of iconography. They indicate local influence along with Hindu, Jain and Buddhist forms. There were trade-routes which passed through the region. There was also a flourishing of Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism. The influences of these religions can be seen in the sculptures found in these places.[85] This indicates how religion and local beliefs of the people influenced the sculptures produced by the craftsmen.

External influences on stonework and carvings

With regards to ancient India, generally, crafts may have developed by themselves at different places without external contact. However, this may not be the case with technological changes. These usually spread from one centre. Further, crafts may also have travelled from place to place when regions were conquered or through mercantile interactions with regions.[86]

The Chalukyas of Gujarat and the Goa Kadambas had matrimonial links. This contact led to influence in architecture in the area. One influence was the development of the *rekha-nagara* style of temple building in Goa. The Mahadeva temple which is in Curdi is of this style. It is believed to be of the period c. AD 1000.[87] There is a sculpture of the deity Chamunda. The pedestal of the sculpture depicts two camels. The camel is usually associated with the deity Thakini. It is believed that a link between these two deities may have taken place due to influence from Rajasthan through Gujarat and onward to Goa. This probably took place during the rule of the Kadambas.[88] It was noticed that in Madhya Pradesh, there was a practice of carving the images of deities in

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[84] Pratima Kamat, "Boat Festivals: Documenting the Cultural Linkages between Goa and Odisha," *Odisha Review* 69, no. 4 (November 2012): 35-36.

[85] Kamat, "Boat Festivals: Documenting the Cultural Linkages between Goa and Odisha," 37-39.

[86] Ram Sharan Sharma, *Perspectives in Social and Economic History of Early India*, 2nd rev. ed. (1995; repr., New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 2003), 127-28.

[87] V. R. Mitragotri, "Cultural Contacts of Goa with North and South India," in *Goa's External Relations (Seminar Papers)*, ed. P. P. Shirodkar (Panaji, Goa: Rajhauns Vitaran, 1992), 14.

[88] V. R. Mitragotri, "Art of Goa from Pre-Historic Period to the Vijayanagara and Intra-Regional Influence on the Art of Goa," in *Goa in the Indian Sub-Continent (Seminar Papers)*, ed. S. K. Mhamai (Panaji, Goa: Directorate of Archives and Archaeology, Government of Goa, 2001), 17.

small niches. These were with the sculpture of the chief deity. It is believed that this style influenced the sculptors of Gujarat. Thereafter, this style reached Goa. The sculpture of Brahma from Carambolim and the sculpture of Narayana from Mulagaon are examples of such style.[89] Hence, it may be seen that the items produced by the craftsmen show influences from different parts of India such as Gujarat, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh.

Gritli v. Mitterwallner found a number of sculptured items of basalt around the area of the Saptakoteshwara temple at Divar. These were very similar to temples found in the Kanara region. An observation of these indicate that there may have been an exchange of influences.[90] The Mahadeva temple at Tambdi Surla has a Dravida style *sukanasi*.[91] The *sukanasi* was usually seen in Chalukyan temples. The temples to the south of Andhra Pradesh did not generally have this feature. However, it could be seen in the Narasimha temple at Halsi. It is also seen in the Kamala-Narayana temple at Degave. This indicates that Chalukyan architecture played a role in influencing the architects in the region.[92] The Mahadeva temple has a *sikhara* which has niches which have the figures of deities which are excellently carved.[93] This temple has the *sikhara* which was of the stepped pyramidal variety.[94] The temple also has some features which are comparable to other temples. The walls of the *garbhagriha* and the *antrala* are like those found in the temple of Kallesvara at Balambid. The low *linga* on a low *pitha* is like in the temple of Rudrasvamin at Golihalli. Both these temples were in the district of Dharwar.[95] The *garbhagriha* referred to the sanctuary of the temple. The *antrala* was the central hall.[96] Hence, the surrounding influence was seen in temple construction as well.

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[89] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 224-25.

[90] A. Ghosh, ed., *Indian Archaeology 1965-66 - A Review* (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1973), 11-12.

[91] V. T. Gune, *Ancient Shrines of Goa: A Pictorial Survey* (Panjim, Goa: Department of Information, Government of Goa, Daman & Diu, 1965), 15.

[92] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 250-51.

[93] Gune, *Ancient Shrines of Goa: A Pictorial Survey*, 15.

[94] V. Gopala Rao, "Temples of Goa - An Architectural Study" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Goa University, 2003), 90.

[95] Mitterwallner, "The Hindu Past: Sculpture and Architecture," 30.

[96] Gune, *Ancient Shrines of Goa: A Pictorial Survey*, 15.

Influence of different dynasties and styles on stonework and carvings

The South Konkan Silaharas considered the Rashtrakutas as their feudal overlords. The Rashtrakuta influence can be seen in the carving of sculptures of the South Konkan Silaharas. The early Chalukyan sculptures are depicted with faces which are rounded and broad. However, sculptures from the phase of the South Konkan Silaharas show a gradual thinning of the ear-rings and lips. The faces are also longer.[97] A stone sculpture of Sadashiva which has a bud motif is usually seen in Rashtrakuta art. One of the examples of sculpture of the period of the South Konkan Silaharas which shows intricate and proportional carving is that of Mahishasuramardini from Netravali.[98]

The Goa Kadambas had the Western Chalukyas as their feudal overlords. The influence of the Western Chalukyas can be seen in Kadamba sculptures.[99] The intricate carvings, motifs, layout as well as the style of the pillars of the Mahadeva temple at Tambdi Surla are similar to Western Chalukyan temples. The temple was also similar to temples of the Yadavas of Devagiri.[100] V. Gopala Rao also noticed that the Mahadeva temple at Tambdi Surla shows an influence of the Western Chalukyas and the Hoysalas.[101]

The sculptures of the Goa Kadambas also show the influence of the Hoysalas.[102] There was an image of Mahishasuramardini which indicates Hoysala influence. However, one arm is damaged. The deity is shown holding a conch and a trident. Another sculpture of Mahishasuramardini was found which depicts deep carved necklaces and ear-rings. This sculpture also shows Hoysala influence.[103] A sculpture of Mahishasuramardini found was excellently carved (see figure 4.4).

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[97] Mitragotri, "Art of Goa from Pre-Historic Period to the Vijayanagara and Intra-Regional Influence on the Art of Goa," 17.

[98] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 222.

[99] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 222-23.

[100] Gune, *Ancient Shrines of Goa: A Pictorial Survey*, 15-16.

[101] Rao, "Temples of Goa - An Architectural Study," 182.

[102] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 223.

[103] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 212-13.

Figure 4.4. A sculpture of Mahishasuramardini
Source: Photograph by the author. Sculpture preserved in the Goa State Museum, Panjim, Goa.

The undated Degave inscription informs of the construction of a temple which is believed to have been built between AD 1174 and 1176.[104] This Degave inscription informs that Kamaladevi who was the wife of Sivachitta Permadideva of the Goa Kadambas ordered the construction of the temple of Kamala-Narayana and Mahalakshmi at Degave.[105] The temple had beautiful stonework. It is richly adorned and has pillars which are decorated. In the lower portion, between the pillars, there is the lion which was the emblem of the Kadambas. The temple is an example of Kadamba architecture. However, it shows the influence of the Hoysalas of Mysore. The Hoysala

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[104] S. G. Kadamb, *Sources of History of the Kadambas of Goa: Inscriptions* (Panjim, Goa: Broadway Publishing House, 2013), 293.

[105] J. F. Fleet, "Some Further Inscriptions Relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa," *JBBRAS* (Old Series) 9, no. 27 (1870): 295.

influence is seen in the use of the pendant lotus and bracket figures. It is believed that Tippoja, the architect who built the temple, knew of the architectural styles of others. These included the temples constructed by Vishnuvardhana about five decades earlier.[106] There are hero-stones which have the images of ships on them which portray naval battles. One of these is dated to the twelfth century AD. It depicts a vessel on rollers and a fight scene is also portrayed. A soldier is shown being attacked. The design of the garments of the fighters is similar to those seen in the Hoysalesvara temple. This temple is in Halebidu in Karnataka and is dated to the twelfth century AD.[107] There was also the find of what is believed to have been the lintel of a door. It may have also been a stone structure used by sellers of goods in the market to sit upon. However, it is carved with lozenges. The Hoysalesvara art of Halebidu is seen as having influenced this design.[108] A thirteenth century AD sculpture of Vishnu from Savoi-Vere shows him along with Lakshmi and Garuda. The carving of Vishnu depicts him as stout and it is indicative of the Hoysala influence.[109]

V. R. Mitragotri was also of the opinion that various influences could be seen. It included those of the Chalukyas of Badami and the Rashtrakutas. The style of sculpture was also influenced by the Western Chalukyas and the Hoysalas.[110]

Sculptures of the Vijayanagara period also left their mark on the style in Goa. One sculpture is of Madhava mantri who administered Goa under the Vijayanagara kings. The portrait sculpture shows him holding a bow and sceptre. He is also wearing a necklace and anklets. This sculpture and another sculpture of Martanda Bhairava are of the same period. Both these sculptures are believed to have been carved by the same sculptor or guild.[111] A sculpture of Martanda Bhairava is one of the works done by the sculptors (see figure 4.5).

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[106] H. Heras, "A Historical Tour in Search of Kadamba Documents," *JBHS* 2, no. 1 (March 1929): 103-04.

[107] Tripati, "Ships on Hero Stones from the West Coast of India," 91-92.

[108] Costa, *The Heritage of Govapuri (A Study on the Artifacts in and around the Pilar Seminary Museum)*, 20.

[109] Kumud Kanitkar, "Scattered Vishnu Sculptures from the Konkan Coast," *Marg* 65, no. 1 (September 2013): 81-82.

[110] Mitragotri, "Art of Goa from Pre-Historic Period to the Vijayanagara and Intra-Regional Influence on the Art of Goa," 19.

[111] Mitragotri, "Art of Goa from Pre-Historic Period to the Vijayanagara and Intra-Regional Influence on the Art of Goa," 18-19.

Figure 4.5. A sculpture of Martanda Bhairava
Source: Photograph by the author. Sculpture preserved in the Goa State Museum, Panjim.

V. R. Mitragotri informed that in the post-Vijayanagara period, stoneworkers continued to use schist as in the prior period. However, the sculptures of this age did not have the creativity of the earlier period. Further, a new tradition in sculpture could not be established as the rule of the Adil Shahi dynasty lasted for a short time. A number of mosques were built during this period. However, the only remnant is the mosque called the Safa *masjid* in Ponda. Gajalakshmi panels of the 1600s from Dharbandora and Bondla show some people wearing gowns. It is believed that this may have been due to the Adil Shahi influence in the area.[112] At Agastipur in Ponda, there are three

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[112] V. R. Mitragotri, "Vijayanagara and Post-Vijayanagara Art & Architecture of Goa," in *Goan Society through the Ages (Seminar Papers)*, ed. B. S. Shastry (New Delhi: Asian Publication Services, 1987), 277-79.

temples which share a common platform. The three shrines are dedicated to three deities. They are of laterite and basalt and have domes. This indicates the Muslim impact on construction techniques.[113] It is noticed that styles changed over time. It may have depended upon the patronage the craftsmen received as well as upon the rulers and the styles prevalent in those times.

Evidence of possible migration of craftsmen

The north side of the Mahadeva temple at Tambdi Surla in Goa has an in situ sculpture of Vishnu in the *sikhara* of the temple This sculpture is the same as another Vishnu sculpture. This is an unattached sculpture of Vishnu found in the premises of the Shiva temple of Ambarnath. This temple is to the north of Mumbai. It is believed that both these images were carved by the same sculptor.[114] The construction of the Ambarnath temple was completed in AD 1060 under the North Konkan Silaharas. This temple is believed to have been built about a hundred and fifty years before the Mahadeva temple at Tambdi Surla. Other smaller temples in the premises of the Ambarnath temple may have been constructed over the next hundred and fifty years. It is believed that both these Vishnu sculptures were made at the same time. The contacts between the North Konkan Silaharas and the Goa Kadambas may have led to artisans being involved in the creation of these two identical Vishnu images. It may also indicate that artisans travelled from place to place.[115]

A panel depicting the *matrikas* was found at Chandor in Goa. However, this panel instead of depicting the *saptamatrikas* or the Seven Mothers has eight mothers instead of seven. These include Brahmi, Maheshvari, Kumari and Vaishnavi. Also present are Varahi, Indrani, Chamunda and Yogeshvari. The figures of Virabhadra and Ganesha are present at each end of the panel.[116] While the *puranas* and *agamas* make mention of the *matrikas* as being seven in number, the *Varaha Purana* makes mention of the eight mother as Yogeshvari.[117] In the village of Tambur near Dharwar in the

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[113] Mitterwallner, "The Hindu Past: Sculpture and Architecture," 37.

[114] Kumud Kanitkar, "Mahadeva Temple at Tambdi Surla, Goa," *Marg* 62, no. 3 (March 2011): 62-63.

[115] Kanitkar, "Mahadeva Temple at Tambdi Surla, Goa," 65.

[116] Gune, *Ancient Shrines of Goa: A Pictorial Survey*, 20.

[117] T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, vol. 1 part 2 (Madras: The Law Printing House, 1914), 381.

taluka of Kalghatgi, a panel of *ashtamatrikas* was found.[118] It depicts eight *matrikas* and is referred to as the *ashtamatrikas*. The eight mothers are depicted and the figures of Virabhadra and Ganesha are placed at each end. This panel is believed to be of the twelfth century AD based on the style. There is significant damage to the sculptures in this panel. However, this panel is similar to the panel found at Chandor in Goa. Tambur or Tammiyur was a territory under the Goa Kadambas. The panel of the *ashtamatrikas* found at Tambur may have been created during their rule.[119] Such finds of similar sculptures over a distance may indicate an exchange of ideas or the migration of craftsmen.

It was noticed that as the Hoysalas established control in coastal Karnataka, there was an emergence of urban centres in the region. There was a development of commerce. There was also a migration of artisans from the interior of Karnataka to coastal Karnataka. It was seen that Hindu temples and Jain *basadis* which were built in coastal Karnataka came to be influenced by the Hoysala style.[120] It is quite possible that craftsmen and artisans migrated to the Goa region and the surrounding areas as well. The Hoysala style of architecture was also noticed in religious structures in the region.

Views on influence on stonework

There were some excellently carved sculptures found in Goa. One of these was the panel from Orlim of the reign of Jayakesi II. There is a depiction of a battle scene as well as a portrayal of the king and queen. Another important sculpture was that of Gauri or Lakshmi surrounded by elephants. A sculpture of a Nandi found at Chandor and another found at Pilar are also examples of the work produced by the sculptors. After studying these sculptures, George M. Moraes felt that there was a school of sculpture which developed under the Goa Kadambas in the south Konkan. It was believed that they were influenced by Hoysala sculptors.[121]

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[118] M. S. Nagaraja Rao, "Two Interesting Panels from Tambur," in *Nagachandrika (A Compendium of Writings of Dr. M. S. Nagaraja Rao)*, ed. D. V. Devaraj (Mysore: Directorate of Archaeology & Museums, Government of Karnataka, 1996), 538.

[119] Rao, "Two Interesting Panels from Tambur," 540-42.

[120] Nagendra Rao, "Mobility and Identity: A Study of Vishwakarma Panchalas of Karnataka," in *In Search of Vishwakarma: Mapping Indian Craft Histories*, ed. Vijaya Ramaswamy (Delhi: Primus Books, 2019), 230.

[121] Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula: A History of Ancient and Mediaeval Karnataka*, 316-17.

However, V. R. Mitragotri did not share the same opinion. It was felt that the sculpture in Goa was influenced by Gujarat, the Western Chalukyas and the Hoysalas. However, he concedes that the sculptors of Goa were creative. He refers to the sculptures of Mahishasuramardini in a boat and the hero-stone from Orlim to indicate the skill of the sculptors of Goa.[122] He informs that the sculpture of Narayana from Korgaon has ornaments which are well carved. There is also the depiction of a Garuda ready to take flight. It is an excellent example of sculpture under the Goa Kadambas. There are also excellent hero-stones which indicate that the sculptors under the Kadambas of Goa were highly skilled.[123] However, despite these works, he felt that there was no independent school of sculpture in the south Konkan under the Kadambas.[124]

It was felt that under the Goa Kadambas, architects and stoneworkers were influenced by various styles. They drew from the styles of the Kolhapur Silaharas, the Western Chalukyas, the Rattas of Saundatti and others. Nandkumar Kamat felt that this was possible as Goa was an important centre which had links with important towns in India. This would have led to an exchange of ideas and knowledge of techniques of temple construction and stone carving.[125]

Knowledge of works on iconography

A stone carving of the head of Brahma was found. It is believed to belong to the Silahara period and is dated to c. AD 900. The sculpture shows the eyes of the deity closed. It appears as if Brahma is in a meditative state. This carving follows the guidelines as per the *Vishnu Purana*.[126] Another stone sculpture believed to be of Sadashiva with five faces was recovered during an excavation in the area of the Holy Spirit Church in Margão. This sculpture is not complete and the portion below the neck is missing. Two of the faces are broad, two other faces are smaller and placed on the shoulders while one face is on the top. The sculpture is believed to be of the period c.

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[122] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 225.

[123] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 223.

[124] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 225-26.

[125] Nandkumar Kamat, "Simha and Gajasimha Motif in Goa Kadamba's Temple Architecture and Numismatics," in *Goa: Cultural Trends (Seminar Papers)*, ed. P. P. Shirodkar (Panaji, Goa: Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum, Government of Goa, 1988), 54-55.

[126] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 207.

AD 1000.[127] The *Rupamandana* was a text of the fifteenth century AD related to iconography. It informs that the four faces of Shiva were to point to the four cardinal directions while the fifth face was to look upwards.[128] It appears that this sculpture also follows the directions prescribed by the text and follows the tenets of iconography. It seems that the stoneworkers possessed the knowledge of iconography.

In modern day Karnataka, when the sculpture of a deity is in the process of being completed and handed over, the eye-opening ceremony is conducted. The idol is cleaned with milk and thereafter the sculptor completes the carving of the eyes of the deity.[129] Also in present day Goa, a similar practice among the sculptors is noticed. About two days before the delivery of the statue, the eyes are carved or cut open by the sculptor.[130] Thus, even in the present day, certain similar practiced are followed by the craftsmen across different areas.

Skill of the craftsmen despite the lack of proper stone

Based on a study of the remains of some temples in Goa, Gritli v. Mitterwallner noticed that under the period of the Goa Kadambas, certain temples may have been constructed of basalt. Basalt was preferred as it was suitable for carving. Laterite is plentiful in the region, but was not an appropriate material for carving.[131] V. R. Mitragotri also noticed that despite the difficulties in carving laterite, attempts were made to use the material. There was the laterite sculpture of a goddess from Curdi dated to c. 300 BC. A laterite sculpture of Ganesh dated to c. AD 600 was also found.[132] The remains of a Jain temple were discovered at Kudnem in the taluka of Bicholim. It was constructed of mortar and laterite. Among the remains were arches with floral designs in laterite. V. R. Mitragotri pointed out that despite being unsuitable for carving, the sculptor was well skilled to produce such designs in laterite.[133]

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[127] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 200-01.

[128] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 200.

[129] Jan Brouwer, *The Makers of the World: Caste, Craft and Mind of the South Indian Artisans* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995), 113.

[130] Pantaleão Fernandes, *Traditional Occupations of Goa*, ed. Isabel Santa Rita Vás (Benaulim, Goa: The Word Publications, 2015), 57.

[131] Mitterwallner, "The Hindu Past: Sculpture and Architecture," 24.

[132] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 220-21.

[133] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 252.

Craftsmen and the military

A record dated AD 1280 from Katanur mentions a variety of forts. The *jaladurga* was a fort which was encircled by water. The *neladurga* was a fort which was constructed on ground and at times surrounded by a water-filled moat. The *giridurga* was one which was built in mountainous terrain while the *vanadurga* was built in the jungle.[134] When the Bahmani forces took Goa in around AD 1472, the forts of Goa as well as those of Londa and Kolhapur were added to the Bahmani empire.[135] Ludovico di Varthema recorded his travels between AD 1503 and 1508.[136] He informed that after leaving Dabuli, he visited the island of Goga.[137] The island of Goa is referred to as Goga.[138] He informed that the island had a fortress. It had a captain along with a four hundred strong force. Thereafter, Varthema left for a city in the Deccan.[139] This city is believed to have been Bijapur.[140] Hence, there are records which indicate that a fort was present in Goa prior to the Portuguese arrival. The services of local stonemasons would have probably been utilised for the construction and maintenance of such structures.

In medieval peninsular India, the craftsmen found work in the weapon making industry. They made shields, swords, bows and arrows and chariots. The *Vishwakarma Vasthushasthram* informs that such weapon manufacture should be near the palace or where justice was dispensed. This was so that the king could supervise the production process.[141] Hero-stones of the period of the Goa Kadambas show scenes which indicate that the infantry used bows, arrows and shields. The cavalry possessed swords, shields and javelins and made use of horses. There is mention of a *senapati* Singarasa who is

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[134] Shantakumari, *The Kadambas of Goa & Their Inscriptions*, 103-04.

[135] Haroon Khan Sherwani, *Mahmud Gawan: The Great Bahmani Wazir* (Allahabad: Kitabistan, 1942), 138-40.

[136] Ludovico di Varthema, *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix, in Persia, India, and Ethiopia, A.D. 1503 to 1508*, ed. George Percy Badger, trans. John Winter Jones (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1863), Title page.

[137] Varthema, *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix, in Persia, India, and Ethiopia, A.D. 1503 to 1508*, 115.

[138] Varthema, *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix, in Persia, India, and Ethiopia, A.D. 1503 to 1508*, 115n1.

[139] Varthema, *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix, in Persia, India, and Ethiopia, A.D. 1503 to 1508*, 116-17.

[140] Varthema, *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix, in Persia, India, and Ethiopia, A.D. 1503 to 1508*, 117n1.

[141] Ramaswamy, "Vishwakarma Craftsmen in Early Medieval Peninsular India," 571-72.

referred to as a *dushth asva malla*. This indicates that some were skilled in the training and controlling of wild horses. There are hero-stones which refer to naval battles and depict naval activities.[142] Shashtha-deva is believed to have used his naval strength against the North Konkan Silaharas. Jayakesi I is believed to have developed the navy and had a number of vessels.[143] Ibn Battuta informed that when the ships of sultan Jamal-ud-din attacked Goa, the inhabitants of Goa had mangonels which were used against the ships.[144] The use of all these items in war would have required a number of craftsmen and artisans working for the state and involved in various aspects of production.

Patronage for the construction and maintenance of religious structures

It was noticed that grants made mention of a number of Hindu temples. The Kharepatan plates dated AD 1008 of Rattaraja of the South Konkan Silaharas records the grant of three villages by Rattaraja to a person who was a follower of a Shaiva acetic. The grant was for the worship of god Avvesvara, repairs of the temple and food for ascetics. It appears that the temple of Avvesvara had been built by Rattaraja's father, Avasara III. The god of the temple was named after him.[145] A stone inscription in a Jain *basti* in Amminbhavi in the district of Belgaum informs that Sivadasa built a Shiva temple. Land was also granted for worship.[146] This inscription is dated AD 1071 and informs that Jayakesi I of the Goa Kadambas was ruling at Gove under Vikramaditya VI of the Western Chalukya dynasty.[147] The Budarsingi inscription dated AD 1257 of Chattayyadeva or Shashtha of the Goa Kadambas was found in the village of Budarsingi in the taluka of Hubli of the district of Dharwar. It records the grant of a village for the worship and repairs of the temple of god Mallikarjuna at Sonnalige which is modern Sholapur.[148] The temple of Saptakoteshwara finds mention in records of the Goa

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[142] Shantakumari, *The Kadambas of Goa & Their Inscriptions*, 101-02.

[143] Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula: A History of Ancient and Mediaeval Karnataka*, 179.

[144] Ibn Battuta, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-1354*, trans. H. A. R. Gibb (London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1929), 239-40.

[145] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 183-85.

[146] G. Venkoba Rao, ed., *ARSIE for 1925-26*, In Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy (1922-1925) (1927; repr., New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1986), Appendix C, No. 431, 74.

[147] Rao, *ARSIE for 1925-26*, 93.

[148] R. N. Gurav, "Budarsingi Inscription of Kadamba Chattayyadeva, Saka 1179," *EI* 36 (1965-66): 164.

Kadamba. Coins indicate that the Goa Kadambas were patrons of the temple. During the incursion of Ala-ud-din Khilji's general, Malik Kafur in the region in the beginning of the fourteenth century AD, the temple was razed. However, between AD 1367 to 1391 when Madhava, a minister of the Vijayanagara ruler Harihara administered Goa, the shrine was repaired.[149] A stone inscription dated AD 1377 of the rule of Harihara II of the Vijayanagara empire was found at Kalapur (Calapor) in Santa Cruz near Panjim. It informs that the Vijayanagara king made a gift to the temple of Vatesvara. This temple was constructed by Vatsasahu, who was the father of the officer Malideva.[150]

Under the Kadambas, there is significant information about Shaiva temples. The mention of Vaishnava temples finds less mention in Kadamba inscriptions. However, the Kadamba king, Vijayaditya called himself Vishnuchitta. Degave was an important Vaishnava centre. Kamaladevi, the chief queen of Sivachitta Permadideva had the Vishnu temple of Kamala-Narayana and Mahalakshmi constructed there. It indicates the patronage given to Vaishnavism.[151] The Tambur Vishnu-griha inscription informs that during the reign of the Chalukyan king, Vikramaditya VI, his feudatory Guvaladeva of the Goa Kadambas ruled Govage, Konkana Nine Hundred and other regions. A certain Jayadeva also called Jayakesi is believed to be responsible for the construction of a Vishnu temple in Tambur. Ruins of a temple in the area may have been this same temple.[152]

The construction and maintenance of Jain *basadis* also finds mention in grants. An inscription during the rule of Guvaladeva III of the Goa Kadambas from Anilapura or modern Alnavar in the district of Dharwar dated AD 1081 refers to a land grant. This was made by Narasimhasetti to the Jain Biliya *basadi* which was constructed by Machanna. The grant was for the maintenance of ascetics. The Malakinakoppa inscription dated AD 1103 of the time of Guvaladeva III records the building of a *basadi*. The *basadi* is believed to have been constructed by a merchant named Puligoda Bammisetti.[153] An inscription from Goa of the Vijayanagara period was found. It contains three dates related to the first half of the fifteenth century AD. It refers to the

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[149] J. Gerson da Cunha, "Notes on the Shrine of Sri Sapta-Kotisvara," *IA* 3 (1874): 194.

[150] P. B. Desai, "Archaeological Discoveries," *JKU: SS* 2 (1966): 50.

[151] Shantakumari, *The Kadambas of Goa & Their Inscriptions*, 148-49.

[152] Gurav, "The Kadambas of Goa and Their Inscriptions," 133-34.

[153] Shantakumari, *The Kadambas of Goa & Their Inscriptions*, 139-40.

construction and repairs of a Jain *basti* at Bandivade in the taluka of Ponda.[154] The term *basti* was the same as a *basadi* and referred to a Jain temple.[155]

Records also indicate that mosques were built and maintained in the region. Guhalladeva I was involved in an accident when his ship was damaged. This was while he was travelling from Chandrapura to Saurashtra on pilgrimage. He was provided assistance by an Arab merchant named Madhumada or Muhammad.[156] As per the Panjim plates of Jayakesi I of the Goa Kadambas dated AD 1059, Madhumada was the father of Chhadama.[157] The record informs that Jayakesi gave Chhadama the right to collect taxes on various boats in order to maintain the mosques in Goa.[158] Malik Kafur, the general of Ala-ud-din Khilji, attacked the Yadavas at Devagiri in the early fourteenth century AD. With the defeat of the Yadavas, Malik Kafur penetrated further south and besieged Goa. The capital of the Goa Kadambas at Gopakapattana is believed to have been destroyed. It is possible that in the aftermath of the destruction, their capital was shifted to Chandrapura or modern Chandor. The forces of Malik Kafur reached Rameswur which was Cabo de Rama in the south of Goa. It was here that Malik Kafur ordered a mosque to be built.[159] After the death of Mohammad Shah I of the Bahmani dynasty in AD 1375, his son, Mujahid Shah came to power.[160] Mujahid Shah went to Rameswur during an expedition against the Vijayanagara king. It was here that he repaired the mosque which was built years earlier when the army of Ala-ud-din Khilji visited the area.[161] There is some confusion as to the location of Rameswur. It was believed that Rameswur was near Ceylon. However, the Vijayanagara kings did not have territory that far at the time.[162] Rameswur is informed as being to the south of Goa This area was within Vijayanagara territory. The place was known as Cape

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[154] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 123-24.

[155] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 367.

[156] B. R. Gopal, "Kadambas of Goa," *JKU: SS* 4 (1968): 165-66.

[157] Dikshit, "Panjim Plates of Jayakesi (I); Saka 981," 89-91.

[158] Gopal, "Kadambas of Goa," 166.

[159] Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula: A History of Ancient and Mediaeval Karnataka*, 210-11.

[160] Mahomed Kasim Ferishta, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India, till the Year A.D. 1612: Translated from the Original Persian of Mahomed Kasim Ferishta*, trans. John Briggs, vol. 2 (Calcutta: R. Cambray & Co., 1909), 326-28.

[161] Ferishta, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India, till the Year A.D. 1612: Translated from the Original Persian of Mahomed Kasim Ferishta*, vol. 2, 332-33.

[162] Ferishta, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India, till the Year A.D. 1612: Translated from the Original Persian of Mahomed Kasim Ferishta*, vol. 2, 337n.

Ramas.[163] It is also believed that Rameswur was to the south of Goa and not in the region of the gulf of Mannar.[164] In a record of the early sixteenth century, Tomé Pires informs that Cape Ramas was one of the ports along the coast of Goa.[165] Cape Ramas was also known as *Ponta da ramma* as well as *Cabo de Rama*.[166] The Adil Shahi dynasty built a number of mosques. However, only the mosque known as the Safa *masjid* still exists in Ponda.[167] In Khandepar in the taluka of Ponda, the discovery of the ruins of a *masjid* or mosque was made. It is built of laterite and has *mehrab* arches. It is believed to belong to the period of the Adil Shahi rule. The *mehrab* arches are also noticed in the Safa *masjid* in Ponda.[168] The patronage given to the construction and maintenance of religious structures of different religions by the rulers and elites indicates that the craftsmen had a number of sources of employment.

Rulers as patrons of craftsmen

In ancient India, the granting of gifts of gold was important. The gifting of certain gold items came to be known as *mahadanas*.[169] The term *mahadana* referred to a great gift. The *puranas* make mention of sixteen such gifts.[170] The *tulapurusha* or weighing a person against gold was one such *mahadana*. Another was the *hiranyagarbha* or symbolic rebirth which was a ceremony performed at a coronation or when one claimed Kshatriya status. When such *mahadanas* were performed, there were

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[163] Ferishta, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India, till the Year A.D. 1612: Translated from the Original Persian of Mahomed Kasim Ferishta*, vol. 2, 332n.

[164] Mahomed Kasim Ferishta, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India, till the Year A.D. 1612: Translated from the Original Persian of Mahomed Kasim Ferishta*, trans. John Briggs, vol. 1 (Calcutta: R. Cambray & Co., 1908), 374n.

[165] Tomé Pires and Francisco Rodrigues, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires: An Account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, Written in Malacca and India in 1512-1515; and, The Book of Francisco Rodrigues: Rutter of a Voyage in the Red Sea, Nautical Rules, Almanack and Maps, Written and Drawn in the East before 1515*, ed. and trans. Armando Cortesão, vol. 1 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1944), 54-55.

[166] Pires and Rodrigues, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires: An Account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, Written in Malacca and India in 1512-1515; and, The Book of Francisco Rodrigues: Rutter of a Voyage in the Red Sea, Nautical Rules, Almanack and Maps, Written and Drawn in the East before 1515*, vol. 1, 55n1.

[167] Mitragotri, "Vijayanagara and Post-Vijayanagara Art & Architecture of Goa," 278.

[168] Prajal Sakhardande, *Muslim History and Heritage of Goa* (Mapuça, Goa: Konkani Shanti Publications, 2012), 98-99.

[169] Romila Thapar, "Dana and Daksina as Forms of Exchange," *Indica* 13, no. 1 & 2 (March-September 1976): 48.

[170] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 175.

items of gold which were presented to the priests. These items included trees, chariots, vessels and cows made of gold.[171]

In south India, the royals and state officers utilised goods which were created by the craftsmen.[172] The *smritis* inform of *danas* and *vratas* which were required to be performed.[173] A *vrata* referred to a religious vow.[174] A *dana* referred to a gift.[175] One of these was the *tuladana*. Here the person weighed himself against gold.[176] The Cambay plates dated AD 930 of the Rashtrakuta prince Govinda IV found in Cambay refers to a grant. The inscription informs that he weighed himself against gold. He then granted land and money.[177] The scales on which he weighed himself was called the *tulapurusha*.[178] Guhalladeva II of the Goa Kadambas is informed in the Marcella plates as reigning in AD 1038. The inscription informs that he weighed himself against gold. Thereafter, a person was granted the village of Sauvai near Veraka.[179] Shashtha II of the Goa Kadambas is also known to have weighed himself against gold and distributed gold. The Gandevi inscription which is dated AD 1042-43 records that he visited Prabhasa. After venerating god Somesvara, he weighed himself against gold.[180] Jayakesi I of the Goa Kadambas also weighed himself against gold. It is informed that he performed the *tulapurusha*. The Asoge plates inform of him distributing precious stones which were got from the ocean.[181]

A *vrata* in the form of a *pancha langala vrata* is mentioned in the grant of Gandaraditya.[182] The Talale copper-plates dated AD 1110 of Gandaraditya of the Kolhapur Silaharas mentions this. The inscription records that he performed the *pancha*

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[171] Thapar, "Dana and Daksina as Forms of Exchange," 48.

[172] Vijaya Ramaswamy, "Sectional President's Address: Crafts and Artisans in South Indian History," *PIHC* 64th Session, Mysore (2003): 315.

[173] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, liv.

[174] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 381.

[175] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 78.

[176] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, liv.

[177] D. R. Bhandarkar, "Cambay Plates of Govinda IV.; Saka-Samvat 852," *EI* 7 (1902-03): 26-28.

[178] Bhandarkar, "Cambay Plates of Govinda IV.; Saka-Samvat 852," 45.

[179] Gurav, "The Kadambas of Goa and Their Inscriptions," 74-76.

[180] Gurav, "The Kadambas of Goa and Their Inscriptions," 68.

[181] Gurav, "The Kadambas of Goa and Their Inscriptions," 93-94.

[182] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, liv.

langala vrata.[183] This involved gifts which included land and ten bulls. Among the gifts were also five wooden ploughs and five golden ploughs.[184] The inscriptions indicate that the rulers made a number of grants which included the use of gold. Thus, goldsmiths and other artisans would have played an important role during these times. The services of the craftsmen were required by the ruling classes in order to make different items which were donated at the time of different ceremonies.[185] They probably received patronage from the elites and provided them with valuable services.

Craftsmen and the urban elites

In medieval south India, precious metals like gold and silver were used as jewellery by the affluent people. The common people used items of brass and copper. The services of the craftsmen were also utilised in the minting of coins.[186] An inscription informs that under the reign of Jayakesi of the Goa Kadambas, a number of palanquins were used in the city. The poles of the palanquins were covered with jewels. Further, gold ear-rings were used by their owners.[187] An inscription from Tambur informs that Vikramaditya VI of the Western Chalukya dynasty gave his daughter, Mailaladevi gold jewellery as a gift. An inscription from Dodwad informs that women who knelt before the queen of Jayakesi III wore jewellery in their hair.[188] These instances show that jewellery was utilised and it was possibly prepared by the local craftsmen.[189]

The Panjim plates of Jayakesi I of the Goa Kadambas dated AD 1059 makes mention of coins called *gadyanakas*. It also makes mentions of *nishkas* called *bhairavas*.[190] The Halsi copper-plate dated AD 1199 of Jayakesi III of the Goa Kadambas records the grant of land and as well as the grant of money for various

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[183] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 207-08.

[184] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 208n1.

[185] Souza, "Craftsmen and Some Political and Religious Aspects in the Goa Region (AD 1000 to 1510)," 3176.

[186] Ramaswamy, "Sectional President's Address: Crafts and Artisans in South Indian History," 315.

[187] Fleet, "Some Further Inscriptions Relating to the Kadamba Kings of Goa," 272-73.

[188] Shantakumari, *The Kadambas of Goa & Their Inscriptions*, 120-21.

[189] Souza, "Craftsmen and Some Political and Religious Aspects in the Goa Region (AD 1000 to 1510)," 3177.

[190] Dikshit, "Panjim Plates of Jayakesi (I); Saka 981," 89-91.

purposes. The inscription makes mention of coins called *malavaramari nishkas* and *panas*.[191] These would indicate that the services of craftsmen like goldsmiths and minters were utilised in the production of coins.[192]

The royals also had a requirement for portrait sculpture in south India.[193] In Goa, the portrait of Madhava mantri who governed Goa during the Vijayanagara rule was found. The sculpture depicts him with a bow, sceptre, armlets, anklets and a necklace.[194] Thus, the elites employed the services of sculptors in the production of such items.[195]

Craftsmen, temples and rural elites

In peninsular India, besides looking after the religious life, the temples were involved in the economic and political sphere. The royals were involved in making grants to the temples. This served their religious needs. However, this was not the only function. It also helped to spread wealth and at the same time get support from the people. Guilds and traders also donated to the temples. Such temples came to be linked with these particular groups. Further, certain grants would allow the temples to collect taxes. They performed banking operations. They also got income from donated lands. All these activities helped the temples become an important part of the economy. The temples came to have surplus resources. This allowed them to maintain craftsmen such as metal and stoneworkers.[196]

In the case of south India, the temple utilised goods which were produced by the craft producers. These were in the way of ceremonial and other items. A number of professionals were also attached to the temples.[197] The situation was similar in medieval Karnataka. The temple staff was usually made up of the *acharya* or priest as well as

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[191] Sircar, "Coins in the Halsi Plates of Jayakesin III," 175-77.

[192] Souza, "Craftsmen and Some Political and Religious Aspects in the Goa Region (AD 1000 to 1510)," 3177.

[193] Ramaswamy, "Sectional President's Address: Crafts and Artisans in South Indian History," 315.

[194] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 226.

[195] Souza, "Craftsmen and Some Political and Religious Aspects in the Goa Region (AD 1000 to 1510)," 3177.

[196] Romila Thapar, *The Penguin History of Early India: From the Origins to AD 1300* (New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2003), 387-88.

[197] Vijaya Ramaswamy, "Craft Work & Wages in Medieval Tamilnadu (Based on Inscriptions from the 8th to 13th Century)," in *Craftsmen and Merchants: Essays in South Indian Urbanism*, ed. Narayani Gupta (Chandigarh: Urban History Association of India, 1993), 33.

musicians and drummers. Also included were the *pergade* or manager, the *ravalavala* or goldsmith and the stonemason.[198] The term *ravalavala* was also noticed in an inscription. An inscription from Sudi in the taluka of Ron of the reign of Somesvara I dated AD 1054 was found.[199] It gives information of the guidelines to be followed for the temple funds. There is mention of a *ravalavala* called Singayya and a *bariya ravalavala*.[200] It was believed that the term *ravalavala* meant keeper of a *ravala*. It is not known what a *ravala* referred to. However, the Marathi word *ravala* stood for the die of a goldsmith. Hence, the same may have been referred here as well. The die may have been used to stamp tokens of the temple. The *bariya ravala* may have referred to another die.[201]

V. K. Jain informed that even with the growth of trade in the eleventh century AD, many artisans in the non-urban areas were reliant on certain people. They performed craft production activities for them. In this context, he provides the example of the Kharepatan plates dated AD 1008 where certain Shaiva ascetics were allocated families of potters, oilmen, washermen and others.[202] These Kharepatan plates dated AD 1008 are of Rattaraja of the South Konkan Silaharas.[203] However, he goes on to state that certain craftsmen were independent. These craftsmen were able to better their social position. This was due to the growth of commerce and trade. In western India, they worked for kings and made donations to temples. In examples from Rajasthan, he informed that an oilman was able to contribute towards the construction of a temple. In other places, oilmen donated oil for the burning of the temple lamps.[204]

In the case of medieval south India, there are records of craftsmen making donations to temples. These included donations to provide for the burning of the temple lamp as well as during the celebration of festivals.[205] Ehur or modern Yewur is situated

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[198] Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula: A History of Ancient and Mediaeval Karnataka*, 251.

[199] Lionel D. Barnett, "Inscriptions of Sudi," *EI* 15 (1919-20): 73.

[200] Barnett, "Inscriptions of Sudi," 81.

[201] Barnett, "Inscriptions of Sudi," 81n2.

[202] V. K. Jain, *Trade and Traders in Western India (AD 1000-1300)* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1990), 211.

[203] Mirashi, *CII*, vol. 6: Inscriptions of the Silaharas, 183-85.

[204] Jain, *Trade and Traders in Western India (AD 1000-1300)*, 211.

[205] Vijaya Ramaswamy, *Textiles and Weavers in Medieval South India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1985), 41.

in the district of Gulbarga.[206] An inscription dated AD 1110 at Yewur of the time of Vikramaditya VI of the Western Chalukya dynasty refers to some donations. These donations were made to the temple of Kammatesvara by some craftsmen guilds. The stonecutters guild provided one quarter of a gold piece. Lime was provided by the build of braziers for the drawing of religious images. Each house of artisans such as the goldsmiths, carpenters and blacksmiths gave a certain amount.[207] An undated inscription refers to a gift and informs that the ruler was Jagadekamalla II of the Western Chalukya dynasty. He is believed to have ruled between AD 1139-49. The inscription mentions a gift of a gold plate worth 12. *pons* which was used for serving *palu-mandage*. This is a sweet dish with milk. The gift of the gold plate was from the revenue derived from the *akkasalada achchina keni*. This possibly denoted the income from the minting of coins which the goldsmith received.[208]

The Madanbhavi inscription refers to the reign of Jayakesi II. It is dated AD 1138. The inscription informs that Jayakesi came to the village of Mandura or modern Madanbhavi where the temple of Kalidevasvami was located. It was here that he granted six *mattars* of land. The inscription also informs that others made grants as well. These included the *kammara* or blacksmith, the *madivala* or washerman, the *telliga* or oilman.[209] A record from Bailur informs that some people made grants and donations. This was for the *Chaitra-Pavitra* festival of god Hermesvara. Among those who donated were Singoja who was the *akkasale* or goldsmith, Madivala-Soppayya and Kammara-Dasoja. This record is believed to belong to the twelfth century AD.[210]

A Kadamba inscription believed to be of AD 1158 was found in a derelict Shiva temple in Siddapur. It is recorded that the *mahamandaleshvara* Sivachitta and Vijayaditya were governing. Certain dues were to be collected for the maintenance of the temple as well as the worship of god Prabhulinga. This was located in Hosavolala in the Kittur Thirty. There were sixty people who had to provide earthen pots. Those who were involved in gardening were to pay one *paga* each. This was for each of the

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[206] Lionel D. Barnett, "Inscriptions at Yewur," *EI* 12 (1913-14): 268.

[207] Lionel D. Barnett, "Inscriptions at Yewur (Concluded from p. 298)," *EI* 12 (1913-14): 332-33.

[208] B. R. Gopal, "Karnataka," in *A Decade of Epigraphical Studies in South India*, ed. Shrinivas Ritti (Dharwad: Department of Ancient Indian History and Epigraphy, Karnatak University, 1985), 37.

[209] Gurav, "The Kadambas of Goa and Their Inscriptions," 175-76.

[210] Shantakumari, *The Kadambas of Goa & Their Inscriptions*, 112.

festivals of *Chaitra* and *Pavitra* as well as the *gatra*.[211] The definition of *paga* is informed as one-fourth of the revenue collected.[212] However, *paga* was the same as the Kannada word *haga* and signified a coin.[213] An inscription from Managundi bearing the dates AD 1202, 1215 and 1217 refers to the reign of Jayakesi III of the Goa Kadambas. It informs of grants by a number of people for worship and maintenance of the *nagara-jinalaya*. Among those included was Ketisetti, who was a goldsmith.[214] A stone inscription dated to the Vijayanagara period was found in the Nageshi temple. It was located at Bandivade in the taluka of Ponda. The inscription informs that Mai Senvi was to provide four hundred earthen lamps as well as wicks. These were to be lit up for the *Dipamala* festivities.[215] The inscriptions indicate that the craftsmen, artisans and others were involved in making donations to the temple at the time of ceremonies and other occasions.[216]

The craftsmen would have been involved in the production of a number of coins that circulated in the region. The craftsmen also took an active part in making contributions to religious institutions. They also contributed at the time of festivals.[217] They were also involved in the creation of hero-stones, *sati*-stones and *nishidhi*-stones. There were certain hero-stones which depicted ships. These were intricately carved and indicate the detailed work of the craftsmen. The region also saw the depiction of boat deities in stone sculptures. The sculptural and architectural style of the craftsmen varied over time. There were influences of places like Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and the nearby regions. There was also the influence of the Rashtrakutas, the South Konkan Silaharas, the Western Chalukyas, the Hoysalas, Vijayanagara and the Adil Shahis. The craftsmen were aware of the styles around them. It could also indicate that the craftsmen migrated to or from these regions. The sculptures found in the region also indicate that the craftsmen followed the rules of iconography in their sculptures. They would have

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[211] K. B. Pathak, "A Kadamba Inscription at Siddapur," *IA* 11 (1882): 273-74.

[212] Pathak, "A Kadamba Inscription at Siddapur," 274n11.

[213] Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, 125.

[214] Gurav, "The Kadambas of Goa and Their Inscriptions," 356-57.

[215] Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara*, 112.

[216] Souza, "Craftsmen and Some Political and Religious Aspects in the Goa Region (AD 1000 to 1510)," 3178-79.

[217] Souza, "Craftsmen and Some Political and Religious Aspects in the Goa Region (AD 1000 to 1510)," 3179.

provided their services to the military. The building of temples, *basadis* and mosques had patronage from the royals and the elites. Thus, the craftsmen would have found employment for the construction and maintenance of these structures.

Chapter 5
Portuguese period: Social and religious aspects

In the villages, there were certain wards where the artisan communities lived. These came to be named after the artisan groups. The artisans in the villages were paid by a grant of land called a *namasy* or *nomos*. In India, it was noticed that the village servants or artisans could be categorised as following the demiurgic labour or the *jajmani* system. With the arrival of the Portuguese, there was an expansion of craft production. There are a number of records which make mention of Portuguese as well as Indian craftsmen. The *Foral* of AD 1526 was an important document which tried to understand the administration in Goa. In the 1540s, temples were destroyed and a number of legislations came to discriminate against the non-Christians. There was a record of a dispute between two goldsmiths. It was also noticed that a goldsmith had signed a letter to the king of Portugal which indicates that some craftsmen were literate.

The village community

In the villages, land was jointly held by the *ganvkars* and their association was called the *ganvkari*. The Portuguese referred to these as the *comunidades*.[1] Prior to the arrival of the Portuguese, the *comunidades* were self-sufficient, agricultural organisations which looked after the economy and works of public welfare. These works included maintaining of roads and protecting fields against flooding. The main temple in the village was established by the *ganvkars* of the *comunidades* who were also the *mahajans* of the temple. The village artisans were also maintained so that they could serve the members. Lands were kept for the temple and the upkeep of its servants. These included the temple priests, carpenters, blacksmiths and washermen. Also included were the potters, *mahars*, musicians and others.[2]

From Marathi records, it is understood that the land was divided into different types. The lands which were reclaimed from the sea were called *kantor* and *khajan*. The lands slightly higher than the coastal tract were called *marad* lands. It was here that coconut and fruit yielding trees were grown. These lands were also used for settlement

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[1] Rui Gomes Pereira, *Goa: Gaunkari (The Old Village Associations)*, ed. A. Gomes Pereira, trans. Angelo das Neves Souza, vol. 2 (Panaji, Goa: A. Gomes Pereira, 1981), iv.

[2] Rui Gomes Pereira, *Goa: Hindu Temples and Deities*, ed. A. Gomes Pereira, trans. Antonio Victor Couto, vol. 1 (Panaji, Goa: n.p., 1978), 3.

and were divided into *wadas*. The *kumeri* lands on the hills were used for grazing and cultivation of other crops.[3] The *wadas* were the same as the *vadde*.

The settlement areas were divided into different wards or *vadde*.[4] A *ganv* or village was made up of a number of *vadde* or wards.[5] The name of the ward or *vaddo* depended upon its location or peculiar characteristic. Sometimes, it was named as per the main professional group living in the area. Generally, the main ward was inhabited by the *ganvkars* and came to be known as the *ganvkar vaddo*. The *vaddo* occupied by the goldsmiths was known as the *sonar vaddo* or *sonar bhatt*. The *vaddo* of the blacksmiths was known as the *kamaram vaddo*. The ward of the washermen was known as the *modvollam vaddo*.[6] The ward of the carpenters was called *mesta vaddo*. The ward of the potters was called *kumbhar vaddo* while the ward of the *mahars* was called *mahar vaddo*.[7] In the village of Saligão, there were a number of *bairros* or wards. The ward of Arrarim or Arady included the sub-wards of *sonar bhatt* and *mahar vaddo*. In the ward of Don vaddo, there was a *paustto vaddo* / *chamar vaddo*.[8]

Further, lands were also named according to their size and shape. The name of the owner or occupation also played a role in the naming of various lands.[9] The *Foral* of Ilhas made mention of the *chitarianchem bata*.[10] The word *citrakara* referred to a painter.[11] In Goa, the *chitaris* were artisans who were also involved in the production

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[3] V. T. Gune, "Marathi Records at the Historical Archives, Goa, Panaji," *The Indian Archives* 34, no. 1 (January-June 1985): 4-5.

[4] Olivinho J. F. Gomes, *The Goan Village Communes* (Panaji, Goa: Vasantrao Dempo Education & Research Foundation, 2006), 55.

[5] Teotonio R. de Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 2nd ed. (Saligão, Goa: Goa,1556 and Panjim, Goa: Broadway Book Centre, 2009), 47.

[6] Gomes, *The Goan Village Communes*, 55-56.

[7] Pereira, *Goa: Gaunkari (The Old Village Associations)*, vol. 2, 123.

[8] Nascimento J. Mascarenhas, *Land of the Sal Tree: Stories of the History, Legends and Traditions of Saligão, a Typical Goan Village* (Saligão, Goa: Goa,1556, 2012), 129.

[9] Joseph Velinkar, *India and the West: The First Encounters (Particularly in Goan Salcete): A Historical Study of the Early Indo-Portuguese Cultural Encounters in Goa*, 2nd rev. ed. (Margão, Goa: CinnamonTeal Publishing, 2016), 129-30.

[10] HAG, *Foral das Ilhas de Goa (1567)*, n.º 7594, fol. 58v.

[11] Kuldeep Singh Thind, *Artisans and Craftsmen of Northern India* (New Delhi: D. K. Printworld (P) Ltd., 2009), 28.

of items with lacquer.[12] There was mention of the *taviachem bata*.[13] The *Foral* also made mention of the *madavalachem bata*.[14] The *Foral* of Bardez made mention of the *chão dos carpinteiros*.[15] The *Foral* also made mention of the *vargea do ferreiro*.[16] In relation to Margão, the *Foral* of Salcete made mention of a *vargea camar bhatt*.[17] All these indicate that these were land divisions of the painters, carpenters, washermen and blacksmiths.

The village of Kansarvorne in the taluka of Pernem and the village of Cansarpale in the taluka of Bicholim are believed to have a connection with coppersmiths. The word *kansar* in Marathi meant coppersmith. The term *vorne* may have referred to the word *khorn* which was a furnace wherein marine shells were used to prepare lime.[18] There is also reference to a potter's ward. In AD 1570, about three hundred people in this ward died due to cholera.[19]

In the city of Goa, the palace of the Sabayo or Adil Shah, was an impressive structure. It had a number of intricately carved wooden columns. The *Terreiro do Sabayo* was a large square before the palace. Nearby were shops of different artisans including those of goldsmiths who were known for their skill.[20] There was a sepulchral inscription which informed of the death of Francisco Alvez or Alvarez who was a goldsmith of the *Terreiro do Sabayo*.[21]

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[12] Percival Noronha, "Indo-Portuguese Furniture and Its Evolution," in *Goa and Portugal: History and Development*, ed. Charles J. Borges, Óscar G. Pereira, and Hannes Stubbe (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 2000), 188.

[13] HAG, *Foral das Ilhas de Goa (1567)*, n.º 7594, fol. 58v.

[14] HAG, *Foral das Ilhas de Goa (1567)*, n.º 7594, fol. 59v.

[15] HAG, *Foral de Bardês (1647)*, n.º 7588, fol. 19r.

[16] HAG, *Foral de Bardês (1647)*, n.º 7588, fol. 22r.

[17] HAG, *Foral de Salcete (1622-1694)*, n.º 7583, fol. 8v.

[18] Anant Ramkrishna Sinai Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa: From 10000 B.C. to 1352 A.D.*, ed. Nandkumar Kamat and Ramesh Anant S. Dhume, 2nd ed. (Panjim, Goa: Broadway Book Centre, 2009), 44-45.

[19] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 82.

[20] José Nicolau da Fonseca, *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa, Preceded by a Short Statistical Account of the Territory of Goa* (Bombay: Thacker & Co, Limited, 1878), 134.

[21] J. M. do Carmo Nazareth, "Galeria lapidar no Museu Real da India Portugueza," *OP* (1st series) 4, no. 4 (April 1907): 159.

Payment to the artisans

The village lands were held jointly by the village community. In terms of taxation, the entire village was considered to be a single entity. The type of soil played a determining factor in the classification of land.[22] Thus, the village lands were classified into two groups. The first group of lands were further divided into three categories. The first division of lands were called *nelly* lands. These were for the maintenance and worship related to the temple as well as for the maintenance of the temple priest and temple servants. These lands were considered the best fields. The second division of lands were for the village community. The third division of lands were given to the village servants. These were called *namasy* lands. They were given to the village servants in return for their services. The second group of lands were again divided into three categories. The first division of lands were *namasy* lands given to the temple and village servants. The second division of lands were for public works. The third division of lands were for the planting of palm groves and orchards on rent.[23]

V. T. Gune informed that *namasy* lands were assigned to the village artisans who have been called the *balutas*. They included the *sutar* or carpenter, the *lohar* or blacksmith and the *dhobi* or washerman. Also included were the *kumbhar* or potter, the *chamar* or cobbler and others.[24] However, Anant Ramkrishna Sinai Dhume informed that these individuals were collective known as the *balutedars* in Marathi. The paddy they received was known as the *balutem*. Although this was practiced in Goa, there was no separate term in Konkani used for them.[25]

The lands given to the artisans were known as *namashi* (*namasy*) lands. The Prakrit word *namashi* was the same as the Sanskrit word *namasya*.[26] *Namasya* meant a gift which was to be held through the generations which could not be taken back. *Nomos* was derived from the Sanskrit word *namasya*. The land which was granted to the carpenter was known as *mestanchi nomos*. In Portuguese, this was referred to as *nomoxim dos carpinteiros*.[27] The *nomos* of the blacksmith was also known as *mesta*

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[22] Gune, "Marathi Records at the Historical Archives, Goa, Panaji," 5.

[23] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 47-48.

[24] Gune, "Marathi Records at the Historical Archives, Goa, Panaji," 5.

[25] Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa: From 10000 B.C. to 1352 A.D.*, 188.

[26] Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa: From 10000 B.C. to 1352 A.D.*, 318.

[27] Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa: From 10000 B.C. to 1352 A.D.*, 187-88.

nomos or *kamra nomos* or *nomoxim dos ferreiros*. The *nomos* of the washerman was known as *madvala nomos* or *nomoxim dos mainatos*. The *nomos* was the same as the *namas*.[28] The *Foral* of Ilhas made mention of the *taviachem namassy*.[29] The *Foral* of Bardez also referred to the *namassy dos carpinteiros*.[30] The *Foral* of Bardez made mention of the *namassy dos ferreiros*.[31] There was also record of a *namassy do mainato*.[32] The *namassy* was the same as the *namasy*. These records indicate that these were the *namasy* lands of the carpenters, blacksmiths and washermen.

It is believed that originally the term *namas* or its plural form *namoshi* referred to land which was utilised for producing food which was presented to the divinity of the temple. Gradually, the term came to refer to paddy fields and orchard lands which were rent-free for the use of the temple and the staff who provided services to the village community. The land was however owned by the village community. Whenever the *namoshi* was a paddy-field, it was called *nelly*. However, when it was in the form of a house-site or orchard, it was known by names such as *ghorbatt* or *kullagor* or *thikann*. In the New Conquests, rewards for services performed were in the form of lands called *inam*. In some communities, the *inam* was substituted by a hereditary pension called *voton*.[33]

It was also noticed that the village communities paid some of the servants a fixed amount in cash. This was known as the *voton*. This was in addition to the *namasy* lands. In Ponda, it was noticed that the temple priest, the washerman and the barber were given only the *namasy*. However, the *vinani* or blacksmith also received a *voton*. The *vonton* was also permanent and hereditary like the *namasy*. These were given as long as the services were rendered by the artisans and their descendants.[34]

In some places, instead of the term *namas*, the word *hakka* was used. This was noticed in Kumbharjuvem or Cumbarjua in the taluka of Tiswadi. There was mention of the *bhavincho hakk* which was the gift of the woman servant of the deity. It was called the *sarangueacho hakk* or gift of the *sarang* player. It was called the

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[28] Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa: From 10000 B.C. to 1352 A.D.*, 318-19.

[29] HAG, *Foral das Ilhas de Goa (1567)*, n.º 7594, fol. 74v.

[30] HAG, *Foral de Bardês (1647)*, n.º 7588, fol. 23v.

[31] HAG, *Foral de Bardês (1647)*, n.º 7588, fol. 14r.

[32] HAG, *Foral de Bardês (1647)*, n.º 7588, fol. 18v.

[33] Gomes, *The Goan Village Communes*, 48-49.

[34] Pereira, *Goa: Gaunkari (The Old Village Associations)*, vol. 2, 120.

mridangeacho hakk or gift of the *mridanga* player. It appears that this word was used due to the Muslim influence.[35]

The land which was given as a *nomos* was not a gift. These lands were given permanently. However, the artisans needed to provide their services to the community and temples. The *foro* was not payable on it. However, in certain cases, some *namoshi* were eligible to pay the *foro*. This was when the income of the *namoshi* was over and above the amount of payment which had been decided. The *foro* was calculated based on the extra amount. This practice was observed in Borim in Ponda.[36] The term *foro* referred to a tax.[37] The *namasy* lands were hereditary in nature. Only in the case of non-performance of the service could the land be transferred to another family member willing to perform the service.[38]

In the case of ancient India, Damodar Dharmanand Kosambi informed that artisans were provided land where they could cultivate crops. However, it is believed that this was not enough for them to carry on with their craft. Hence, they were provided with other perquisites and remunerations.[39] He also felt that in the situation where any extra work was performed, they were remunerated with extra grain. They may have also been called for the celebration of feasts and ceremonies.[40] In the case of Goa, Teotonio R. de Souza informed that besides the revenue from the *namasy* lands, the village artisans also received a *musara*. This payment was in grain. It was given by the *ganvkars* to the artisans who served them. In the Azosy village, every year the household of the *ganvkars* were to give a quantity of ten *kudav* of *bhat* or paddy as *musara* to the washerman.[41]

Further, Anant Ramkrishna Sinai Dhume also informed that the families of the blacksmiths, washermen, barbers and others received *namasy* lands. They were

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[35] Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa: From 10000 B.C. to 1352 A.D.*, 319.

[36] Pereira, *Goa: Gaunkari (The Old Village Associations)*, vol. 2, 119-20.

[37] Pereira, *Goa: Gaunkari (The Old Village Associations)*, vol. 2, 17.

[38] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 56.

[39] Damodar Dharmanand Kosambi, *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, 2nd rev. ed. (1975; repr., Bombay: Popular Prakashan Pvt. Ltd., 2008), 337.

[40] Damodar Dharmanand Kosambi, *The Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India in Historical Outline* (repr., New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., 2011), 195.

[41] Teotonio R. de Souza, "Rural Economy and Life," in *Goa through the Ages: An Economic History*, ed. Teotonio R. de Souza, vol. 2 (1990; repr., New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1999), 101-02.

associated with the temple of the village deity. In addition to the *namasy* lands, the elders of these families received a certain quantity of paddy.[42] At the time of festivals, the village artisans visited the houses of the *ganvkars*. They were offered *sannam* or fermented rice cakes.[43] The artisans had to go around the village and attend to the *ganvkars* on a weekly basis. They could be fined for not coming to their assistance. These fines ranged from one to five *tangas*.[44]

In medieval south India, there were also fishermen among the village servants. They were used for the maintenance of irrigation tanks and dams. For the services they provided, the fishermen would receive a tax-free land and a quantity of paddy.[45] In Goa, the *Foral* of Ilhas made mention of a *caroviachi namassy*.[46] This referred to the *namasy* of the *kharvi* or fishermen. It appears that in this case, the fishermen were also given a *namasy* in Goa. However, it is not known what service they provided.

The *kulachari* and the *vantely*

The *ganvkars* took part in the decision-making process. At times, non-*ganvkars* such as the *kulachari* and *vantely* could express their opinion. However, they could not vote. It was believed that the *kulachari* were like the village servants. Their services were remunerated with rent-free lands.[47] The *kulachari* were brought in to settle from other villages. They also received a share of the profit derived by the village community.[48] However, the *kulachari* were involved in work which was not usually done by the normal artisans of the village community. While the artisans were generally Shudras, the *kulachari* were usually Brahmins and Kshatriyas. They assisted the *ganvkars* and their families. Though the *kulachari* provided their services in one village community, they may have been *ganvkars* of another village community. The payment to the *kulachari* depended on the decision of the village community and the work they performed. The payment was made hereditarily to the male descendants. The *kulachari*

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[42] Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa: From 10000 B.C. to 1352 A.D.*, 188.

[43] Gomes, *The Goan Village Communes*, 80.

[44] Souza, "Rural Economy and Life," 102.

[45] T. M. Srinivasan, "Irrigation in South India," in *History of Indian Science, Technology and Culture AD 1000-1800*, ed. A. Rahman, Vol. 3 part 1 of History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001), 347-48.

[46] HAG, *Foral das Ilhas de Goa (1567)*, n.º 7594, fol. 125r.

[47] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 36.

[48] Pereira, *Goa: Gaunkari (The Old Village Associations)*, vol. 2, 37.

had different designations depending on the work they performed. Those who mended and carried banners were called the *bonderkars*. The *nhanniekars* served the family of the *ganvkars* at the time of childbirth.[49]

The *vantely* were also brought in from other villages for their skill in the repair of clay levees and other work. For their services, they received a grant of land or a portion of the profit received by the village community. In Calangute in the taluka of Bardez and Raya in the taluka of Salcete, they managed to get full *ganvkar* rights.[50]

The village servants

The villages servants or artisans looked after the needs of the people. They included the *thovoi* (*thovi*) or carpenter and the *vinani* or blacksmith who provided implements for daily use. The *kumbhar* or potter made clay items which were used by the villagers. The *dhobi* or washerman washed clothes. The *chamar* or the cobbler supplied footwear as well as water bags. The *mahar* or basket-maker wove items out of bamboo for use in the house and in the fields.[51] The *shet* or goldsmith pierced ears and acted as a *shroff* in the assaying of coins.[52] José Nicolau da Fonseca informed that the village servants included the *carpinteiro* or carpenter, the *mainato* or washerman, the *alparqueiro* or shoemaker and the *faraz* or *mahar*.[53] He provided the Portuguese equivalents of their professional names.

At times, the village artisans served more than one village. Further, in certain villages there were artisans present which were not present in others. This was due to the geographic location of the village. Villages near the sea and the rivers had the *taris*, *kharvis* and *mit-gauddes* or *agris*. Places which had palm groves had *bhandaris*, *telis* and others.[54] The *taris* and *kharvis* and were fishermen and sailors. The *mit-gauddes* or *agris* were involved in salt extraction. The *bhandaris* were toddy-tappers and the *telis* were involved in oil extraction.[55] The *Etnografia da India Portuguesa* is a work by A.

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[49] Gomes, *The Goan Village Communes*, 164-66.

[50] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 36.

[51] Souza, "Rural Economy and Life," 101.

[52] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 56-57.

[53] Fonseca, *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa, Preceded by a Short Statistical Account of the Territory of Goa*, 21-22.

[54] Souza, "Rural Economy and Life," 87.

[55] A. B. de Bragança Pereira, *Ethnography of Goa, Daman and Diu*, trans. Maria Aurora Couto (New Delhi: Penguin Books India Pvt. Ltd., 2008), 41-44.

B. de Bragança Pereira which provides details of the artisan communities. It included details of the items they produced. As the traditional skills did not change very quickly over time, it gives an important insight into these communities.[56]

In the context of medieval Maharashtra, the village servants called the *balutedars* received a share of the grain called the *balute*. The *balutedars* were grouped into three *kaas* or rows. The *thorali kaas* or major row included the carpenter, blacksmith and *mahar*. The *madhali kaas* or middle row included the potter, cobbler and washerman. The *dhakti kaas* included the temple priest. However, it was noticed that these groupings were not uniform in all the regions. In one instance, the cobbler was present in the first or major row. The goldsmith and the astrologer were present in the last or minor row. It is believed that this three row grouping was on the basis of the crop share they received.[57] Alexander I. Tchitcherov informed that those in the first group received the biggest share of the *balute* while those in third group received the least. In this third group were the goldsmith and astrologer. However, it was noticed that these two professionals were rich and affluent among the villagers. The division of the *balutedars* into three groups was not dependant on the social position of the village servants, but on the contribution which the artisans made to the village.[58] However, such divisions were not noticed in Goa.

In the context of Goa, the *culacharins* or *kulacharis* stood higher than the village servants in the hierarchy. The village servants included the carpenter, blacksmith, potter, barber, washerman, cobbler and basket-maker.[59] In the hierarchy among the village servants, the *shet* or goldsmith was higher than the rest. The goldsmith claimed to belong to the class of *dvijas*. However, the *dvijas* considered the goldsmith to be a Vaishya.[60] The *mahars* and the *chamars* were untouchables and occupied the lowest rank.[61] A study of the *comunidades* from AD 1750 to 1910 indicates that the *ganvkars* controlled agricultural activities and prevailed over the economy. The carpenter, smith,

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[56] Souza, "Rural Economy and Life," 88.

[57] A. R. Kulkarni, *Medieval Maharashtra* (Pune: Diamond Publications, 2008), 56-58.

[58] Alexander I. Tchitcherov, *India: Changing Economic Structure in the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries: Outline History of Crafts and Trade*, 3rd rev. ed. (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributors, 1998), 35.

[59] Stella Mascarenhas-Keyes, *Colonialism, Migration and the International Catholic Goan Community* (Saligão, Goa: Goa,1556, 2011), 114n4.

[60] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 56.

[61] Pereira, *Goa: Hindu Temples and Deities*, vol. 1, 30.

shoemaker, washerman, temple servants and others were not members of the *comunidades*. However, the *comunidades* saw that the village servants were taken care of.[62] While the artisans were generally Shudras, the *kulacharis* were usually Brahmins and Kshatriyas.[63] The *kulacharis* stood higher in the hierarchy than the village servants probably due to this reason.

The *barazan*

Pandurang Phaldesai informs that the *ganvkari* referred to the village community. The *ganvkars* were involved in the regulation of its activities. He referred to the *barazan* as the *bara balutedar* who had hereditary responsibilities and were a group of twelve classes. Among them were the goldsmith, blacksmith, carpenter and potter. There were also the washerman, shoemaker and others.[64] However, the term *barazan* may not have referred to the *bara balutedars* or the village artisans.

Barazan is believed to refer to the twelve ancestors who originally inhabited the village. In Sristhal in Gaondongrem, they are worshipped in the form of twelve stones. These are buried in front of the temple. There were also places named Barazan found in Surla as well as in Usgaon. In the village of Kajur, in front of the Paikdeo temple, there are a circle of stone structures. The locals believe that this was the meeting place of the *barazan*. It is likely that these were the places where the *gaumponn* or council of the village community met to discuss issues related to the village.[65] On a similar note, it is also believed that the headmen of twelve villages met to make decisions. The place where they met for the meeting was called the *barazan* referring to twelve persons. Later, this term was considered to be an ancestral deity.[66]

Another opinion was that the *comunidades* were made up of the arrival of groups of settlers through the sea route. The *barazan* which referred to the twelve may have been the twelve persons who led the ships of the people who came. It is noticed that there were a number of places named *barazan* in Goa. These have been found at

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[62] Remy Dias, "The Socio-Economic History of Goa with Special Reference to the Communidade System: 1750-1910" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Goa University, 2004), 434.

[63] Gomes, *The Goan Village Communes*, 164.

[64] Pandurang Phaldesai, *Goa: Folklore Studies* (Saligão, Goa: Goa,1556 and Panjim, Goa: Broadway Publishing House, 2011), 131-32.

[65] Dias, "The Socio-Economic History of Goa with Special Reference to the Communidade System: 1750-1910," 52-53.

[66] Gomes, *The Goan Village Communes*, 31-32.

Savoi Verem, Mormugão, Dabolim and others. It is believed that the *barazan* were the men who assisted the communities which fled and arrived in Goa. Initially, it may have referred to a meeting place. At Narva, the place is known as *barazanacho fator* or stone of the twelve. Gradually, it came to be associated with religion. At Piligaum, it is known as *barazan kollos* wherein the *kollos* had a religious connotation. Thereafter, it was considered as a god. At Alorna, it is known as *bara-vouns* which referred to a god.[67] Thus, the *barazan* may not have referred to the village artisans.

Classification of village servants - Demiurgic labour and *jajmani* system

The study of artisans and servants in the villages has led to their grouping into two theories. One view considered the village servants as involved in demiurgic labour. In this theory, it was felt that they were in the service of the entire village community. In another theory called the *jajmani* system, it was believed that the village servants provided services to some particular families called *jajmans*.[68]

The demiurgic labour theory

In the context of India, Baden-Powell informed that there were servants who resided in the village. The services of these artisans and servants allowed for the village to sustain itself. These village servants included the carpenter, blacksmith, cobbler, potter, washerman and others. They were a permanent part of the village. Their positions were hereditary. They worked for all the villagers and in return for their services, they got a fixed share of the harvest in cash or kind. They were also entitled to some perquisites. They may have also received a rent-free land which was also hereditary.[69]

Karl Marx informed that among the village communities in India, it was noticed that the smith and the carpenter produced tools for agriculture. The potter made earthenware items. The washerman washed clothes. These individuals as well as the Brahmin priest, barber and others were maintained by the whole community. If there

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[67] Antonio Mascarenhas, *Goa: From Prehistoric Times* (Vasco, Goa: n.p., 1987), 22-24.

[68] Hiroshi Fukazawa, "Rural Servants in the Maharashtrian Village - Demiurgic or Jajmani System?," in *The Medieval Deccan: Peasants, Social Systems and States: Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1991), 199.

[69] B. H. Baden-Powell, *The Origin and Growth of Village Communities in India* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. Lim.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899), 9-10.

was a growth in the number of people, a new village was established. However, the structure of the community in the new village was similar to the one in the earlier village.[70] Max Weber stated that the village craftsmen, barbers, washermen, temple priest and others provided demiurgic labour. He informed that they belonged to the village. They served the village community. In return for their services, they received land or a share of the harvest.[71]

In the village communities of western India, occupations like the carpenter, smith, potter, cobbler, washerman and others were found. At times, every village could not afford to maintain every type of occupation. Therefore, two or three villages shared a common carpenter or smith. They were remunerated in the form of a *balute* or grain share. Here, the payment of a share of the grain was not made every time the artisan provided a service. The grain share was provided at the time of the annual harvest.[72] In this case as well, the village community maintained the servants and artisans as a whole. The artisans were paid at the harvest time. The demiurgic labour theory would be applicable in this case.

The *jajmani* system theory

In a north Indian village, William Henricks Wiser noticed that every caste performed a service to every other caste in the village. In the example of a carpenter, his customers were his *jajmani*. The head of the family whom he attended was the *jajman*. The *jajman* called the family of the carpenter and the others who attended him as *kam-wale* or workers.[73] The *kam-wale* were also known as the *kamin*.[74] Ram Sharan Sharma was of the opinion that in the early medieval period in India, the *jajmani* system arose due to a number of factors. These factors included the decline of urban centres

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[70] Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, ed. Frederick Engels, trans. Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, vol. 1: The Process of Capitalist Production: Translated from the Third German Edition (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Company, 1909), 392-93.

[71] Max Weber, *General Economic History*, trans. Frank H. Knight (repr., Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1950), 22.

[72] A. S. Altekar, *A History of Village Communities in Western India* (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1927), 89-90.

[73] William Henricks Wiser, *The Hindu Jajmani System: A Socio-Economic System Interrelating Members of a Hindu Village Community in Services*, 3rd ed. (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1988), xix-xx.

[74] Bruce Caldwell, *The Jajmani System: An Investigation* (Delhi: Hindustan Publishing Corporation, 1991), 1.

and a diminished use of cash transactions. He stated that the artisans lost their mobility and came to be attached to patrons through the *jajmani* system.[75]

In the Karimpur village of north India, which Wiser studied, there were a number of artisans. These included the carpenter, goldsmith, blacksmith, potter and others. Each of the castes were a servant and performed a service to the other caste. Each of the castes were also a master and received a service. Thus, there was a system wherein the community was bound by interrelated services. This was the essence of the *jajmani* system. The performance of services led to payments in cash or kind. It all depended upon the *jajman*. It may have been a daily or monthly payment or as per the service provided. The concessions to the ones providing the service varied. It included rent-free lands, food for the family and others.[76] It was noticed that the links between the families who performed the services or *kamin* families and the families who received the services or *jajman* families, who were the patron families, were permanent. These ties were hereditary in nature. If anyone did not provide a service, there would be severe repercussions.[77] Oscar Lewis noticed that in the north Indian village of Rampur, in recent times, the *kumbhar* or potter families had a number of *jajmans* to whom they provided clay items in return for grain. It was seen that the *jajman* would accept the clay items only from his particular *kumbhar* and no one else. Other *kumbhars* would also not supply him with these items. It was only in the case when the particular *kumbhar* did not have the clay items, would the *jajman* procure them from another *kumbhar*.[78] Hiroshi Fukazawa informed that in many cases in north and south India, examples of the servant-patron relationship were noticed.[79]

Oscar Lewis also noticed that in the north Indian village of Rampur, there was an element of exploitation in the *jajmani* system. The *kamins* were generally exploited by the *jajmans*. It was seen that the landowners were the dominant caste and owned land. It was also observed that due to the ownership of land and residential plots by the

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[75] Ram Sharan Sharma, *Urban Decay in India (c. 300 - c. 1000)* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1987), 184.

[76] Wiser, *The Hindu Jajmani System: A Socio-Economic System Interrelating Members of a Hindu Village Community in Services*, xx-xxv.

[77] Caldwell, *The Jajmani System: An Investigation*, 1-2.

[78] Oscar Lewis, "Caste and the Jajmani System in a North Indian Village," in *Anthropological Essays* (New York: Random House, 1970), 371-72.

[79] Fukazawa, "Rural Servants in the Maharashtrian Village - Demiurgic or Jajmani System?," 207.

dominant caste, the village servants lived in servitude under the dominant caste.[80] However, Bruce Caldwell also noticed that the landowner received a service and but never provided a service.[81]

Conclusion - Demiurgic labour and *jajmani* system

Hiroshi Fukazawa found that the writings of both, the demiurgic labour and the *jajmani* system, had some drawbacks. The demiurgic theory of the village servants was established based on the study by the British administrators. It is possible that the servants of certain families were considered to be the servants of the entire village by them. However, the working of the *jajmani* system in the village, while being considered traditional, may have been established recently.[82]

Hiroshi Fukazawa was of the opinion that in eighteenth century Maharashtra, the twelve *baluta* servants provided services to the entire village. They were also sustained by the entire village. Thus, the demiurgic theory was applicable to them. The Brahmin priests also worked as the village accountants or astrologers. A priest would have tended to families of particular castes. This was because rites differed according to caste. Thus, the *jajmani* system was valid for the family priest. However, it was not applicable to the *baluta* servants. Further, it is believed that during the British period, there was a disintegration of village life. During this time, it is believed that the village servants turned into family servants. However, there is not enough evidence for the same. Even until the beginning of the twentieth century, the *baluta* servants in certain villages of Maharashtra were considered to be village servants.[83]

The situation in Goa

Rowena Robinson was of the opinion that in Goa, the different castes were connected through the *jajmani* system. In this patron-client relationship, the artisans

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[80] Lewis, "Caste and the Jajmani System in a North Indian Village," 382-83.

[81] Caldwell, *The Jajmani System: An Investigation*, 26.

[82] Fukazawa, "Rural Servants in the Maharashtrian Village - Demiurgic or Jajmani System?," 208-09.

[83] Fukazawa, "Rural Servants in the Maharashtrian Village - Demiurgic or Jajmani System?," 238-40.

provided services to patrons of the high caste. In return, for their services they received a share of the harvest.[84]

Stella Mascarenhas-Keyes pointed out that the village communities of Goa were in the category of the joint village. The *ganvkars* had ownership of the land jointly and not any individual. The village council made up of *vangads* or clans of *ganvkars* was the decision making body.[85] The *vangads* or *vangods* consisted of people who shared a lineage.[86] In the *comunidades*, it was noticed that a large number of the artisans served all the villagers. In return for their services, they were paid by the village with the income of the *namasy* lands. Stella Mascarenhas-Keyes felt that this system was different from the *jajmani* system which was composed of patron-client relationships among individuals. However, it was noticed that the artisans also attended individual *ganvkars*. The village council could fine artisans if the *ganvkars* needs were not met by the artisans. At the same time, the artisans were part of the joint village. The artisans can be seen as working not for the individual but for the *comunidade*.[87]

In the context of India, Henry Sumner Maine noticed that the hereditary trades in the villages such as those of the blacksmith, shoemaker and others stood to serve the village community. At the same time, they also served individual members. For their services, usually, they were provided a piece of land which was hereditarily held by the family. They may have also been given a share of grain.[88]

Further, with regards to the situation in Goa, Anant Ramkrishna Sinai Dhume informed that the village community granted rice-fields to the artisan families for their maintenance. The elders of these families also received a share of paddy. Additionally, although they were looked after by the village community, these families were connected to the temple. They were the servants of the deity. They were not considered as servants of the villagers.[89]

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[84] Rowena Robinson, "Sixteenth Century Conversions to Christianity in Goa," in *Religious Conversion in India: Modes, Motivations, and Meanings*, ed. Rowena Robinson and Sathianathan Clarke (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008), 296.

[85] Mascarenhas-Keyes, *Colonialism, Migration and the International Catholic Goan Community*, 79.

[86] Pereira, *Goa: Gaunkari (The Old Village Associations)*, vol. 2, 2.

[87] Mascarenhas-Keyes, *Colonialism, Migration and the International Catholic Goan Community*, 115n6.

[88] Henry Sumner Maine, *Village-Communities in the East and West*, 7th ed. (London: John Murray, 1895), 125-26.

[89] Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa: From 10000 B.C. to 1352 A.D.*, 188.

The recent study of A. B. de Bragança Pereira informed that the Brahmin priest did not preside over the ceremonies of the *chamars* who were cobblers and tanners and the *mahars* who were basket-makers. The Brahmin priest would only offer these communities *tirtha* or holy water. He would only indicate the rites which were to be performed for these communities. However, he did receive payment for this deed from the *mahars*.[90] The *mhales* or barbers also did not shave the men of the *chamar* and *mahar* communities.[91] While the artisans were connected to the temple, they did provide their services to the community. Although the artisans in the Goan villages served certain *ganvkar* families at times, the artisans served the village community and were remunerated with lands by the *comunidade*. Thus, the artisanal classes in Goa could be termed as providing demiurgic labour. However, the conclusion reached by Hiroshi Fukazawa in the study of the village servants in Maharashtra, has some parallels with the situation of the village servants in Goa. The Brahmin priest did not serve all the members of the village community. This can be seen in the case of the *chamars* and *mahars*. But, it was observed that the Brahmin priest did inform them of the rites to be performed and received a fee. Though, details are limited. Further, while the village artisans provided services to the *ganvkars*, it is not known if the *ganvkars* returned any services. Although, the village artisans were provided *namasy* lands by the *comunidade* for their sustenance.

However, in Goa, according to the *Foral* prepared by Afonso Mexia in AD 1526, the *ganvkars* could allot lands to the Brahmin of the temple, carpenter, blacksmith, washerman, cobbler and others.[92] It should also be noted that a document dated AD 1541 referred to the professionals, including the carpenters, blacksmiths, washermen, shoemakers, barbers, painters and others like them, as the *servidores* of the *pagodes* and the *aldeas*.[93] A *servidor* referred to a servant.[94] A *pagode* denoted a temple or an idol worshipped in a temple.[95] The word *aldea* was the same as an *aldeia* and

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[90] Pereira, *Ethnography of Goa, Daman and Diu*, 47-48.

[91] Pereira, *Ethnography of Goa, Daman and Diu*, 44.

[92] J. H. da Cunha Rivara, ed., *APO-CR*, fasciculo 5 parte 1 (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1865; repr., New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1992), 123.

[93] Josef Wicki, ed., *DI*, vol. 1 (1540-1549) (Romae: Apud "Monumenta Historica Soc. Iesu", 1948), 764.

[94] F. J. Caldas Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Lisboa: Typographia da Parceria Antonio Maria Pereira, 1925), 878.

[95] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 2, 446.

referred to a village.[96] Hence, documents from the sixteenth century informed that the artisans and others like them were the servants of the temples and the villages and were maintained by the village community.

Portuguese in Goa and commercial expansion

With the discovery of the sea route through the Cape of Good Hope, the volume of trade expanded. The Portuguese were the only traders through this route for almost a century. They did not permit others to use the route and for many decades it was not used by others. However, due to economic difficulties, the Portuguese again allowed trade along the route. But the others had to pay a tax to them.[97] The Portuguese set up trade centres in India. However, they did not venture deep inland. They had small outposts or territories which could be reached by the sea.[98] In AD 1600, the English East India Company started operations. In AD 1602, the Dutch East India Company began commercial activities. It was with the entry of the English and the Dutch that the control of the Portuguese over the cape route was reduced.[99]

Initially, the Portuguese managed to control important areas of trade. The Portuguese contributed to trade within Asia. They exported fabrics and commodities from Goa and took it to Japan. From this sale, they were able to procure silver in Japan. This was exchanged for goods from China which included silk, porcelain and other items. These items were then sold in the Molucca Islands. They were able to obtain spices for Goa for onward transmission to Europe. They also took part in trade within India as well. The items they chiefly exported from Bengal included indigo, saltpetre and fabrics. They brought into Bengal items like pepper, cinnamon, porcelain and other items.[100]

Between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, there was the development of a number of centres of commerce in India. These places included Delhi, Cambay, Surat,

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[96] F. J. Caldas Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Lisboa: Typographia da Parceria Antonio Maria Pereira, 1925), 81.

[97] Om Prakash, "Europeans, India and the Indian Ocean in the Early Modern Period," in *Bullion for Goods: European and Indian Merchants in the Indian Ocean Trade, 1500-1800* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributors, 2004), 43.

[98] Tchitcherov, *India: Changing Economic Structure in the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries: Outline History of Crafts and Trade*, 118.

[99] Prakash, "Asia and the Pre-Modern World Economy," 30-31.

[100] Tchitcherov, *India: Changing Economic Structure in the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries: Outline History of Crafts and Trade*, 119.

Bombay, Goa and others. This development took place due to a number of factors. There was an increased division of labour as well as the growth of craft production. Trade played a crucial role in the development of villages into important commercial centres. Goa was known as a commercial centre. Arab traders had been involved in trade at Goa. There were also overland routes which connected Goa with the interiors. With the arrival of the Portuguese, Goa became a major commercial centre in India as well as in Asia. Industry and commerce developed in Old Goa. The commercial centres included Indian merchants consisting of Gujaratis, Bengalis and others.[101] Gujarat was also known as an important centre of trade and commerce. Gujarati merchants sent ships from Cambay to the Middle East as well as to different parts of India, including the Deccan, Bhatkal and Goa.[102]

Capture of Goa and thereafter

Afonso de Albuquerque, in February 1510, was on his way towards the Red Sea. He was attempting to destroy the ships of the sultan of Egypt when he met Timoja. Timoja is believed to have been heading a Vijayanagara fleet.[103] Timoja informed him that the captain of the sultan and some Rumes, who were involved in the battle with Francisco de Almeida, were in Goa and that the Çabaio was in contact with their captain.[104] The Rumes were the same as the Rumi and referred to the Turks.[105] Çabaio was the same as Sabaio or Sabayo.[106] There is some debate regarding the name Sabayo. One opinion was that it referred to Yusuf Adil Shah of the Adil Shahi dynasty. Another

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[101] Tchitcherov, *India: Changing Economic Structure in the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries: Outline History of Crafts and Trade*, 142-43.

[102] V. I. Pavlov, *The Indian Capitalist Class: A Historical Study*, First Aakar ed. (Delhi: Aakar Books, 2016), 55.

[103] V. T. Gune, ed., *Gazetteer of the Union Territory: Goa, Daman and Diu*, part 1: Goa (1979; repr., Panaji, Goa: Gazetteer Department, 2009), 141.

[104] Afonso de Albuquerque, *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque, Second Viceroy of India: Translated from the Portuguese Edition of 1774*, trans. Walter de Gray Birch, vol. 2 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1877), 81-82.

[105] Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, vol. 2 (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1921), 264-65.

[106] Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive*, ed. William Crooke, 2nd ed. (London: John Murray, 1903), 778.

view was that it referred to the title of a Hindu chief in Kanara.[107] However, it is believed that the Portuguese referred to Yusuf Adil Shah as Sabayo.[108] The Rumes had a number of carpenters and caulkers who built ships based on the Portuguese style. The captain had also written to the sultan requesting to stay in Goa and have a base as there was a supply of timber and a good harbour. The sultan would be in a position to destroy the Portuguese power from a base in Goa.[109] Timoja also informed Albuquerque that the Adil Shah had already ordered for twenty ships to be built in Goa of the Portuguese model and that five ships had already been completed.[110] The construction of a shipyard at the port of Ella or Old Goa had begun under the Adil Shah in AD 1508. This was done with the assistance of the sultan of Egypt.[111] This would indicate that there were a number of craftsmen in Goa. The knowledge about them had reached Timoja.

Shortly thereafter, Albuquerque decided to capture Goa. The fortress of Panjim fell to the Portuguese in early AD 1510.[112] When Albuquerque took Goa, he inspected the fortress and palace of the Sabayo which was of wood. He also went to the weapons store where he found supplies including weapons, gunpowder and materials required for its production. Weapons for the infantry and cavalry were also found. There were also one hundred and sixty horses in the stables. In different parts of the city, there were artillery of various kinds. There was a good supply of cords and ropes. There were also a number of small and large ships.[113] After Albuquerque had inspected the city, he started to repair the fortifications and walls of the city of Goa. The labour of the locals was utilised for this purpose. The captains and their men also contributed. In the fortress, store rooms were constructed so that rice and corn could be stored and rationed

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[107] Duarte Barbosa, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa: An Account of the Countries Bordering on the Indian Ocean and Their Inhabitants, written by Duarte Barbosa, and Completed about the Year 1518 A.D.*, trans. Mansel Longworth Dames, vol. 1 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1918), 172n1.

[108] George M. Moraes, *A History of Christianity in India: From Early Times to St. Francis Xavier: A.D. 52-1542* (Bombay: P. C. Manaktala and Sons Private Ltd., 1964), 149.

[109] Albuquerque, *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque, Second Viceroy of India: Translated from the Portuguese Edition of 1774*, vol. 2, 81-82.

[110] B. S. Shastry, *Goa-Kanara Portuguese Relations 1498-1763*, ed. Charles J. Borges (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 2000), 35.

[111] Pratima Kamat, *Goa: Its Tryst with Trade* (Panaji, Goa: Goa Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 2009), 54.

[112] Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory: Goa, Daman and Diu*, part 1: Goa, 141.

[113] Albuquerque, *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque, Second Viceroy of India: Translated from the Portuguese Edition of 1774*, vol. 2, 98-99.

to other fleets and fortresses, in order to commence operations.[114] It was noticed that under the rule of the Adil Shah, the revenue due from Goa had been increased from one hundred and fifty thousand *xerafins* to three hundred thousand *xerafins*.[115] Albuquerque agreed to reverse the revenue amount to the earlier one, provided that the people accept the king of Portugal as their ruler. Due to this reduction, a number of people who fled Goa returned.[116]

Shortly after the Portuguese took Goa in AD 1510, Yusuf Adil Shah attacked and succeeded in taking Goa back from the Portuguese. The Portuguese fled to the sea.[117] This took place in May of that year.[118] The Portuguese made a second attempt on Goa and were successful on 25 November 1510 which was the day of Saint Catherine.[119] After the second conquest of Goa, fortifications were constructed at a rapid pace as there was a fear that reinforcements would return. The palace of the Sabayo was within the fortification. It was noticed that the palace was well built and was of spectacular craftsmanship.[120] Albuquerque saw to it that there were a number of men to defend the fortress of Goa. There was also a stock of large and small artillery, gunpowder and saltpetre. There was also a machine for making gunpowder.[121] It was seen that the palace of the Sabayo was well built. Further, a large number of weapons, gunpowder and ammunition may have been locally produced. There were also ships being produced in Goa. All these would have been produced by craftsmen in Goa.

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[114] Albuquerque, *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque, Second Viceroy of India: Translated from the Portuguese Edition of 1774*, vol. 2, 101-02.

[115] Shastry, *Goa-Kanara Portuguese Relations 1498-1763*, 42.

[116] Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory: Goa, Daman and Diu*, part 1: Goa, 142.

[117] Mahomed Kasim Ferishta, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India, till the Year A.D. 1612: Translated from the Original Persian of Mahomed Kasim Ferishta*, trans. John Briggs, vol. 3 (Calcutta: R. Cambray & Co., 1910), 29-30.

[118] Ferishta, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India, till the Year A.D. 1612: Translated from the Original Persian of Mahomed Kasim Ferishta*, vol. 3, 30n.

[119] Afonso de Albuquerque, *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque, Second Viceroy of India: Translated from the Portuguese Edition of 1774*, trans. Walter de Gray Birch, vol. 3 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1880), 9-13.

[120] Albuquerque, *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque, Second Viceroy of India: Translated from the Portuguese Edition of 1774*, vol. 3, 17.

[121] Albuquerque, *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque, Second Viceroy of India: Translated from the Portuguese Edition of 1774*, vol. 3, 43.

Help provided to Albuquerque by the craftsmen communities

Under the leadership of Afonso de Albuquerque, the Portuguese were able to take Goa, Malacca and Hormuz in AD 1510, 1511 and 1514 respectively. However, his success in Goa was largely due to the local help he received. It is believed that Albuquerque made up his mind to take Goa after he met Timoja. Timoja also promised to provide him with troops to help in his plan.[122] There were also others who provided him with troops. There was a captain by the name of Monu Naique. Another captain named Krishna was in charge of local troops in Goa. There is the tradition in Goa that Albuquerque received assistance from the *ganvkars* of Taleigão. The tradition states that when the Adil Shahi forces arrived in May 1510, Albuquerque and his men escaped to the Mandovi river. However, they faced a shortage of food and other supplies.[123] Due to this, food was provided by the Hindu villagers of Taleigão to the Portuguese in secret. It was transported in canoes to the Portuguese ships. In view of this, during the annual harvest feast in August, the *ganvkars* of Taleigão offered the Portuguese Governor a plate of *fov* or pounded rice. The dance known as the *addau* was also performed.[124]

Gaspar Correa informed that towards the end of AD 1510, work was undertaken for the defence of Goa. This work was done by a Portuguese *mestre das obras* or master of the works called Tomaz Fernandes. Besides some Portuguese stonemasons, other workers also included stonemasons of the land and workers known as *bigairins*.[125] An undated letter is believed to have been written between 20 December 1518 and 22 January 1522 from Nemu Chetim (Nemu Chatim), who was a goldsmith to the king of Portugal. Nemu Chatim informed that at the time of the Sabayo, the father of Nemu Chatim was the *mocadão* or headman of the goldsmiths of Goa. He informed that his father had helped Afonso de Albuquerque during both the times when Goa was taken. Afonso de Albuquerque rewarded his father by keeping him in the same position and this position was passed on to Nemu Chatim.[126]

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[122] Joseph Barros, "Local Collaborators of Albuquerque," *BIMB* 140 (1984): 29-31.

[123] Barros, "Local Collaborators of Albuquerque," 33-35.

[124] Gerald A. Pereira, *An Outline of Pre-Portuguese History of Goa* (Vasco da Gama, Goa: Gerald Pereira, 1973), 132.

[125] Gaspar Correa, *Lendas da India*, ed. Rodrigo José de Lima Felner, tomo 2 parte 1 (Lisboa: Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1860), 157.

[126] Sousa Viterbo, "Os ourives indigenas de Goa," *OP* (1st series) 7, no. 3 & 4 (March & April 1910): 66-68.

There was also Ganda Chatim who knew Gujarati and was sent by Albuquerque as an interpreter to the ruler of Cambay. Albuquerque also utilised the services of a *chetim* in the minting of coins. Further, the services of Raulu Xette (Chatim), a goldsmith, were also employed in the production of items. The help rendered by some of these people helped Afonso de Albuquerque in his efforts to take and govern Goa.[127]

Albuquerque took Malacca in AD 1511.[128] Albuquerque's attack was met with strong resistance from the king of Malacca and his troops.[129] In preparation, prior to the second attack against Malacca, Albuquerque utilised the services of blacksmiths who were brought from Goa. He ordered them to repair some weapons which were unserviceable. They also produced a magazine which was utilised for the crossbows. This was greatly needed for the attack.[130] Thus, it can be seen that besides others, certain sections of the craftsmen communities were of help to Albuquerque. Local goldsmiths had helped Albuquerque. Further local stonemasons of the land helped in the fortification of Goa. Also, blacksmiths who were taken from Goa provided their expertise by repairing weapons required during the conquest of Malacca.

Portuguese settlers and artisans

With the capture of Goa by the Portuguese, Afonso de Albuquerque in general did not interfere with the customs of the Hindus. However, the practice of *sati* was banned. He encouraged the practice of Portuguese men marrying local women. The men referred to as *casados* established themselves as master craftsmen or landowners.[131] They were provided money to buy land and a house in order to get them settled.[132] A number of Portuguese artisans like dockyard workers, shipbuilders and

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[127] Barros, "Local Collaborators of Albuquerque," 35-36.

[128] Afonso de Albuquerque, *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque, Second Viceroy of India: Translated from the Portuguese Edition of 1774*, trans. Walter de Gray Birch, vol. 1 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1875), xiii.

[129] Albuquerque, *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque, Second Viceroy of India: Translated from the Portuguese Edition of 1774*, vol. 3, 101-04.

[130] Albuquerque, *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque, Second Viceroy of India: Translated from the Portuguese Edition of 1774*, vol. 3, 111-13.

[131] Carmo Azevedo, "Interaction between Indian and Portuguese Art," in *Goa: Cultural Trends (Seminar Papers)*, ed. P. P. Shirodkar (Panaji, Goa: Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum, Government of Goa, 1988), 69-70.

[132] Velinkar, *India and the West: The First Encounters (Particularly in Goan Salcete): A Historical Study of the Early Indo-Portuguese Cultural Encounters in Goa*, 55.

rope-makers were also encouraged to marry local women.[133] Albuquerque informed the king of Portugal, Dom Manoel that a number of *casados* had married local women. Among those who married included blacksmiths, carpenters and others.[134] The main intention of Albuquerque was to establish a community who would be dedicated to the Portuguese. These people were also expected to reside in India.[135]

In a letter dated 7 December 1512, Afonso de Albuquerque ordered Francisco Corvinell, the *feitor* to give Simão Rodrigues, a *ferreiro* or blacksmith who married in Goa, an amount of fourteen thousand *reaes* for his marriage.[136] In a letter dated 7 December 1512, Albuquerque again ordered Francisco Corvinell to give João Rodrigues, a *pedreiro* or stonemason who married in the city, an amount of sixteen thousand *reaes* in silver or gold to make jewellery for his wife.[137] In another letter dated 8 December 1512, Albuquerque ordered Francisco Corvinell to give Braz Fernandes, a *pedreiro* or stonemason who married in Goa, an amount of fourteen thousand *reaes* for his marriage.[138] These men were most likely *casados* who were craftsmen and artisans.

Initially, the *casados* were poor and comprised of soldiers, seamen and artisans. However, they gradually improved their situation and came to enjoy a better position in society. In the villages, some of them were farmers or came to be landlords. In the city, especially in Old Goa, Bassein and other places, they got involved in craft production. They worked as carpenters, blacksmiths, shoemakers as well as took up other professions. They had guilds and also became master craftsmen. A large number of them also took to business and trade.[139] Those involved in trade visited different ports in India to conduct their business. They helped supply Goa with food items. They

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[133] L. A. Rodrigues, "Portuguese Feminine Emigration for Colonization of India," *Journal of Indian History* 58, pt. 1-3 (April, August, December 1980): 53.

[134] Carmo Azevedo, ""The Casados"," in *Goan Society through the Ages (Seminar Papers)*, ed. B. S. Shastry (New Delhi: Asian Publication Services, 1987), 109.

[135] H. Morse Stephens, *Albuquerque* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1897), 153.

[136] Afonso de Albuquerque, *CAA*, ed. Raymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato and Henrique Lopes de Mendonça, tomo 5 (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1915), 285.

[137] Albuquerque, *CAA*, tomo 5, 286.

[138] Albuquerque, *CAA*, tomo 5, 294.

[139] Azevedo, ""The Casados"," 111.

also dealt in the pepper trade.[140] Thus, it can be seen that the Portuguese married men called the *casados* were involved in trade as well as in craft production.

Indian craftsmen

The writings of the Portuguese indicate that they esteemed the creativity of Indian arts. Indian art was also sought by the Portuguese. Many items were exported or taken to Portugal by the administrators and those in religious service when they returned to Portugal. There is also record of Indian craftsmen employed by the Portuguese.[141]

Afonso de Albuquerque, in a letter dated 22 December 1510, informed the king of Portugal that carpenters and iron for nails were easily accessible in Goa. The services of these professionals and the raw materials were required for use in the shipbuilding industry.[142] In a letter dated 24 January 1511, Afonso de Albuquerque ordered Francisco Corvinell, the *feitor* of Goa to give Caulu, an *indio* who was the *mocadão* of the *carpinteiros* or carpenters, ten *panos de cambaia* or *panos* of *cambaia*.[143] The word *mocadão* was the same as the word *mukaddam* and referred to a headman.[144] A *panno* referred to a type of fabric.[145] With regards to fabrics, Duarte Barbosa informed that in Ormuz, there were a large a number of *panos de cambaia* or *panos* of Cambaia as well as of Chaul and of Dabul.[146] In relation to textiles, it was noticed that the name indicated the place where the cloth originated. This can be seen from names such as *surrate*, *bengala*, *paliacate* and *cambaia*. These referred to the ports of Surat, Bengal, Pulicat and Cambay respectively. There were textile producing regions near these ports.[147] The

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[140] Søren Mentz, "European Private Trade in the Indian Ocean, 1500-1800," in *The Trading World of the Indian Ocean, 1500-1800*, ed. Om Prakash, Vol. 3 part 7 of History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization (New Delhi: Centre for Studies in Civilizations and Pearson Education in South Asia, 2012), 491.

[141] Azevedo, "Interaction between Indian and Portuguese Art," 69.

[142] S. Jeyaseela Stephen, "Portuguese Nau: A Study of the Cargo Ship in the Indian Ocean Region during the Sixteenth Century," in *Ship-Building and Navigation in the Indian Ocean Region: AD 1400-1800*, ed. K. S. Mathew (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1997), 68.

[143] Albuquerque, *CAA*, tomo 5, 30.

[144] Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive*, 569.

[145] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 2, 458.

[146] Duarte Barbosa, *Livro em que dá relação do que viu e ouviu no Oriente*, ed. Augusto Reis Machado (Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1946), 55.

[147] Daniel B. Domingues da Silva, *The Atlantic Slave Trade from West Central Africa, 1780-1867* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 128-30.

Portuguese also used the word Cambaia to refer to the kingdom of Gujarat.[148] The word *indio* referred to a local from India or America.[149] However, considering that these orders were issued by Albuquerque in the context of Goa, the term would have referred to a local from India. *Panno* was probably the same as *pano*. The order referred to a cloth from Cambay or Gujarat.

In another letter dated 24 January 1511, Albuquerque ordered Francisco Corvinell to give two *mãos* of sugar to the *indio* or Indian *mestre ferreiro* or master blacksmith who was sick.[150] The term *mão* referred to a unit of measure.[151] In a letter dated 29 January 1511, Albuquerque again ordered Francisco Corvinell to give an *indio* or Indian carpenter four *panos* of *cambaia*.[152] There was an order dated 15 February 1511 from Albuquerque to give two *indios* or Indians, one of who was a stonemason and the other who was a carpenter, two *cotonias*.[153] A *cotonia* referred to a piece of cotton cloth.[154]

In a letter dated 25 February 1511, Albuquerque ordered the *feitor* of Goa to give ten *indios* or Indian caulkers one *pano* of *cambaia* each for serving well.[155] There is also a record which gives the names of a number of Indian craftsmen. In a letter dated 27 February 1511, Albuquerque ordered Francisco Corvinell to give Raulu, another Raulu and Santu who were *indios* or Indian headmen of carpenters two *panos* of *cambaia* each. Further, other carpenters including Ramu, Raulu, Betu, Malu, Samitu, Vetu and other carpenters who served in the works were given a *pano* of *cambaia* each.[156] These records indicate that a number of Indians were employed as craftsmen. They were in the positions of the *mocadão* and the *mestre* and were employed under the Portuguese.

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[148] Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, vol. 1 (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1919), 190.

[149] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 2, 46.

[150] Albuquerque, *CAA*, tomo 5, 30-31.

[151] Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, vol. 2, 34.

[152] Albuquerque, *CAA*, tomo 5, 44.

[153] ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, Parte II, mç. 25, n.º 70.

[154] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 1, 591.

[155] Albuquerque, *CAA*, tomo 5, 96.

[156] Albuquerque, *CAA*, tomo 5, 99-100.

In a letter dated 18 April 1511, Rodrigo Rabello, the captain of Goa ordered to give Durpeja, the *mocadão* of the *pedreiros* or stonemasons, one *beirame*.[157] A *beirame* was a very fine white cotton cloth from India.[158] In a letter dated 5 October 1513, Afonso de Albuquerque ordered that the officials should give twenty-eight *pardãos*, fifty-six *fardos* of rice, nine *teadas* and other items to stonemasons, carpenters and blacksmiths who became Christians.[159] A *fardo* was a unit of measurement of a number of things including rice.[160] A *teada* was a type of cloth.[161] A number of Indian craftsmen find mention in the records. They were stonemasons, carpenters and blacksmiths.

In a record dated 3 February 1515, Albuquerque ordered Francisco Corvinell, the *feitor* of Goa to pay Raalu Chaty (Raulu Chatim), a goldsmith who made a *punhal* for the king.[162] A *punhal* was a short, thick bladed dagger.[163] When Manoel I was the king of Portugal, a number of Indian goldsmiths went to Lisbon. Raulu Chatim went to Lisbon and lived there from AD 1518 to 1520. He was the son of a Goan goldsmith.[164] The dagger made in AD 1515 is the first item that is known to have been produced by him. In return for his services, he received three *covados* of cloth. It appears that he sent items to king João III of Portugal even after AD 1521. However, the king did not inform if he had received these items.[165] The appointment of Raulu Xette (Chatim) as the *mocadão* of the goldsmiths caused problems with another goldsmith. This goldsmith was called Nemu Xette (Chatim). Nemu Chatim was the son of the *mocadão* of the goldsmiths during the time of the Adil Shah.[166]

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[157] Afonso de Albuquerque, *CAA*, ed. Henrique Lopes de Mendonça, tomo 6 (Lisboa: Academia das Sciencias de Lisboa, 1915), 425.

[158] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 1, 301.

[159] Albuquerque, *CAA*, tomo 5, 441-42.

[160] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 1, 1025.

[161] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 2, 981.

[162] Albuquerque, *CAA*, tomo 6, 232.

[163] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 2, 639.

[164] Nuno Vassallo e Silva, "The Art of the Goldsmith in the Portuguese India," in *A Herança de Rauluchantim / The Heritage of Rauluchantim*, ed. Nuno Vassallo e Silva, trans. Richard Trewinnard (Lisboa: Museu de São Roque, 1996), 18.

[165] Pedro Dias, "The Discovery of the Orient," in *A Herança de Rauluchantim / The Heritage of Rauluchantim*, ed. Nuno Vassallo e Silva, trans. Richard Trewinnard (Lisboa: Museu de São Roque, 1996), 57-58.

[166] Panduranga Pissurlencar, "Os primeiros Goeses em Portugal," *BIVG* 31 (1936): 63.

Goa before and at the time of Albuquerque's death

There are records which indicate that a number of craftsmen were employed under the Portuguese. In a letter dated 1 January 1511, Afonso de Albuquerque ordered the *feitor* of Goa to give a *mocadão* or headman of the blacksmiths and a headman of the carpenters one *cotonia* each.[167] In another letter dated 7 January 1511, Albuquerque ordered the *feitor* of Goa to give to the *mocadão* of the stonemasons one *cotonia*.[168] There was an order dated 22 February 1511 from Albuquerque to the *feitor* of Goa to give a *mocadão* of the stonemasons two *panos* of *cambaia* and a *cotonia*.[169] In another letter dated 6 December 1512, Afonso de Albuquerque ordered Francisco Corvinell, the *feitor* of Goa to give Jorge Martins, a carpenter an amount of four thousand *reaes* for being wounded and fighting bravely at Benasterim.[170] In another correspondence dated 15 December 1512 addressed to Francisco Corvinell, the *feitor* Albuquerque ordered to give Pedro Alvares, João Rodrigues and another João Rodrigues, who were blacksmiths, two *cotonias* to all three. This was for their work which was performed during the taking of Benasterim.[171] In a letter dated 31 December 1512, Albuquerque ordered Francisco Corvinell, the *feitor* of Goa to give Betu, a blacksmith and Autu, a carpenter a *fardo* of rice and a *tafecira* of cotton for their work at Benasterim.[172] A *tafecira* was a kind of fabric from India.[173] In a letter dated 21 January 1513, Albuquerque ordered Francisco Corvinell, the *feitor* to give Jorge Gomes, a stonemason who worked in the tower of São Pedro of Benasterim, one *cotonia*.[174] In another letter dated 24 January 1513, Albuquerque ordered Francisco Corvinell, to give to the men who came in the boat and carried stone for Benasterim, a *mantimento* for six days.[175] In a letter dated 14 July 1514, Afonso de Albuquerque ordered the *feitor* of Goa to give Francisco Carvalho, a stonemason four *cruzados* as *mantimento*.[176] The *mantimento*

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[167] Albuquerque, *CAA*, tomo 5, 9.

[168] ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, Parte II, mç. 24, n.º 154.

[169] ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, Parte II, mç. 25, n.º 129.

[170] Albuquerque, *CAA*, tomo 5, 280-81.

[171] Afonso de Albuquerque, *CAA*, ed. Raymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato, tomo 2 (Lisboa: Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, 1898), 104-05.

[172] Albuquerque, *CAA*, tomo 5, 339.

[173] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 2, 964.

[174] Albuquerque, *CAA*, tomo 2, 109.

[175] Albuquerque, *CAA*, tomo 5, 375.

[176] ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, Parte II, mç. 49, n.º 86.

was an allowance which was paid in kind or in cash.[177] All these records indicate that a number of carpenters, stonemasons, blacksmiths and others were employed by the Portuguese.

Albuquerque died off the coast of Goa on 16 December 1515.[178] He had managed to get Goa fortified for its protection. In Goa, there were a number of Portuguese as well as Hindus who had converted to Christianity. There were also craftsmen in different crafts. These included jewellers, blacksmiths and stonemasons. There were craftsmen involved in shipbuilding such as ship carpenters and caulkers. There were also specialists in weapon making such as gun-founders and in the making of matchlocks. A large part of these were Portuguese while the rest were local Christians.[179] Hence, it is seen that a number of craftsmen were employed during the time of Albuquerque. These find mention in records where payments were made for their services.

Muslim craftsmen during Albuquerque's time

Although it is believed that all Muslims were expelled from Goa in AD 1510, this may not have been accurate and a part of this community had survived. In AD 1567, there were still some Muslims residing in Betalbatim in Salcete. The Portuguese knew of a *tanadar dos mouros* or the *tanadar* of the Muslims by the name of Said Muhammad. He was the one who collected taxes from the Muslims.[180] There are also other records which make mention of the Muslims.

In a letter dated 14 November 1559, there is the mention of the baptism of the *mocadão* or headman of the painters in Goa. Along with the viceroy and the noblemen, there was a large crowd of people who attended. These included a number of Hindus and Muslims.[181] In a letter dated 12 December 1567, there is a record of a mosque

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[177] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 127.

[178] Stephens, *Albuquerque*, 13.

[179] Afonso de Albuquerque, *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque, Second Viceroy of India: Translated from the Portuguese Edition of 1774*, trans. Walter de Gray Birch, vol. 4 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1884), 208.

[180] Ângela Barreto Xavier and Ines G. Županov, *Catholic Orientalism: Portuguese Empire, Indian Knowledge (16th-18th Centuries)* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2015), 68-69.

[181] António da Silva Rego, ed., *DMP: Índia*, vol. 7 (1559) (Lisboa: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1952), 335-36.

destroyed in Mormugão.[182] Thus, there appears to have been a number of Muslims in the region. This is seen even during the earlier period.

During time of Albuquerque, there is reference to Muslim craftsmen. In a letter dated 7 January 1511, Afonso de Albuquerque ordered the *feitor* of Goa to give eight *cotonias* to three Muslim blacksmiths who are believed to have been from çasete.[183] Çasete may possibly have referred to Salcete.[184] The record of Albuquerque appears to indicate that some Muslims were employed by the Portuguese for which they were paid in cloth.

The *Foral* of AD 1526

Initially, the Portuguese were not aware of the local customs and traditions prevalent in Goa. Afonso Mexia collated the customary laws which were being followed. On 16 September 1526, this Charter containing the established practices was issued. The Charter consisted of forty-nine clauses. It pertained to the administration of the villages, property relations and the village officials.[185] The Charter of Mexia or *Foral de Mexia* was issued when Mexia headed the Revenue Office in AD 1526.[186] The production of the *Foral* indicates that the Portuguese attempted to understand the land and the people under their control.[187] The Charter highlighted the conditions, administration and village life in the beginning of the sixteenth century.[188] This work is seen as an acceptance of the Hindu customs that were present in Goa at the time. This was in contrast to the latter part of the sixteenth century when there was an increase in the intolerance of the Hindus.[189] However, while it seems that the Charter of AD 1526 attempted to understand the local customs, it is believed that its main purpose was to

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[182] Josef Wicki, ed., *DI*, vol. 7 (1566-1569) (Romae: Apud "Monumenta Historica Soc. Iesu", 1962), 394.

[183] Albuquerque, *CAA*, tomo 5, 14.

[184] Albuquerque, *CAA*, tomo 5, lvi.

[185] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 34-35.

[186] Xavier and Županov, *Catholic Orientalism: Portuguese Empire, Indian Knowledge (16th-18th Centuries)*, 47.

[187] Xavier and Županov, *Catholic Orientalism: Portuguese Empire, Indian Knowledge (16th-18th Centuries)*, 53.

[188] Anthony D'Costa, *The Christianisation of the Goa Islands 1510-1567* (Bombay: Heras Institute, St. Xavier's College, 1965), 20.

[189] C. R. Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire 1415-1825* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963; repr., Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1985), 81.

bring the working of the *comunidades* under the purview of the state. With the codification of the working of the *comunidades*, the customs were made compulsory. It is believed that the *Foral* strived to bring the surplus revenues of the *comunidades* for utilisation by the government.[190]

As per clause twelve of the *Foral*, the *ganvkars* could give rent-free lands to the village servants. The village servants included the temple Brahman priest, carpenter, blacksmith, washerman, cobbler, temple-sweeper or *faraz* or *farash* and others. The village servants were given these rent-free gardens or lands for the services that they performed. The position they occupied was hereditary and the land which was granted could not be taken back once it was granted. The grant was also hereditary and passed down the generations. In case the heirs did not continue the service, then only could another person of the same profession be appointed to continue the service.[191]

Works in Goa

There are a number of records which show the involvement of different craftsmen in Goa. There was a certificate dated 28 May 1526, wherein it was informed that Malu Gordo, the *fundidor* had refined five and a half *quintais* of copper in the store house of Goa.[192] The *fundidor* was a staff of the foundry.[193] There was a record dated 30 June 1526, which made mention of Afonso Mexia, the *vedor da fazenda* and João Fernandes, stonemason who was a resident of Goa.[194] There was the record of an acknowledgement dated 4 September 1526, from António Afonso, a carpenter that he had received fifty *pardãos* from Miguel do Vale, *feitor* of Goa for some repairs in the fortress of Benasterim and the *Passo Seco*.[195] There was a record dated 27 September 1526, which indicated that Betajo, the *mocadão* of the blacksmiths received the *férias* of the people who worked in the fortress of Goa.[196] The term *férias* referred to daily

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[190] Varsha Vijayendra Kamat, "Usurpation of Feudal Rights by the Colonial State in Medieval Goa," *PIHC* 70th Session, Delhi (2009-2010): 364.

[191] B. H. Baden-Powell, "The Villages of Goa in the Early Sixteenth Century," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 32, no. 2 (April 1900): 268.

[192] ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, Parte II, mç. 133, n.º 107.

[193] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 1, 1104.

[194] ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, Parte II, mç. 134, n.º 28.

[195] ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, Parte II, mç. 135, n.º 129.

[196] ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, Parte II, mç. 136, n.º 24.

wages.[197] Another record dated 13 March 1527, informed that Malu Gordo, the *fundidor* had made a bell for the watch tower of the fortress of Goa and wanted to charge for his work.[198] There was a receipt dated 10 September 1527 from João Rodrigues, *mestre* or master of the blacksmiths of some *mantimento* which was received from Miguel do Vale, *feitor* of Goa for the slaves who worked in the metal works.[199] In a letter dated 21 February 1529, Lopo Vaz de Sampaio, the *capitão-mór* and governor of India ordered Pedro Vaz, the *feitor* of Goa to give the *mestre* or master of the stonemasons one thousand five hundred *pardãos* in copper for some work.[200] These records indicate that craftsmen of different professions were involved in diverse works under the Portuguese.

The factor was the one who was responsible for the purchase of items like saltpetre, iron, linen and other items necessary for the *almazens* or storehouses. These were purchased and stored when the cost was low. The factor bought items with the help of various people. He consulted the master when buying saltpetre and sulphur. The rope-maker was consulted while purchasing linen. Iron was purchased with the help of the blacksmith.[201] Similarly, pitch was to be got through the caulker and the wood for the *Ribeira* through the *mestre* and *patrão*.[202] It was informed that the *escrivão* had to see that the staff like the *ferreiros*, *carpinteiros*, *cordoeiros* and others were present three times a day. This was in the morning when they came to work, at noon and again in the afternoon.[203] A *cordoeiro* referred to a rope-maker. The *cordoaria* was the place where rope was manufactured of sold.[204]

In AD 1530, the centre of operations of the Portuguese was moved from Cochin to Goa. Goa developed into an important centre for shipbuilding and repair. It also became a major centre for the casting of guns and weapons for the Portuguese.[205] With these changes, a number of government offices were set up in Goa. Further, craft

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[197] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 127.

[198] ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, Parte II, mç. 139, n.º 148.

[199] ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, Parte II, mç. 144, n.º 66.

[200] ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, Parte II, mç. 154, n.º 12.

[201] R. R. S. Chauhan, "Marketing in Goa during the 16th Century," in *Goan Society through the Ages (Seminar Papers)*, ed. B. S. Shastry (New Delhi: Asian Publication Services, 1987), 160.

[202] Rivara, *APO-CR*, fasciculo 5 parte 1, 100.

[203] Rivara, *APO-CR*, fasciculo 5 parte 1, 109.

[204] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 1, 573.

[205] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 78.

production became specialised.[206] The administration was looked after by the viceroy or the governor who was assisted by the chancellor and the secretary. The *vedor da fazenda* or the treasurer and the *ouvidor geral* or chief judge too were part of the government. The governance of the provinces was looked after by a captain as well as a factor and a judge.[207] It can be seen that there are several records which indicate that a number of craftsmen were employed by the government and control was maintained over them.

Religious matters

The religious orders arrived in Goa over a period of time. The Franciscans arrived in AD 1518. They were followed by the Jesuits in AD 1542 and the Dominicans in AD 1548.[208] The Augustinians arrived in AD 1572, followed by the Carmelites in AD 1607 and the Theatines.[209] In AD 1548, after a war with the Portuguese, the sultan of Bijapur agreed to give up Bardez and Salcete. Thereafter, the Franciscans were given Bardez to carry out religious instructions. The Jesuits had responsibilities on the island of Goa, Jua, Divar and Chorão. In AD 1560, the Jesuits took charge of Salcete.[210]

With the arrival of the Portuguese in Goa, Albuquerque put to death a number of Muslims and seized their lands. The properties of the Hindus were left untouched. Even some Hindu representatives were appointed to collect taxes. They were also allowed to dispense justice according to their customs. Albuquerque required the favour of the majority of the Hindu population. This was due to the threat of the Muslims invading again. Further, it was important to gain knowledge from the locals about the system of taxation prevalent.[211]

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[206] R. Uma Bala, "The Society and Economy of Goa in the Sixteenth Century" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Pondicherry University, 1994), 211.

[207] Anthony D'Costa, "Administrative, Social and Religious Conditions in the Goa Islands 1510-50," *Indica* 1, no. 1 (March 1964): 21.

[208] D'Costa, *The Christianisation of the Goa Islands 1510-1567*, 19.

[209] Charles J. Borges, "Foreign Jesuits and Native Resistance in Goa 1542-1759," in *Essays in Goan History*, ed. Teotonio R. de Souza (1989; repr., New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 2002), 70.

[210] Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond 1540-1750* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1996), 45-46.

[211] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 33.

It is believed that initially, a number of locals converted to Christianity in view of the new situation with the arrival of the Portuguese.[212] By the 1540s, there was a change. There was an acceptance of the policy of religious conversions by the Portuguese. Hindu temples were destroyed and Hindu religious celebrations in public were forbidden. Hindu artisans were not allowed to produce items of Christian worship. There were laws which discriminated against the non-Christians.[213] Other measures included the taking of orphans to be brought up as Christians. Only converted people had access to jobs. Those who did not convert were not eligible. One view put forward was that the people converted to Christianity on a voluntary basis. However, another view saw conversions as being forced on the people.[214]

Délio de Mendonça identified three groups of people who were involved in religious conversions. The first of these were the kings of Portugal. By their status as rulers, they were the leaders of the religious activities in the territories governed by them. They agreed to the decrees on conversion. They approved the appointment of people to positions of religious importance. Further, they paid the religious personnel for their work. The second group were the viceroys or governors and officials. They looked after the administration of the territory and frequently served their own interests. Usually, they collaborated with the religious authorities when it was advantageous. But at times, their views differed. One issue was on the conversion or expulsion of the Hindus from Goa and how it affected taxation. Taxes were levied on the Hindus and Muslims, while the converts were spared from certain dues. The government officials were of the view that conversions or expulsions would reduce the revenues of the state. Some missionaries were of the opinion that certain governors were not interested in conversion. The third group were the missionaries who played a key role in religious conversions. They wrote to the local government and the kings to issue decrees regarding conversions. They believed that it was their duty to convert people and that their actions were genuine. In the middle of the sixteenth century, conversion activities increased. The different religious orders competed against each other in converting

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[212] Robinson, "Sixteenth Century Conversions to Christianity in Goa," 302.

[213] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 62-64.

[214] Robinson, "Sixteenth Century Conversions to Christianity in Goa," 303-05.

people. This was also because the monetary support they received from the king was based on the number of people they converted.[215]

Legislations which caused difficulties in the society and to the craftsmen

In a letter dated November 1545, vicar Father Miguel Vaz wrote to king João III informing him about Hindu painters in Goa. He informed that they would paint Christian images of worship and sell them. He went on to relate an account of one painter who was the *mocadão* or headman among the painters. This *mocadão* had great ability in painting. In Goa, he painted churches, houses and altarpieces and earned a good living. It is stated that this *mocadão* had informed Miguel Vaz that he would accompany him to Portugal and also agreed to become a Christian. However, the relatives of the *mocadão* were against his decision and thereafter he fled Goa.[216]

In a letter dated 8 March 1546, king João III wrote to governor Dom João de Castro a number of measures to be taken. This letter would have been inspired by the writings of the vicar general, Father Miguel Vaz. It was informed that idols were to be destroyed. There would be strict penalties for those who cast, paint, sculpt or made idols in wood, metal, bronze, clay or any other materials. It was also informed that Hindu artisans were not to cast or paint or make images of Christian religious figures and sell them. The penalty would be the loss of goods and two hundred lashes of the whip.[217] The king also stated that he had been informed that Hindu painters used to paint religious images and sell them in Goa. He informed that such Hindu painters were not to be allowed to make or sell such images.[218]

Instructions were received on 26 September 1548 by governor Garcia de Sá from the king that the judge could order the whipping of slaves. However, it is mentioned that some people were exempted. The people who were exempted included the *ganvkars*, Brahmins, merchants and goldsmiths.[219]

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[215] Délio de Mendonça, *Conversions and Citizenry: Goa under Portugal 1510-1610* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 2002), 8-16.

[216] António da Silva Rego, ed., *DMP: Índia*, vol. 3 (1543-1547) (Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1950), 223-24.

[217] Rego, *DMP: Índia*, vol. 3 (1543-1547), 315-20.

[218] Rego, *DMP: Índia*, vol. 3 (1543-1547), 329.

[219] Rivara, *APO-CR*, fasciculo 5 parte 1, 206-08.

In AD 1557, the Jesuit Luís Fróis informed that there were a number of Christians living on the Goa island. However, the Portuguese officials as well as the Hindu Brahmins oppressed them. It was for this reason that more people did not convert to Christianity. To remedy this situation, the rector of St. Paul's, Father Francisco Rodriguez discussed the matter with governor Francisco Barreto. He requested him to pass laws which would improve the situation of the Christians. Subsequently, a number of decrees were passed.[220]

In AD 1557, governor Francisco Barreto decreed that public Hindu celebrations could not take place and several other decrees. One included that a non-Christian could not be the leader of a guild. There was the arrival of the new viceroy Dom Constantino de Bragança in September 1558. In March 1559, a number of decrees of the earlier governor Francisco Barreto were authorised. These included a decree wherein Hindu images were prohibited. They were to be destroyed. It was also forbidden to make images out of any material. Another law directed that Hindu orphans were to be handed over to the Jesuits to be brought up as Christians. Further, the head of a guild could only be a Christian.[221]

Viceroy Dom Constantino de Bragança on 2 April 1560 decreed that a number of Brahmins were to be banished from the Goa islands. Those with properties were given a month to leave.[222] In a decree dated June 1560, viceroy Dom Constantino de Bragança ordered that all goldsmiths had to bring back their families or leave the island. They were given a time period of ten days. The failure to bring back their families would lead to certain consequences. One was that their property would be confiscated. The other was that they would be sent to the galleys for life. Their property would be shared equally by the accuser and the church of São Thomé.[223] Viceroy conde de Redondo, Dom Francisco Coutinho informed on 3 December 1561 that on his arrival in Goa, the villages were deserted, lands were flooded and the streams were blocked. The Hindus were absent and did not want to return due to the decrees of viceroy Dom

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[220] John Correia-Afonso, *The Jesuits in India 1542-1773: A Short History* (Gujarat: Gujarat Sahitya Prakash, 1997), 33-34.

[221] D'Costa, *The Christianisation of the Goa Islands 1510-1567*, 59-61.

[222] Anant Kakba Priolkar, *The Goa Inquisition: The Terrible Tribunal for the East: Being a Quatercentenary Commemoration Study of the Inquisition of India*, 2nd ed. (Panaji, Goa: Rajhauns Vitaran, 2008), 114.

[223] Josef Wicki, ed., *O Livro do "Pai dos Cristãos"* (Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1969), 196-97.

Constantino de Bragança.[224] It appears that due to the decrees, a number of Hindus left Goa.

In March 1563, the viceroy was informed that king João III had approved expulsion of those who hindered the promotion of Christianity based on the request of Father Miguel Vaz.[225] Viceroy conde de Redondo, Dom Francisco Coutinho issued an order dated 27 November 1563 wherein Brahmins and Hindus who hindered the promotion of Christianity were to sell their properties and leave the island of Goa. This was to be done within a period of one month. Those who would remain, would be sent to the galleys. Those exempted included the people who tilled their land, carpenters, blacksmiths, physicians and certain others.[226] This exemption indicated that the Portuguese required the skills of the local craftsmen.[227] In a letter dated 20 February 1565, the king informed viceroy Antonio de Noronha that there was information that some Brahmins, goldsmiths and Hindus had still not been expelled from Goa. The viceroy was asked to consult the archbishop, the Jesuits and others to decided who hindered the conversion to Christianity and should be expelled.[228] It appears that still certain Hindus were not expelled from Goa. Among them, were certain members of the craftsmen communities who were exempted from banishment.

The First Provincial Council of Goa in AD 1567 informed that a non-Christian could not paint religious images. Further, non-Christian goldsmiths, foundry-workers and tinsmiths could not make chalices, crosses and candlesticks. They also could not make other items used for worship in the churches. This was because the non-Christians would not have treated these items with respect.[229] Thus, non-Christian artisans who did not convert had to face difficulties in employment.

On 8 January 1588, viceroy Dom Duarte de Meneses passed an order wherein there were fines for non-converted artisans. It was noticed that non-Christian

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[224] J. H. da Cunha Rivara, ed., *APO-CR*, fasciculo 5 parte 2 (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1865; repr., New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1992), 488-89.

[225] D'Costa, *The Christianisation of the Goa Islands 1510-1567*, 64.

[226] Rivara, *APO-CR*, fasciculo 5 parte 2, 543-45.

[227] G. V. Scammell, "The Pillars of Empire: Indigenous Assistance and the Survival of the 'Estado da India' c. 1600-1700," *Modern Asian Studies* 22, no. 3 (1988): 477.

[228] Josef Wicki, ed., *DI*, vol. 6 (1563-1566) (Romae: Apud "Monumenta Historica Soc. Iesu", 1960), 445-46.

[229] J. H. da Cunha Rivara, ed., *APO-CR*, fasciculo 4 (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1862; repr., New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1992), 24-25.

goldsmiths, foundry-workers, tinsmiths and others were making chalices, crucifixes and images of Christian worship. Accordingly, fifty *pardãos* was the fine if caught for the first time. It was a hundred *pardãos* for the second instance. Half of this amount would go to the accuser and half to the catechumens of the city. In case of the third instance, the penalty would be a life sentence to the galleys.[230]

A decree of the Fifth Provincial Council in AD 1606 again made mention of the non-Christian painters. It stated that a non-Christian painter could not paint houses and religious monasteries. The *prelados* had to follow these instructions. Further, neither could the Christian painters paint religious images without letting the *prelado* know. The fine was fifty *pardãos* and the work painted.[231] The *prelado* was a title of those in the position of heads of religious communities, bishops and archbishops.[232] The various decrees passed indicate that non-Christian artisans were still being employed. These decrees could not be enforced strictly as the churches that were being built needed to be decorated. They would have made use of non-Christian craftsmen.[233]

These and other decrees passed discriminated against the non-Christians. At times, the reasoning given was that the decrees passed were done in order to safeguard the interests of the new converts and to discourage those who hindered Christianity. Some of the decrees passed make mention of the craftsmen. It would indicate that a number of them were non-Christians. In one case, goldsmiths were asked to bring their migrated families back. It was also noticed that carpenters and blacksmiths were exempted from expulsion in another case. This would indicate that the absence of these communities caused problems for the economy. It appears that non-Christian craftsmen were still being employed.

Religious conversions

The newly converted Christians did not give up their caste identities. The Hindu castes of the Brahmin, Kshatriya and Shudra were known as the Christian castes of the

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[230] J. H. da Cunha Rivara, ed., *APO-CR*, fasciculo 5 parte 3 (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1866; repr., New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1992), 1160-62.

[231] Rivara, *APO-CR*, fasciculo 4, 214-15.

[232] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 2, 594.

[233] Cristina Osswald, *Written in Stone: Jesuit Buildings in Goa and Their Artistic and Architectural Features* (Saligão, Goa: Goa,1556 and Margão, Goa: Golden Heart Emporium Book Shop, 2013), 182-83.

Bamonn, Chaddo and Sudhir respectively. The *mahars* and the *chamars* came under the Shudra category.[234] A royal letter written on 23 March 1559, informed that people who converted to Christianity would have the same rights as the Portuguese. There is a record of people who converted and took Portuguese names. These included a cobbler, a salt pan worker and a *manai* or labourer.[235] There are also records which show that people converted following the conversion of a leading member of the community.[236]

A letter of Luís Fróis from Goa dated 14 November 1559, informs of a *mocadão dos pintores* or a headman of the painters of Goa who became a Christian. It is said that he was favoured by previous governors and viceroys. He was involved in the painting of churches and retables and was approached by the priests. However, one day the painter fell ill and called for a priest named João Bravo with whom he was on friendly terms. The painter informed him of some dreams he had and the priest felt it was a sign to convert. At the time, the viceroy was in Damão (Daman). The viceroy sent a message to Goa that the baptism should not take place until he returned to Goa as he wanted to be the godfather of the painter at the baptism. After the viceroy arrived, the baptism was held on the feast of the Holy Spirit. There were arches and decorations in the streets. The viceroy and other noblemen as well as a number of people including Muslims and Hindus were present. There were about six or seven dances which were performed by children who were well dressed. Music was played with trumpets, musical instruments and a ringing of bells. The sight was as though a prince was being converted. The painter's children were also baptised. The eldest son was named Theotonio and the other three children were Fulgencio, Joane and Vincencia. Shortly thereafter, many other painters got baptised and became Christians.[237] Anthony D'Costa felt that this headman of the painters who was baptised in AD 1559, was possibly the same person who Father Miguel Vaz described in his letter to king João III. This letter was written fourteen years earlier wherein it was informed that a painter had fled Goa on the advice of his relatives to avoid going with Miguel Vaz and becoming a Christian. Further, Anthony D'Costa was of the opinion that the decree of governor Barreto dated AD 1557 wherein a non-Christian could not be the leader of a guild was not enforced strictly.

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[234] P. D. Xavier, *Goa: A Social History 1510-1640*, 2nd ed. (Panaji, Goa: Rajhauns Vitaran, 2010), 43.

[235] Xavier, *Goa: A Social History 1510-1640*, 157.

[236] D'Costa, *The Christianisation of the Goa Islands 1510-1567*, 163.

[237] Rego, *DMP: Índia*, vol. 7 (1559), 335-37.

This was because Hindus still continued to be headmen of guilds.[238] The record also indicates the importance given to the headman of the painters as the viceroy stood as his godfather.

The baptism of the *mocadão dos ourives* or headman of the goldsmiths took place on 27 August 1559. The headman of the goldsmiths wore fine scarlet and trousers of thin silk fabric. He wore yellow shoes and carried a finely crafted sword. The Street of the Goldsmiths had banners put up for the festivities. The viceroy was his godfather and gave him the name Sebastião de Bragança. During this time, the goldsmith's wife, his cousin and three others were also baptised.[239] This account is another instance where a viceroy stood as a godfather of the headman of the professional classes. It also suggests that the headman of the goldsmiths had an important position in the society.

In a letter dated 13 November 1560, it was informed that a number of people of the positions of the *mocadão* and the *mestres* of the *pedreiros* or stonemasons along with their families were to be baptised.[240] This indicates that even in AD 1560, Hindus were still headmen of guilds of their professions.

In a record dated AD 1560, there is mention of a *moedeiro* who the viceroy tried for long to convert and who finally got baptised. The father and mother of the *moedeiro*, who were outside Goa, were still Hindus. The father of the *moedeiro* became ill and was brought to Goa. The *moedeiro* tried to convince his father to convert. Finally, his father agreed to the baptism.[241] *Moedeiro* was a term used for different designations of workmen who assisted the other officers in the mint.[242] However, it is not known if this *moedeiro* was employed at the Goa mint.

In a letter dated 6 December 1565, there is mention of an old, sick Hindu *pedreiro* or stonemason whose services were used by the priests for their work. It informed that he was baptised by a priest. Thereafter, the wife of the stonemason also converted.[243]

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[238] D'Costa, *The Christianisation of the Goa Islands 1510-1567*, 162-63.

[239] Josef Wicki, ed., *DI*, vol. 4 (1557-1560) (Romae: Apud "Monumenta Historica Soc. Iesu", 1956), 327.

[240] António da Silva Rego, ed., *DMP: Índia*, vol. 8 (1560-1561) (Lisboa: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1952), 90.

[241] Wicki, *DI*, vol. 4 (1557-1560), 692-93.

[242] Teotonio R. de Souza, "A Study on the Indo-Portuguese Coinage and the Working of the Goa Mint," *The Indian Numismatic Chronicle* 10, pt. 1-2 (1972): 86.

[243] Wicki, *DI*, vol. 6 (1563-1566), 621.

In the convent of Santa Monica, there was a *mestre carpinteiro* or master carpenter who was a Hindu. Mother Philippa wished that he would convert to Christianity. In June 1613, on the day of the Holy Trinity, the Father confessor was asked to speak to the carpenter and impress on him to convert. Thereafter, the Hindu master carpenter soon converted.[244] Thus even in AD 1613, a Hindu master carpenter was employed by the religious orders. Although he converted, it appears that even during this time, the religious orders still made use of Hindu craftsmen despite decrees against the same.

A number of Hindu families who converted to Christianity were shunned by their relatives. This led them to a life of poverty. Those Hindu artisans who converted also had their links severed from the other members of the community. Further, the Portuguese preferred non-Christian artisans and traders. This led to the lowering of the status of the newly converted people. Further, the local Christians or *canarins* were generally poor. These people were particularly vulnerable under the Inquisition.[245] The term *canarin* or *canarim* essentially referred to a person from Kanara. However, the Portuguese erroneously used this term to refer to the people of Goa. At times, the term *canarin* was used to refer to the Hindus and at times to describe the local Christians as well.[246]

In modern Goa, the different communities who converted from Hinduism to Christianity can be found. However, it is difficult to find Goan goldsmiths who are Christians. This is believed to have been the case due to their economic influence in the society during the sixteenth century. Due to this economic influence, they could carry on with their activities. They could also leave Goa without having the need to convert.[247]

In a record dated AD 1644, it was noticed that among seventy-one goldsmiths, who worked on the *Rua de São Paulo* in the city of Goa, there was only one Christian.

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[244] Agostinho de Santa Maria, *Historia da fundação do Real Convento de Santa Monica da cidade de Goa, corte do Estado da India, & do imperio Lusitano do Oriente* (Lisboa: Officina de Antonio Pedrozo Galram, 1699), 529.

[245] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 85.

[246] Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, vol. 1, 197-98.

[247] Pratima Kamat, *Farar Far (Crossfire): Local Resistance to Colonial Hegemony in Goa, 1510-1912* (Panaji, Goa: Institute Menezes Braganza, 1999), 80.

The others were Hindus and most had the name of Chatim.[248] This may have generally been the case. However, there is one record of a headman of the goldsmiths and his cousin who converted to Christianity in the sixteenth century. There is also a record of a headman of the painters who converted. These headmen would have wielded significant influence in society. This is evidenced by the fact that the viceroy stood as their godfather at the time of their baptism.

Services of Hindu artisans were still utilised

The decree of governor Barreto in AD 1557 prohibited the employment of non-Christians. However, this was not followed in private works. The religious orders also employed Hindu artisans. The Jesuits made use of Hindu carpenters and masons. Even tailors and washermen was employed by them.[249] The work of the Hindus was valued by the religious officials. Their services were still utilised by the authorities in the ornamentation of churches.[250] The Augustinians paid a Hindu carpenter nine *xerafins* to make a retable. Money was also paid to paint the retable of Santa Anna. This took place in AD 1607.[251]

The government also valued the work of the Hindus. In AD 1683, some appointments were made to the cavalry of Salcete. A Christian who was employed was paid a monthly salary of three *xerafins* per six horses he had to look after. A Hindu blacksmith was paid a monthly salary of one gold *santhome* and some rice daily. He was selected for maintaining horse-shoes and harnesses. It was noted that there was a difference in their salaries. The reason given was that the blacksmith needed to be kept content as he was a Hindu.[252]

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[248] M. N. Pearson, "Indigenous Dominance in a Colonial Economy: The Goa Rendas, 1600-1670," in *Government and Governance of European Empires, 1450-1800*, ed. A. J. R. Russell-Wood, Vol. 21 part 1 of An Expanding World: The European Impact on World History, 1450-1800 (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2000), 90.

[249] D'Costa, *The Christianisation of the Goa Islands 1510-1567*, 125.

[250] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 84.

[251] Teotonio R. de Souza, "O património artístico Cristão de Goa: Uma introdução histórica para a dinamica da evolução," *BIMB* 172 (1994): 63n4.

[252] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 84.

Destruction of religious structures

Gritli v. Mitterwallner informed that Hindu temples were destroyed at different points in time. They were initially destroyed in the fourteenth century AD by the armies of the Muslims. Thereafter, in the sixteenth century there was destruction by the Portuguese. Tiswadi or the island of Goa, Bardez and Salcete known as the Old Conquests had a number of temples. It is believed that this was the case because these areas had significant rice production and trade. This allowed for the upkeep of a number of temples. On the other hand, the New Conquests were comparatively not economically prosperous.[253]

Tomé Pires was in India in AD 1511.[254] He remarked that the Hindus had wonderful temples in Goa.[255] It was only later in AD 1540 that Hindu temples began to be destroyed on a large scale on the island of Goa. This was followed by their destruction in Salcete from AD 1564. The temples in Bardez were destroyed in AD 1573. Gritli v. Mitterwallner was of the opinion that the destruction of temples in the earlier period was not something which Albuquerque pursued. As for the stone used in the building construction of the earlier period, it is believed that these were probably from the temples destroyed by the Muslims, prior to the Portuguese arrival. Due to the lack of good stone on the island of Goa, it was most probably transported from Goa Velha and Divar.[256] It was also noted that Andrea Corsali, the Florentine traveller wrote a letter in Cochin dated 6 January 1515 to Giuliano de Medici, the Duke of Florence. In it, he informed that near the land of Goa, there was an island called Dinari, where an ancient *pagode* or temple was destroyed by the Portuguese. The materials were used for some construction on the land of Goa. He goes on to inform that the temple had marvellous architecture and had sculptures in black stone which were well carved.

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[253] Gritli v. Mitterwallner, "The Hindu Past: Sculpture and Architecture," in *Goa: Cultural Patterns*, ed. Saryu Doshi (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1983), 21.

[254] Tomé Pires and Francisco Rodrigues, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires: An Account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, Written in Malacca and India in 1512-1515; and, The Book of Francisco Rodrigues: Rutter of a Voyage in the Red Sea, Nautical Rules, Almanack and Maps, Written and Drawn in the East before 1515*, ed. and trans. Armando Cortesão, vol. 1 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1944), xi.

[255] Pires and Rodrigues, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires: An Account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, Written in Malacca and India in 1512-1515; and, The Book of Francisco Rodrigues: Rutter of a Voyage in the Red Sea, Nautical Rules, Almanack and Maps, Written and Drawn in the East before 1515*, vol. 1, 59.

[256] Mitterwallner, "The Hindu Past: Sculpture and Architecture," 26-27.

However, some of them were left damaged.[257] The island called Dinari near Goa was probably the island of Divar.

With the conquest of Goa by Afonso de Albuquerque, there was an understanding that the locals would be allowed to continue their customs and institutions. In AD 1522, a Dominican bishop, Duarte Nunes wrote a letter to the king of Portugal and recommended the destruction of temples on the island of Goa. One of the reasons was that many Christians as well as the newly converted ones were visiting the temples and celebrating feasts. However, there was no change in the religious policy. The Charter of AD 1526 was seen as another step in this direction of the Portuguese keeping their word. The Charter even accepted the granting of lands by the village to the temple servants as was the practice.[258] The Portuguese under Albuquerque assured the people that the local customs would be respected. Gradually, however, once they had strengthened their position in Goa, they disregarded their word.[259]

In AD 1540, it was resolved to destroy mosques and temples. In AD 1545, Nicolau Lancillotto, a Jesuit while on a visit to Goa informed that the island of Goa was left without any temples.[260] It is difficult to estimate the number of Hindu temples destroyed. The numbers mentioned by different writers vary. It is believed that there were a number of large temples present in Goa since the time of the Silaharas and the Kadambas.[261] One person associated with the destruction was the vicar general, Miguel Vaz. The priest Diego Borba was also another person who contributed to the destruction.[262] Viceroy Dom Constantino de Bragança, by a ruling of 25 March 1559 did not allow the building of temples. Viceroy Dom Antão de Noronha by a declaration dated 29 August 1566, forbade the building of new as well as the maintenance of older temples. The transporting of local deities to other places was declared unlawful.[263]

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[257] Andrea Corsali, "Di Andrea Corsali Fiorentino, allo illustriss. signor Giuliano de Medici Duca di Fiorenza, lettera scritta in Cochin citta della'India, nell'anno. MDXV. alli VI. di Gennaio," in *Delle navigationi et viaggi*, ed. Giovanni Battista Ramusio, 4th ed., vol. 1 (Venetia: Stamperia de Giunti, 1588), fol. 178v.

[258] D'Costa, *The Christianisation of the Goa Islands 1510-1567*, 29-30.

[259] Teotonio R. de Souza, "Christianisation and Cultural Conflict in Goa 16th-19th Centuries," *BIMB* 170 (1994): 58.

[260] Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory: Goa, Daman and Diu*, part 1: Goa, 154.

[261] Alexander Henn, *Hindu-Catholic Engagements in Goa: Religion, Colonialism, and Modernity* (New Delhi: Orient Blackswan Private Limited, 2014), 43-44.

[262] D'Costa, *The Christianisation of the Goa Islands 1510-1567*, 30.

[263] Bala, "The Society and Economy of Goa in the Sixteenth Century," 187.

A letter dated 12 December 1567 informs of the destruction of religious structures in Salcete. The captain of the fortress of Rachol was present when a temple was destroyed. Further, it was mentioned that while some temples were burnt, others were demolished. Among the temples, there were more than two hundred and eighty which were of a large size. A certain number of these were well constructed. It was further remarked that these were in places surrounded by trees. They had tanks where the Hindus would wash before and after their ceremonies. The letter also informed that some of the idols of the temples of Salcete were broken or thrown into rivers. The metals were to be cast into candlesticks and other items for worship in the churches. There was another instance where seven more large temples of stone and wood were set on fire and fifteen idols of stone were broken. The record also makes mention of a mosque which was destroyed in Mormugão.[264]

There were certain villages including Assolna, Cuncolim, Velim and others which declined to pay taxes. Further, they rebuilt temples which had been destroyed. In the beginning of AD 1583, the Portuguese destroyed the temples of the villagers. The situation between the government and the villagers was diffused after the Jesuits intervened. On 25 July 1583, Rudolfo Aquaviva along with Brother Francis Aranha, who was a builder and other Jesuits made their way towards Cuncolim. They had planned to select a location there to construct a church. However, they were attacked and killed.[265]

Further, there were orders in the mid-eighteenth century to demolish temples. Therefore, even with the destruction of the temples in the sixteenth century, temples were still reconstructed.[266] The records show the presence of religious structures of wood and stone. There is also mention that some of these were well crafted and had excellent sculptures. The services of the craftsmen and artisans would have been utilised in the production of these religious structures and idols. Besides this, the services of the craftsmen would have also been utilised in the reconstruction of the religious structures which were destroyed.

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[264] Wicki, *DI*, vol. 7 (1566-1569), 389-95.

[265] Correia-Afonso, *The Jesuits in India 1542-1773: A Short History*, 82-83.

[266] Mendonça, *Conversions and Citizenry: Goa under Portugal 1510-1610*, 23.

Revenue of the temples

April 1541 saw the establishment of the Confraternity of the Holy Faith. It was to look after the needs of underprivileged Christians. It was also to help maintain the churches. In a meeting held on 28 June 1541, the acting governor Fernão Rodrigues de Castello Branco asked the representatives of the villagers if the revenues of the temples could be relinquished to the churches.[267] The Portuguese were of the opinion that with the demolition of the temples, the *ganvkars* could allot the revenues for other purposes. In reply, the *ganvkars* informed that as per tradition, the revenues were only for sacred use.[268] These revenues had gone for the maintenance of the temples and its servants like the Brahmans, carpenters, blacksmiths, cobblers, washermen, painters, dancers and others.[269] The villagers declined the proposal. The reason given was that these lands were already included in the land tax. Their position was that they could farm out these lands and pay the tax on their earnings. However, they did agree to pay two thousand *tanga brancas* yearly. This continued until February 1545, when the lands were confiscated by governor Martin Affonso de Sousa. These lands were then donated to St. Paul's. Francisco Paes in AD 1595, explained what had happened. He went on to inform that in AD 1541, Fernão Rodrigues de Castello Branco made an error while dealing with the villagers. Despite what the villagers had claimed, the temple lands were not considered in the land tax. This was probably known by the villagers as in AD 1532 they had provided a copper-plate inscription dated AD 1391 to the court. The inscription informed that lands near Goa Velha which were situated to the south of Tiswadi were provided tax-free. These were for the upkeep of the temple priests. When these details were brought to light, the villagers gave up their claim over the lands.[270] In AD 1569, the government transferred the revenue of the temple lands of Bardez and Salcete to the Jesuits.[271]

It was noticed that the village communities had started to go into economic ruin. Their lands and money were usurped to pay for the building of churches. This affected

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[267] D'Costa, *The Christianisation of the Goa Islands 1510-1567*, 32.

[268] Mendonça, *Conversions and Citizenry: Goa under Portugal 1510-1610*, 70.

[269] Filippe Nery Xavier, *Bosquejo historico das communidades das aldeas dos concelhos das Ilhas, Salsete e Bardez*, ed. José Maria de Sá, vol. 1 (Bastorá, Goa: Typographia Rangel, 1903), 210.

[270] D'Costa, *The Christianisation of the Goa Islands 1510-1567*, 32-33.

[271] B. S. Shastry, "Sources of Income and Items of Expenditure of the Churches in Goa (c. 1510-1800 A.D.): A Note," in *Goan Society through the Ages (Seminar Papers)*, ed. B. S. Shastry (New Delhi: Asian Publication Services, 1987), 38.

the rural agricultural economy. The revenues of the lands had supported families linked to the temples and their service. With the introduction of Christianity by the missionaries, the revenues were used for the activities of the church.[272]

Inquisition

The Inquisition was established in Portugal after the request of king João III. This was done by Pope Clement VII who was the head from AD 1523 to 1534. However, it was only in AD 1560 that the Inquisition was established in Goa.[273] It stopped its activities in AD 1774 due to the policies of Marques de Pombal of Portugal. However, in AD 1778 its activities restarted and it was finally abolished in AD 1812. It was officially known as the Holy Office and it decided cases of heresy. It also looked after the penalties to be imposed on those accused of heresy.[274]

The French traveller, François Pyrard was in Goa between AD 1608 and 1610.[275] He provided details of the Inquisition in Goa. He informed that it was especially harsh on the Jews or New Christians. Anyone could accuse somebody and with the least evidence, they could be hanged. People were accused of disrespecting religious images. It was usually the rich who were put to death. The poor were let off with a lesser penalty. He called it a fearful experience to be an accused. At times, people would be imprisoned for up to three years without any knowledge of their crime. During this time, they would be visited only by the Inquisition officers. He informs that the Hindus and the Muslims were not subjected to the Inquisition, unless they had become Christians. The people who faced the most trouble were the New Christians and Portuguese from Portugal and European Christians. However, if a Hindu or Muslim from Goa had stopped someone from turning to Christianity, this could be punished by the Inquisition. Pyrard provided the example of a Dutch jeweller who had resided in Goa for over twenty-five years and had accumulated a large amount of wealth. He had a disagreement with his wife and she complained that he had books of the pretended

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[272] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 64.

[273] Correia-Afonso, *The Jesuits in India 1542-1773: A Short History*, 37-38.

[274] Priolkar, *The Goa Inquisition: The Terrible Tribunal for the East: Being a Quatercentenary Commemoration Study of the Inquisition of India*, 1.

[275] François Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil: Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619*, ed. and trans. Albert Gray and H. C. P. Bell, vol. 2 part 1 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1888), xli.

religion.[276] This referred to books on the Protestant religion.[277] He was arrested and half of his property was given to his wife and the other half went to the Inquisition. Pyrard was not sure as to what happened to him. He felt that the jeweller may lost all his property or may have been put to death.[278]

In a record dated 12 November 1608, there is information of a Hindu goldsmith called Gorqua or Gorca. He was a resident of the city of Goa who was aged eighty years and informed the Inquisition that he had been treated badly.[279] There is a record of a Portuguese Indian painter named Janas whose services were utilised by the Inquisition in AD 1646-47. These works included mortar walls as well as the chapel. Another record dated AD 1651 informs of a painter named Manuel Simões, a resident of São Tomé in Goa. He was charged with being a gentile and was sentenced to prison.[280]

Hindu landowners were not to engage the services of Christian labourers to work in lands owned by them.[281] It appears that there were violators of this decree. Their sentences were heard in the room of the *Santo Ofício* or Holy Office of the Inquisition on Sunday, 19 July 1699. Among those included were Ramascetti, a Hindu goldsmith, aged thirty-five years who was the son of Rauluxetti and a resident of the island of Chorão of the ward of São Bartolomeu. There was another Hindu goldsmith named Narba Xetti, aged thirty years who was from Virola in Bardez and a resident of Chorão of the ward of São Bartolomeu. There was Banogo, a Hindu fisherman, aged forty years who was a resident of Pomburpa in Bardez. Also included were Rama Camotty, a Hindu Brahmin, aged twenty-two years who was a resident of Pomburpa in Bardez and Ramogi Camotty, a Hindu Brahmin, aged twenty-eight years who was a

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[276] Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil: Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619*, vol. 2 part 1, 92-95.

[277] Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil: Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619*, vol. 2 part 1, 95n1.

[278] Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil: Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619*, vol. 2 part 1, 95.

[279] ANTT, *Tribunal do Santo Ofício*, Inquisição de Lisboa, 028 Processos, 04941, fols. 122r-125v.

[280] Vítor Serrão, "Painting and Worship in Goa during the Period of Iberian Union: The Santa Mónica Monastery at 'Monte Santo' (c. 1606-1639) and Its Artists," *Oriente: Revista da Fundação Oriente* 20 (2011): 42.

[281] Priolkar, *The Goa Inquisition: The Terrible Tribunal for the East: Being a Quatercentenary Commemoration Study of the Inquisition of India*, 139.

resident of Chorão of the ward of São Bartolomeu.[282] There were a number of Hindus who left Goa due to the policies of the Portuguese. There were also newly converted Christians who left Goa. This was because the Inquisition attempted to impose the Christian lifestyle among the newly converted Christians. Although they had converted to Christianity, they still retained their Hindu customs and habits.[283] It seems that certain members of the craftsmen communities also had to endure difficulties under the Inquisition. The records also indicate that in the seventeenth century, there were members of the Hindu craftsmen community living in the vicinity of the island of Goa.

Requirement of craftsmen in building activities

In a letter dated 18 September 1542, Saint Francis Xavier remarked that Goa was a fine city. He informed that it had a Franciscan convent, a number of churches and a cathedral.[284] Jan Huyghen van Linschoten arrived in Goa in AD 1583 and departed in AD 1589.[285] Linschoten informed that in Goa, there were well built houses and streets. The town had churches as well as convents and monasteries.[286] Pyrard praised the construction of the town gate, the palace of the viceroy and the church of the Dominicans.[287] When Pyrard visited Goa, he was surprised to see the wonderful buildings in Goa. He remarked that in about a hundred years, the Portuguese had managed to construct excellent churches, forts and other buildings in the European

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[282] António Baião, *A Inquisição de Goa: Tentativa de historia da sua origem, estabelecimento, evolução e extinção (Introdução á correspondencia dos Inquisidores da India 1569-1630)*, vol. 1 (Lisboa: Academia das Ciências, 1945 / 1949), 279.

[283] B. S. Shastry, "Socio-Religious Impact of the Portuguese on Karnataka: Some Observations," *Purabhilekh-Puratatva* 2, no. 1 (January-June 1984): 9.

[284] Henry James Coleridge, *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, vol. 1 (London: Burns and Oates, 1872), 115-22.

[285] John Huyghen van Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies: From the Old English Translation of 1598*, ed. Arthur Coke Burnell, vol. 1 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1885), xxv-xxvii.

[286] Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies: From the Old English Translation of 1598*, vol. 1, 178-79.

[287] Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil: Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619*, vol. 2 part 1, 47-49.

style.[288] Pietro della Valle wrote a letter from Goa dated 27 April 1623.[289] In it, he informed that the buildings in Goa were mostly simple. However, it was noticed that there were a large number of finely constructed churches. There were also a number of convents in Goa.[290]

Skilled and unskilled labour were utilised in a number of works. The municipality of Goa looked after the upkeep of roads and drains. The religious orders also provided a source of employment to the craftsmen. They employed the craftsmen to build huge religious buildings. There was also a need to maintain these structures when there was destruction due to fire.[291] The new building of the college of St. Paul's was near the convent of Saint Augustine. There were a number of incidents of fire especially in AD 1591, 1617 and 1675.[292] Goa experienced an earthquake in AD 1648. Soon afterwards, a cyclone destroyed roofs.[293] All these indicate that there was a constant need for repairs and maintenance.

In AD 1683, the Marathas under Sambhaji attacked Goa. It was during this time that a Mughal force entered the region and the Marathas dispersed. The viceroy, the count of Alvor was keen to transfer the capital to Mormugão to avoid another Maratha attack. In a meeting at Benasterim on 12 January 1684, he put forward his idea. While many agreed to his plan, others opposed the idea to abandon the city of Goa for Mormugão. However, the viceroy was keen to go ahead with his plan. In a letter dated 18 January 1685, he informed that important buildings were in the process of construction in Mormugão. Over the next years, orders were received to demolish buildings in the city of Goa. New structures in Mormugão were to be built using materials from the demolished buildings. However, succeeding viceroys were not very keen and the transfer took place slowly. The process was abandoned by a royal letter

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[288] Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil: Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619*, vol. 2 part 1, 26.

[289] Pietro della Valle, *The Travels of Pietro della Valle in India: From the Old English Translation of 1664*, ed. Edward Grey, trans. G. Havers, vol. 1 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1892), 126.

[290] Valle, *The Travels of Pietro della Valle in India: From the Old English Translation of 1664*, vol. 1, 155-56.

[291] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 119.

[292] Fonseca, *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa, Preceded by a Short Statistical Account of the Territory of Goa*, 315-17.

[293] Fátima da Silva Gracias, *Health and Hygiene in Colonial Goa (1510-1961)* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1994), 90.

dated 8 March 1712.[294] Hence, it is seen that there were a number of works carried out in Goa which would have made use of skilled and unskilled craftsmen.

Pyrard informed that stone for buildings was got from the island itself. But the stone which was used for columns had to be brought from Bassein. The items used in the building of houses included lime and sand. Lime was manufactured with the shells of marine life. He also informed that the building of private as well as government structures was done by the *canarins* who included both the Hindus as well as the Christians.[295] A. Lopes Mendes also informed that secular, religious as well as military buildings were constructed with laterite which was present in abundance in the region. However, there were a few churches which were of granite, but these were rare. He informed that granite was used in the façade of many churches.[296] A study of the Saint Augustine church in Old Goa revealed a laterite quarry which was located next to the area. Laterite blocks were usually used in the construction of buildings in Old Goa. Basalt was used rarely in the construction of façades.[297]

Disputes and disruptions

There is a record of Nemu Chatim whose father was the headman of the guild of goldsmiths. It is informed that the privileges granted to his father and him by Afonso de Albuquerque were denied by Diogo Lopes de Sequeira. It is believed to be an instance where the privileges granted to the Hindus were withdrawn and their rights denied.[298] However, this may not have been the case.

There is an undated letter which is believed to have been written between 20 December 1518 and 22 January 1522 when Diogo Lopes de Sequeira was governing India. It records a complaint of Nemu Chetim (Nemu Chatim), a goldsmith. He wrote to the king of Portugal informing that at the time of the Sabayo, the father of Nemu Chatim was the *mocadão* or headman of the goldsmiths of Goa as were his ancestors.

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[294] Fonseca, *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa, Preceded by a Short Statistical Account of the Territory of Goa*, 172-76.

[295] Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil: Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619*, vol. 2 part 1, 63.

[296] A. Lopes Mendes, *A India Portugueza: Breve descripção das possessões Portuguezas na Asia*, vol. 1 (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1886), 155.

[297] Brian Wilson, Abhijit Ambekar, and Rohini Pande, "Defending the Golden City: Survey and GPS Aided Mapping of the Outer Fortification Wall Surrounding Old Goa," *Man and Environment* 38, no. 1 (January-June 2013): 91.

[298] Xavier, *Goa: A Social History 1510-1640*, 172.

He informed that his father had helped Afonso de Albuquerque during both the times when Goa was taken. Afonso de Albuquerque rewarded his father by keeping him in the same position and this position was passed on to Nemu Chatim. After the death of Albuquerque, the position of Nemu Chatim was confirmed by Lopo Soares. Later, however, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, the *capitão-mór* refused to recognise his position. Due to this he made a representation to the king.[299] The letter informs that Afonso de Albuquerque was provided with two hundred *peões* by the father of Nemu Chetim.[300] The word *peão* referred to a person on foot or a soldier. The word also referred to some metal object used in shipping.[301] There appears to have been some help provided to Afonso de Albuquerque. However, the exact nature is not clear.

In a letter written in Goa dated 22 October 1529 to the king of Portugal, Raulu Chatim (Raulu Xette) informed that he was the *mocadão* of the goldsmiths of Goa. He had visited Portugal during the time when Dom Manoel was the king of Portugal and Lopo Soares had arrived in India as governor. He had been asked to produce some works and jewellery of the type which were used in India. He produced these to the best of his ability and once completed, he was given permission to return to India. Due to the number of years of service he provided, he was given the position of *mocadão* or headman of the goldsmiths of Goa. He was given a pension of eight thousand *reis* annually and other benefits. When these benefits were granted to him, he left Portugal and arrived in India when Diogo Lopes de Sequeira was the *capitão-mór*. He informed that during the second year of the term when Dom Duarte de Menezes governed India, he sent a ring with a diamond which weighed two and a half *mangelins*. After a long time without response, he had written to the king. He requested a confirmation of his office and benefits. He informed that he had approached the *feitors* of the king to see if he could provide any jewellery to be made for the king. However, they had replied that there was no such request. He requested the king to order him to make some jewellery. It seems that the appointment of Raulu Chatim as the *mocadão* of the goldsmiths caused a dispute with another goldsmith named Nemu Chatim (Nemu Xette). Nemu Chatim had been the son of a *mocadão* or headman of the goldsmiths of Goa when Goa was

[299] Viterbo, "Os ourives indigenas de Goa," 66-68.

[300] Sousa Viterbo, "Artes industriais e indústrias Portuguesas: I - Ourivesaria," *O Instituto* 60, no. 3 (March 1913): 125.

[301] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 2, 491.

under the rule of the Adil Shah.[302] These letters indicate a conflict between the two goldsmiths. Further, it does not appear to have been a case where the rights granted to the Hindus were revoked.

The manufacture of gunpowder utilised unskilled labour. This was in the form of slaves and those who had been punished and made to perform forced labour. These workers would start fires and cause explosions. In AD 1689, the administrator felt that the Hindus and other labourers were responsible. Further, the *vedor geral da fazenda* or chief revenue superintendent informed the viceroy that on 8 October 1694 some workers were protesting outside his house. The crowd was composed of about five hundred artisans. They had not received their salaries for a number of weeks. Hence, there are records of protests by the working classes.[303]

Literacy

In Goa, Marathi was written in a script called *Cánadi* or *Gõykanadi* which was also known as *Cándevi*. This script was used by the Hindus for their correspondence. It is believed that the earliest example of the use of this script is in a letter of Raulu Chatim. This letter to the king of Portugal had the signature of Raulu Chatim appended to it. The signature was in Roman script as well as in the *Gõykanadi* script. The translation informed that it was the writing of Raval Seti.[304] This is the same letter dated 22 October 1529 addressed to the king of Portugal by Raulu Chatim (Raulu Xette) and has his signature.[305] (see figure 5.1). It would indicate that certain craftsmen were literate and could sign documents.

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[302] Pissurlencar, "Os primeiros Goeses em Portugal," 60-63.

[303] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 116.

[304] Gajanana Shantaram Sinai Ghantkar, *History of Goa through Gõykanadi Script* (Panaji, Goa: Rajhauns Vitaran, 1993), x.

[305] Pissurlencar, "Os primeiros Goeses em Portugal," 60-63.
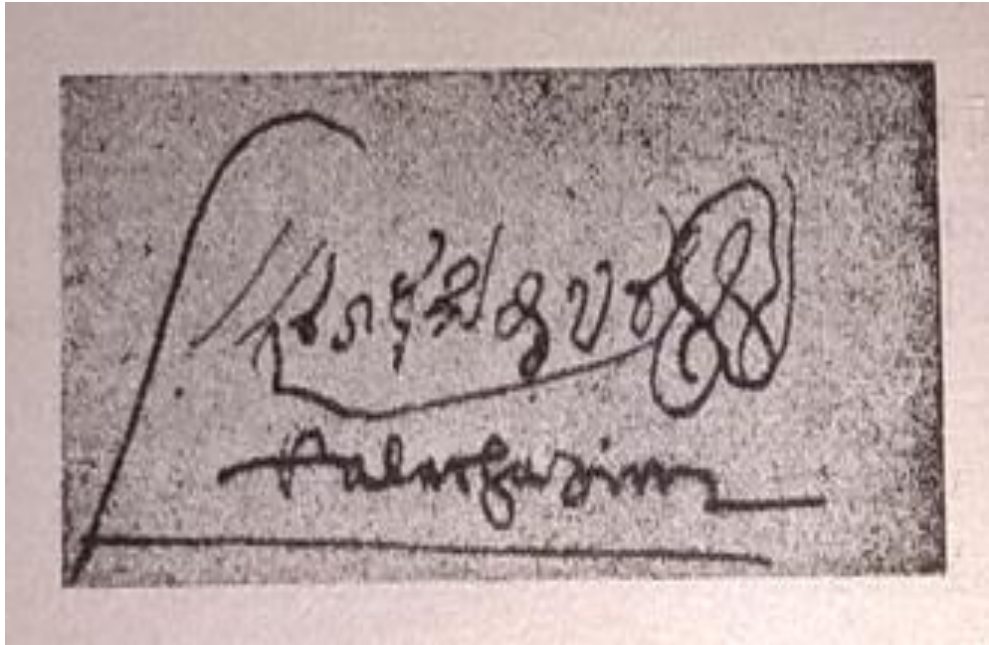
Figure 5.1. The signature of Raulu Chatim
Source: Panduranga Pissurlencar, "Os primeiros Goeses em Portugal," *BIVG* 31 (1936): 63.

Depiction of craftsmen

The Biblioteca Casanatense is an archive in Rome which was established in AD 1698. Among its collection is the *Manuscript 1889*. The Jesuit college of Goa had the manuscript once in its possession. These drawing are believed to have been made around AD 1540. It contains a series of drawings of people from Africa to China.[306] While it is believed to have been created in the mid-sixteenth century, the manuscript is of unknown authorship. However, its creator was familiar with local customs from these places.[307] Also known as the *Códice Casanatense*, it illustrates the race and clothing of the people as well as the customs from these regions. These drawings are evidence of the Portuguese presence in a large part of the region including East Africa, Asia, Southeast Asia and China.[308] These drawings were restored in AD 1930-31. They usually depict two people from the same region or caste. They usually show a man and

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[306] Josef Wicki, "Archives and Libraries in Rome Concerning Portuguese India," in *Indo-Portuguese History: Sources and Problems*, ed. John Correia-Afonso (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1981), 47.

[307] Joy L. K. Pachuau, "Women in Portuguese India: Their Representation in Sixteenth Century Sources," in *Coastal Histories: Society and Ecology in Pre-Modern India*, ed. Yogesh Sharma (Delhi: Primus Books, 2010), 93.

[308] Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700: A Political and Economic History*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: John Wiley & Sons Ltd., 2012), 113-14.

a woman. However, at times more people are depicted. Some of drawings also have text which describes the scene portrayed.[309]

One opinion put forward was that the *Codex Casanatense* may have been the work of Gujarati painters working for an unknown Portuguese person.[310] Another opinion put forward was that local painters from Goa may have been involved in the painting. There is record of local painters present in Goa during the mid-sixteenth century. It was also informed that Gaspar Correa or Dom João de Castro, who were present in Goa at the time, may have ordered the production of the work. However, this cannot be confirmed.[311] There was the suggestion that Garcia de Orta may have ordered the production of the work. He was known to have travelled to Cambay, Malabar and some of the places depicted in the drawings. Further, there are a number of parallels in his work, the *Colóquios dos simples e drogas da Índia* and the drawings in the *Codex Casanatense*. These similarities include the mention of Rajputs and *yogis* in his work and the drawings which appear in the *Codex Casanatense*.[312]

The images from Goa are numbered from 71 to 75 in this manuscript. These show *mainatos* or washermen, *ferreiros* or blacksmiths and *ourives* or goldsmiths.[313] The drawing of the washermen of Goa is numbered 71 and 72 in the manuscript.[314] (see figure 5.2). This drawing also shows women involved in the washing of clothes.

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[309] Georg Schurhammer, "Desenhos Orientais do tempo de S. Francisco Xavier," *Garcia de Orta* Número especial (1956): 247.

[310] Jorge Flores, *Unwanted Neighbours: The Mughals, the Portuguese, and Their Frontier Zones* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2018), 20.

[311] Rui Manuel Loureiro, "Information Networks in the Estado da Índia, a Case Study: Was Garcia de Orta the Organizer of the Codex Casanatense 1889?," *Anais de História de Além-Mar* 13 (2012): 45-48.

[312] Loureiro, "Information Networks in the Estado da Índia, a Case Study: Was Garcia de Orta the Organizer of the Codex Casanatense 1889?," 63-64.

[313] Wicki, "Archives and Libraries in Rome Concerning Portuguese India," 48.

[314] Luís de Matos, ed., *Imagens do Oriente no século XVI: Reprodução do Códice Português da Biblioteca Casanatense* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1985), 87.
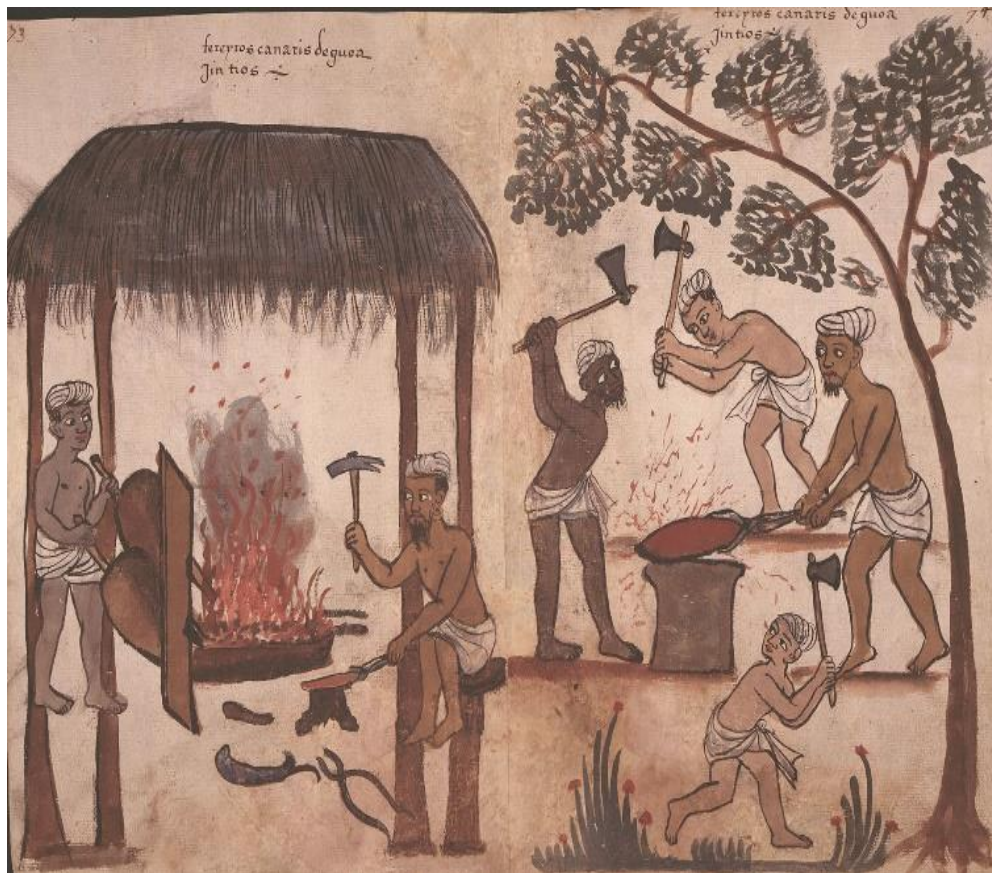
Figure 5.2. Depiction of the washermen of Goa
Source: Luís de Matos, ed., *Imagens do Oriente no século XVI: Reprodução do Códice Português da Biblioteca Casanatense* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1985), plate XXXIX.

The drawing of the blacksmiths of Goa is numbered 73 and 74 in the manuscript.[315] (see figure 5.3). Their process of working and tools used by them is depicted in the drawing.[316] It shows one person working the bellows and others hammering the metal.

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[315] Matos, *Imagens do Oriente no século XVI: Reprodução do Códice Português da Biblioteca Casanatense*, 87.

[316] Xavier and Županov, *Catholic Orientalism: Portuguese Empire, Indian Knowledge (16th-18th Centuries)*, 55.

Figure 5.3. Depiction of the blacksmiths of Goa
Source: Luís de Matos, ed., *Imagens do Oriente no século XVI: Reprodução do Códice Português da Biblioteca Casanatense* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1985), plate XL.

The drawing of the goldsmiths of Goa is numbered 75 in the manuscript.[317] (see figure 5.4). The drawing shows a master goldsmith along with workers doing their work.[318] The presence of these drawings gives a visual depiction of the craftsmen and artisans in Goa during the sixteenth century.

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[317] Matos, *Imagens do Oriente no século XVI: Reprodução do Códice Português da Biblioteca Casanatense*, 88.

[318] Silva, "The Art of the Goldsmith in the Portuguese India," 18.

Figure 5.4. Depiction of the goldsmiths of Goa
Source: Luís de Matos, ed., *Imagens do Oriente no século XVI: Reprodução do Códice Português da Biblioteca Casanatense* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1985), plate XLI.

The artisans in the villages were paid with a rent-free *namasy* land. There are records of land which indicate that they were the *namasy* of the carpenters, blacksmiths, washermen and others. These lands were hereditary and were passed down the generations. They could only be taken back in the case of non-performance of duties. The *culacharins* or *kulacharis* stood higher than the village artisans in the hierarchy. In the hierarchy of the village artisans, the goldsmith stood above the others. The *mahars* or basket-makers and the *chamars* or cobblers were at the bottom. There was a view that the *barazan* referred to the village artisans. However, it is believed that this term did not refer to the artisans but may have referred to some ancestors or people who helped those migrating to Goa. These, gradually came to be worshipped. It was noticed that in the village communities in Goa, certain *ganvkars* were served at times by the artisans. However, in general, most of the artisans served all the villagers and were remunerated with lands which were allotted to them by the village community. With

the arrival of the Portuguese, there are a number of records which indicate that craft production activities were carried out. There is mention of a number of people who assisted Afonso de Albuquerque in the taking of Goa and thereafter. Some of these included the craftsmen groups. There were Indian *mukaddams* or headmen as well as Indian *mestres* or master craftsmen whose services were utilised by the Portuguese. In the 1540s, there was the destruction of the temples. There were legislations which discriminated against the non-Christians. Non-Christian artisans were forbidden from producing items of worship which were used by the Christians. There are records of headmen of guilds who became Christian. Their baptisms were celebrated with great splendour. It was noticed that even the viceroy stood as the godfather on two occasions. This would indicate the high status of some of the craftsmen. The services of non-Christian artisans continued to be utilised. This was indicated by the repeated decrees against the same. Even in the early seventeenth century, there was a record of a Hindu craftsman whose services were used by the religious orders and who later converted. With the destruction of the temples, the revenues which were utilised for the temple servants went towards the maintenance of the church and it activities. It was also noticed that the Inquisition caused some difficulties to some members of the craftsmen communities. It was seen that the services of the craftsmen were utilised for the building and maintenance of a number of religious and secular works. There was a letter of a goldsmith by the name of Nemu Chatim who informed that the privileges granted to his father and him were not recognised. It was believed to have been a case where the rights given to the Hindus were annulled. However, this may not have been the case. A letter dated AD 1529 by Raulu Chatim (Raulu Xette) informed that he was the headman of the goldsmiths. It is informed that he went to Portugal and made items for the king of Portugal. Thereafter, the king made him the headman of the goldsmiths and provided him with some privileges. There appears to have been a dispute between the two goldsmiths of Goa, namely Raulu Chatim and Nemu Chatim. Raulu Chatim had also appended his signature to a letter which indicated that some craftsmen were literate. The *Manuscript 1889* or *Códice Casanatense* in the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome is a depiction of people from Africa to China. Some of the drawings depict craftsmen from Goa. These depict Goan washermen and women, blacksmiths and goldsmiths as they went about their daily work.

Chapter 6
Portuguese period: Some areas of craft production

With the arrival of the Portuguese, a mint was established which struck coins of the Portuguese denominations. There were a number of mint workers who were employed at the mint in Goa. The contracts for the minting of coins were also farmed out. As Goa was an important commercial centre, there was the presence of a number of moneychangers. The *Ribeira* of Goa also employed a number of workers, shipbuilders and metal workers. Shipbuilding was an important industry which employed a number of craftsmen. There were also craftsmen aboard ships. There is also a record of a number of metal workers in Goa. Goa was also an important centre for trade in jewellery and precious stones. There was also painting and other craft production work which took place in Goa. There were a number of *rendas* or government sources of revenue which were farmed out. The religious orders also made use of the craftsmen. Stonemasons were used in secular as well as in religious constructions. An Indo-Portuguese style came to be developed. It was also seen that Hindu temples came to have European designs.

The Goa mint and coinage

The Goa mint was first established in March 1510 when Goa was taken for the first time by the Portuguese. After the Adil Shah took back Goa, Afonso de Albuquerque made another attempt and was able to retake Goa for the second time in November 1510. After the second conquest of Goa by the Portuguese, the mint resumed operations.[1]

After the first conquest of Goa in AD 1510, Timoja and some important Muslims and Hindus of the land approached Albuquerque. Timoja informed Albuquerque that the locals and merchants of the city had requested for new currency to carry out business. They were facing difficulties due to a lack of new coinage. While his captains thought it was a good idea to mint coins, Albuquerque felt that he should not do so without the permission of the king of Portugal. However, Timoja approached him again after a few days and informed that there would be inconvenience due to a

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[1] Teotonio R. de Souza, "A Study on the Indo-Portuguese Coinage and the Working of the Goa Mint," *The Indian Numismatic Chronicle* 10, pt. 1-2 (1972): 68-69.

lack of currency and trade would not carry on. Albuquerque was given the option to introduce new coinage or use that of the Sabayo. Since the minting of coins would enhance the prestige of the king of Portugal, Albuquerque reconsidered his decision. A gathering which included some Portuguese, Timoja, important people of the city and some goldsmiths was convened. A trial was ordered and when it was successfully passed, an order to mint gold, silver and copper coins was approved. Tristão de Gá was placed as the treasurer of the mint. The coins were to have a cross on one side and the emblem of king Dom Manoel on the other.[2]

After a required number of coins had been minted, another meeting was held on 12 March 1510 in the Sabayo's palace. Those present included the Portuguese captains and noblemen, the chief Muslims merchants and the Hindus. The new coinage was made public. Tristão de Gá was ordered to go throughout the city and the new coins were handed out. Anyone who had the coinage of the Sabayo had to exchange the coins for the new coinage at the mint. The people were able to conduct trade with this new coinage.[3] It shows the attempt of the state to control the coinage system.

After Goa was taken for the second time in November 1510, Albuquerque ordered that the old coinage be brought to the mint. These were to have the emblems of the Portuguese. The coins were given the same names as was previously decided. Álvaro Godinho was appointed as the treasurer of the mint. The operations of the mint were farmed out to a *chetim* from Batecala (Bhatkal). This was done at the rate of six hundred thousand *reis*.[4] A *chetim* was the same as a *chati* or *chatin* or *chatim*. The term is believed to have been derived from the word *sreshthi* or *xeth* (*shet*). The term referred to a merchant or trader.[5] A record regarding the people of Malabar and Calicut informed that merchants would be helped by scribes called *chetims*. These people were

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[2] Afonso de Albuquerque, *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque, Second Viceroy of India: Translated from the Portuguese Edition of 1774*, trans. Walter de Gray Birch, vol. 2 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1877), 127-29.

[3] Albuquerque, *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque, Second Viceroy of India: Translated from the Portuguese Edition of 1774*, vol. 2, 130-31.

[4] Afonso de Albuquerque, *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque, Second Viceroy of India: Translated from the Portuguese Edition of 1774*, trans. Walter de Gray Birch, vol. 3 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1880), 41.

[5] Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, vol. 1 (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1919), 265-67.

knowledgeable about commodities and in keeping accounts.[6] A record from around AD 1530 informed that governor Nuno da Cunha instructed Diogo da Silveira to punish a *chatim* from Mangalore. This *chatim* was rich and powerful. However, he had displeased the Portuguese as he gave spices to the Muslims.[7] At Mangalore, the merchants were known as *chatims*. This merchant was well known as the *Chatim de Mangalor*. A fight ensued between the Portuguese and the supporters of the *chatim*. Thereafter, his property was destroyed.[8] It was informed that this *chatim* was the richest one from the coast of Goa till the Cape of Comorin. It was also stated that in the ships of the Portuguese that went to Mangalore, there were a number of men including Afonso Alvarez, the *calafate* of Goa.[9] A *calafate* referred to a caulker.[10] In around AD 1550, there is record of a dispute with the *chatins* of the city of Barcelor over providing some rice. There is a mention of Trametim Chatim and Drimy Chatim who were involved in the situation. These men came to Goa and governor Jorge Cabral heard their difficulty. The matter was resolved thereafter.[11]

The goldsmiths in Goa were also called *chatims* or *shets*.[12] In a letter written in Goa dated 22 October 1529 to the king of Portugal, Raulu Chatim (Raulu Xette) informed that he was the *mocadão* or headman of the goldsmiths of Goa. Further, there was also another goldsmith named Nemu Chatim (Nemu Xette). Nemu Chatim had been the son of the headman of the goldsmiths of Goa when Goa was under the rule of

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[6] Damião de Góis, *Crónica do felicissimo rei D. Manuel*, ed. J. M. Teixeira de Carvalho and David Lopes, nova ed., parte 1 (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1926), 91.

[7] João de Barros, *Da Asia de João de Barros: Dos feitos, que os Portuguezes fizeram no descubrimento, e conquista dos mares, e terras do Oriente*, decada 4: parte 1 (Lisboa: Regia Officina Typografica, 1777), 398-400.

[8] Barros, *Da Asia de João de Barros: Dos feitos, que os Portuguezes fizeram no descubrimento, e conquista dos mares, e terras do Oriente*, decada 4: parte 1, 402-05.

[9] Fernão Lopez de Castanheda, *Historia do descobrimento e conquista da India pelos Portugueses*, nova ed., livro 8 (Lisboa: Typographia Rollandiana, 1833), 26-28.

[10] D. José de Lacerda, *A New Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1871), 183.

[11] Diogo do Couto, *Da Asia de Diogo de Couto: Dos feitos, que os Portuguezes fizeram na conquista, e descubrimento das terras, e mares do Oriente*, decada 6: parte 2 (Lisboa: Regia officina typografica, 1781), 155-59.

[12] Pratima Kamat, "The Tail Wags the Dog? Colonial Policies of Conversion and Hindu Resistance through Syncretism and Collaboration in Goa, 1510-1755," *The Indian Historical Review* 30, no. 1 & 2 (January & July 2003): 38.

the Adil Shah.[13] It is noticed that the name Chatim and its variants were used by merchants as well as goldsmiths.

In a letter dated 30 December 1510, Afonso de Albuquerque ordered the *feitor* of Goa to give Tristão de Gá, the *thesoureiro* or treasurer six *quintais* of copper to make coins.[14] In another letter dated 7 January 1511, Albuquerque ordered the *feitor* to give Tristão de Gá six *quintais* of copper also to make coins.[15] Another record from Albuquerque to Francisco Corvinell, the *feitor* of Goa dated 30 January 1511 ordered to give Tristão de Gá six *quintais* of copper.[16] There was another order dated 26 February 1511 from Albuquerque to the *feitor* of Goa to give Tristão de Gá, six *quintais* of copper to make coins.[17] There was an order dated 26 April 1511 to the *feitor* of Goa to give Álvaro Godinho, treasurer of the mint of Goa all the copper that was necessary.[18] Hence it appears that even after the second conquest of Goa, Tristão de Gá was still the treasurer of the mint for some time and Álvaro Godinho was the treasurer of the mint later on.

Under the Portuguese, the gold *manoels* were the same as the *cruzados*. These were used instead of the gold *hons* and *pagodas*. The silver *esperas* were used instead of the silver *barganis*. The copper *leais* were used instead of the copper *zoitole*. The *zoitole* was identified as the *jital*. There were also copper *bazarucos*. It got its name as it was used for transactions in the local *bazar* or market. There were gold *são-tomés* named after Saint Thomas.[19] These were issued during AD 1548-49 and were equivalent to one thousand *reis*. Another silver coin called the *bastião* after Saint Sebastian was issued which was equivalent to around three hundred *reis*.[20] The

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[13] Panduranga Pissurlencar, "Os primeiros Goeses em Portugal," *BIVG* 31 (1936): 60-63.

[14] Afonso de Albuquerque, *CAA*, ed. Raymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato, tomo 4 (Lisboa: Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, 1910), 331.

[15] Afonso de Albuquerque, *CAA*, ed. Raymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato and Henrique Lopes de Mendonça, tomo 5 (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1915), 15.

[16] ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, Parte II, mç. 24, n.º 246.

[17] ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, Parte II, mç. 25, n.º 158.

[18] ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, Parte II, mç. 26, n.º 85.

[19] Teotonio R. de Souza, "Heads Lose, Tails Win: Portuguese Currency," in *Goa: Cultural Patterns*, ed. Saryu Doshi (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1983), 98-100.

[20] José Nicolau da Fonseca, *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa, Preceded by a Short Statistical Account of the Territory of Goa* (Bombay: Thacker & Co, Limited, 1878), 30.

Portuguese introduced a few changes to the indigenous coinage and replaced some coins by others.

There was also another silver coin called the *xerafim* or *pardau* (*pardão*). There were also silver *tangas* which were also known to be of copper.[21] In AD 1578, the *xerafim* was equivalent to five *tangas*. The word *xerafim* originated from the Persian word for a gold coin called the *ashrafi*. The word *ashrafi* is believed to have its origin from the Arabic word *sherif* or noble as gold was considered a noble metal. This coin was known in Cambay and the Malabar regions. The Portuguese used this name of *xerafim* for their coinage. The words *xerafim* or *ashrafi* and *shroff* or *sarraf* were not connected. The Indian term *shroff* was a moneychanger and was derived from the Persian word *sarraf*.[22]

Staff of the mint

In India, the Sanskrit words *tanka-sala* referred to a mint while the word *tanka-pati* was the mint master.[23] Under the Mughals in Gujarat, the *darogha-i daru-l zarb* was the mint master.[24] Other craftsmen at the Mughal mint included the *gudazgar kham* who smelted the ore, the *zarrab* who was the coiner and the *sikkachi* who was the stamper.[25]

Viceroy Dom Luis de Athaide put into force the *Regimento* of AD 1569. This document made mention of some mint officers. One of the officers included the *mestre e thesoureiro* or the mint master and treasurer.[26] Gaspar de Barros, a goldsmith was the *mestre* or master of the mint at Goa. Antonio Mendes was a goldsmith and a resident of Lisbon. He took over as the *mestre* or master of the mint after Gaspar de Barros. This is seen in a letter from king Dom João III dated 29 January 1526. Pero Ruberte, who was the father of Bastiam (Bastião) Ruberte or Sebastião Ruberte was a *mestre* of the Goa mint. Sebastião Ruberte took over this position after the death of his father. This

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[21] Souza, "Heads Lose, Tails Win: Portuguese Currency," 100.

[22] J. Gerson da Cunha, *Contributions to the Study of Indo-Portuguese Numismatics* (Bombay: Education Society's Press, 1880; repr., New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1995), 36-37.

[23] Cunha, *Contributions to the Study of Indo-Portuguese Numismatics*, 38.

[24] Arshia Shafqat, "Administration of Gujarat under the Mughals (A.D. 1572-1737)" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Aligarh Muslim University, 2008), 126.

[25] Shafqat, "Administration of Gujarat under the Mughals (A.D. 1572-1737)," 129.

[26] Souza, "A Study on the Indo-Portuguese Coinage and the Working of the Goa Mint," 85.

was seen in a letter dated 15 January 1551. In a letter dated 14 October 1555, this position was confirmed to him. Rodrigo de Alviar was a goldsmith and by a letter dated 26 September 1565 was named as the *mestre* of the Goa mint. This was while Bastião Ruberte was absent. By a letter dated 4 March 1566, Rodrigo de Alviar was allowed to renounce his post in favour of Diogo Rodrigues Cabaço. Diogo Rodrigues Cabaço, the son of Jorge Rodrigues was to marry the daughter of Rodrigo de Alviar. However, the marriage did not go ahead as Diogo Rodrigues married another person. By a letter dated 14 January 1568, Rodrigo de Alviar continued office without resignation to Diogo Rodrigues Cabaço.[27]

Another position in the mint was that of the *ensayador* (*ensaiador*) or assaying chief.[28] Antonio Marques was an *ensaiador*. It is also mentioned that he was the *mestre de balança* and an *abridor dos cunhos* in the Goa mint.[29] The *abridor de cunhos* was the one who prepared the moulds. These were usually of iron into which gold, silver and bronze were beaten or pressed to make coins.[30] A letter dated 13 January 1526 to the *capitão-mór* of India informed that Francisco Rodrigues, a goldsmith was nominated to the position held by Antonio Marquis. Thus, Francisco Rodrigues was the *mestre da balança*, *ensaiador* and *abridor de cunhos* in the Goa mint. Francisco Rodrigues transferred this office to Antonio Mendes. This was seen in a royal letter dated 12 January 1529.[31]

Initially, Gallaz do Avellar, a goldsmith of Lisbon was made an *ensaiador* of the mint in Cochin. However, by a letter dated 12 February 1537, king Dom João III named him the *ensaiador* of the mint in Goa. André Marques was a goldsmith who was named as *ensaiador* of the mint in Goa. This was done by governor Francisco Barreto. This position was confirmed by a letter dated 19 March 1569.[32]

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[27] Sousa Viterbo, "Apontamentos numismaticos," *O Archeologo Português* (1st series) 7, no. 2 & 3 (February & March 1902): 38-42.

[28] Souza, "A Study on the Indo-Portuguese Coinage and the Working of the Goa Mint," 85.

[29] Viterbo, "Apontamentos numismaticos," 38.

[30] Paulo Sandroni, ed., *Novíssimo dicionário de economia* (São Paulo: Editora Best Seller, 1999), 8.

[31] A. C. Teixeira de Aragão, *Descripção geral e historica das moedas cunhadas em nome dos reis, regentes e governadores de Portugal*, tomo 1 (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1874 / 1875), 71.

[32] Viterbo, "Apontamentos numismaticos," 41-42.

Angelo Fradique was confirmed as an *ensaiador* of the mint in Goa by the king of Portugal in a letter dated 27 March 1613.[33] In a record dated 29 January 1614, viceroy Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo informed that Angelo Fradique was the *ensaiador* of the mint in Goa.[34] Jeronymo Lopes da Costa was the *ensaiador* of the mint in Goa in AD 1621. Ruy Lourenço Batevias served a number of years as the *ensaiador*. He had a daughter who married Simão Rodrigues de Almada, who succeeded him in his position. In a letter dated 28 March 1643, Simão Rodrigues de Almada, who was the son of Fernão de Alvares was given the post of the *ensaiador* of the mint in Goa due to his marriage with the daughter of Ruy Lourenço Batevias.[35]

Another officer was the *acunhador* (*cunhador*) or coin-puncher.[36] Jorge da Cunha was the *cunhador* during the rule of king Filippe III and was promoted to the position of *ensaiador*. Antonio da Cunha, who was his son was confirmed for life as the *cunhador* in a letter dated 24 March 1636. João Delgado was the *cunhador* of the mint and he was succeeded by Jeronymo Texeira Rebello. Jeronymo Texeira Rebello was confirmed to this post in a letter dated 15 June 1650.[37] It seems that the position of the *ensaiador* was higher than that of the *cunhador*.

Gonçalo da Costa was the *cunhador* due to his services rendered in battle where he was injured in a fight with the Dutch and lost a leg. When he died, his wife Theodosia da Fonseca married Martim Gonçalves. Martim Gonçalves was then confirmed to the post of *cunhador* in a letter dated 16 January 1651.[38]

The *Regimento* of AD 1834 was formulated by viceroy Dom Manoel de Portugal e Castro between AD 1828 and 1835. A more detailed list of staff is found in this document. The *provedor da caza da moeda* was the superintendent of the mint. Other staff included the *juiz conservador da moeda* who was in charge of weight standards. The *fiel* or overseer saw to the proper handling of equipment. The *fundidor* or foundry man melted the metal. The *moedeiro* was a term used for the different

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[33] Viterbo, "Apontamentos numismaticos," 45.

[34] J. H. da Cunha Rivara, ed., *APO-CR*, fasciculo 6 (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1875; repr., New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1992), 1013-15.

[35] Viterbo, "Apontamentos numismaticos," 45-47.

[36] Souza, "A Study on the Indo-Portuguese Coinage and the Working of the Goa Mint," 85.

[37] Viterbo, "Apontamentos numismaticos," 46-48.

[38] Viterbo, "Apontamentos numismaticos," 43-44.

designations of workmen who assisted the other officers.[39] There was a local from India who converted to Christianity and had taken the name of Affonso de Albuquerque. Governor Mathais de Albuquerque named him as a *moedeiro das moedas de bazarucos de cobre e calaim* for life.[40] A *moeda* referred to a coin.[41] *Cobre* stood for copper.[42] *Calaim* was derived from the Indian word *kalai* which referred to tin.[43] Other staff included the *escrivão* or clerk and the *batedores* or beatermen.[44]

The *Tombo* was prepared by Simão Botelho in AD 1554.[45] In this record, it was informed that in AD 1554 the *mestre da moeda* received fifteen thousand *reis* of *ordenado*. There was also a monthly *mantimento* of six hundred *reis* which amounted to seven thousand two hundred *reis* annually. The total salary amounted to twenty-two thousand two hundred *reis*.[46] The *Regimento* of AD 1569 informed that the *mestre da moeda* or mint master earned eighteen thousand *reis*. He also got a part of the brassage fees.[47] In AD 1571, the *mestre da moeda* earned twenty-two thousand two hundred *reis*.[48] Similarly, in AD 1574 the *mestre da moeda* earned twenty-two thousand two hundred *reis*.[49] In AD 1571, the *ensaiador* earned eighty thousand *reis* annually.[50] Similarly, in AD 1574 the *ensaiador* earned eighty thousand *reis* annually.[51] In AD

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[39] Souza, "A Study on the Indo-Portuguese Coinage and the Working of the Goa Mint," 85-86.

[40] Viterbo, "Apontamentos numismaticos," 42-43.

[41] F. J. Caldas Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Lisboa: Typographia da Parceria Antonio Maria Pereira, 1925), 314.

[42] F. J. Caldas Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Lisboa: Typographia da Parceria Antonio Maria Pereira, 1925), 500.

[43] Cunha, *Contributions to the Study of Indo-Portuguese Numismatics*, 26.

[44] Souza, "A Study on the Indo-Portuguese Coinage and the Working of the Goa Mint," 85.

[45] Jorge Flores, *Unwanted Neighbours: The Mughals, the Portuguese, and Their Frontier Zones* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2018), 93.

[46] Simão Botelho, "O tombo do Estado da India," in *Subsidios para a historia da India Portugueza*, ed. Rodrigo José de Lima Felner (Lisboa: Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1868), 66.

[47] Souza, "A Study on the Indo-Portuguese Coinage and the Working of the Goa Mint," 86-87.

[48] Artur Teodoro de Matos, ed., *O orçamento do Estado da Índia 1571* (Lisboa: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, Centro de Estudos Damião de Góis, 1999), 73.

[49] Águedo de Oliveira, ed., *Orçamento do Estado da Índia (1574): Feito por mandado de Diogo Velho, vedor da fazenda da Índia* (Lisboa: Bertrand (Irmãos), Lda., 1960), 72.

[50] Matos, *O orçamento do Estado da Índia 1571*, 73.

[51] Oliveira, *Orçamento do Estado da Índia (1574): Feito por mandado de Diogo Velho, vedor da fazenda da Índia*, 72.

1571, the *escrivão* earned fifty thousand *reis* annually.[52] Similarly, in AD 1574 the *escrivão* earned fifty thousand *reis* annually.[53] It shows that there was no significant increase in the wages.

The Goa mint was the first overseas mint of the Portuguese. Other mints were later setup in Malacca in AD 1511, in Cochin in AD 1544 and other places. After other mints were established elsewhere, the Goa mint placed special marks on their coins. These marks included a wheel or alphabets such as G and G-A. They also included marks such as D-GOA or DE-GOA.[54] A five *bazaruco* coin from Goa without a date was inscribed with the letters J-A instead of G-A. There were also some coins from the eighteenth century which also had the markings J-A. It is believed that this was probably done out of a lack of knowledge of the Portuguese language by the Hindu goldsmiths or other artists. It may have also been a case where the alphabets sounded similar due to the sound.[55] A study of the coins indicate that they were not well designed. The coins varied in shape and size.[56] It is seen that the mint in Goa employed a number of staff. There were a number of positions in the mint which indicates that different craftsmen were specialised for different work.

Contracts for minting

The Portuguese farmed out the rights for tax collection and most administrative jobs. This allowed the Portuguese to focus on defence. This policy also ensured the government of a steady income. This was because the persons who were issued the contracts paid the government in advance for the rights which were farmed out to them.[57] The government approved goldsmiths and *chitins* to mint coins. These

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[52] Matos, *O orçamento do Estado da Índia 1571*, 73.

[53] Oliveira, *Orçamento do Estado da Índia (1574): Feito por mandado de Diogo Velho, vedor da fazenda da Índia*, 72.

[54] Teotonio R. de Souza, "Portuguese Fiscal Administration and Monetary System," in *Goa through the Ages: An Economic History*, ed. Teotonio R. de Souza, vol. 2 (1990; repr., New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1999), 220.

[55] Manoel Joaquim de Campos, *Numismatica Indo-Portuguesa* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1901), 48-49.

[56] Souza, "Portuguese Fiscal Administration and Monetary System," 220.

[57] Souza, "A Study on the Indo-Portuguese Coinage and the Working of the Goa Mint," 78-79.

individuals who received the rights of minting tried to make as much profit as they could.[58]

The mint accepted metals to be minted into coins from people. As fees, the customer paid seigniorage to the government. Brassage charges were to be paid to the mint officials. These rates were fixed by the Mint Act of August 1569. Usually, the seigniorage for the minting of gold and silver coins was farmed out to those who bid the highest. However, the revenue generated from the minting of coins of a lower value was kept by the government. This was because it was more profitable due to the frequent changes in value.[59] Under the Mughals, it was noticed that open coinage was also followed. This could be done on the payment of the seigniorage and brassage charges.[60] The seigniorage was the charge of the crown or state on a certain percentage of the metal brought to be minted.[61] Brassage was the charge of the mint for minting coins.[62]

In Goa, the minting contract was for a period of three years. The person who was issued the contract was required to pay the amount to the government in quarterly instalments or *quartel*. There was also a requirement to keep two deposits. The first was the *decima* or one-tenth of the rent. This was a cash payment to the clerk of the Public Revenue Department or *Fazenda Geral*. The second was the *terca* or one-third of the rent. This was a mortgage of land or houses to the treasurer of the *Fazenda*. Thereafter, the person issued the contract could start work.[63] A record from March 1595 indicated that Pondea Chatim, a *rendeiro* of gold coins in the city of Goa was involved in the minting of *são-tomés*.[64] In the 1640s, two *rendeiros* of gold coins in the mint included

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[58] Cunha, *Contributions to the Study of Indo-Portuguese Numismatics*, 88.

[59] Souza, "Heads Lose, Tails Win: Portuguese Currency," 100.

[60] Shafqat, "Administration of Gujarat under the Mughals (A.D. 1572-1737)," 130.

[61] J. B. Sykes, ed., *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, 6th ed. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1977), 1029.

[62] Sykes, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, 119.

[63] Souza, "A Study on the Indo-Portuguese Coinage and the Working of the Goa Mint," 80.

[64] J. H. da Cunha Rivara, ed., *APO-CR*, fasciculo 3 (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1861; repr., New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1992), 542-43.

Krishna Sinay and Nanna Chati. They were important tax-farmers and bankers of Goa.[65]

Moneylending and moneychangers

Goa was a commercial and trading centre. The practice of moneylending was prevalent. There was also a high rate of interest levied. Miguel Vaz was against the practice of lending money on interest. It was believed to be similar to taking advantage of someone in their time of need. Miguel Vaz even asked king João III to prohibit the practice of lending money on interest. Although the king agreed with the idea, no measures were taken.[66]

During the pre-Portuguese period, a fee was imposed on the changing of money. In AD 1520, under king Dom Manoel restrictions were removed and exchange of money could be done easily. However, in order to finance the construction of the cathedral in Goa this fee was reinstated. In AD 1551, viceroy Dom Affonso withdrew the fee. However, it appears that the *shroffs* who were involved in money changing continued to make profits to the detriment of the customers.[67]

Talking about India, Tavernier stated that a village would be a small one if it did not use the services of a moneychanger or *shroff*. A *shroff* also operated as a banker and provided ways to remit money.[68] The word *shroff* was also found mentioned as *cheraf* or *sarraf*.[69] Linschoten informed of the *xaraffos* in Goa. He stated that they were present in every street. People would not receive any money without checking it with a

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[65] Pius Malekandathil, "Merchant Capitalists and the Estado da India: Changing Pattern of Portuguese Trade with India, 1570-1663," in *Indo-Portuguese History: Global Trends: Proceedings of XI - International Seminar on Indo-Portuguese History - Silver Jubilee Session (Dona Paula - Goa, 21st-25th September, 2003)*, ed. Fátima da Silva Gracias, Celsa Pinto, and Charles J. Borges (Panjim, Goa: Maureen & Camvert Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 2005), 359-60.

[66] Anthony D'Costa, "Administrative, Social and Religious Conditions in the Goa Islands 1510-50," *Indica* 1, no. 1 (March 1964): 29-30.

[67] R. R. S. Chauhan, "Marketing in Goa during the 16th Century," in *Goan Society through the Ages (Seminar Papers)*, ed. B. S. Shastry (New Delhi: Asian Publication Services, 1987), 162.

[68] Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India by Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Baron of Aubonne: Translated from the Original French Edition of 1676*, trans. V. Ball, vol. 1 (London: Macmillan and Co., 1889), 28.

[69] Tavernier, *Travels in India by Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Baron of Aubonne: Translated from the Original French Edition of 1676*, vol. 1, 28n6.

moneychanger as there was a fear of counterfeit money.[70] The *xaraffos* were the same as the *shroffs* or *sarrafs*.[71] Pyrard also informed that moneychangers or *cherafes* were present in various places in Goa. They had shops at crossroads and at the end of the streets. They used to pay a fee to the king. He informed that their business was very profitable as people required their services. They dealt with coins of different metals including gold and silver.[72]

The *Ribeira*

In Goa, the *Ribeira* included the dockyard, the mint, the gun-foundry and public buildings. It was also known as the *Ribeira Grande* or the *Ribeira das Naus*. Later, it came to be known as the *Arsenal*. It was headed by a superintendent called the *feitor* and was later controlled by a *vedor da fazenda*. There were seven hundred people working there in AD 1540 in different departments.[73] It is believed that the dockyard at Goa was a department which was highly organised in the whole of India at the time. The number of people who worked at the *Ribeira* in Goa was probably the same as those who worked at the *Ribeira das Naus* in Lisbon.[74] Pyrard informed that the *viador de fasienda* (*vedor da fazenda*) had a residence there. Senior officers also resided in the vicinity.[75]

[70] John Huyghen van Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies: From the Old English Translation of 1598*, ed. Arthur Coke Burnell, vol. 1 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1885), 231.

[71] Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies: From the Old English Translation of 1598*, vol. 1, 231n2.

[72] François Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil: Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619*, ed. and trans. Albert Gray and H. C. P. Bell, vol. 2 part 1 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1888), 67-68.

[73] Fonseca, *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa, Preceded by a Short Statistical Account of the Territory of Goa*, 238-39.

[74] C. R. Boxer, "The Carreira da Índia (Ships, Men, Cargoes, Voyages)," in *From Lisbon to Goa, 1500-1750: Studies in Portuguese Maritime Enterprise* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1984), I: 38.

[75] Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil: Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619*, vol. 2 part 1, 40-41.

At the *Ribeira* in Goa, there were people who were experts in their field who worked under *mestres* or masters. There was also a *patrão* or superintendent. There was a storekeeper called the *almoxarife*.[76] Pyrard informs that it was at the *Ribeira* where coins were minted, works on cannons and metal works for ships were carried out. There were a number of professionals including carpenters, caulkers, blacksmiths, foundry-workers, masons and other who were mostly Indians. Each group of professionals had a senior staff who was Portuguese and was called a Mayor.[77] This designation appears as *mór* in an earlier edition of the text.[78] A record dated 27 September 1535 informed that Jacome Genoés, a local of Genova was appointed to the position of *patrão-mór* of the *Ribeira* of Goa. However, due to some unknown reason he did not take up the position in India.[79] A record dated AD 1612 informed that Gaspar Gomes was a *patrão-mór* of the *Ribeira* of Goa.[80]

Each senior officer of a craft and workmen had a place where they kept their tools and materials secured. These offices were built of stone to safeguard against fire. All the craftsmen worked on all the days and did not observe festivals. They had to provide a record of attendance twice a day. They received their salaries every Sunday morning and did not work on Sunday afternoons. Pyrard informed that a *puntador* checked to see if they worked for the prescribed time.[81] The term *puntador* is wrongly mentioned and the person was called an *apontador*.[82] Not putting in the required hours led to a deduction in their salaries. The *contador* paid them their salaries. At times, the

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[76] John Villiers, "The Estado da India in Southeast Asia: Administration, Law and International Relations," in *Government and Governance of European Empires, 1450-1800*, ed. A. J. R. Russell-Wood, Vol. 21 part 1 of An Expanding World: The European Impact on World History, 1450-1800 (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2000), 33.

[77] Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil: Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619*, vol. 2 part 1, 41.

[78] François Pyrard, *Viagem de Francisco Pyrard, de Laval: Contendo a noticia de sua navegação ás Indias Orientaes, ilhas de Maldiva, Maluco, e ao Brazil, e os differentes casos, que lhe aconteceram na mesma viagem nos dez annos que andou nestes paizes: (1601 a 1611)*, trans. J. H. da Cunha Rivara, tomo 2 (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1862), 35.

[79] Sousa Viterbo, *Trabalhos nauticos dos Portuguezes nos seculos XVI e XVII*, parte 1: Marinharia (Lisboa: Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1898), 167.

[80] Antonio Bocarro, *Decada 13 da historia da India*, ed. Rodrigo José de Lima Felner, parte 1 (Lisboa: Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1876), 8-9.

[81] Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil: Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619*, vol. 2 part 1, 41-42.

[82] Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil: Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619*, vol. 2 part 1, 42n4.

apontador and the *contador* misused the system and counted in a way which was detrimental to the workers. Usually, salaries were paid in public. The salaries were paid in private when the amount was large.[83]

Generally, in terms of payment, the basic amount paid to a Portuguese employee was the *soldo*. When this was paid to a non-Portuguese employee it was called the *musara*. The Portuguese employees also received the *mantimento* which was either in cash or kind. In the case of the non-Portuguese employees, this was called the *bhatta* which was paid in kind. The *mantimento* and *bhatta* were calculated monthly. High ranking staff received a salary called the *ordenado* which was calculated yearly. These staff did not receive a *mantimento*. At the shipyard, the wage-workers also received *férias* or daily wages.[84] The salaries of the officials of the *Ribeira* at Goa in the year AD 1554 are available.[85] (see table 6.1).

Table 6.1. Salaries of officials of the *Ribeira* in AD 1554

Designation	*Ordenado* (in *reis*)	*Mantimento* (in *reis*)		Total (in *reis*)
Patrão da ribeira	30000	600 x 12 months =	7200	37200
Mestre da ribeira	40000	600 x 12 months =	7200	47200
Mestre dos calafates	25000	900 x 12 months =	10800	35800
Mestre da ferraria	30000	600 x 12 months =	7200	37200
Mestre da fundição	30000	800 x 12 months =	9600	39600
Mestre da cordoaria	18000	600 x 12 months =	7200	25200
Mestre dos tanoeiros	16800	600 x 12 months =	7200	24000
Mestre dos pedreiros	25000	800 x 12 months =	9600	34600

Source: Data adapted from Simão Botelho, "O tombo do Estado da India," in *Subsidios para a historia da India Portugueza*, ed. Rodrigo José de Lima Felner (Lisboa: Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1868), 64-66.

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[83] Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil: Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619*, vol. 2 part 1, 42.

[84] Teotonio R. de Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 2nd ed. (Saligão, Goa: Goa,1556 and Panjim, Goa: Broadway Book Centre, 2009), 127.

[85] Botelho, "O tombo do Estado da India," 64-66.

The salaries of the staff of the *Ribeira* in AD 1571 are also available.[86] (see table 6.2).

Table 6.2. Salaries of officials of the *Ribeira* in AD 1571

Designation	Total (in *reis*)
Patrão da ribeira	100000
Mestre da ribeira	100000
Mestre dos calafates	35800
Mestre dos ferreiros	21600
Mestre da fundição	40000
Mestre da cordoaria	39600
Mestre da tanoaria	24000
Mocadão dos pedreiros	21600

Source: Data adapted from Artur Teodoro de Matos, ed., *O orçamento do Estado da Índia 1571* (Lisboa: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, Centro de Estudos Damião de Góis, 1999), 70-72.

It is seen from the tables that the salaries of certain officials changed while some salaries remained the same over time.

Shipbuilding

In a letter to the king dated 22 December 1510, Afonso de Albuquerque informed that there were a number of carpenters, caulkers, blacksmiths, painters and other artisans.[87] The labour of slaves was also used at the Goa shipyard. Officers with technical knowledge were appointed from Portugal.[88] A letter from the king of Portugal dated 30 March 1606, informed viceroy Dom Martim Affonso de Castro that Francisco do Souto, a *mestre dos carpinteiros* or master of the carpenters of the *Ribeira* of Goa had petitioned him with a request for the Habit of the Order of Santiago or of Avis and a pension of twenty thousand *reis* as was granted to Jorge Carvalho, *mestre* of the

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[86] Matos, *O orçamento do Estado da Índia 1571*, 70-72.

[87] Afonso de Albuquerque, *CAA*, ed. Raymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato, tomo 1 (Lisboa: Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1884), 26-27.

[88] K. M. Mathew, "The Economics of Portuguese Ship-Building in Goa, 1510-1773," in *Ship-Building and Navigation in the Indian Ocean Region: AD 1400-1800*, ed. K. S. Mathew (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1997), 92.

carpenters at Cochin, due to his services.[89] A letter dated 26 March 1608 informed of the appointment of Valentim Themundo as the *mestre mór* of the *Ribeira* of Goa. He had an *ordenado* of two hundred thousand *reis* per year.[90] There was a request in AD 1613 to provide carpenters and other workers. These were to work under the supervision of Valentim Themundo who was the chief carpenter.[91] After Valentim Themundo returned to Portugal, he was to be replaced by Manoel Fernandes. This appointment was seen in a letter dated 30 March 1621.[92] Manoel Fernandes was appointed as *mestre de carpintaria* of the *Ribeira* of Goa to substitute Valentim Themundo. However, it appears that he did not take up the position as it was already taken up by Diogo Luiz.[93] A letter dated 28 July 1628 indicated that Diogo Luiz was the *mestre* of the *Ribeira* of Goa.[94] In a letter dated 10 January 1642, it was informed that Diogo Luiz who was the *mestre dos carpinteiros dos naus* of the *Ribeira* of Goa died and that Vincente Rodrigues, who was the son-in-law of Diogo Luiz, substituted him in the position.[95] Simão Fernandes was appointed to the position of *mestre dos carpinteiros* or master of the carpenters of the *Ribeira* of Goa which is mentioned in a letter dated 20 March 1653.[96]

In general, the Portuguese in India made use of local carpenters. This was due to the experience of the local carpenters in procuring the right wood. They also utilised local practices for caulking ships.[97] In the construction of ships, the joints between the wooden parts were made secure. This did not allow water to pass through and prevented

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[89] Raymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato, ed., *DRI*, tomo 1 (Lisboa: Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1880), 46.

[90] Sousa Viterbo, *Trabalhos nauticos dos Portuguezes nos seculos XVI e XVII*, parte 2: Constructores navaes (Lisboa: Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1900), 93.

[91] Mathew, "The Economics of Portuguese Ship-Building in Goa, 1510-1773," 92.

[92] Viterbo, *Trabalhos nauticos dos Portuguezes nos seculos XVI e XVII*, parte 2: Constructores navaes, 93.

[93] Viterbo, *Trabalhos nauticos dos Portuguezes nos seculos XVI e XVII*, parte 2: Constructores navaes, 53.

[94] Viterbo, *Trabalhos nauticos dos Portuguezes nos seculos XVI e XVII*, parte 2: Constructores navaes, 72-74.

[95] Viterbo, *Trabalhos nauticos dos Portuguezes nos seculos XVI e XVII*, parte 2: Constructores navaes, 90-91.

[96] Viterbo, *Trabalhos nauticos dos Portuguezes nos seculos XVI e XVII*, parte 2: Constructores navaes, 56-57.

[97] K. S. Mathew, *Shipbuilding, Navigation and the Portuguese in Pre-Modern India* (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributors, 2017), 203.

damage. This was done using oakum and the procedure was known as caulking. The master caulker checked to make sure that the caulking process was done correctly. The chief master oversaw the process.[98] It was instructed to check of all the parts of the ship before a voyage to Lisbon was undertaken. This also included the pitch which was utilised in the caulking of the ship.[99] Antonio Fernandes was appointed to the position of the *mestre* or master of the *calafates* of Goa which is mentioned in a letter dated 10 February 1588. He had an *ordenado* of thirty-five thousand eight hundred *reis*.[100] A *calafate* was a caulker.[101] In a letter dated 11 March 1614, Jorge Marinho was appointed to the position of master of the *calafates* of the *Ribeira* of Goa.[102] There is a record dated 16 April 1622 where there is mention of Gonçalo João to the position of *mestre* or master of the *calafates* and the *quereneiro* of the *Ribeira* of Goa.[103] The *quereneiro* was the person who was involved in the making of the *querena* which was a part of the ship.[104] Antonio da Costa was appointed to the position of *mestre dos calafates* or master of the caulkers of the *Ribeira* of Goa. This was due to the numerous services he rendered, including fighting against the Dutch at the bar of Goa between AD 1637 and 1639. He was appointed as the *mestre* of the caulkers which is seen in a letter dated 17 March 1643.[105] André da Silva was appointed as the *mestre* of the caulkers after the death of Thomé Duarte. This was confirmed in a letter by the king dated 24 January 1665.[106]

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[98] K. M. Mathew, "Naval Construction in Portuguese India," in *Vasco da Gama and India: International Conference, Paris, 11-13 May, 1998*, ed. Teotonio R. de Souza and José Manuel Garcia, trans. Manuela Rocha, François González de Quijano, Peter F. Ingham, and Teotonio R. de Souza, vol. 2: Social and Economic History (Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1999), 43.

[99] Xavier M. Martins, "Portuguese Shipping and Shipbuilding in Goa 1510-1780" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Goa University, 1994), 140.

[100] Viterbo, *Trabalhos nauticos dos Portuguezes nos seculos XVI e XVII*, parte 2: Constructores navaes, 51.

[101] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 1, 378.

[102] Viterbo, *Trabalhos nauticos dos Portuguezes nos seculos XVI e XVII*, parte 2: Constructores navaes, 74.

[103] HAG, *Livro das cartas patentes e alvarás (1622)*, n.º 476, fols. 75r-76r.

[104] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 2, 660.

[105] Viterbo, *Trabalhos nauticos dos Portuguezes nos seculos XVI e XVII*, parte 2: Constructores navaes, 45.

[106] Viterbo, *Trabalhos nauticos dos Portuguezes nos seculos XVI e XVII*, parte 2: Constructores navaes, 91.

A number of good quality ships of the Portuguese were built in shipyards in Cochin and Bassein. It was informed in AD 1585 and repeated again later that ships should be constructed in India instead of Portugal. This was to keep the cost low. Further, it was noticed that ships constructed in India were more durable. Ships which were built in Portugal lasted about ten years. During this time, they made about three or four round voyages. However, a renowned ship built at Goa during AD 1559-60 called the *Cinco Chagas* surpassed them all. This ship operated for twenty-five years. During this time, it made about nine or ten round voyages.[107] In a record dated 11 January 1637, Peter Mundy wrote about what he had seen in Goa.[108] He witnessed the launch of a new ship which was named *el beun Jesus*. The ship was secured with the help of a device called a cradle with which the ship was held upright. A number of people with the use of cables and capstans launched the ship into the water.[109] The capstan was used in Europe prior to the seventeenth century. It was used in the lifting of heavy objects. It is difficult to know if this technology was used in India prior to the arrival of the Europeans. The record of Peter Mundy is an example of its use in Goa in the seventeenth century.[110]

The building of ships required a number of raw materials. These came from a number of places. The Portuguese signed a treaty with the Adil Shah in AD 1571 so that traders could visit the territories of the Adil Shah to procure planks for ships. Another treaty was signed in AD 1576 to receive timber from the Adil Shah.[111] The Portuguese and the ruler of Amin made an agreement wherein the Portuguese were to receive coconut fibre for the construction of ships. In AD 1619, there was an agreement

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[107] Diogo do Couto, João Baptista Lavanha, and Francisco Vaz d'Almada, "The Tragic History of the Sea 1589-1622: Narratives of the Shipwrecks of the Portuguese East Indiamen São Thomé (1589), Santo Alberto (1593), São João Baptista (1622), and the Journeys of the Survivors in South East Africa," in *The Tragic History of the Sea*, ed. and trans. C. R. Boxer (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 3-4.

[108] Peter Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy, in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, ed. Richard Carnac Temple, vol. 3: Travels in England, India, China, etc., 1634-1638, part 1: Travels in England, Western India, Achin, Macao, and the Canton River, 1634-1637 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1919), 52.

[109] Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy, in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667*, vol. 3: Travels in England, India, China, etc., 1634-1638, part 1: Travels in England, Western India, Achin, Macao, and the Canton River, 1634-1637, 59.

[110] Ahsan Jan Qaisar, *The Indian Response to European Technology and Culture (A.D. 1498-1707)* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1982), 33.

[111] K. M. Mathew, *History of the Portuguese Navigation in India (1497-1600)* (Delhi: Mittal Publications, 1988), 306.

with the ruler of the Maldives to provide the Portuguese with a certain amount of coir on a yearly basis.[112] In AD 1631, an agreement with Ikkeri and the Portuguese allowed for timber to be provided to Goa without any tax and no interest charge. This proved very beneficial to the Portuguese.[113] In AD 1653, the Portuguese turned to north Kanara for timber. It was found that wood from there was very resilient. At times, when there was a shortage of wood, timber was to be obtained from the province of the north.[114]

Viceroy Dom Miguel de Noronha was in power from AD 1629 to 1635.[115] Soon after his arrival, he began to personally take an interest by supervising the shipyard. In November 1631, he visited the shipyard every day except for an absence of five days. This practice was usually followed by him until February when the ships left for Europe. He kept doing these checks consistently during his tenure. He informed that these checks were needed as his subordinates could not be depended upon.[116]

A sepulchral inscription in Goa informed that Pedro Gonçalves who was the *mestre dos calafates* of the *Ribeira* died on 25 October 1553.[117] Another sepulchral inscription informed that Antonio da Fonseca died on 3 February 1561. He was the son of Joam da Fonseca and Micia Vaz Esfieira, locals of Serpa. It further informed that he was the *hapontador* (*apontador*?) of the *Ribeira* of the city.[118] A sepulchral inscription dated March 1597 informed that Francisco do Souto was *mestre* of the *Ribeira*. However, this date was not the date of his death but when the sepulchre was built.[119] An undated sepulchral inscription from Goa informed that Gaspar Lopes was the *mestre* of the *Ribeira*.[120] Another undated sepulchral inscription informed Simão Dias was a

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[112] Mathew, "The Economics of Portuguese Ship-Building in Goa, 1510-1773," 90.

[113] G. V. Scammell, "The Pillars of Empire: Indigenous Assistance and the Survival of the 'Estado da India' c. 1600-1700," *Modern Asian Studies* 22, no. 3 (1988): 477.

[114] Mathew, "The Economics of Portuguese Ship-Building in Goa, 1510-1773," 90.

[115] Anthony Disney, "A 17th Century Portuguese Proconsul: D. Miguel de Noronha, Count of Linhares," *Purabhilekh-Puratatva* 2, no. 2 (July-December 1984): 26.

[116] Disney, "A 17th Century Portuguese Proconsul: D. Miguel de Noronha, Count of Linhares," 30.

[117] Viterbo, *Trabalhos nauticos dos Portuguezes nos seculos XVI e XVII*, parte 2: Constructores navaes, 64.

[118] J. H. da Cunha Rivara, *Inscripções lapidares da India Portugueza* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1894), 28.

[119] Viterbo, *Trabalhos nauticos dos Portuguezes nos seculos XVI e XVII*, parte 2: Constructores navaes, 92.

[120] Rivara, *Inscripções lapidares da India Portugueza*, 26.

mestre dos calafates.[121] The presence of these sepulchral inscriptions in the churches of Goa indicate that some of the craftsmen had a prominent position in society.

Craftsmen on board ships

In AD 1497, Vasco da Gama departed Lisbon on the voyage of discovery towards the East. It is believed that Vasco da Gama captained the *São Gabriel* which was the flagship. The other ships included in the fleet were the *São Rafael*, the *Berrio* or the *São Miguel* and a storage ship.[122] Among the various crew on board the flagship, it is believed that there were craftsmen who included a carpenter, a caulker, a cooper and a rope-maker.[123]

The voyage between Lisbon to Goa and back was known as the *carreira da India*.[124] During the journey from Lisbon to Goa, the ships sometimes stopped at Mozambique. During the voyage from Goa to Lisbon, the ships stopped for a while at the Azores islands. The total duration of the journey was about a year and a half. This included about four months stay in India.[125]

The number of ships which left for India usually comprised of groups of up to six ships. The captain-in-chief was the highest ranking person. The captains of the individual vessels reported to him. The navigation was done by a pilot who was assisted by a *sotapilote* or second pilot. The *mestre* or master of the ship was responsible for the *marinheiros* or mariners. The *grumete* or cabin boys also reported to him. The *contramestre* or foreman assisted the master of the ship. There was also a writer on board who kept records of the journey and details of the people, food and orders. The *meirinho* or *alcaide* or bailiff looked after the dispensation of justice, the prisoners on board as well as the weapons. The ships which departed Lisbon carried craftsmen

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[121] Rivara, *Inscripções lapidares da India Portugueza*, 31.

[122] Vasco da Gama, *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama, 1497-1499*, ed. and trans. E. G. Ravenstein (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1898), Appendix C, 151-53.

[123] Gama, *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama, 1497-1499*, Appendix E, 174.

[124] Couto, Lavanha, and d'Almada, "The Tragic History of the Sea 1589-1622: Narratives of the Shipwrecks of the Portuguese East Indiamen São Thomé (1589), Santo Alberto (1593), São João Baptista (1622), and the Journeys of the Survivors in South East Africa," 1.

[125] Couto, Lavanha, and d'Almada, "The Tragic History of the Sea 1589-1622: Narratives of the Shipwrecks of the Portuguese East Indiamen São Thomé (1589), Santo Alberto (1593), São João Baptista (1622), and the Journeys of the Survivors in South East Africa," 6.

required for maintenance and repairs. These included carpenters, caulkers, coopers and others. A large number of cabin boys were assigned to the craftsmen to assist them.[126]

Everyone on board the Portuguese ships were allocated their respective duties. However, at times, when the condition was critical, everyone was made to contribute manual labour. A previous governor Francisco Barreto was aboard one Portuguese ship which was on the verge of sinking. He made people work to reduce the water which was flowing into the ship. Francisco Barreto as well as the other elites on board took part in the work.[127]

In the seventeenth century, Goans began to work on Portuguese ships. They were found in different positions. They were sailors, soldiers, carpenters and others. This was due to a lack of Portuguese and also a high death rate during these voyages. The Portuguese also had to compete against the Arabs and the Marathas. This led to the use of the services of Goans on board Portuguese ships.[128] In a study of the crew of the *Nossa Senhora dos Milagres*, it was noticed that there were Goans in a number of positions. It was also seen that for the same position, the Goans received about half the pay which the Portuguese received for the same work. Two Portuguese ships were victorious over the ships of the Arabs in AD 1689 near the Surat coast. On the two Portuguese ships, the *Nossa Senhora do Rosario e Santo Antonio* and the *Nossa Senhora de Conceição*, there were a number of Goans.[129] On the *Nossa Senhora do Rosario e Santo Antonio* there were locals who included Jacinto Roiz (or Rodrigues) who was a *carpinteiro* or carpenter, Joseph Gomes who was a *calafate* or caulker and Thomé Dias who was a *tanoeiro* or cooper.[130] (Appendix 1).

Metal and weapon manufacture

In AD 1508, ships of the Mamluks of Egypt and the sultan of Gujarat defeated the Portuguese fleet under Dom Lourenço off Chaul. It is believed that the Turks or

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[126] Mathew, *Shipbuilding, Navigation and the Portuguese in Pre-Modern India*, 173-78.

[127] M. N. Pearson, "Life at Sea," in *The Trading World of the Indian Ocean, 1500-1800*, ed. Om Prakash, Vol. 3 part 7 of History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization (New Delhi: Centre for Studies in Civilizations and Pearson Education in South Asia, 2012), 646-49.

[128] Agnelo P. Fernandes, "Goans in Portuguese Armadas during Medieval Times," in *Metahistory: History Questioning History: Festschrift in Honour of Teotonio R. de Souza*, ed. Charles J. Borges and M. N. Pearson (Lisboa: Nova Vega, 2007), 107-08.

[129] Fernandes, "Goans in Portuguese Armadas during Medieval Times," 109-10.

[130] HAG, *Livro das Monções do Reino (1688-1690)*, n.º 54, fols. 167r-167v.

Rumes captured Portuguese weapons and took them to Goa where they were replicated. In AD 1509, the Portuguese defeated the Turks near Diu and some Turks fled to Goa.[131] Duarte Barbosa served in India from around AD 1500 to about 1516-17.[132] He informed that after the Rumes were defeated near Diu by Dom Francisco da Almeida some of them fled to Goa. The Adil Shah welcomed them and their services were utilised in the manufacture of ships as well as weapons of copper and iron. These were prepared very swiftly. Within a short period of time, a number of ships were ready and storehouses were filled with requirements.[133] After Albuquerque took Goa for the first time in AD 1510, he inspected the arsenal where he found a large supply of weapons, gunpowder and materials required for its production. In the city were weapons as well as other artillery. There were also a number of small and large ships.[134]

In a letter dated 22 December 1510 written in Goa, Albuquerque informed the king that he would send the king some weapons of the Rumes and a *fumdição* which the Muslims made in *gooa*.[135] The *fundição* was the workshop for the casting of metals.[136] The word mentioned in the letter is believed to be *fumdição* and its meaning is not clear in this context. If the word is *fundição*, then it would refer to a foundry used to cast metals. It is informed that this was made in *gooa*. This may have possibly referred to Goa. This letter was written in Goa.

In a letter dated 7 January 1511, Afonso de Albuquerque ordered the *feitor* of Goa to give eight *cotonias* to three Muslim blacksmiths who are believed to have come from çasete.[137] Çasete may possibly have referred to Salcete.[138] Thus, it is seen that Muslim blacksmiths were active in the region.

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[131] Richard M. Eaton and Phillip B. Wagoner, *Power, Memory, Architecture: Contested Sites on India's Deccan Plateau, 1300-1600* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2015), 249-50.

[132] Duarte Barbosa, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa: An Account of the Countries Bordering on the Indian Ocean and Their Inhabitants, written by Duarte Barbosa, and Completed about the Year 1518 A.D.*, trans. Mansel Longworth Dames, vol. 1 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1918), xxxiii.

[133] Barbosa, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa: An Account of the Countries Bordering on the Indian Ocean and Their Inhabitants, written by Duarte Barbosa, and Completed about the Year 1518 A.D.*, vol. 1, 175-77.

[134] Albuquerque, *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque, Second Viceroy of India: Translated from the Portuguese Edition of 1774*, vol. 2, 98-99.

[135] Albuquerque, *CAA*, tomo 1, 28-29.

[136] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 1, 1104.

[137] Albuquerque, *CAA*, tomo 5, 14.

[138] Albuquerque, *CAA*, tomo 5, lvi.

Albuquerque took Malacca in AD 1511.[139] Albuquerque's attack was met with strong resistance from the king of Malacca and his troops.[140] In preparation, prior to the second attack against Malacca, Albuquerque utilised the services of blacksmiths who were brought from Goa. He ordered them to repair some weapons which were unserviceable.[141] After the second taking of Malacca, it was noticed that there was a large quantity of copper and tin there. It was also remarked that the gun-founders in Malacca were as good as those found in Germany.[142] Thus, the services of the blacksmiths taken from Goa were utilised to assist in the taking of Malacca. The skills of the metal workers were also seen in the letters of Albuquerque.

In a letter dated 1 December 1513, Albuquerque wrote to the king informing that he would send a craftsman from Goa who made very good guns, like those of *boemea* or Bohemia.[143] Albuquerque in a letter dated 4 December 1513 informed that excellent weapons were being made of *ferro* or iron in Goa which were better than those of *alemanha* or Germany.[144] It is believed that after AD 1510, an Indo-Portuguese tradition of gun-making developed in Goa.[145] This style was a combination of two traditions. One was the Luso-German gun-making tradition from Lisbon. The other was the Goan and Arab tradition of gun-making which was practiced in Goa.[146]

In Goa, there was a forge welded cannon found. It is believed that Fernando or Francisco Anes made three similar forge welded cannons. Two of these are on display in the Military Museum in Lisbon. The third cannon at Campal in Goa is believed to have been made in AD 1515. This cannon is similar to the two in Lisbon as it was made

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[139] Afonso de Albuquerque, *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque, Second Viceroy of India: Translated from the Portuguese Edition of 1774*, trans. Walter de Gray Birch, vol. 1 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1875), xiii.

[140] Albuquerque, *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque, Second Viceroy of India: Translated from the Portuguese Edition of 1774*, vol. 3, 101-04.

[141] Albuquerque, *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque, Second Viceroy of India: Translated from the Portuguese Edition of 1774*, vol. 3, 111-13.

[142] Albuquerque, *The Commentaries of the Great Afonso Dalboquerque, Second Viceroy of India: Translated from the Portuguese Edition of 1774*, vol. 3, 127-28.

[143] Albuquerque, *CAA*, tomo 1, 173-74.

[144] Albuquerque, *CAA*, tomo 1, 203.

[145] Eaton and Wagoner, *Power, Memory, Architecture: Contested Sites on India's Deccan Plateau, 1300-1600*, 250.

[146] Eaton and Wagoner, *Power, Memory, Architecture: Contested Sites on India's Deccan Plateau, 1300-1600*, 281n37.

with the same technique. It also has the symbol of an elephant on it.[147] It is possible that all these three were made by the same person. It is also possible that Goan craftsmen helped in the production of these three cannons.[148] There was a letter dated 28 November 1512 from Afonso de Albuquerque which ordered to give Francisco Anes who was the *mestre* or master of blacksmiths at Goa a sum of fifteen *cruzados*.[149] However, it is not known if this was the same Francisco Anes.

It is believed that João Vincente, a master gun-founder was involved in the casting of bronze guns in Goa and Cochin during the first half of the sixteenth century. From around AD 1580 onwards, there was the production of high quality cannons at Goa. This was done by the Dias and Tavares Bocarro family.[150] There was a letter dated 16 November 1539 of João Vicente, *mestre fundidor* or master foundry-worker in Goa informing the king of some work done.[151]

In AD 1623, the Portuguese employed two Chinese named Quinquo and Haizon at Macau to cast cannons. However, they were replaced with Manuel Tavares Bocarro. He was the son of a master founder at Goa called Pedro Dias Bocarro.[152] He was the grandson of Francisco Dias who was also a master founder. Manuel Tavares Bocarro learnt the craft from his father, Pedro Dias Bocarro in Goa.[153] There is a cannon in Lisbon which has the depiction of the wheel of Saint Catherine and an inscription which informed that it was of the city of Goa and made in the year AD 1623. It also had the letters PDB.[154] It is quite possible that this was the work of Pedro Dias Bocarro

After AD 1626, Manuel Tavares Bocarro took control of the foundry in Macau. Due to the services rendered by him between AD 1625 and 1643, he requested a pension

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[147] Abhijit S. Ambekar, *Portuguese and Their Artillery in India - Goa* (Panaji, Goa: Vasantrao Dempo Research Foundation and Education Trust in association with Broadway Publishing House, 2015), 38.

[148] Ambekar, *Portuguese and Their Artillery in India - Goa*, 48.

[149] ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, Parte II, mç. 35, n.º 155.

[150] C. R. Boxer, "Asian Potentates and European Artillery in the 16th-18th Centuries: A Footnote to Gibson-Hill," *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 38, pt. 2, no. 208 (December 1965): 159.

[151] ANTT, *Corpo Cronológico*, Parte I, mç. 66, n.º 32.

[152] Boxer, "Asian Potentates and European Artillery in the 16th-18th Centuries: A Footnote to Gibson-Hill," 168.

[153] Gonçalo Couceiro, "Manuel Tavares Bocarro and the Macao Foundry," *Oriente: Revista da Fundação Oriente* 2 (April 2002): 112-15.

[154] Eduardo Ernesto Castelbranco, *Catalogo do Museu de Artilharia*, 3rd ed. (Lisboa: Typographia da Direcção Geral do Serviço de Artilharia, 1903), 97-98.

and to be granted a noble status. The *Conselho Ultramarino* or Overseas Council decided to give him the Habit of Santiago and a pension of twenty thousand *reis*. Besides the manufacture of artillery, Manuel Tavares Bocarro was also responsible for the creation of bronze statues. Some of these statues were placed on the church façade of the college of Madre de Deus in Macau.[155] Later, Manuel Tavares Bocarro was a captain-general and governor of Macau. This was from AD 1657 to 1664.[156]

The Sé cathedral in Goa has one bell with an inscription which indicates that Pedro Diz Bocarro made it in AD 1605. Another bell is inscribed with the name Ramacrisna Chatim with the date AD 1719.[157] It is possible that Pedro Diz Bocarro was the same as Pedro Dias Bocarro, the father of Manuel Tavares Bocarro. These names inscribed on the bells were probably of those involved in the making of the bells.

Different metal workers

There was a letter to the king dated AD 1596.[158] It informed that Pero Dias Bocarro cast six pieces of artillery for the city. He did this with excellence when he served in the position of the *mestre da fundição*.[159] Pero Dias Bocarro was probably the same as Pedro Dias Bocarro, who was the son of Francisco Dias.[160] The *fundição* was the workshop for the casting of metals.[161]

During the time of Dom João de Castro, the *mestre da ferraria* of Goa was João Fernandes. He repaired a number of pieces of artillery. His name appears in a record dated AD 1546.[162] In AD 1562, there appears to have been a *mestre* Pedro Fernandes who was the *mestre das ferrarias* of Goa.[163] Antonio Gargia was the *mestre das*

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[155] Couceiro, "Manuel Tavares Bocarro and the Macao Foundry," 112-15.

[156] Boxer, "Asian Potentates and European Artillery in the 16th-18th Centuries: A Footnote to Gibson-Hill," 168.

[157] Francisco Xavier Vaz, "Os sinos da cathedral de Goa," *OP* (1st series) 6, no. 5 & 6 (May & June 1909): 148-49.

[158] J. H. da Cunha Rivara, ed., *APO-CR*, fasciculo 1 parte 2 (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1876; repr., New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1992), 31.

[159] Rivara, *APO-CR*, fasciculo 1 parte 2, 49.

[160] Sousa Viterbo, *Artes e artistas em Portugal: Contribuições para a historia das artes e industrias Portuguezas* (Lisboa: Livraria Ferreira, 1892), 172-73.

[161] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 1, 1104.

[162] Sousa Viterbo, *Artes e industrias metallicas em Portugal: Serralheiros e ferreiros* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1908), 30-31.

[163] Viterbo, *Artes e industrias metallicas em Portugal: Serralheiros e ferreiros*, 48-49.

ferrarias of Goa for many years. He was involved in the siege of Chaul as well as accompanied governor Francisco Barreto to Monomotapa. Mathias de Albuquerque nominated him as the *mestre das ferrarias* of Goa which was also confirmed by Dom Francisco da Gama. King Dom Filippe II confirmed it in a letter dated 11 November 1601.[164] The *ferraria* was the workshop where iron from the mines was prepared.[165] Antonio Curado da Vide was a knight *fidalgo* who was in India during the time of viceroy Dom Filippe de Mascarenhas. He used his practical knowledge in service of the *ferrarias* of Salcete and Rachol. In a letter dated 10 February 1655, Antonio Curado da Vide was given the *ouvidoria* of the fortress of Rachol for his work.[166] The *ouvidoria* was a position which performed the functions of an ombudsman called an *ouvidor*. *Ouvidor* also referred to a judge.[167] Thus, it can be seen that the *fundição* and the *ferraria* were involved in metal works.

There is record of Antonio Toscano who was the *mestre da armaria* of the city of Goa. His son, Jorge Toscano succeeded him as the *mestre da armaria*. He was made a knight which was informed in a letter dated 14 July 1551 which was confirmed by viceroy Constantino de Bragança. King Dom Sebastião confirmed it again on 4 March 1566.[168] The *armaria* was where weapons were deposited.[169]

Local metal manufacture

A Portuguese report from the seventeenth century informed of the presence of iron mines located near the city of Goa. It was noticed that weapons such as artillery and cannon balls could be produced from this iron.[170]

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[164] Viterbo, *Artes e industrias metallicas em Portugal: Serralheiros e ferreiros*, 34-35.

[165] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 1, 1045.

[166] Sousa Viterbo, *A armaria em Portugal: Segunda série: Noticia documentada dos fabricantes de armas de arremesso e de fogo, bésteiros, viroteiros, arcabuzeiros, espingardeiros, etc., que exerceram a sua industria no nosso paiz* (Lisboa: Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, 1908), 64.

[167] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 2, 439.

[168] Sousa Viterbo, *A armaria em Portugal: Noticia documentada dos fabricantes de armas brancas que exerceram a sua profissão em Portugal* (Lisboa: Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, 1907), 157-58.

[169] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 1, 202.

[170] Fátima da Silva Gracias, "Iron Ore Rush and the Quality of Life in Goa 1947-1961," in *Goa and Portugal: History and Development*, ed. Charles J. Borges, Óscar G. Pereira, and Hannes Stubbe (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 2000), 73.

In relation to south India, in August 1800, Francis Buchanan informed of how iron ore was procured and smelted so that the blacksmiths could use it. In this particular case, iron was smelted from black sand which accumulated due to the rain. The use of charcoal was made in the furnace and a number of people were involved in the production.[171] In Goa, towards the second half of the nineteenth century, A. Lopes Mendes informed that among the forests of the *Novas Conquistas* or New Conquests, there were a number of iron mines and *solónes*. These had been established there since ancient times. There were iron mines in a number of places including Pernem, Sattari, Collem and others. These mines were utilised by a number of *dovôllos* who were *fundidores de ferro* or foundry-workers of iron. They were largely locals of Navelim in Salcete.[172] The *solóne* was a furnace of the foundry where iron was prepared in Goa.[173] (see figure 6.1).
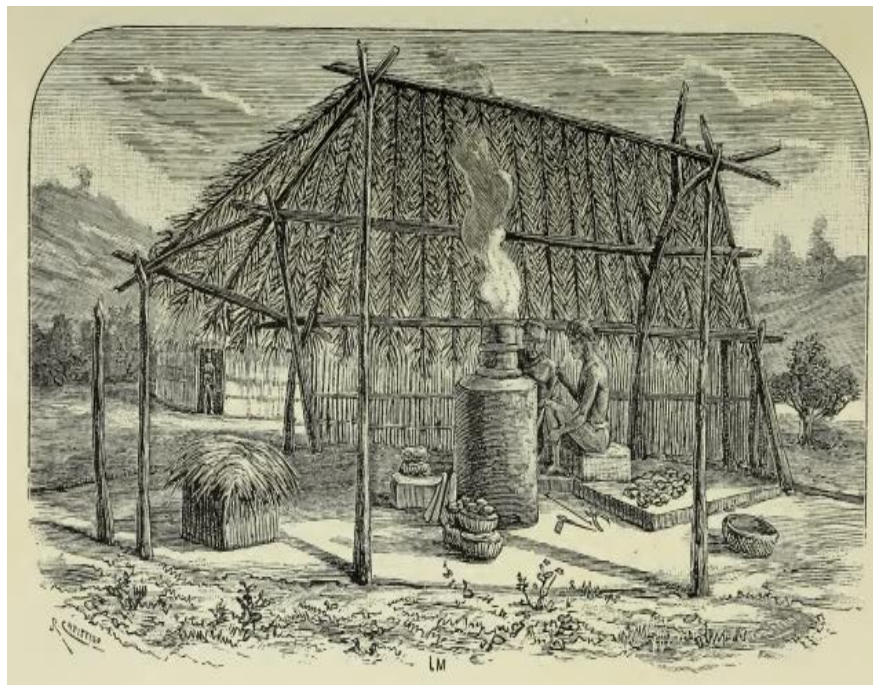
Figure 6.1. A *solóne* where iron was prepared from the ore by the *dovôllos*
Source: A. Lopes Mendes, *A India Portugueza: Breve descripção das possessões Portuguezas na Asia*, vol. 2 (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1886), Between 142-143.

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[171] Francis Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, vol. 2 (London: Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1807), 16-17.

[172] A. Lopes Mendes, *A India Portugueza: Breve descripção das possessões Portuguezas na Asia*, vol. 2 (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1886), 131-32.

[173] Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, vol. 2 (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1921), 313.

In Goa, A. Lopes Mendes informed that the *dovôllos* obtained the ore, prepared it and sold it to the blacksmiths for purification. The process of ore reduction was divided into calcination, grinding and fusion in the furnace. All these operations were performed with simple and crude instruments. The *solónes* were similar to the furnaces in Europe. These furnaces were constructed of stone and clay and were lined with chalk. The total height of the furnace was divided into three parts. The upper opening helped to vent the air and insert the coal. Another part was the furnace chimney where the ore descended. The place where the chimney rested was where the maximum heat was produced. The third part was where the material was collected. A door on the side which was usually kept closed was used by the *dovôllos* to remove the product from the foundry. Women carried the product on their heads to be sold to the blacksmiths who purified it. This was done at a cost of three or four *tangas*.[174] (see figure 6.2). The work of A. Lopes Mendes was published in AD 1886.[175] Thus, iron was also prepared locally by artisans in Goa.

Figure 6.2. Woman transporting iron prepared from the ore by the *dovôllos*
Source: A. Lopes Mendes, *A India Portugueza: Breve descripção das possessões Portuguezas na Asia*, vol. 2 (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1886), 145.

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[174] Mendes, *A India Portugueza: Breve descripção das possessões Portuguezas na Asia*, vol. 2, 133-34.

[175] Mendes, *A India Portugueza: Breve descripção das possessões Portuguezas na Asia*, vol. 2, Title page.

Gunpowder manufacture

The *Casa da polvora* or was where gunpowder was manufactured. Previously, it was situated in the area where the convent of São Caetano was located. It was temporarily relocated to parish of São Mateus on the island of Divar. Thereafter, it was brought back to the city of Goa. In AD 1630, it was moved to Panelim.[176] Viceroy Dom Miguel de Noronha ordered the construction of a number of public buildings. One of these was the gunpowder factory at Panelim.[177] An inscription near the main door of the *Casa da polvora* informed that work started and was completed under viceroy Dom Francisco da Gama and it was perfected during the time of viceroy Dom Miguel de Noronha, conde de Linhares in AD 1630.[178] Saltpetre for the production of gunpowder was easily procured by the Portuguese. It was got from the ports of Gujarat, Bengal and Coromandel. It was also imported from the territory of the Adil Shah of Bijapur. This can be seen from a letter dated AD 1630 sent by viceroy count of Linhares to the king.[179] The price of the raw materials depended on a number of factors which included the grade and where it was procured from. Saltpetre was categorised into raw, impure and refined. At times, the lack of adequate supply of raw materials hampered production. In AD 1693, it was recorded that a small quantity of saltpetre was procured.[180]

João Luis served in India under the reign of the kings, Dom Manoel and João III. He was involved in a number of activities. He served as a foundry-worker of artillery where he cast a number of weapons. He worked as a carpenter and repaired a number of carriages of artillery. He also served as the *condestabre mór* of India. He also worked as a *polvorista* where he invented a device to safely produce gunpowder.[181] A *condestabre* was the same as a *condestable* or a *condestavel* and was a constable.[182]

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[176] M. J. Gabriel de Saldanha, *História de Goa (Política e arqueológica)*, 2nd ed., vol. 2: História arqueológica (Nova Goa: Livraria Coelho, 1926), 209.

[177] Disney, "A 17th Century Portuguese Proconsul: D. Miguel de Noronha, Count of Linhares," 33.

[178] Rivara, *Inscripções lapidares da India Portugueza*, 111-12.

[179] José Manuel de Mascarenhas, "Portuguese Overseas Gunpowder Factories, in Particular Those of Goa (India) and Rio de Janeiro (Brazil)," in *Gunpowder, Explosives and the State: A Technological History*, ed. Brenda J. Buchanan (London: Routledge, 2016), 184.

[180] Xavier M. Martins, "The Portuguese Gunfoundry in Goa," *Indica* 43, no. 1 (March 2006): 41.

[181] Sousa Viterbo, *O fabrico da polvora em Portugal: Notas e documentos para a sua historia* (Lisboa: Typographia Universal, 1896), 17-18.

[182] Lacerda, *A New Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages*, 245.

It also referred one who was a chief.[183] A *polvorista* was one who made gunpowder.[184] Prior to the invention of João Luis, the gunpowder mills were operated by hand. There was the risk of accidents and explosion. The new device utilised animal power and was used outside the building. However, a letter to the king in AD 1548, it was informed that in Chaul there had been the invention of a device which worked with a small stone to produce gunpowder. This is believed to have been an edge runner. It was also informed that the use of this device increased the production of gunpowder at a lower cost when compared to the device of João Luis in Goa. It was informed that the one by João Luis had mills with four wheels.[185]

In AD 1571, the *condestable* of the *Casa da polvora* had a salary of thirty-one thousand two hundred *reis*.[186] Viceroy Luis de Athaide appointed Alvaro Pires as *condestabre e mestre da polvora* of the city of Goa. The king confirmed this in a letter dated 8 February 1574.[187] In a letter dated 30 March 1680, Domingos Affonso was appointed as *mestre polvorista* of the city of Goa. However, he served along with Manuel Gonçalves Martins. After the death of Manuel Gonçalves Martins, it was noticed that Domingos Affonso was confirmed to this position in a letter dated 5 March 1691. After the death of Domingos Affonso, he was succeeded by Manuel Correa da Paixão who was the *mestre polvorista* of the *Casa da polvora*. This is seen in a letter dated 19 February 1709.[188] In AD 1630, the gunpowder factory had the capacity of producing five hundred pounds of gunpowder daily with six grinders.[189] In a record dated 9 March 1631, it was seen that the production of gunpowder was seven hundred *arrateis* per day.[190] A *arratel* referred to a pound weight.[191] In the mid-1640s, its production was eight hundred pounds daily with the introduction of a new grinder.[192] The services of slaves were also utilised in gunpowder manufacture. There were also a

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183 Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 1, 536.

184 Lacerda, *A New Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages*, 713.

185 Mascarenhas, "Portuguese Overseas Gunpowder Factories, in Particular Those of Goa (India) and Rio de Janeiro (Brazil)," 185-86.

186 Matos, *O orçamento do Estado da Índia 1571*, 67.

187 Viterbo, *O fabrico da polvora em Portugal: Notas e documentos para a sua historia*, 36-37.

188 Viterbo, *O fabrico da polvora em Portugal: Notas e documentos para a sua historia*, 62-64.

189 Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 117.

190 Saldanha, *História de Goa (Política e arqueológica)*, vol. 2: História arqueológica, 210.

191 Lacerda, *A New Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages*, 113.

192 Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 117.

small number of slaves who were obtained when vessels without the required documentation were captured. Some of these slaves were made to work in the manufacture of gunpowder.[193]

Jewellery and precious stones

In AD 1521, Tristão Veigas, a factor was appointed to procure diamonds for the king. He was to live in the capital city of Vijayanagara and purchase the diamonds. It appears that poor quality precious stones were received from Ceylon. These were taken to Vijayanagara to be sold as they could not be sent to Lisbon. For this matter, the services of Alavaro Mendez, a goldsmith was utilised to sell these poor quality stones. High quality stones were then purchased for the king of Portugal.[194]

The 1500s and 1600s drew jewellers and gem cutters from the region who saw Goa as an important centre. Goa was a place where precious stones as well as various related skills and knowledge could be acquired.[195] A text in the Biblioteca Nacional in Lisbon dated to the second part of the sixteenth century was a guide on how to purchase precious stones in Goa. There was a description of how stones were falsified. In one case, a poor quality stone had a thin diamond placed above it. This would make the stone appear larger. In another method, stones like sapphires or topazes were used in the place of diamonds.[196] The mention of these practices indicate that the falsification of stones was prevalent.

Linschoten informed that in the city of Goa there was the Street of the Banias of Cambay. It was here that all types of items as well as precious stones were sold. The people were well skilled and were involved in the boring of holes in the stones and pearls.[197] Pyrard also informed that on either side of *la ruo drecho* there were a number of professionals including lapidaries, goldsmiths and other artisans. They included

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[193] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 89-90.

[194] S. Jeyaseela Stephen, "Diamond Mining Industry, Vijayanagara State Policy and the Regional Economy of Late Medieval South India (A.D. 1509-1642)," *QJMS* 86, no. 2 (April-June 1995): 93-94.

[195] Nuno Vassallo e Silva, "Jewels "In Gold and Stones from Ceylon"," *Oriente: Revista da Fundação Oriente* 2 (April 2002): 27.

[196] Nuno Vassallo e Silva, "Jewels and Gems in Goa from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century," in *The Jewels of India*, ed. Susan Stronge (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1995), 57.

[197] Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies: From the Old English Translation of 1598*, vol. 1, 228.

Portuguese, Germans, Italians and other Europeans.[198] The name *la ruo drecho* referred to the *Rua Direita*.[199]

The Portuguese came to know of diamond mines as they travelled to the interior parts of India. In AD 1548, Francisco Pereira and *mestre* Pedro, two gem cutters informed of three mines in Vijayanagara. Towards the north of Berar was a mine which supplied the *roca velha* diamonds which were highly desired.[200]

A large number of diamonds which came to Goa appear to have been brought from the Ramalakota mines. There appears to have been a decrease in the supply of diamonds during the AD 1560s. This was when Vijayanagara was under siege.[201] Jean Baptiste Tavernier was in Goa in around AD 1641 and again in 1648.[202] Tavernier informed that Goa was a major centre for trade in diamonds, rubies and precious stones. People from different places visited Goa. This was because there was no restriction to sell their precious stones. He informed that in their own regions, they would have had to sell at the prices fixed by the king. Pearls from Bahrain and Mannar were also brought to be sold in Goa.[203]

There were a number of reasons for Goa's position as a centre for trade in gems and diamonds. One was that the government did not tax precious stones. Another was that the port had a constant arrival and departure of traders. They as well as travellers and officials found it convenient to carry diamonds rather than coins. The value of the diamonds also increased if they had got good stones. It also seems that buyers from the courts in India visited Goa to buy precious stones.[204] In a record from the early seventeenth century of the East India Company, there is information that diamonds,

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[198] Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil: Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619*, vol. 2 part 1, 51.

[199] Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil: Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619*, vol. 2 part 1, 51n1.

[200] João Teles e Cunha, "Hunting Riches: Goa's Gem Trade in the Early Modern Age," in *The Portuguese, Indian Ocean and European Bridgeheads 1500-1800: Festschrift in Honour of Prof. K. S. Mathew*, ed. Pius Malekandathil and T. Jamal Mohammed (Tellicherry, Kerala: Institute for Research in Social Sciences and Humanities of MESHAR, 2001), 273.

[201] George Winius, "Jewel Trading in Portuguese India in the XVI and XVII Centuries," *Indica* 25, no. 1 (March 1988): 23.

[202] Tavernier, *Travels in India by Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Baron of Aubonne: Translated from the Original French Edition of 1676*, vol. 1, xiv-xvi.

[203] Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India by Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Baron of Aubonne: Translated from the Original French Edition of 1676*, trans. V. Ball, vol. 2 (London: Macmillan and Co., 1889), 121.

[204] Winius, "Jewel Trading in Portuguese India in the XVI and XVII Centuries," 23-24.

pearls, rubies and other stones could be found at Cochin. However, these were brought from Goa.[205]

The gem trade in the early seventeenth century witnessed some turbulence. There was an attempt to tax the trade in precious stones. The office of the *corretor-mor da pedraria* or gem's chief broker was created. This official was to tax the precious stones which were sent by sea. However, the municipal council of Goa was against this appointment. It was felt that it led to the increase in prices of precious stones in Goa. Thereafter, king Filipe II discontinued this new office in AD 1607. This led to an increase in the diamond trade.[206]

The New Christians were the Jews from Portugal who had been converted to Christianity by force. They formed an important group which participated in trade with Asia and Europe. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, a major part of the private trade was conducted by them and their agents in Asia. Europe became a destination for diamonds bought from India. Private merchants also exported uncut diamonds from Goa.[207] King Filipe II was informed in AD 1619, that the New Christian merchants in Goa had restarted the practice of the cutting of diamonds. This was before they were sent to Lisbon.[208]

Goa became an important centre for precious stones. This could be seen from the first half of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the seventeenth century. However, the Indian craftsmen were not as good as the Europeans when it came to the cutting of diamonds.[209] Austin Hiriart was from Bordeaux and a jeweller by trade.[210] In a letter dated 27 April 1625 to the Baron du Tour, he informed that he had designed a throne. However, in the same letter Hiriart informed that he cut a diamond of one hundred carats in a span of ten days. According to him, this was something which the diamond cutters in Goa had not heard of. It took them ten months to cut a diamond of

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[205] Frederick Charles Danvers, ed., *Letters Received by the East India Company from Its Servants in the East: Transcribed from the 'Original Correspondence' Series of the India Office Records*, vol. 1: 1602-1613 (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company, 1896), 73.

[206] Cunha, "Hunting Riches: Goa's Gem Trade in the Early Modern Age," 291-93.

[207] Søren Mentz, "European Private Trade in the Indian Ocean, 1500-1800," in *The Trading World of the Indian Ocean, 1500-1800*, ed. Om Prakash, Vol. 3 part 7 of History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization (New Delhi: Centre for Studies in Civilizations and Pearson Education in South Asia, 2012), 494-95.

[208] Cunha, "Hunting Riches: Goa's Gem Trade in the Early Modern Age," 295.

[209] Cunha, "Hunting Riches: Goa's Gem Trade in the Early Modern Age," 286-87.

[210] H. I. S. Kanwar, "Austin Hiriart de Bordeaux," *Indica* 5, no. 1 (March 1968): 37-38.

this type.[211] Hence, it may be seen that some of the gem cutters in Goa were not especially adept in the cutting of precious stones.

Some jewellery which was sent to Portugal was made in Goa or Ceylon. Records indicate that in the sixteenth century, the jewellery which was sent had characteristic Indian designs. However, jewellery which was sent in the seventeenth century, were of Western styles. However, it managed to keep the influence of the workshops of Goa or Ceylon. These had crystals with collets of gold which were lozenge in shape.[212]

The jewellers of Ceylon produced items which were greatly admired. These items were transported to Goa and thereafter sent to Lisbon. Due to this, a style called Ceylon work materialised in Goa. Between AD 1622 and 1628, Goan lapidaries made items for viceroy Dom Francisco da Gama. A document revealed that he possessed a crystal figure of the Child Jesus. The mention of this item from the workshop of a jeweller in Goa is evidence that such items of Ceylon work were being produced in Goa. These objects fashioned in Goa had cabochon rubies and gold elements. Compared to those from Ceylon, these had heavy and less elegant mounts. Thus, Goa was a transit point for jewellery from Ceylon to Portugal. The local jewellers in Goa developed a style which imitated the Ceylon style of jewellery.[213]

Painting

Gaspar Correa was a secretary of Afonso de Albuquerque. He was a chronicler and a painter as well. When João de Castro was the governor, he ordered the paintings of those who had come to administer India. Gaspar Correa started the painting of the portraits of the governors and viceroys which were on display in the palace of the viceroy.[214] Dom João de Castro took over as governor in AD 1545.[215] While Correa provided the information, a skilled local artist painted their faces in these portraits.

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[211] Kanwar, "Austin Hiriart de Bordeaux," 41-42.

[212] Silva, "Jewels and Gems in Goa from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century," 60.

[213] Nuno Vassallo e Silva, "An Art for Export: Sinhalese Ivory and Crystal in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Re-Exploring the Links: History and Constructed Histories between Portugal and Sri Lanka*, ed. Jorge Flores (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007), 292-95.

[214] Ângela Barreto Xavier and Ines G. Županov, *Catholic Orientalism: Portuguese Empire, Indian Knowledge (16th-18th Centuries)* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2015), 24.

[215] Frederick Charles Danvers, *The Portuguese in India: Being a History of the Rise and Decline of Their Eastern Empire*, vol. 1 (London: W. H. Allen & Co., Limited, 1894), 467.

These full-sized portraits were painted which also showed the names of the administrators and the period of their rule. These portraits were done by Gaspar Correa and a Goan assistant who was a local artist.[216]

Linschoten informed that in a hall of the palace of the viceroy, there were paintings of all the viceroys who had governed India.[217] Pyrard also informed that in a large hall in the palace of the viceroy, where the council meetings were held, were life-size paintings of all the viceroys who had come to India.[218] Other foreign travellers also noticed the portraits of the governors and viceroys in the palace of the viceroys. Some of their observations were not accurate. Mandelslo informed that these were the pictures of the princes of Europe.[219] However, these were in fact the pictures of the viceroys.[220] In a record dated 26 December 1672, Carré informed that the only portion of the palace of the viceroy which was exceptional was the portrait gallery. He informed that these portraits were of the emissaries of the Indian kings to Goa.[221] However, there is no record of portraits of Indian emissaries in the palace of the viceroy. It is likely that he was mistaken. These were the portraits of the viceroys to Goa as mentioned by other visitors to the palace.[222]

Niccolao Manucci also referred to portraits of the viceroys who visited India which were in the palace of the viceroy. He informed that these were in the *salla real* or royal hall of the palace of the viceroy. He informed of an emissary from Bijapur who visited the palace and saw the paintings. The emissary carefully studied the paintings. Upon being informed that they were the governors, he commented that the paintings

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[216] Pedro Dias, "The Palace of the Viceroys in Goa," in *Goa and the Great Mughal*, ed. Nuno Vassallo e Silva and Jorge Flores (2004; repr., London: Scala Publishers in association with Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 2011), 78.

[217] Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies: From the Old English Translation of 1598*, vol. 1, 219.

[218] Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil: Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619*, vol. 2 part 1, 50.

[219] M. S. Commissariat, *Mandelslo's Travels in Western India (A.D. 1638-9)* (London: Oxford University Press, 1931), 60.

[220] Commissariat, *Mandelslo's Travels in Western India (A.D. 1638-9)*, 60n1.

[221] Abbé Carré, *The Travels of Abbé Carré in India and the Near East 1672 to 1674*, ed. Charles Fawcett and Richard Burn, trans. Lady Fawcett, vol. 1: From France through Syria, Iraq and the Persian Gulf to Surat, Goa, and Bijapur, with an Account of His Grave Illness (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1947), 214.

[222] Carré, *The Travels of Abbé Carré in India and the Near East 1672 to 1674*, vol. 1: From France through Syria, Iraq and the Persian Gulf to Surat, Goa, and Bijapur, with an Account of His Grave Illness, 214n2.

did not depict any of the governors in a decapitated state. The emissary further remarked that it was unlikely that all the Portuguese governors ruled effectively. He explained that the Bijapuri king decapitated those who did not govern properly.[223] John Fryer commented that the palace had a long gallery where the portraits of the viceroys had been hung. These were right up to the current viceroy.[224] It is seen that the tradition of painting the portraits of the governors and viceroys continued.

During the mid-nineteenth century, Richard F. Burton also observed these paintings. He remarked that someone had attempted to repaint them. However, this work had been improperly done and the people in the portraits appeared disfigured. He further informed that it was believed that an artist from Portugal would arrive and attempt to restore these paintings.[225]

Linschoten informed that in another part of the palace of the viceroy, were the paintings of all the ships which had set sail from Portugal. These paintings also had the names of their captains.[226] Pyrard also confirmed that in a hall in the palace of the viceroy were paintings of the fleets which had come to India. These paintings also included the names of their captains and dates. These paintings also depicted the ships which sunk during the voyage. He commented that it was horrible to see so many ships had been lost.[227] Tavernier who visited later also informed about the paintings in the palace of the viceroy. He mentioned that the paintings depicted the ships which left from Lisbon to Goa and from Goa to Lisbon. He also confirmed that they had the names of the ships, the captains and the number of weapons they carried.[228] The paintings of the fleets are believed to have been initiated during the period of governor Jorge Cabral whose term was from AD 1549 to 1550. It is thought that Portuguese or local artists

[223] Niccolao Manucci, *Storia do Mogor or Mogol India 1653-1708*, trans. William Irvine, vol. 3 (London: John Murray, 1907), 168-69.

[224] John Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia: Being Nine Years' Travels 1672-1681*, ed. William Crooke, vol. 2 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1912), 15.

[225] Richard F. Burton, *Goa, and the Blue Mountains; or, Six Months of Sick Leave* (London: Richard Bentley, 1851), 42-43.

[226] Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies: From the Old English Translation of 1598*, vol. 1, 219.

[227] Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil: Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619*, vol. 2 part 1, 50.

[228] Tavernier, *Travels in India by Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Baron of Aubonne: Translated from the Original French Edition of 1676*, vol. 1, 186-87.

were involved in their creation. These were probably done when the paintings of the viceroys and governors were being created.[229]

By AD 1616, the panels of the fleets were damaged and lost. The services of an artist named Godinho were utilised to have them painted. He completed over a hundred paintings in a month. There is some confusion about the painter being referred to. In the AD 1580s, there was a Father Manuel Godinho who had made altarpieces in some churches. But, it was felt that this was the work of Manuel Godinho de Erédia (Herédia).[230] However, while one opinion stated that the 'painter Godinho' who restored the paintings of the fleets was the cartographer Manuel Godinho de Herédia, it was felt that the work may have been done by Alexio Godinho. There is a lack of evidence regarding this. However, Alexio Godinho was a renowned artist and may have been the painter of these works.[231]

It is believed that many years after his death, a portrait of Saint Francis Xavier was requested from Rome. Therefore, towards the end of the sixteenth century, Alessandro Valignano ordered two portraits of Saint Francis Xavier in Goa. Out of these, one portrait was kept in Goa. The other was sent to Rome with a letter. The letter stated that the people who knew Saint Francis Xavier found the painting to bear his likeness. He was also depicted with the clothes he wore in India.[232] The painting which was sent to Rome is believed to be in Spain in the cathedral of Tuy.[233] The paintings produced over the years as noticed by foreign travellers and other records indicate the presence of skilled painters in Goa.

Cartography

Fernão Vaz Dourado who lived around AD 1520 to 1580, was a Portuguese cartographer born in India in a family of map-makers. He is believed to have been born to an Indian mother and studied in Portugal. His father was Francisco and his

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[229] Dias, "The Palace of the Viceroys in Goa," 77.

[230] Dias, "The Palace of the Viceroys in Goa," 77-78.

[231] Vítor Serrão, "Painting and Worship in Goa during the Period of Iberian Union: The Santa Mónica Monastery at 'Monte Santo' (c. 1606-1639) and Its Artists," *Oriente: Revista da Fundação Oriente* 20 (2011): 33-34.

[232] Cristina Osswald, "The Iconography and Cult of Francis Xavier, 1552-1640," *AHSI* 71, fasc. 142 (July-December 2002): 266.

[233] Cristina Osswald, "Goa and Jesuit Cult and Iconography before 1622," *AHSI* 74, fasc. 147 (January-June 2005): 167.

grandfather was João.[234] He is believed to have been born in Goa and lived mostly in India.[235] His maps are well known. One work of his is preserved in the British Museum as the *Manuscript 31317*. It was produced in the AD 1570s. His exceptional skill and artistry is seen in these depictions.[236] Some of his maps are also found in Portugal in the Torre do Tombo and in the Biblioteca Nacional.[237] One collection of maps known as the *Atlas* is preserved in the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo in Lisbon.[238] In this collection, the map depicting the coast of India can be seen (see figure 6.3).
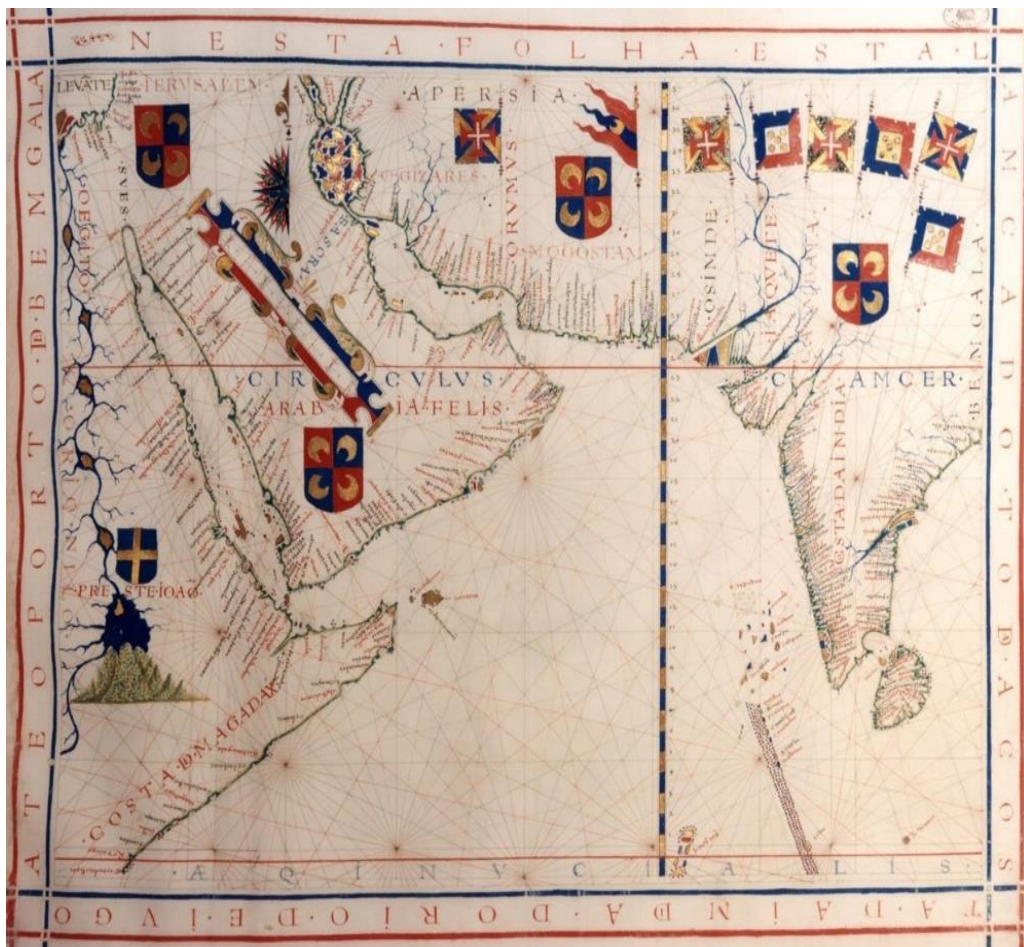
Figure 6.3. Map of Fernão Vaz Dourado depicting the coast of India
Source: ANTT, *Colecção Cartográfica, n.º 165*, Atlas de Fernão Vaz Dourado 1571.

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[234] John Correia-Afonso, "Early Portuguese Cartography of Coastal Western India," *The Indian Archives* 34, no. 2 (July-December 1985): 7.

[235] Henry Scholberg, "European Cartography of the West Coast of India," *Indica* 27, no. 1 (March 1990): 15.

[236] Correia-Afonso, "Early Portuguese Cartography of Coastal Western India," 7.

[237] Scholberg, "European Cartography of the West Coast of India," 15.

[238] ANTT, *Colecção Cartográfica, n.º 165*, Atlas de Fernão Vaz Dourado 1571.

Manuel Godinho de Erédia was born in Malacca in AD 1563. He was the son of a Malay mother and a Portuguese father.[239] In AD 1584, he settled in Goa and took to the production of artistic maps and texts. Until around AD 1596, he worked with Giovanni Battista Cairato, who was involved in the survey of Portuguese fortresses.[240] Giovanni Battista Cairato was the *arquitecto mór da India* or chief architect of India from AD 1583 to 1596.[241] In the AD 1590s, Giovanni Baptista (Battista) Cairato along with Manuel Godinho de Erédia visited Hormuz in the Persian Gulf to inspect and supervise the repairs of fortifications.[242] During the period between AD 1600 and 1605, Manuel Godinho de Erédia lived in the Malay Peninsula. Between AD 1613 and 1623, he lived in Goa and worked as a painter and cartographer.[243] Between AD 1601 and 1630, he produced a number of charts. One work is in the Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. It is believed to have been created in AD 1610 and contains nautical information and details of the districts of Goa. It is believed to be the earliest known chart of such a kind regarding Goa. Another chart which depicted Goa was produced by him in around AD 1616. It is presently in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid.[244] This chart of Manuel Godinho de Erédia preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid is in the *Manuscript 18217*.[245] (see figure 6.4).

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[239] Adelino Rodrigues da Costa, "Nautical Charts of Goa from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century," *Oriente: Revista da Fundação Oriente* 7 (December 2003): 110.

[240] Rui Manuel Loureiro, "Manuel Godinho de Erédia and his Treatises on Geography," *Oriente: Revista da Fundação Oriente* 9 (August 2004): 95.

[241] José Pereira, *Baroque Goa: The Architecture of Portuguese India* (New Delhi: Books & Books, 1995), 57-58.

[242] Rui Manuel Loureiro, "Images of the Persian Gulf in Portuguese Sources, 1550-1600," *Oriente: Revista da Fundação Oriente* 11 (April 2005): 34.

[243] Loureiro, "Manuel Godinho de Erédia and his Treatises on Geography," 95.

[244] Costa, "Nautical Charts of Goa from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century," 110-12.

[245] Costa, "Nautical Charts of Goa from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century," 106.

Figure 6.4. Chart of Manuel Godinho de Erédia depicting Goa
Source: Adelino Rodrigues da Costa, "Nautical Charts of Goa from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century," *Oriente: Revista da Fundação Oriente* 7 (December 2003): 106.

Manuel Godinho de Erédia was a gifted artist. Further, he had a knowledge of mathematics and nautical science. His charts were less artistic. However, the charts had more technical information which was of help to seafarers.[246]

Craft activities - goldsmiths, carpenters, washermen, potters, basket-makers and leather workers

In Goa, the local goldsmiths were highly regarded by the Portuguese. One Goan goldsmith named Raulu Chatim was in Lisbon between AD 1518 and 1520 during the rule of king Manoel. He produced items which were Indian in design.[247] The goldsmiths of Goa were known by the names of *shets* and *chatims*. They exercised a significant influence over the economy.[248] The goldsmiths produced gold and silver jewellery.[249] Garcia de Orta informed that the goldsmiths burnt coconut shells to produce fire which

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[246] Costa, "Nautical Charts of Goa from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century," 112.

[247] Silva, "Jewels and Gems in Goa from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century," 58.

[248] Kamat, "The Tail Wags the Dog? Colonial Policies of Conversion and Hindu Resistance through Syncretism and Collaboration in Goa, 1510-1755," 38.

[249] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 56.

232

was used in their work.[250] There is also record of a Portuguese goldsmith named Domingo Nunes in Goa. He produced items between AD 1622 and 1628 for viceroy Dom Francisco da Gama.[251]

A letter from the king of Portugal dated 22 February 1617 informed viceroy Dom João Coutinho, conde de Redondo that Poinda and Guoinda, two Hindu residents of the city of Goa had helped in the pepper trade in AD 1607. Due to this help, they were to be allowed to use the palanquin or a horse. For the elder of the two, the position of the *mocadão* or headman of the goldsmiths was to be given.[252] This example indicates that the goldsmiths were highly regarded for their services. There is a depiction of a Hindu goldsmith (see figure 6.5).

Figure 6.5. A Hindu goldsmith
Source: A. Lopes Mendes, *A India Portugueza: Breve descripção das possessões Portuguezas na Asia*, vol. 1 (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1886), 41.

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[250] Garcia da Orta, *Colloquies on the Simples & Drugs of India*, ed. Conde de Ficalho, trans. Clements Markham, Lisbon, 1895 new ed. (London: Henry Sotheran and Co., 1913), 141.

[251] Silva, "Jewels and Gems in Goa from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century," 58.

[252] Raymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato, ed., *DRI*, tomo 4 (Lisboa: Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1893), 15-16.

Garcia de Orta arrived in Goa in AD 1534.[253] He died in Goa in around AD 1570.[254] He informed that in Goa, he was given a branch of a tree called the *Maceira*. This tree was called the *Ber* in the Deccan. It was from this tree that lac sticks were made which were red in colour. They were used to seal letters. The lac was made in the form of stick or plates. These were used by the turners and carpenters to colour the items they made.[255] There is a depiction of a carpenter (see figure 6.6).

Figure 6.6. A carpenter
Source: A. Lopes Mendes, *A India Portugueza: Breve descripção das possessões Portuguezas na Asia*, vol. 1 (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1886), 49.

Linschoten informed that in the city of Goa, wooden items like bedsteads, stools and other items were covered with lac or lacquer. The lacquered items were of different

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[253] Orta, *Colloquies on the Simples & Drugs of India*, viii.

[254] Orta, *Colloquies on the Simples & Drugs of India*, xiii.

[255] Orta, *Colloquies on the Simples & Drugs of India*, 242.

colours.[256] In a record of the East India Company from Surat dated 30 August 1609, it was informed that lac from the *Ber* tree was used. It was red in colour and used in the colouring of wooden furniture like beds and other items. This lac was also used by the goldsmiths in their work as well as in the dying of cloth.[257]

The washermen community were involved in the washing of clothes. In Goa, Pyrard informed the men and women were involved in the bleaching of clothes and were called the *menates*.[258] This word referred to a washerman and referred to the term *mainato*.[259] The washermen used the water of a fountain in the city of Goa for the washing of clothes which was done at a reasonable cost. The washermen would bring a shirt and trousers washed with soap and whitened. These clothes were washed and well folded for two *bousuruques*.[260] The *bousuruques* referred to the *bazarucos*.[261] The washermen also called the *modvol*, soaked the clothes in a solution of water and *khar* or sodium. These were washed and steamed. Thereafter, soap was used to wash the clothes and then they were dried.[262] There is a depiction of a Hindu washerwoman (see figure 6.7).

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[256] Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies: From the Old English Translation of 1598*, vol. 1, 228-29.

[257] Danvers, *Letters Received by the East India Company from Its Servants in the East: Transcribed from the 'Original Correspondence' Series of the India Office Records*, vol. 1: 1602-1613, 28-30.

[258] Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil: Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619*, vol. 2 part 1, 71.

[259] Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil: Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619*, vol. 2 part 1, 71n1.

[260] Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil: Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619*, vol. 2 part 1, 71-72.

[261] Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil: Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619*, vol. 2 part 1, 68n1.

[262] A. B. de Bragança Pereira, *Ethnography of Goa, Daman and Diu*, trans. Maria Aurora Couto (New Delhi: Penguin Books India Pvt. Ltd., 2008), 194.

Figure 6.7. A Hindu washerwoman
Source: A. Lopes Mendes, *A India Portugueza: Breve descripção das possessões Portuguezas na Asia*, vol. 1 (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1886), 52.

The *kumbhars* or potters provided clay utensils for use by the people.[263] Clay was powdered and water was added. The mixture was used by the potter on the *zontor* or wheel. The potter fashioned the clay into shape. These items were later fired.[264]

The *mahars* wove items out of bamboo for use in the house and in the fields. These items included mats, baskets, winnowing fans and other items.[265] The *mahars* also skinned dead animals. These skins were then sold to the *chamars* or leather workers for further processing. The *chamars* soaked the hides in a mixture of water and lime This was done to soften them. The hides were then tanned by soaking in water with a mixture of *anvali* leaves.[266] The *chamars* also made shoes and bags for water.[267]

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[263] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 55.

[264] Pereira, *Ethnography of Goa, Daman and Diu*, 193-94.

[265] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 55.

[266] Pereira, *Ethnography of Goa, Daman and Diu*, 194.

[267] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 55.

Rendas

Portugal had a small population in comparison to the huge area that it controlled. Due to this, they had to work with the locals of the areas which they ruled. This allowed the locals to have an influence in the economy. There were laws which discriminated against the non-Christians. However, despite these issues, the Hindus played a dominant role in the economy of Goa and profited from the opportunities provided. The government sources of revenue were farmed out to the highest bidders. These were called the *rendas* and were usually for a period of three years. The *rendas* included tax on food and cloth shops and sale of seed pearls.[268]

In mid-sixteenth century, a number of *rendas* of Goa were with the locals as well as the Portuguese. In one case, the *renda* of a washerman was leased to Pêro de Lisboa who was the *rendeiro* or tax-collector. This was for a sum of two hundred and fifty *pardãos*. One of the terms was that no one could make their living by washing clothes unless they consulted him.[269]

There is also record of other *rendas*. For the moneychangers, for the years AD 1543 and 1544, it was one thousand three hundred and fifty *pardãos* each year. For the years AD 1545 and 1546, it was two thousand *pardãos* each year. For the years AD 1547 and 1548, it was one thousand seven hundred and ten *pardãos* each year.[270] For the group of goldsmiths, it was ninety *tanga brancas*. For the years AD 1547 and 1548, it was seven hundred and ten *pardãos* each year.[271] For the washermen, for the years AD 1543 and 1544, it was three hundred *pardãos* each year. For the years AD 1545 and 1546, it was two hundred and eighty-five *pardãos* each year. For the years AD 1547 and 1548, it was three hundred and ten *pardãos* each year. For the years AD 1552 and 1553, it was three hundred and fifteen *pardãos* each year.[272] This indicates that the professionals in Goa were integrated into the economy.

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[268] M. N. Pearson, "Indigenous Dominance in a Colonial Economy: The Goa Rendas, 1600-1670," in *Government and Governance of European Empires, 1450-1800*, ed. A. J. R. Russell-Wood, Vol. 21 part 1 of An Expanding World: The European Impact on World History, 1450-1800 (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2000), 83-85.

[269] Délio de Mendonça, *Conversions and Citizenry: Goa under Portugal 1510-1610* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 2002), 178-79.

[270] Botelho, "O tombo do Estado da India," 51.

[271] Botelho, "O tombo do Estado da India," 52.

[272] Botelho, "O tombo do Estado da India," 53.

In a study of the *rendas* in Goa between AD 1600 to 1670, it was found that the *renda* holders included Christians and Hindus. Among the Hindus, were the Saraswat Brahmins, Gujarati vanias, Kayasthas, Marathas and Chatims. The Saraswat Brahmins dominated by holding a number of *rendas* among the Hindus. However, the Chatims also held a portion of the *rendas*. The Chatims were either Vaisya or goldsmiths. In case they were the goldsmiths, they claimed to be Brahmins. However, M. N. Pearson informed that the other communities considered them to be Shudras.[273] There were decrees which did not allow non-Christians to take part in the administration and the economy. However, these were not strictly implemented with regards to the local Hindu elites. Their services were utilised as revenue farmers and translators. These Hindus served the Portuguese in their commercial dealings.[274] The study of M. N. Pearson also indicates that the Chatims, who were Vaishyas or goldsmiths played a role as revenue farmers in the economy.

Private employment of artisans and craftsmen

A study of the seventeenth century accounts of the monasteries in Goa indicate that a painter was paid one *xerafim* and fifteen *reis*. A carpenter was paid seventy-one and a half *xerafins* for services involving the ceiling of a chapel.[275] Other records of the religious orders of the seventeenth century show payments at various times to different craftsmen. In December 1656, some stonemasons were paid one *pardão*, one *tanga*, two *vintins* and seven *bazarucos*.[276] In February 1660, a blacksmith was paid four *tangas* for some work.[277] In September 1660, a stonemason was paid one *tanga* and one *vintem* on another occasion.[278] In May 1661, some carpenters were paid one *tanga* and one *vintem*.[279] In July 1661, some stonemasons were paid three *tangas* and two *vintins*

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[273] Pearson, "Indigenous Dominance in a Colonial Economy: The Goa Rendas, 1600-1670," 86-87.

[274] Pratima Kamat, "The Politics of Conversion and Collaboration of the Estado da Índia and the Hindus of Goa: 1510-1789," in *Vasco da Gama and India: International Conference, Paris, 11-13 May, 1998*, ed. Teotonio R. de Souza and José Manuel Garcia, trans. Manuela Rocha, François González de Quijano, Peter F. Ingham, and Teotonio R. de Souza, vol. 2: Social and Economic History (Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1999), 190.

[275] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 131.

[276] HAG, *Conventos extintos: Papeis (1655-1658)*, n.º 4395, fol. 35r.

[277] HAG, *Convento de Santo Agostinho: Contas (1656-1799)*, n.º 7876, fol. 32v.

[278] HAG, *Convento de Santo Agostinho: Contas (1656-1799)*, n.º 7876, fol. 38r.

[279] HAG, *Convento de Santo Agostinho: Contas (1656-1799)*, n.º 7876, fol. 46r.

while some carpenters were paid one *tanga* and three *vintins*. A blacksmith was paid one *tanga* and one *vintem* and a half on another occasion. A potter was paid one *tanga*.[280] In July 1661, a blacksmith was paid three *tangas*.[281] In October 1661, a carpenter was paid three *tangas* and two *vintins*.[282] In December 1672, some stonemasons and *telheiros* were paid three *tangas*.[283] A *telheiro* was one who made roof-tiles.[284] In February 1684, a certain amount of cash was paid to a shoemaker.[285] In February 1684, a certain amount of cash was paid to a washerman.[286] In May 1684, a blacksmith was paid four *tangas*.[287] In January 1691, a stonemason was paid three *tangas*.[288] In November 1695, a carpenter was paid four *tangas*.[289] In August 1697, a carpenter was paid four *tangas*.[290] In December 1697, a blacksmith was paid two *tangas*.[291] In April 1698, a stonemason was paid two *tangas*.[292] From the records it can be seen that the craftsmen and artisans were constantly employed by the religious orders. Their services were probably used in the production and maintenance of articles and structures.

Under the administration of the East India Company, Greenhill was the agent at Fort St. George in Madras. Certain allegations were made against him in a record dated 4 April 1654. However, these were not proved.[293] One of these allegations were that he used the services of smiths and carpenters of the Company. They had built his houses

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[280] HAG, *Convento de Santo Agostinho: Contas (1656-1799)*, n.º 7876, fol. 48r.

[281] HAG, *Convento de Santo Agostinho: Contas (1656-1799)*, n.º 7876, fol. 48v.

[282] HAG, *Convento de Santo Agostinho: Contas (1656-1799)*, n.º 7876, fol. 50r.

[283] HAG, *Convento de Santo Agostinho: Contas (1666-1749)*, n.º 7878, fol. 21r.

[284] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 2, 984.

[285] HAG, *Conventos extintos: Papeis (1681)*, n.º 4397, fol. 29v.

[286] HAG, *Conventos extintos: Papeis (1681)*, n.º 4397, fol. 30r.

[287] HAG, *Conventos extintos: Papeis (1681)*, n.º 4397, fol. 32r.

[288] HAG, *Conventos extintos: Papeis (1681)*, n.º 4397, fol. 79v.

[289] HAG, *Convento de Santo Agostinho: Contas (1694-1705)*, n.º 7880, fol. 9r.

[290] HAG, *Convento de Santo Agostinho: Contas (1694-1705)*, n.º 7880, fol. 25r.

[291] HAG, *Convento de Santo Agostinho: Contas (1694-1705)*, n.º 7880, fol. 27r.

[292] HAG, *Convento de Santo Agostinho: Contas (1694-1705)*, n.º 7880, fol. 29v.

[293] William Foster, *The English Factories in India 1651-1654: A Calendar of Documents in the India Office, Westminister* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1915), xxxi-xxxviii.

and were involved in the production of chairs and beds for him.[294] A similar situation was recorded in Goa.

Diogo do Couto lived from AD 1542 to 1616. He was the official chronicler of the Portuguese in Asia.[295] He arrived in Goa in AD 1559.[296] He returned to Lisbon for a short period in AD 1569 and thereafter returned to Goa in AD 1571.[297] In general, it was noticed that the viceroys and *vedores* took advantage of the situation at times. They used their position for personal gains.[298] Diogo do Couto informed that in the house of the *vedores da fazenda*, there would be tailors who made items of silk. Inside the house, there would be *ourives* who were involved in the manufacture of silver containers as well as jewellery for their daughters and wives. There was also the production of boxes with tortoise shells, coconut shells and silver. Downstairs, carpenters and turners were involved in the production of inlaid desks and wardrobes. He informed that the sight was as though one had entered a workshop and not the house of a *vedor da fazenda*.[299] These accounts indicate the private employment of craftsmen.

The printing press and craftsmen

In AD 1556, king João III sent a printing press. This press was sent along with the Jesuits and its destination was Ethiopia.[300] In a letter written in Lisbon dated 30 April 1556, it was informed that in March 1556, certain priests, brothers and others had been appointed for the journey. Some were to go to India while others were to go to

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[294] Foster, *The English Factories in India 1651-1654: A Calendar of Documents in the India Office, Westminister*, 265.

[295] George Winius, *The Black Legend of Portuguese India: Diogo do Couto, His Contemporaries and the Soldado Prático: A Contribution to the Study of Political Corruption in the Empires of Early Modern Europe* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1985), ix.

[296] Winius, *The Black Legend of Portuguese India: Diogo do Couto, His Contemporaries and the Soldado Prático: A Contribution to the Study of Political Corruption in the Empires of Early Modern Europe*, xvii.

[297] Winius, *The Black Legend of Portuguese India: Diogo do Couto, His Contemporaries and the Soldado Prático: A Contribution to the Study of Political Corruption in the Empires of Early Modern Europe*, 3.

[298] Winius, *The Black Legend of Portuguese India: Diogo do Couto, His Contemporaries and the Soldado Prático: A Contribution to the Study of Political Corruption in the Empires of Early Modern Europe*, 18.

[299] Diogo do Couto, *O soldado prático*, ed. M. Rodrigues Lapa (Lisboa: Livraria Sá da Costa, 1937), 82-83.

[300] Anthony D'Costa, *The Christianisation of the Goa Islands 1510-1567* (Bombay: Heras Institute, St. Xavier's College, 1965), 176.

Ethiopia. It was informed that among the brothers, there was an *impressor*.[301] An *impressor* referred to a worker in a press or who directed the work in a press.[302] The letter further informed that the king provided an *indio* or Indian who was well skilled as an *impressor* to help with the press.[303] In September 1556, it was informed that the Patriarch of Ethiopia, João Nunez Barreto arrived in Goa. Also present in Goa, among others, were the Brothers João de Bustamante and João Gonçalvez. João de Bustamante is informed as being an *impressor*.[304] However, the printing press did not reach Ethiopia and remained in Goa.[305]

In AD 1556, the press in Goa started functioning under Juan de Bustamante (João de Bustamante). The majority of the books printed were in the Roman script. During the early period, it is believed that one of the reasons why books were not printed in other scripts was due to the difficulty in casting these types.[306] In a letter written in Goa dated 6 November 1556, the Patriarch of Ethiopia, João Nunez Barreto informed that João had printed the *Conclusões* and in the college there was a need to print the *Doutrina Christã* of *mestre* Francisco.[307] The person named João is believed to have been João de Bustamante.[308] The person called *mestre* Francisco was Saint Francis Xavier.[309] It further informed that the *indio* or Indian would confess a number of times. During their time at sea, he served them well in the kitchen. It further informed that the *indio* showed that he was well acquainted with the press.[310]

In a record dated January 1561, there was a list of priests, brothers and other officials who were in the college of St. Paul's in Goa. It informed that Joam de Bustamente (João de Bustamante), the *impressor* was studying rhetoric. There was also

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[301] C. Beccari, ed., *Relationes et Epistolae: Variorum: Pars Prima - Liber I*, Vol. 10 of Rerum Aethiopicarum scriptores Occidentales inediti a saeculo XVI ad XIX (Romae: Excudebat C. de Luigi, 1910), 55-57.

[302] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 2, 23.

[303] Beccari, *Relationes et Epistolae: Variorum: Pars Prima - Liber I*, 59.

[304] Francisco de Sousa, *Oriente conquistado a Jesu Christo pelos padres da Companhia de Jesus da provincia de Goa*, parte 1 (Lisboa: Officina de Valentim da Costa Deslandes, 1710), 824.

[305] D'Costa, *The Christianisation of the Goa Islands 1510-1567*, 176.

[306] Qaisar, *The Indian Response to European Technology and Culture (A.D. 1498-1707)*, 58-59.

[307] Beccari, *Relationes et Epistolae: Variorum: Pars Prima - Liber I*, 62-64.

[308] Beccari, *Relationes et Epistolae: Variorum: Pars Prima - Liber I*, 64n5.

[309] Beccari, *Relationes et Epistolae: Variorum: Pars Prima - Liber I*, 64n6.

[310] Beccari, *Relationes et Epistolae: Variorum: Pars Prima - Liber I*, 64.

a Cosme Cardoso who was a *pedreiro* or stonemason. There is mention of Joam Gonçalvez (Juan / João Gonçalvez) who was a *ferreiro* or blacksmith.[311] A document dated November 1571, informed that Juan Gonçalvez was aged fifty years. It was further informed that he was very ill and was a *herrero*.[312] The word *herrero* referred to a blacksmith.[313] In a record dated AD 1575, Juan Gonçalvez is referred to as a *faber ferrarius*.[314] The word *faber* referred to a worker in hard substances like metal, wood or stone. It also referred to workmanlike or skilful.[315] The word *ferrarius* referred to a blacksmith.[316] João Gonçalvez is recorded as being a blacksmith.

In a letter dated 18 November 1577, it was informed that a brother had made fifty matrices in the *Canarina* language. However, many more were to be made.[317] The brother referred to is believed to have been Joannes Gonçalves (João Gonçalvez).[318] The *Canarina* language was Konkani. However, it is not mentioned whether these matrices were in the Devanagari or Modi characters.[319] It was informed that João Gonçalvez was a remarkable blacksmith. He also particularly adept in the manufacture of *relogios*.[320] A *relogio* referred to a clock.[321] It is also informed that he was the first to make the shapes of the *Malavares* letters.[322] A letter dated 26 October 1579 informed

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[311] A. da Silva Rego and E. E. Burke, eds., *Documentos sobre os Portugueses em Moçambique e na África Central 1497-1840 / Documents on the Portuguese in Mozambique and Central Africa 1497-1840*, vol. 8 (1561-1588) (Lisboa: National Archives of Rhodesia and Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos da Junta de Investigações Científicas do Ultramar, 1975), 10-15.

[312] Josef Wicki, ed., *DI*, vol. 8 (1569-1573) (Romae: Apud "Monumenta Historica Soc. Iesu", 1964), 424.

[313] F. C. Meadows, "The Second Part: A New English and Spanish Dictionary: English and Spanish - Inglés y Castelláno," in *New Spanish and English Dictionary, in Two Parts: I. Spanish and English - II. English and Spanish* (London: Printed for Thomas Tegg, 1843), 34.

[314] Georg Schurhammer and G. W. Cottrell Jr., "The First Printing in Indic Characters," *Harvard University Bulletin* 6, no. 2 (Spring 1952): 148-49.

[315] John T. White and J. E. Riddle, *A Latin-English Dictionary*, 3rd ed. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1869), 649.

[316] White and Riddle, *A Latin-English Dictionary*, 674.

[317] Josef Wicki, ed., *DI*, vol. 10 (1575-1577) (Romae: Apud "Monumenta Historica Soc. Iesu", 1968), 1006-07.

[318] Wicki, *DI*, vol. 10 (1575-1577), 1007n54.

[319] Wicki, *DI*, vol. 10 (1575-1577), 1006n53.

[320] Francisco de Sousa, *Oriente conquistado a Jesu Christo pelos padres da Companhia de Jesus da provincia de Goa*, parte 2 (Lisboa: Officina de Valentim da Costa Deslandes, 1710), 135.

[321] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 2, 730.

[322] Sousa, *Oriente conquistado a Jesu Christo pelos padres da Companhia de Jesus da provincia de Goa*, parte 2, 135.

that Brother Juan Gonçalvez (João Gonçalvez) used to make metal objects, clocks as well as dies for printing.[323] Thus, the records indicate that the services of a skilled blacksmith were utilised in the manufacture of dies used for the printing press. João Gonçalvez was probably the same brother who was in Goa in AD 1556 and was a blacksmith by profession.

Some of the books printed in Goa included the *Colóquios dos simples e drogas* of Garcia de Orta in AD 1563. It was printed by Joannes de Endem.[324] In Goa, in the sixteenth century the *Colóquios* of Garcia de Orta was the first secular book printed. A number of books related to the Jesuits dealing with grammar and translation were printed in the seventeenth century.[325] Texts of a religious nature included the *Christa Purana* in AD 1616 and the *Doutrina Christam em lingoa Bramana Canarim* in AD 1622. The *Arte da lingoa Canarim* printed in AD 1640 discussed Konkani grammar.[326]

Stonework - Secular structures

Gaspar Correa informed that towards the end of AD 1510, work was undertaken for the defence of Goa. This work was done by a Portuguese *mestre das obras* or master of the works called Tomaz Fernandes and twenty Portuguese stonemasons. The workers also included other stonemasons of the land, workers known as *bigairins* and others.[327] In AD 1526, a number of works were completed. These included the gun-foundry, the mint and fortifications in the Passo Seco and Benasterim. These works were undertaken under the master of the works, Jorge Gomes.[328]

In AD 1535, the fortress of Rachol was constructed in Salcete. The fortress of Bardez was renamed Reis Magos. It was built in the mid-sixteenth century on the ruins of a castle.[329] The fortress underwent a number of changes to its structure since the mid-

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[323] Josef Wicki, ed., *DI*, vol. 11 (1577-1580) (Romae: Apud "Monumenta Historica Soc. Iesu", 1970), 652.

[324] J. M. Braga, "The Beginnings of Printing at Macao," *Studia* 12 (July 1963): 32.

[325] Xavier and Županov, *Catholic Orientalism: Portuguese Empire, Indian Knowledge (16th-18th Centuries)*, 91.

[326] John Correia-Afonso, *The Jesuits in India 1542-1773: A Short History* (Gujarat: Gujarat Sahitya Prakash, 1997), 150-51.

[327] Gaspar Correa, *Lendas da India*, ed. Rodrigo José de Lima Felner, tomo 2 parte 1 (Lisboa: Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1860), 157.

[328] Rafael Moreira, "From Manueline to Renaissance in Portuguese India," *Mare Liberum* 9 (July 1995): 403.

[329] Mathew, *Shipbuilding, Navigation and the Portuguese in Pre-Modern India*, 89.

sixteenth onwards.[330] The fortress of Reis Magos and the fortress of Gaspar Dias were the two defensive structures which protected the river. It was only when the fort of Aguada was constructed in the early seventeenth century that the fortress of Reis Magos lost its importance.[331]

The construction of the fortress of Gaspar Dias began towards the end of the sixteenth century. This fortress does not exist anymore. However, it is believed to have been situated in Miramar in Goa.[332] It is believed that the architect, Julio Simão who was in Goa at the time, was involved in its construction. He was the same person who was involved in the planning of the Arch of the Viceroys and other churches and defensive structures in Goa.[333]

Initially, the Mandovi river was guarded by the fortress of Reis Magos and the fortress of Gaspar Dias. The Cabo promontory had a church and convent which is believed to have been fortified. However, it could only keep a watch on ships arriving into the Mandovi. Due to the Dutch blockade of Goa, there was a need for another defensive structure. Due to this, the fortress of Aguada was constructed in the early seventeenth century.[334]

John Fryer informed that on arriving at the bar of Goa, the fort of Reis Magos was on the left. The fort of Gaspar Dias was on the right. He informed that further along the way were palaces and churches. In the city of Goa, there were a number of finely constructed structures. However, he remarked that there were the ruins of a number of houses and the streets were disorderly.[335]

The city of Goa had a wall for defence. However, it was old and could no longer protect the population. When the king of Portugal asked Dom Antão de Noronha to enhance the defences of the city, construction of new parts of the wall began.[336] Under

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[330] P. P. Shirodkar, "Fortress of Reis Magos," *Purabhilekh-Puratatva* 5, no. 1 (January-June 1987): 80-81.

[331] Shirodkar, "Fortress of Reis Magos," 84.

[332] P. P. Shirodkar, "The Extinct Fortress of Gaspar Dias," *Purabhilekh-Puratatva* 9, no. 2 (July-December 1991): 45.

[333] Shirodkar, "The Extinct Fortress of Gaspar Dias," 52.

[334] P. P. Shirodkar, "Fort of Aguada," *Purabhilekh-Puratatva* 3, no. 1 (January-June 1985): 109-11.

[335] Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia: Being Nine Years' Travels 1672-1681*, vol. 2, 8-10.

[336] Fonseca, *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa, Preceded by a Short Statistical Account of the Territory of Goa*, 148.

viceroy Antão de Noronha in AD 1566, construction of the first section of the fortification wall commenced. By AD 1581, the wall was constructed to around Daugim. Another section of the wall was completed by the end of the sixteenth century. In the early seventeenth century, construction of the wall ceased. In AD 1615, construction began from Assozim to Panelim. The work probably lasted till AD 1660. However, it is not known if the entire distance to Panelim was completed. The fortification wall utilised a considerable amount of money to be constructed. The huge distance it encompassed made it difficult to staff. However, the wall is an important example of military engineering.[337] Along the wall in certain areas, there was the presence of laterite quarries. This would indicate that laterite stones for building materials were obtained from areas next to the wall. This saved time and cost in getting building materials. The quarried pits at the base of the wall also served as moats.[338]

Pyrard spoke very highly of the hospital in Goa. He stated that it was well built and it seemed to be a palace instead of a hospital. He was impressed with the building. He further informed that the sick were well cared for and provided with food, medicines and doctors.[339] This description was of the Royal Hospital of Goa which had been established by Afonso de Albuquerque after the conquest of Goa.[340]

A number of works were done under viceroy Dom Miguel de Noronha. These included work on the palace of the viceroy and the building of the Inquisition. Other works included the gunpowder factory at Panelim, the *Hospital de Piedade* and the causeway which connected Panjim and Ribandar.[341] An inscription near the main door of the *Casa da polvora* or gunpowder factory informed that work started and was completed under viceroy Dom Francisco da Gama and it was perfected during the time of viceroy Dom Miguel de Noronha, conde de Linhares in AD 1630. An inscription near the entrance of the causeway depicted the wheel of Saint Catherine. It also

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[337] Brian Wilson, Abhijit Ambekar, and Rohini Pande, "Defending the Golden City: Survey and GPS Aided Mapping of the Outer Fortification Wall Surrounding Old Goa," *Man and Environment* 38, no. 1 (January-June 2013): 92.

[338] Wilson, Ambekar, and Pande, "Defending the Golden City: Survey and GPS Aided Mapping of the Outer Fortification Wall Surrounding Old Goa," 95.

[339] Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil: Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619*, vol. 2 part 1, 3-5.

[340] Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil: Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619*, vol. 2 part 1, 5n1.

[341] Disney, "A 17th Century Portuguese Proconsul: D. Miguel de Noronha, Count of Linhares," 33.

informed that viceroy Dom Miguel de Noronha, conde de Linhares ordered the construction of the bridge. The construction started in AD 1633 and ended in 1634.[342] The services of a number of carpenters, stonemasons and workers would have been used in the construction and maintenance of all these structures.

Stonework - Religious structures

After Goa was taken in AD 1510 by the Portuguese, Albuquerque ordered a chapel to be built dedicated to Saint Catherine. In the following year, Tomas Fernandes (Tomaz Fernandes), the *mestre das obras pedraria* rebuilt the chapel.[343] Over the years, the structure was rebuilt. In AD 1562, viceroy Dom Francisco Coutinho ordered the construction of a bigger cathedral. The old church structure stood close to the Royal Hospital. The site of a new structure stood a little away from it.[344] The Portuguese engineer, Ambrosio Argueiros took part in the construction of the cathedral. Julio Simão took charge of the construction towards the end of the sixteenth century.[345] In the beginning of the seventeenth century, Pyrard informed that the Sé cathedral was well designed and that its building was not complete and work on it had started fifty years prior.[346] In AD 1619, the main section was completed.[347] Pietro della Valle wrote a letter dated AD 1623.[348] In it, he informed that the Sé cathedral was not the best church in Goa and that there were others which were better. However, he informed that it was not completed in AD 1623 and that due to this it probably did not look as grand. He did however state that he had seen the design and believed that it would make an excellent

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[342] Rivara, *Inscripções lapidares da India Portugueza*, 111-12.

[343] David Martin Kowal, "The Evolution of Ecclesiastical Architecture in Portuguese Goa," in *India & Portugal: Cultural Interactions*, ed. José Pereira and Pratapaditya Pal (Mumbai: Marg Publications, 2001), 73.

[344] Fonseca, *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa, Preceded by a Short Statistical Account of the Territory of Goa*, 199-201.

[345] Kowal, "The Evolution of Ecclesiastical Architecture in Portuguese Goa," 76.

[346] Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil: Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619*, vol. 2 part 1, 53.

[347] Fonseca, *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa, Preceded by a Short Statistical Account of the Territory of Goa*, 202.

[348] Pietro della Valle, *The Travels of Pietro della Valle in India: From the Old English Translation of 1664*, ed. Edward Grey, trans. G. Havers, vol. 1 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1892), 126.

church on its completion.[349] The remaining structure was completed in AD 1631.[350] A sepulchral inscription informed that Julio Simão was an *engenheiro mór* of the state and the *mestre arquitecto* of the works of the Sé. His wife was Caterina de Bustamante.[351] John Fryer reached Goa on the Christmas eve of AD 1675 and departed in 1676.[352] He informed that the cathedral was plain in design. However, the altar as well as the chapels to the side had well carved religious images. These had been gilded with gold.[353] Gemelli Careri visited Goa in AD 1695.[354] He visited the cathedral and informed that it was very large. It had several columns and chapels which were decorated with different figures.[355]

In a letter dated 8 March 1546, the king of Portugal directed viceroy Dom João de Castro to complete the building of the church of Santa Cruz in Calapor, work on which had already begun. He was also directed to order the construction a church in Narão dedicated to Saint Thomas. He was also asked to build another one in the neighbouring island of Corão.[356] It is believed that Narão referred to Neurá-o-Grande.[357] The island of Corão referred to the island of Chorão.[358]

Francisco Aranha was a Portuguese Jesuit who is believed to have built a number of churches in Goa. He was involved in the construction of some churches which may have included those in Margão, Orlim, Verna and others. Some of these would have been of mud and straw. However, the church of Our Lady of Snows at

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[349] Valle, *The Travels of Pietro della Valle in India: From the Old English Translation of 1664*, vol. 1, 155-56.

[350] Fonseca, *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa, Preceded by a Short Statistical Account of the Territory of Goa*, 202.

[351] Rivara, *Inscripções lapidares da India Portugueza*, 73.

[352] John Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia: Being Nine Years' Travels 1672-1681*, ed. William Crooke, vol. 1 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1909), xx.

[353] Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia: Being Nine Years' Travels 1672-1681*, vol. 2, 10.

[354] Luis S. R. Vas, *Veni, Vidi...Goa: Travellers' Views of Goa, Ancient and Modern* (Goa: Centro de Estudos Indo-Portugueses Voicuntrao Dempo / Vaikunthrao Dempo Centre for Indo-Portuguese Studies, 2011), 140.

[355] Surendranath Sen, ed., *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri: Being the Third Part of the Travels of M. de Thevenot into the Levant and the Third Part of a Voyage Round the World by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri* (New Delhi: The National Archives of India, 1949), 191.

[356] Jacinto Freyre de Andrade, *Vida de D. João de Castro, quarto viso-rei da India*, nova ed. (Lisboa: Typographia Rollandiana, 1839), 59-61.

[357] António da Silva Rego, ed., *DMP: Índia*, vol. 3 (1543-1547) (Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1950), 321n2.

[358] Rego, *DMP: Índia*, vol. 3 (1543-1547), 321n3.

Rachol was a stone and mortar church.[359] One source indicated that he was a local of Lisbon while another informed that he was from Braga. Hence, his place of origin is not certain.[360] At Cortalim, Aranha reconstructed a church which had burned down. This church was the last one constructed before his death. He was one of those killed by the villagers, along with Rudolfo Aquaviva in Cuncolim in AD 1583.[361]

The religious orders used the services of local artisans such as carpenters, stonemasons, painters and others to produce and repairs items which were used in their religious buildings. Among the Jesuits, they had *irmãos* or lay brothers who were skilled artists. They included architects, painters, map-makers and others. Due to this, a number of Jesuit structures were built by members of their own order. These structures included the basilica of Bom Jesus and the college of Rachol.[362] Work on the basilica of Bom Jesus in Goa started in AD 1594 and its architect was Brother Domingos Fernandes who was a local of Coimbra in Portugal. He had arrived in India in AD 1578. The building was made of laterite with a façade of three storeys. It was consecrated in AD 1605.[363] However, Pyrard informed that the basilica of Bom Jesus was still not completed when he saw it a few years later. He does inform that it was well built and its inside was gilded. He apprised that work in the Bom Jesus continued on a daily basis.[364] In around the mid-seventeenth century, Tavernier informed that there were excellent paintings on the ceiling of the Bom Jesus.[365]

While the churches were usually designed by Portuguese architects, the building work was done by Indian masons. Architect Father João de Faria was involved in the planning of several churches. The various items in the churches including sacred

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[359] Joseph Velinkar, "Francisco Aranha, Builder of Salsete Churches," *Indica* 17, no. 2 (September 1980): 139-42.

[360] Velinkar, "Francisco Aranha, Builder of Salsete Churches," 139n1.

[361] Velinkar, "Francisco Aranha, Builder of Salsete Churches," 142-45.

[362] Rafael Moreira, "The Stone and the Cross: Indo-Portuguese Jesuit Architecture in Ethiopia 1603-33," *Revista de História da Arte* 1 (2005): 85-87.

[363] Correia-Afonso, *The Jesuits in India 1542-1773: A Short History*, 113-16.

[364] Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil: Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619*, vol. 2 part 1, 59.

[365] Tavernier, *Travels in India by Jean Baptiste Tavernier, Baron of Aubonne: Translated from the Original French Edition of 1676*, vol. 1, 197.

vessels, statues, crosses and woodwork made by local craftsmen.[366] It is believed that the church of Santana of Talaulim was designed by Francisco do Rego, a Goan priest in the seventeenth century.[367]

The foundation of the building of the convent of Santa Monica was laid on 2 July 1606 and it was completed in AD 1627. In a letter dated 4 January 1630, the viceroy, count of Linhares informed that the convent was larger than many of those in Portugal.[368] Gemelli Careri visited the monastery of Saint Augustine and saw its towers and bells. He also noticed that the altars were well gilt. He informed that the Theatine church was built in the style of the *St. Andrew della Valle* which was in Rome. He also went to the church of the Franciscans. He informed that it had gilt work near the altar and was a fine church. He visited Saint Monica which belonged to the Augustinian nuns and saw that its church had three altars which were gilded. He visited St. Paul's of the Jesuits, which used to be a college and remarked that it had splendid dormitories. He also visited the Dominican church of Saint Thomas and remarked that it was well built and had a number of altars.[369] Hence, it is seen that there was significant building activity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The construction, maintenance and decoration of these structures would definitely have made use of local artisans and craftsmen.

A stone inscription in Portuguese dated 10 November 1618 at Velha Goa in the Tiswadi taluka of Goa recorded that the remains of the fourth bishop of Cochin, who died on the recorded date, were removed from the cathedral.[370] Another stone inscription in Portuguese dated AD 1643 informed that two graves were made for the brothers of the Order of Our Lady of Conception.[371] A stone inscription in Portuguese dated AD 1644 of the reign of João IV informed that the front of the building was

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[366] Joseph Velinkar, *India and the West: The First Encounters (Particularly in Goan Salcete): A Historical Study of the Early Indo-Portuguese Cultural Encounters in Goa*, 2nd rev. ed. (Margão, Goa: CinnamonTeal Publishing, 2016), 192-93.

[367] Pereira, *Baroque Goa: The Architecture of Portuguese India*, 14.

[368] Fonseca, *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa, Preceded by a Short Statistical Account of the Territory of Goa*, 304-07.

[369] Sen, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri: Being the Third Part of the Travels of M. de Thevenot into the Levant and the Third Part of a Voyage Round the World by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri*, 192-93.

[370] G. S. Gai, ed., *ARIE for 1963-64*, In Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy (1962-1963) (repr., New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1986), Appendix B, No. 98, 61.

[371] Gai, *ARIE for 1963-64*, Appendix B, No. 97, 60.

constructed.[372] A stone inscription in Portuguese dated AD 1644 recorded that the viceroy congratulated the king in the same year.[373] It can be seen that the services of stoneworkers were also used in the engraving of inscriptions.

Areas outside Portuguese control - Creation of bastions, mosques and inscriptions

In AD 1560, Ibrahim Adil Shah had a mosque constructed in Ponda called the Safa *masjid*. It has Adil Shahi *mehrabs* or arches.[374] There were bilingual orders issued between AD 1570 and 1653 by the Adil Shahis which dealt with the practice of *niputrik*. It appears that this practice was prevalent in many parts of the territory. It was a practice whereby, if a person died without a male heir, the land would go to the state. This was the case even if the person had other relatives or daughters. These inscriptions were found in Bijapur, Dabhol and Goa. One of these records was addressed to the community of the jewellers. Another was addressed to people including jewellers, merchants and *chatis*.[375] A stone inscription in Persian dated AD 1570-71 of the reign of Ali I of the Adil Shahi dynasty at Velha Goa in the Tiswadi taluka of Goa, records a royal order which prohibited the practice of *niputrik* which was prevalent in Guwa or Goa. It also requested the men of the Kokan or Konkan to avoid accusing each other.[376]

A stone inscription in Persian dated AD 1594-95 of the reign of Ibrahim II of the Adil Shahi dynasty at Velha Goa in the Tiswadi taluka of Goa, records the construction of a bastion known as the *burj-i-fath*. This was done during the tenure of Malik Abdul-Malik, the *thanadar* of the Talkokan.[377] An undated inscription in Arabic and Persian during the rule of the same king, refers to the construction of a mosque called the *masjid-i-fath*.[378] Although the date of this inscription is lost, it is believed that the bastion and the mosque were built in the same year. The use of the word *fath* may have been in reference to a victory of some sort.[379] The references to the construction

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[372] Gai, *ARIE for 1963-64*, Appendix B, No. 99, 61.

[373] Gai, *ARIE for 1963-64*, Appendix B, No. 100, 61.

[374] V. T. Gune, *Ancient Shrines of Goa: A Pictorial Survey* (Panjim, Goa: Department of Information, Government of Goa, Daman & Diu, 1965), 21-22.

[375] Zia-ud-din Desai, "Epigraphical Sources of Adil Shahis of Bijapur," *QJMS* 70, no. 4 (October-December 1979): 191.

[376] Gai, *ARIE for 1963-64*, Appendix D, No. 61, 123.

[377] Gai, *ARIE for 1963-64*, Appendix D, No. 62, 123.

[378] Gai, *ARIE for 1963-64*, Appendix D, No. 63, 123.

[379] Gai, *ARIE for 1963-64*, 32.

of the bastion and mosque as well as the engraving of inscriptions in the region, points to the use of artisans under the Adil Shahis, in areas of Goa which would later come under the rule of the Portuguese.

Indo-Portuguese and other influences

There was a synthesis between Indian and Portuguese art and the development of a new style. This was referred to as the Indo-Portuguese style. It was a sort of mixed style which developed due to the Indian and Portuguese culture in regions of India. This was especially seen in Goa. This style of art spread from Goa, Cochin and other parts of India to Mozambique and Indonesia. The Indo-Portuguese style could be seen in furniture like tables, wooden cabinets and boxes as well as in finely carved ivory images of Christ and religious statues.[380] A. Lopes Mendes informed that in Cuncolim, there were a number of Hindu craftsmen who produced copper and brass objects. There was also a family of *marceneiros* from Cuncolim who made items called *lacreadas*.[381] *Marceneiros* were woodworkers who specialised in making furniture and inlaid works in wood.[382] In recent times in the village of Cuncolim in Goa, there is record of a family with the surname of Chitari. The ancestral occupation of the family for the last few generations was wood carving and works of lacquer.[383] The Goan craftsmen created artistic patterns which adorned the altars in the churches. A large number of wooden items were produced for use in churches and religious institutions in the sixteenth century.[384]

The silver casket in the basilica of Bom Jesus containing the remains of Saint Francis Xavier in Old Goa is an important example of a mingling of the styles of the West and India.[385] Saint Francis Xavier died in December 1552. His body was buried

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[380] Carmo Azevedo, "Interaction between Indian and Portuguese Art," in *Goa: Cultural Trends (Seminar Papers)*, ed. P. P. Shirodkar (Panaji, Goa: Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum, Government of Goa, 1988), 71-73.

[381] Mendes, *A India Portugueza: Breve descrição das possessões Portuguezas na Asia*, vol. 2, 177.

[382] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 2, 245.

[383] S. Rajendran, ed., *Census of India 1981: Series 29: Goa, Daman & Diu*, part 10 D: Handicraft Survey Report on Woodcarving in Goa (New Delhi: Central Government Publications, 1989), 35.

[384] Percival Noronha, "Indo-Portuguese Furniture and Its Evolution," in *Goa and Portugal: History and Development*, ed. Charles J. Borges, Óscar G. Pereira, and Hannes Stubbe (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 2000), 191-92.

[385] Mariano José Dias, "The Hindu-Christian Society of Goa," *Indica* 17, no. 2 (September 1980): 114.

for a brief time in San Chan and then in Malacca. Thereafter, his body was brought to Goa in March 1554.[386] Pietro della Valle wrote a letter dated AD 1624.[387] In it, he informed that in Goa he had witnessed a procession. Carried in the procession was a finely crafted silver casket which contained the body of Saint Francis Xavier. It had a silver covering over it.[388] Between AD 1624 and 1636, the body of Saint Francis Xavier remained in a silver casket. However, with the arrival of Father Mastrili in December 1635, there was a monetary contribution from *capitão* António Teles da Silva. This contribution went towards the making of a new casket. This new casket was made in Goa by *ourives goeses* between AD 1636 and 1637. Later in AD 1659, the silver casket was transferred to the site where it is presently located.[389] *Goês* or *Goeses* referred to people from Goa.[390] The term *ourives* usually referred to one who made gold. The term *ourives da prata* specifically referred to one who worked with silver or was a silversmith. The term *ourives do ouro* explicitly referred to one who worked with gold or was a goldsmith.[391] Since the casket was of silver, it is likely that silversmiths were involved in its production.

The casket has metal plates which portray incidents from the life of Saint Francis Xavier. These include the vision he had when he was ill in a hospital, a depiction of him preaching, baptising people, healing the sick and others.[392] Further, the tomb is also an example of Italian and Goan artistry. Besides the silver casket, there is a mausoleum made from Italian marble. The silver casket produced between AD 1636 and 1637 was placed above this marble mausoleum. This mausoleum was gifted by Cosimo III, the Duke of Tuscany. It was designed by Giovanni Batista Foggini. He was a famed Tuscan artist and had produced works in Florence and Pisa. Placido Francesco

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[386] Henry James Coleridge, *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, vol. 2 (London: Burns and Oates, 1872), 570-76.

[387] Pietro della Valle, *The Travels of Pietro della Valle in India: From the Old English Translation of 1664*, ed. Edward Grey, trans. G. Havers, vol. 2 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1892), 409.

[388] Valle, *The Travels of Pietro della Valle in India: From the Old English Translation of 1664*, vol. 2, 413.

[389] Carlos de Azevedo, "Um artista Italiano em Goa: Plácido Francesco Ramponi e o túmulo de S. Francisco Xavier," *Garcia de Orta* Número especial (1956): 286.

[390] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 1, 1153.

[391] Lacerda, *A New Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages*, 662.

[392] Luís Chaves, "As tradições e lendas Portuguesas de S. Francisco Xavier," *AHSI* 22, fasc. 43 (January-June 1953): 101.

Ramponi arrived with the mausoleum in AD 1698.[393] After his arrival in Goa in September 1698, work on the assembly of the mausoleum began on 14 October 1698 in the Bom Jesus. Placido Francesco Ramponi visited the church every day and was helped sometimes by a *mestre pedreiro* or master stonemason and at other times by the locals of the land who spoke and understood Portuguese perfectly. This work on the assembly of the mausoleum was completed on 8 November 1698.[394]

Christian religious art with Hindu elements

The carvings of ivory were usually for religious use. A frequently found ivory carving was of Christ as the Good Shepherd. It depicted him as plump and sleepy. These depictions of Christ had a resemblance to Krishna due to the likeness in their names. This was because non-Christians were employed to carry out works in the churches. There were a number of decrees against the use of non-Christians in churches.[395] Such influence can also be seen in the Margão church where a representation shows the Virgin Mary on a peacock. It is quite possible that this representation had a parallel to that of Parvati.[396] The local artists took Christian representations but their creations were influenced by Indian physical features. This was also seen in the use of the *nagini* or serpent nymphs, ornate garlands and floral depictions like the lotus.[397] The *kirtimukha* is another mythical being which was noticed in church art. The *kirtimukha* finds its origin as an entity which devoured itself as per the command of Shiva. The representation of the *kirtimukha* was noticed in the pulpit of the Holy Spirit Church of Naroa in Divar. A similar representation was also noticed in the Saint Christopher

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[393] Azevedo, "Um artista Italiano em Goa: Plácido Francesco Ramponi e o túmulo de S. Francisco Xavier," 289-91.

[394] Azevedo, "Um artista Italiano em Goa: Plácido Francesco Ramponi e o túmulo de S. Francisco Xavier," 299-300.

[395] John F. Butler, *Christianity in Asia and America: After A.D. 1500* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979), 7.

[396] E. R. Hambye, "Christian Art in Goa - Some Reflections," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay* (New Series) 41-42 (1966-67): 200-01.

[397] Cristina Osswald, *Written in Stone: Jesuit Buildings in Goa and Their Artistic and Architectural Features* (Saligão, Goa: Goa,1556 and Margão, Goa: Golden Heart Emporium Book Shop, 2013), 184-85.

Church in Tivim.[398] Hence, it can be seen that Hindu elements were noticed in Christian art and the local craftsmen would have played an important role in this.

Percival Noronha informed that the community of the *charis* or blacksmiths later on also carved and made idols. They sculpted figures of Christian saints and due to this, they came to be known as *santeiros*. These artisans had the name Zo.[399] In recent times, there was record of a family with the surname of Zo from Chimbel in Goa. They were of the *chari* caste were wood carvers by profession.[400] Another recent observation indicated that in the village of Chimbel, a family with the surname of Zo were involved in the making of sculptures and furniture which included chairs and tables. The sculptures and furniture created by them imitated the style of the sixteenth century.[401]

Hindu temples with European designs

A number of Hindu temples were destroyed by the Portuguese. However, some were reconstructed in Ponda in the eighteenth century. These Hindu temples have features of the Counter-Reformative style which was found in the construction of Christian churches.[402] Damodar Dharmanand Kosambi also noticed that the temples in the New Conquests were built in the seventeenth century and later. These temples were built on patterns based on the baroque churches found in Old Goa. It was felt the Hindu workmen had knowledge of this style, which they utilised in the building of temples.[403] It is believed that Hindu *mahajans* were involved in the reconstruction of temples in Ponda. They employed artisans from Goa. This can be seen in a letter dated 29 October 1712, wherein the Jesuit Father Alexandre de Sousa informed the king of Portugal that

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[398] Mónica Esteves Reis, "The Retable Art from Goa and the Ancient North Province: Proximity and Singularity," in *India, the Portuguese and Maritime Interactions*, ed. Pius Malekandathil, Lotika Varadarajan, and Amar Farooqui, vol. 2: Religion, Language and Cultural Expressions (Delhi: Primus Books, 2019), 489-91.

[399] Noronha, "Indo-Portuguese Furniture and Its Evolution," 188.

[400] Rajendran, *Census of India 1981: Series 29: Goa, Daman & Diu*, part 10 D: Handicraft Survey Report on Woodcarving in Goa, 32.

[401] Francisco Faria Paulino, ed., *Portuguese Expansion Overseas and the Art of Ivory: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon, June 25th to September 15th, 1991* (Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1991), 30.

[402] Fátima da Silva Gracias, "The Impact of Portuguese Culture on Goa: A Myth or a Reality?," in *Goa and Portugal: Their Cultural Links*, ed. Charles J. Borges and Helmut Feldmann (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1997), 45.

[403] Damodar Dharmanand Kosambi, "The Village Community in the "Old Conquests" of Goa: History versus the Skanda Purana," in *Myth and Reality: Studies in the Formation of Indian Culture* (1962; repr., Bombay: Popular Prakashan Pvt. Ltd., 2005), 166.

it was believed that Christian masons and others were utilised in reconstructing some temples in Ponda. A letter dated 15 March 1714 from the king of Portugal to the viceroy, prohibited the employment of artisans in the construction of Hindu temples.[404]

The influence of western styles can be seen in the building of temples. The Saptakoteshwara temple at Narvem is one example. Although the construction of the temple was initiated by Shivaji, it was done by Goan architects. This can be seen in the structure of the temple. There has a dome instead of the use of a pyramidal tower. The architects from Goa were probably influenced by the European style of church architecture in Goa.[405] The Hindu temple usually had the *mahamandapa* or nave with a low roof. The *garbhagriha* or sanctuary had a pyramidal tower. However, the architects from Goa introduced some changes. A Neo-Roman hall came in the place of the *mahamandapa*. A Neo-Roman dome substituted the *garbhagriha*. An example of this is the Shantadurga temple at Kaullem believed to have been constructed between c. AD 1730 to 1738.[406] The artisans employed in Goa used elements from the Hindu religion in furniture and in the building of churches. At the same time, Hindus living in the outlying regions adopted European styles in the building of temples. The Manguesh temple at Priol has some features which parallel the *Piazza dei Miracoli* of Pisa.[407] The Indian artisans were mobile. They worked for clients who were both Christian and Hindu. This led to Christian architectural influences in Hindu architecture.[408]

There were a number of different workers at the mint in Goa. There was a *moedeiro* called Affonso de Albuquerque who was a local from India who had converted to Christianity. It was noticed that there was no substantial rise in the salaries of the mint staff between AD 1554 and 1574. There was a coin found with the marking J-A instead of G-A. It is believed that this was done as the alphabets sounded similar or there was a lack of knowledge of the Portuguese language. Foreign travellers make

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[404] Dias, "The Hindu-Christian Society of Goa," 114.

[405] Pereira, *Baroque Goa: The Architecture of Portuguese India*, 100.

[406] José Pereira, "Portugal's Impact on India: Westernization of the Non-Western World," in *India & Portugal: Cultural Interactions*, ed. José Pereira and Pratapaditya Pal (Mumbai: Marg Publications, 2001), 9.

[407] Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773* (2001; repr., Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 38.

[408] Osswald, *Written in Stone: Jesuit Buildings in Goa and Their Artistic and Architectural Features*, 185.

mention of moneychangers who were present in Goa. François Pyrard noticed that there were a number of different craftsmen employed at the *Ribeira* in Goa. A large number of these were Indians. They worked under a Portuguese who was in charge. It was noticed that the salaries of the officials of the *Ribeira* between AD 1554 and 1571 did not show a change over time for some officials. There were Goan craftsmen on board ships. Their names find mention in the records. There were metal works which were present in Goa. A number of craftsmen have been named in the records. There was also local metal manufacture that took place. There were *dovôllos* who prepared iron from ore in the *solónes*. Pyrard informed that lapidaries and goldsmiths were present in Goa. There was also trade in jewellery and precious stones. Foreign travellers inform that the palace of the viceroys had the paintings of governors and viceroys as well as the ships that visited India. It was seen that a number of *renda* holders were Chatims who may have been Vaishyas or goldsmiths. The religious orders utilised the services of a number of carpenters and blacksmiths in the seventeenth century. The Indo-Portuguese style that developed was a combination of Indian and Portuguese art. It was noticed that Christian religious art came to have Hindu elements. Hindu temples came to have European designs. It was probably because the local craftsmen were influenced by the different designs they had seen.

Chapter 7

Portuguese period: Craftsmen in the urban setting and theoretical aspects

There is record of craft production which took place in the city of Goa. Foreign travellers refer to a number of craftsmen present in the streets of the city. Linschoten pointed out that a number of craftsmen had migrated into Goa. It was also noticed that a number of craftsmen and artisan communities left Goa. Unpaid and forced labour was also prevalent. There was the presence of a number of guilds of craftsmen. The craftsmen were also represented on the board of the municipality. They were also examined for their crafts. The craftsmen and their guilds took part in processions held in the city. There were a number of rules and regulations which the craftsmen had to abide by. Some craftsmen were also involved in welfare organisations. Eugenia Vanina classified non-agricultural production into different types in the context of medieval India. A. S. Altekar spoke of the self-sufficiency of the villages in western India. However, Teotonio R. de Souza noted the disintegration of the self-sufficiency of the villages in Goa.

Different groups in the urban situation

The urban population of Goa comprised of different groups.[1] The Portuguese born in Europe were known as the *reinols*.[2] These *reinões* usually comprised of the viceroys, governors, captains and other high ranking officials. The appointments to these positions were made by the king. They did not marry the local women and returned to Portugal after their tenure was completed. Among the *reinões*, there were the two categories of the *fidalgos* and the *nobres*. The *fidalgos* were nobility of a higher rank. The *nobres* were nobility of a lower rank. The *fidalgos* claimed superiority over the *nobres*. The *casados* were Portuguese men who married local women. They established themselves in Goa.[3] These married settlers were called the *moradores*

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[1] Teotonio R. de Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 2nd ed. (Saligão, Goa: Goa,1556 and Panjim, Goa: Broadway Book Centre, 2009), 85-86.

[2] C. R. Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire 1415-1825* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963; repr., Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1985), 62.

[3] P. D. Xavier, *Goa: A Social History 1510-1640*, 2nd ed. (Panaji, Goa: Rajhauns Vitaran, 2010), 34-35.

casados and comprised of two groups which were the *castiços* and the *mestiços*.[4] The *castiços* were born in Asia of white Portuguese ancestry.[5] The *mestiços* were born of Portuguese and Indian ancestry.[6] The *mestiços* were also known as Eurasians.[7] The *castiços* claimed to be superior to the *mestiços*. Both these groups took part in the administration of the city.[8] There were also the *mulatos* who were of Portuguese and African ancestry.[9] There were also the *soldados* or soldiers and a large number of members of the religious clergy in Goa. There were also a number of European businessmen of different nationalities present in Goa. Among them were also the *cristãos novos* or Portuguese Jews.[10] The *naturais* were the locals who were Christians as well as non-Christians. Hindus comprised a large part of the non-Christians.[11] The *naturais* were also known as the *canarins*.[12]

Crafts in the city of Goa

In the city of Goa, the palace of the viceroy was near the royal shipyard. To the east of the palace was the market called the *bazar grande*. The *Rua Direita* or Straight Street was an important commercial centre. It was also called the *Rua de Leilões* or Street of Auctionings. All kinds of goods were sold throughout the week apart from Sundays and holidays. Towards the end of this street was the church of the *Santa Casa de Misericórdia*. Nearby was the small market or *bazarinho* which sold perishable items.[13] The sale of goods on the *Rua Direita* including earthenware, fabrics, ivory, pearls and items from different places. There was the sale of horses from Arabia. Slaves were also sold there.[14]

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[4] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 85-86.

[5] C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415-1825* (Harmondsworth, England: Pelican Books Ltd., 1973), 252.

[6] Xavier, *Goa: A Social History 1510-1640*, 37.

[7] Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415-1825*, 252.

[8] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 86.

[9] Xavier, *Goa: A Social History 1510-1640*, 37.

[10] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 86-88.

[11] Xavier, *Goa: A Social History 1510-1640*, 34.

[12] Xavier, *Goa: A Social History 1510-1640*, 37.

[13] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 78-79.

[14] Georg Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times*, trans. M. Joseph Costelloe, vol. 2: India 1541-1545 (Rome: The Jesuit Historical Institute, 1977), 193.

Linschoten informed that usually the Portuguese and the *mestiços* in India did not work or worked very little. He informed that a number of them were craftsmen like hat-makers, coopers, shoemakers and others. Many of them had slaves who worked in their shops. Other craftsmen were made up of the Hindus and Christians.[15] He informed that there were rich Hindu merchants in Goa. In a street in the city, different items like silk, satin, velvet and other items were sold. There was a Street of the Banias of Cambay where items from Cambay and precious stones were sold. They would skilfully bore holes in pearls and corals. On the other side of the street, other Hindus sold wooden items like bedsteads, stools and items which were well lacquered. The lacquered items were of different colours. There was also a whole street full of goldsmiths and silversmiths who were Hindus who made different items. There were also other kinds of artisans like coppersmiths, carpenters and others and they were all Hindus and each had a street where they conducted their work. There were also merchants who dealt with other items.[16]

Religious affiliations of the goldsmiths

The community of the Shaivites had Shiva as the most important god while the community of the Vaishnavites had Vishnu as the major god. Certain Brahmins of Goa are known to follow the Shaivism of Shankaracharya. They were known as Shaiva Brahmins or Smarthas. Certain Brahmins of Goa were also known to follow Vaishnavism. They were known as Vaishnava Brahmins.[17]

When the Gaud Saraswat Brahmins migrated into the Konkan region, they settled in Salcete, Bardez, Pernem and other places. Due to this, there developed the divisions of the Sashtikars, Bardezkars, Pednekars and others.[18] It is believed that Shaivism spread in Goa with the arrival of the Smartha Brahmins. Vaishnavism spread in Goa due to the teachings of Madhvacharya and his disciples.[19] It is believed that a

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[15] John Huyghen van Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies: From the Old English Translation of 1598*, ed. Arthur Coke Burnell, vol. 1 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1885), 187-88.

[16] Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies: From the Old English Translation of 1598*, vol. 1, 228-29.

[17] João Manuel Pacheco de Figueiredo, "Goa Pré-Portuguesa," *Studia* 13-14 (January-July 1964): 138-39.

[18] A. B. de Bragança Pereira, *Ethnography of Goa, Daman and Diu*, trans. Maria Aurora Couto (New Delhi: Penguin Books India Pvt. Ltd., 2008), 29.

[19] Figueiredo, "Goa Pré-Portuguesa," 140.

number of Smartha Brahmins converted to Vaishnavism. It was noticed that despite them converting to Vaishnavism, they still worshipped deities related to Shaivism.[20] It was noticed that while most of the other Gaud Saraswat Brahmins were Smarthas, the Sashtikars and the Bardezkars were Vaishnavas.[21]

V. R. Mitragotri informed that in the thirteenth century AD, some Saraswat Brahmins converted to Vaishnavism due to the teachings of Madhvacharya. During this time, some members of the Daivadnya goldsmith community also converted to Vaishnavism.[22] In south Kanara, it is believed that some members of the *sonar* or goldsmith caste had come from Goa. It was also informed that most of them were Vaishnavas. However, some of them worshipped Shiva.[23] Thus, it can be seen that among the Brahmins as well as among the goldsmith community, there were Shaivites and Vaishnavites.

The Vaishnavites and the Shaivites communities are recognised by the position of the sectarian mark on their forehead. The Shaivites or Smarthas place this mark on their forehead in a horizontal line. It is parallel to the eyebrows. The Vaishnavites place a perpendicular mark on their forehead. This mark ends between the eyebrows.[24] In Goa, in Konkani, the Shaivites are known as *adve*. This is because they placed the ash horizontally on their forehead. The Vaishnavites are known as *ube*. This is because they placed the ash vertically on their forehead.[25]

Details of the travels of Richard F. Burton to Goa and other parts of India were published in AD 1851.[26] He informed that in Panjim in Goa, the *sonars* or goldsmiths wore the sectarian mark known as the *tika* horizontally on their foreheads. To differentiate themselves from the goldsmiths, the Brahmins placed this mark

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[20] Pereira, *Ethnography of Goa, Daman and Diu*, 30.

[21] R. E. Enthoven, *The Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, vol. 1 (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1920), 251.

[22] V. R. Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara* (Panaji, Goa: Institute Menezes Braganza, 1999), 108.

[23] Edgar Thurston and K. Rangachari, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, vol. 6 (Madras: Goverment Press, 1909), 392.

[24] V. P. Chavan, *Vaishnavism of the Gowd Saraswat Brahmins and a Few Konkani Folklore Tales* (repr., New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 2002), 13.

[25] Pereira, *Ethnography of Goa, Daman and Diu*, 30.

[26] Richard F. Burton, *Goa, and the Blue Mountains; or, Six Months of Sick Leave* (London: Richard Bentley, 1851), Title page.

perpendicularly on their foreheads.[27] It was seen that within the Brahmin and the goldsmith communities in Goa there were variations. Some were known to be Shaivites while others were Vaishnavites. From the placing of the sectarian marks on their foreheads, Richard F. Burton may possibly have observed goldsmiths who were Shaivites and Brahmins who were Vaishnavites.

Evidence of possible *idangai-valangai* conflict

In south India, the non-Brahmins were grouped into the left-hand *idangai* and the right-hand *valangai* castes. A number of conflicts between these two groups were noticed in the use of certain privileges. These included the right to wear slippers and use of the palanquin, among others. The Madras Presidency witnessed a number of disturbances. The *Mackenzie Manuscript* mentioned that the *valangai* or the right-hand castes were permitted to use a white umbrella and ride on white horses, among other concessions. The Kammalas or the craftsmen who included the goldsmiths and the carpenters belonged to the *idangai* castes. The *valangai* castes considered themselves superior in relation to the *idangai* castes. They prohibited the *idangai* castes from the use of various items including a white or green umbrella, riding on a white horse, use of a palanquin and other privileges. Regular attempts by the Kammalas and others of the *idangai* castes to use these privileges, which were prohibited for their use, led to conflicts between the two groups.[28]

In the early seventeenth century, during the tenure of viceroy João Coutinho, count of Redondo there was one incident of a conflict recorded. It is informed that the mercers of Goa felt that they were superior to the goldsmiths.[29] The mercers were dealers of textiles.[30] They did not allow a goldsmith to use an umbrella. This umbrella is described as having an ornament on the upper part and the middle of it. The mercers attacked the goldsmith who carried one such umbrella. The umbrella was broken and the goldsmith was beaten. Other goldsmiths came to the aid of the goldsmith and a fight

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[27] Burton, *Goa, and the Blue Mountains; or, Six Months of Sick Leave*, 108.

[28] B. Sobhanan, "Punitive Taxation: A Documentary Study," *QJMS* 75, no. 4 (October-December 1984): 425-27.

[29] Manuel de Faria y Sousa, *The Portugues Asia: or, The History of the Discovery and Conquest of India by the Portugues*, trans. John Stevens, tome 3 (London: Printed for C. Brome, 1695), 295.

[30] J. B. Sykes, ed., *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, 6th ed. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1977), 683.

ensued between them. However, there was no victor as the officers or *alguaziles* came and stole from the shops of those involved in the fighting.[31] This record may have been a case of the *idangai-valangai* conflict in Goa during the Portuguese period.

Migration of people and craftsmen into Goa

Linschoten informed that a large number of people called the Canaras and Decannis, who were from Ballagate in the Deccan, lived in Goa and had shops of velvet, satin and other types of cloth. They also brought necessities into Goa. They had ships with which they went to Cambay and other places. A number of them were also goldsmiths and silversmiths. They also worked with copper.[32] He informed that they were very good workers.[33] Some of them were also carpenters and barbers. The number of these people who had settled in Goa were almost as much as the Portuguese and the locals. Their style of clothing was like the Gujaratis and the Banias except for their shoes. The shoes which they wore had an opening for their toes. These shoes were called *alparcas*.[34] This was a Portuguese word which referred to a sandal of hemp.[35] In their eating habits, behaviour and ceremonies, they were similar to the Brahmins, the Gujaratis and the Banias. They followed their father's occupation and married those of similar professions. They also had ceremonies like the Brahmins. They also farmed revenue in Bardez, Salcete and the Goa island.[36] Hence, it is seen that a number of craftsmen came to Goa.

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[31] Sousa, *The Portugues Asia: or, The History of the Discovery and Conquest of India by the Portugues*, tome 3, 295-96.

[32] Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies: From the Old English Translation of 1598*, vol. 1, 256-57.

[33] Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies: From the Old English Translation of 1598*, vol. 1, 257n3.

[34] Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies: From the Old English Translation of 1598*, vol. 1, 257.

[35] Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies: From the Old English Translation of 1598*, vol. 1, 257n6.

[36] Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies: From the Old English Translation of 1598*, vol. 1, 257-59.

Emigration of people and craftsmen away from Goa

In AD 1538, in Diu there were about eight hundred Portuguese soldiers, six hundred slaves and two hundred craftsmen from Goa.[37] Hence, a number of artisans from Goa went to other places quite early on under the Portuguese rule.

Viceroy Dom Constantino de Bragança on 2 April 1560 decreed that a number of Brahmins were to be banished from the Goa islands.[38] In a decree dated June 1560, viceroy Dom Constantino de Bragança ordered that all goldsmiths had to bring back their families or leave the island.[39] Viceroy conde de Redondo, Dom Francisco Coutinho informed on 3 December 1561 that on his arrival in Goa, the villages were deserted, lands were flooded and the streams were blocked. The Hindus were absent and did not want to return due to the decrees of viceroy Dom Constantino de Bragança.[40] It appears that due to the decrees, a number of Hindus left Goa.

Viceroy conde de Redondo, Dom Francisco Coutinho issued an order dated 27 November 1563 wherein Brahmins and Hindus who hindered the promotion of Christianity were to sell their properties and leave the island of Goa. Those exempted included the people who tilled their land, carpenters, blacksmiths, physicians and certain others.[41] This exemption indicated that the Portuguese required the skills of the local craftsmen.[42]

At times, skilled craftsmen were a risk to the Portuguese. This was the case in the 1620s, when a Portuguese artillery foundry-man went to work for the Adil Shah of Bijapur. Viceroy Dom Francisco da Gama came to know of this and he got a person at the Bijapuri court to murder the Portuguese craftsman.[43]

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[37] R. S. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India 1497-1550* (Westminister: Archibald Constable & Co, 1899), 255-56.

[38] Anant Kakba Priolkar, *The Goa Inquisition: The Terrible Tribunal for the East: Being a Quatercentenary Commemoration Study of the Inquisition of India*, 2nd ed. (Panaji, Goa: Rajhauns Vitaran, 2008), 114.

[39] Josef Wicki, ed., *O Livro do "Pai dos Cristãos"* (Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1969), 196-97.

[40] J. H. da Cunha Rivara, ed., *APO-CR*, fasciculo 5 parte 2 (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1865; repr., New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1992), 488-89.

[41] Rivara, *APO-CR*, fasciculo 5 parte 2, 543-45.

[42] G. V. Scammell, "The Pillars of Empire: Indigenous Assistance and the Survival of the 'Estado da India' c. 1600-1700," *Modern Asian Studies* 22, no. 3 (1988): 477.

[43] A. J. R. Russell-Wood, *The Portuguese Empire 1415-1808: A World on the Move* (Baltimore, Maryland: The John Hopkins University Press, 1998), 86-87.

In the early seventeenth century, the Dutch blockaded Goa. This was a setback for the Portuguese. Goa suffered economically which led to poverty.[44] The seventeenth century also witnessed a number of other problems. There was a famine in AD 1630-31 and cyclones with earthquakes in AD 1649 and 1654. During the period AD 1654 to 1659, Bardez and Salcete saw the attacks of the Adil Shah. In AD 1667, the Marathas under Shivaji attacked Goa. There was another attack again in AD 1683. Besides these, the people were also burdened with taxes. The Inquisition was also a fear for the people. All these factors led to the emigration of a number of people. A large number of people went to Kanara.[45]

There is a record regarding the surrender of the island of Bombaim or Bombay to the English by the Portuguese.[46] This document was dated AD 1665.[47] It was informed that the English were to see that certain inhabitants, such as the Curumbins and others, of the lands under the jurisdiction of the Portuguese were not to be allowed into Bombay.[48] The Curumbin community were of the Shudra caste and were agriculturalists.[49] It further informed that slaves who had escaped were to be returned to their owners. Additionally, workers from the Portuguese territories such as the *carpinteiros* or carpenters, *calafates* or caulkers, *ferreiros* or blacksmiths, *tecelões* or weavers and others were not to be allowed into Bombay and were to be returned immediately. It further stipulated that if the English required these craftsmen, they had to approach the captain of Baçaim (Bassein). The captain would send them for a certain period of time and their families would be left behind in the territories of the Portuguese. Once the period of time had ended, the workers were to appear before the captain of Bassein.[50] After a delay, Bombay was ceded to the English and in AD 1668, it was given to the English East India Company. Thereafter, a number of traders and artisans

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[44] José Nicolau da Fonseca, *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa, Preceded by a Short Statistical Account of the Territory of Goa* (Bombay: Thacker & Co, Limited, 1878), 169.

[45] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 30.

[46] Julio Firmino Judice Biker, ed., *CT*, tomo 3 (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1883), 40-41.

[47] Biker, *CT*, tomo 3, 48-49.

[48] Biker, *CT*, tomo 3, 44-45.

[49] Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, vol. 1 (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1919), 338.

[50] Biker, *CT*, tomo 3, 44-47.

went there to escape the Inquisition and legislations in Goa.[51] It is not known if the instructions were observed by the two sides or not.

In the Kanara district, there were *sonars* or goldsmiths who were known as the Panchals. They used the name Shet as their surname. It is believed that they migrated from Goa after the Portuguese arrival in AD 1510. They called themselves the Daivadnya Brahmins. Daivadnya was derived from the Sanskrit word *daiv* which referred to fate and *dnya* which meant to know. They considered themselves to be Brahmins. However, it was noted that the other Brahmins called them the Panchal Shudras. Their family deities were Mhalsa, Shantadurga of Kavle as well as Mangesh of Mangeshi in Goa. They differed from the *aksalis* or goldsmiths who are believed to have originated from Shikarpur in Maisur.[52]

In the Kanara district, there were *kasars* or *kanchugars* who made items of copper and brass. They also had links with Goa. Their family deity was Kasarpal who was housed in the shrine of Kasarpal in Goa. Another deity of theirs was Kalamma. Konkani was spoken by those who lived along the coast. Kanarese was spoken by those who lived in the Sahyadris. Usually their names ended with the word Shet. They also had surnames including Kukolikar and Madgavkar. It is mentioned that they had come to the region from Goa in the previous hundred years.[53] The Gazetteer which stated this information was published in AD 1883.[54]

In the Kanara district, the *lohars* or *acharis* were also called Panchals. They were blacksmiths by trade. They had the surname of Lohar, Achari, Badige or *mest*.[55] In Goa, the blacksmiths and the carpenters are called *mesta*.[56] The word *mesta* (*mest*) was derived from the Portuguese term *mestre*.[57] The word *mestre* in Portuguese meant a teacher or master.[58] The word *mestre* or *mester* was also used in the sense of a master

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[51] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 4.

[52] James M. Campbell, ed., *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. 15 part 1: Kanara (Bombay: Government Central Press, 1883), 257-59.

[53] Campbell, *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. 15 part 1: Kanara, 260-61.

[54] Campbell, *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. 15 part 1: Kanara, Title page.

[55] Campbell, *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. 15 part 1: Kanara, 263-64.

[56] Anant Ramkrishna Sinai Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa: From 10000 B.C. to 1352 A.D.*, ed. Nandkumar Kamat and Ramesh Anant S. Dhume, 2nd ed. (Panjim, Goa: Broadway Book Centre, 2009), 45.

[57] Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa: From 10000 B.C. to 1352 A.D.*, 187.

[58] D. José de Lacerda, *A New Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1871), 613.

craftsman.[59] Kalamma of Akola as well as Somnath of Tirgan in Goa were their family deities. Konkani was spoken by members of this community who lived along the coast. Kanarese was spoken by those who lived in the Sahyadris. When they produced items of wood, they were called Acharis or Badiges. This was the term used for carpenters.[60]

In the Kanara district, there were *gudigars* or carvers in places including Sirsi and Kumta. They were also called *chitars*. They were involved in engraving and painting. They also were believed to have come to the Kanara region from Goa after the arrival of the Portuguese. Their family deities included Nagesh, Mhalsa and Shantadurga. These shrines are found in Goa.[61]

In the Kanara district, the Konkan Kumbhar community were potters who spoke Konkani. They were found in Karwar and Yellapur and are believed to have come from Usgaon in Goa.[62] Thus, it can be seen that a number of artisan communities emigrated from Goa to the surrounding regions.

However, not all Hindus left Goa. Linschoten in the late sixteenth century informed that there were a number of people of different communities in Goa and the surrounding areas. These included Hindus, Muslims and Jews.[63] In a record dated 26 December 1672, Carré informed that previously it was felt that the Hindus were not to be allowed in Goa. However, the viceroy felt that in Goa there was a lack of trade and people. Further, Goa was on the verge of decay. Due to this, Hindus and merchants were allowed to conduct commerce.[64] It is believed that this took place under viceroy conde de São Vicente who died in AD 1668.[65] Alexander Hamilton recorded details of

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[59] F. J. Caldas Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Lisboa: Typographia da Parceria Antonio Maria Pereira, 1925), 286-87.

[60] Campbell, *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. 15 part 1: Kanara, 264.

[61] Campbell, *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. 15 part 1: Kanara, 265-66.

[62] Campbell, *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. 15 part 1: Kanara, 270.

[63] Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies: From the Old English Translation of 1598*, vol. 1, 222.

[64] Abbé Carré, *The Travels of Abbé Carré in India and the Near East 1672 to 1674*, ed. Charles Fawcett and Richard Burn, trans. Lady Fawcett, vol. 1: From France through Syria, Iraq and the Persian Gulf to Surat, Goa, and Bijapur, with an Account of His Grave Illness (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1947), 217.

[65] Carré, *The Travels of Abbé Carré in India and the Near East 1672 to 1674*, vol. 1: From France through Syria, Iraq and the Persian Gulf to Surat, Goa, and Bijapur, with an Account of His Grave Illness, 217n2.

his travels between AD 1688 and 1723.[66] He informed that in the city of Goa, there were a number of Hindus. He further informed that they could not be convinced to convert to Christianity. However, they were accepted because they were more hardworking than the Christians, especially in the field of agriculture and the mechanical professions.[67] Thus, while some members of the craftsmen communities emigrated, it was noticed that a number of them remained in Goa.

Proficiency of the craftsmen

François Bernier, in the context of Mughal India wrote a letter in Delhi dated 1 July 1663.[68] In it, he informed that there were skilled artisans in the workshops. They were able to produce items of a high quality with the least amount of tools. The items they produced imitated European articles. These were so skilfully done that it was difficult to see the difference between the two. The gold ornaments produced would surpass those made by European goldsmiths.[69] The situation in Goa was also similar.

García de Silva y Figueroa was in Goa during the first half of the seventeenth century.[70] He informed that in the city of Goa, there were a number of jewellers, goldsmiths and silversmiths. He stated that if they were shown a sample of jewellery, they were able to imitate it very quickly. All this was done with very little equipment. He stated that these Indian goldsmiths and silversmiths were poor and did not make use of the furnaces and tools used by the craftsmen in Europe. As a source of fuel, they used a little coal. This was heated on a clay pot or tile. A boy would heat the coal by blowing air through a tube. The goldsmith would use a small anvil and a few rudimentary tools. He also commented that they worked for a very low cost. However, the items produced were well crafted and indicated their workmanship. He further

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[66] Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of the East-Indies: Being the Observations and Remarks of Capt. Alexander Hamilton, From the Year 1688 to 1723*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (London: Printed for A. Bettesworth and C. Hitch, 1739; repr., New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1995), Title page.

[67] Hamilton, *A New Account of the East-Indies: Being the Observations and Remarks of Capt. Alexander Hamilton, From the Year 1688 to 1723*, vol. 1, 248.

[68] François Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire A.D. 1656-1668*, ed. Vincent A. Smith, trans. Irving Brock and Archibald Constable, 2nd rev. ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1916), 230.

[69] Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire A.D. 1656-1668*, 254.

[70] García de Silva y Figueroa, *The Commentaries of D. García de Silva y Figueroa on his Embassy to Shah Abbas I of Persia on Behalf of Philip III, King of Spain*, ed. Jeffrey S. Turley and George Bryan Souza, trans. Jeffrey S. Turley (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 158-59.

observed that if they had worked regularly with such commitment, they would have earned a higher remuneration.[71]

The records of Jacques de Coutre were written in the first half of the seventeenth century.[72] He informed that Goa required to develop its defences. The Portuguese had started building a wall. However, he indicated that it was defenceless, disorganised and much larger than the city. He informed that during the time of Filipe II, an Italian engineer was sent to Goa and India. This engineer had drawn up plans for the walls and strengthening the fortresses. However, Coutre informed that the recommendations of the engineer were not followed. The fortresses had not been reinforced as per the plans. Coutre informed that the fortress of Reis Magos was unprotected and without any artillery. He recommended that the fortress be demolished and its materials be used to build another one. He informed that the new fortress and the fortress of Aguada could guard the river. He stated that the fortresses along the Malabar coast also required to be reinforced and there was a need for engineers. Further, he informed that in India the materials needed for fortification were cheap. Also, the labourers worked for low salaries. The labourers worked for half a *real* a day while their supervisors worked for one *real* a day. The workers survived with these wages and at the same time worked very well. As a comparison, he informed that in Madrid for twenty *ducats* spent on some work, the same could be done in India with one *ducat*.[73] This observation was possibly the general situation regarding India.

The work of A. Lopes Mendes was published in AD 1886.[74] He informed that the local artisans always asked for money to be paid in advance, before beginning the work. The reason provided by the artisans were that they were poor and did not have the means to pay for the items required for completing their work. However, he informed that even with their few and limited tools and patience, they were able to

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[71] Figueroa, *The Commentaries of D. García de Silva y Figueroa on his Embassy to Shah Abbas I of Persia on Behalf of Philip III, King of Spain*, 208-09.

[72] Jacques de Coutre, *The Memoirs and Memorials of Jacques de Coutre: Security, Trade and Society in 16th- and 17th-Century Southeast Asia*, ed. Peter Borschberg, trans. Roopanjali Roy (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2014), 33-35.

[73] Coutre, *The Memoirs and Memorials of Jacques de Coutre: Security, Trade and Society in 16th- and 17th-Century Southeast Asia*, 259-61.

[74] A. Lopes Mendes, *A India Portugueza: Breve descripção das possessões Portuguezas na Asia*, vol. 2 (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1886), Title page.

imitate the best European workers who utilised better tools.[75] The observations indicate that the craftsmen and workers were very proficient in their craft.

Some unpleasant interactions with certain craftsmen

Niccolao Manucci related an incident which occurred when he first visited Goa in AD 1666-67.[76] He informed that his friend, Clodio Menolhão who was a French merchant had a disagreement with a local shoemaker of Goa. Menolhão accused the shoemaker of cheating him and the shoemaker left without responding. However, two days later Menolhão was confronted by the shoemaker and another companion. The shoemaker held a pot of excrement while his companion held a firearm. The shoemaker gave Menolhão a choice of receiving one of the two. Menolhão did not want to lose his life by being shot with the firearm. After receiving some abuse, Menolhão had excrement hurled at him by the shoemaker.[77]

Details of the travels of Richard F. Burton to Goa and other parts of India were published in AD 1851.[78] He informed that in Panjim in Goa, the farriers, carpenters and others used to ask for an excessive amount to provide their services. Also, they would usually inform the customer that they were engaged with other work and keep the customer waiting. It was only after repeated summoning that would they attend the customer.[79] A farrier referred to a smith who was specialised in horseshoes.[80] Hence, there were some instances where there were unpleasant interactions with certain craftsmen.

Slaves

The services of slaves were utilised to provide cheap labour. Slaves were from various places including Asia and Africa. The number of slaves owned by the state were few. They were usually employed in the galleys and in gunpowder manufacture. A

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[75] Mendes, *A India Portugueza: Breve descripção das possessões Portuguezas na Asia*, vol. 2, 139.

[76] Niccolao Manucci, *Storia do Mogor or Mogol India 1653-1708*, trans. William Irvine, vol. 3 (London: John Murray, 1907), vii.

[77] Manucci, *Storia do Mogor or Mogol India 1653-1708*, vol. 3, 172-74.

[78] Burton, *Goa, and the Blue Mountains; or, Six Months of Sick Leave*, Title page.

[79] Burton, *Goa, and the Blue Mountains; or, Six Months of Sick Leave*, 105.

[80] Sykes, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, 377.

number of slaves were employed by the Portuguese settlers and the locals. There were also a small number of slaves who were obtained when vessels without the required documentation were captured.[81]

Linschoten informed that on the main street of Goa called the Straight Street, there used to be the *leylon*.[82] Pyrard also referred to this street called the Straight Street.[83] It was the *Rua Direita* and it was called this as most of the other streets were curved.[84] The term *leylon* referred to the Portuguese word *leilão* or auction.[85] Linschoten stated that all sorts of things were sold here. These included jewellery, horses, items from Cambay, Bengal, China and other places. This street was also where slaves were sold. He informed that some of the Portuguese lived off the earnings of their slaves. The slaves earned money by fetching water. The women slaves made conserves of fruit and fine needle work. Their masters would then send one of them to sell the items in the streets.[86] Linschoten also pointed out that the Portuguese and *mestiços* craftsmen used the services of slaves in their shops.[87]

The Goa Provincial Council of AD 1567 felt that slavery was unjust. However, it was allowed if one of certain circumstances were met. These included, if one was born to a female slave or if one was apprehended in a war or if a criminal had been sentenced to slavery. It was also allowed if one had sold oneself or if parents sold their child into slavery.[88] Galley slaves were housed in a place called the *bhangasala*. This term meant a fearful place. It was located where the galleys were anchored.[89]

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[81] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 89-90.

[82] Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies: From the Old English Translation of 1598*, vol. 1, 184-85.

[83] François Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil: Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619*, ed. and trans. Albert Gray and H. C. P. Bell, vol. 2 part 1 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1888), 51.

[84] Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil: Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619*, vol. 2 part 1, 51n1.

[85] Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies: From the Old English Translation of 1598*, vol. 1, 185n1.

[86] Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies: From the Old English Translation of 1598*, vol. 1, 185-86.

[87] Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies: From the Old English Translation of 1598*, vol. 1, 187-88.

[88] John Correia-Afonso, *The Jesuits in India 1542-1773: A Short History* (Gujarat: Gujarat Sahitya Prakash, 1997), 114.

[89] Anthony D'Costa, *The Christianisation of the Goa Islands 1510-1567* (Bombay: Heras Institute, St. Xavier's College, 1965), 144.

In Goa, the Jesuit Brother Pedro Afonso in a letter dated 01 December 1560, informed that Christian slave women who were ill had come to them seeking help. Their masters had turned them away as they were no longer of use to them. Brother Afonso took these women back to their masters. Some of the masters abused Brother Pedro Afonso, while others accepted them again or issued a certificate freeing their slaves. This certificate was essential for the slave women to be admitted into the hospital of the *Misericórdia*. This was a requirement as masters would often claim their slaves back once their health had recovered.[90]

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed a large number of slaves serving the religious orders.[91] In AD 1574, the St. Paul's college had forty-eight slaves. Their work included the drawing of water, washing of clothes and preparation of meals. It was noted that their services were indispensable for the functioning of the college. However, it appears that they were treated well. They were also provided basic education and learned to play various musical instruments.[92] In the seventeenth century, the nuns of the convent of Santa Monica were allotted a total of one hundred and twenty slaves. European or Eurasian artisans would have female slaves which amounted to twenty. It was even informed that a *mulato* blacksmith had a number of slaves. In addition to male slaves, he had twenty-six women and girl slaves.[93]

Work on the Bom Jesus in Goa started in AD 1594 and a number of slaves were used in its construction. In June 1597, Father Pimenta wrote of the need to free these slaves. Slaves were to be used to complete the construction. They were not to be auctioned or sold and only those most essential were to be kept. It was informed that sixty masons as well as other labourers took part in the work on the transepts of the Bom Jesus. It was consecrated in AD 1605.[94]

In Goa, from AD 1682 to 1759 it was noticed that a number of slaves received manumission. There were slaves from the Gatual community, the Curumbin

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[90] Anthony D'Costa, *The Call of the Orient: A Response by Jesuits in the Sixteenth Century* (Mumbai: Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, 1999), 13-15.

[91] Jeanette Pinto, "Slavery: The Jesuit Response in Goa," *Indica* 38, no. 1 & 2 (March & September 2001): 174.

[92] Joseph Velinkar, "St. Paul's College, Goa (1541-1759)," *Indica* 46, no. 2 (September 2009): 164-65.

[93] C. R. Boxer, *Portuguese Society in the Tropics: The Municipal Councils of Goa, Macao, Bahia, and Luanda, 1510-1800* (Madison and Milwaukee: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1965), 38-39.

[94] Correia-Afonso, *The Jesuits in India 1542-1773: A Short History*, 113-16.

community as well as the artisan communities which included the shoemakers, washermen, carpenters and others. The Gatual community were probably from the Ghat region.[95] The Curumbin community were of the Shudra caste and were agriculturalists.[96] A number of people were presented for manumission. A record dated 25 September 1682 indicated that a person of the caste of *alparqueiro* by the name of Damião was presented.[97] An *alparca* was a kind of footwear, the sole of which was adjusted with a strap of leather or some other fabric.[98] An *alparqueiro* was one who made *alparcas*.[99] On 7 October 1682, a number of women were presented. These included a woman by the name of Antonia of the caste of *alparqueira*. Also presented were Julliana of the caste of *alparqueira* and Pascoela of the caste of *faraz*.[100] A *faraz* referred to a *mahar*.[101] On 8 October 1682, Domingos Fernandes presented a woman by the name of Magdanela of the caste of *mainata*.[102] The *mainato* was the one who washed clothes. The corresponding term for the female member of the community was the *mainata*.[103] These were of the washermen community

On 12 October 1682, a woman named Luiza of the carpenter caste was presented.[104] On 16 October 1682, Dona Joana de Souza presented a woman named Illena of the *faraz* caste.[105] On 26 October 1682, a man named Antonio of the caste of *oleiro* was presented.[106] An *oleiro* referred to a potter.[107] However, at times even the artisan class presented people for manumission as can be seen in some cases. On 1 October 1682, Antonio Mendes, a *mainato* from São Matheus presented a woman by

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[95] P. P. Shirodkar, "Slavery in Coastal India (With Special Reference to Goa, Daman and Diu)," *Purabhilekh-Puratatva* 3, no. 1 (January-June 1985): 34.

[96] Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, vol. 1, 338.

[97] HAG, *Escravos: Alforria dada aos escravos (1682-1759)*, n.º 860, fol. 8v.

[98] F. J. Caldas Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Lisboa: Typographia da Parceria Antonio Maria Pereira, 1925), 98.

[99] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 1, 98.

[100] HAG, *Escravos: Alforria dada aos escravos (1682-1759)*, n.º 860, fol. 39v.

[101] Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, vol. 1, 390.

[102] HAG, *Escravos: Alforria dada aos escravos (1682-1759)*, n.º 860, fol. 39v.

[103] Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, vol. 2 (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1921), 12.

[104] HAG, *Escravos: Alforria dada aos escravos (1682-1759)*, n.º 860, fol. 42r.

[105] HAG, *Escravos: Alforria dada aos escravos (1682-1759)*, n.º 860, fol. 42v.

[106] HAG, *Escravos: Alforria dada aos escravos (1682-1759)*, n.º 860, fol. 45v.

[107] Lacerda, *A New Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages*, 653.

the name of Maria of the Gatual caste.[108] On 3 October 1682, Salvador da Silva who was a *mestre pedreiro* or master stonemason and a resident of Chorão, presented a man named Domingos of the caste of Curumbin.[109] These records indicate that a number of people of the craftsmen and artisan communities, who were slaves, were manumitted. These records also provide the names of women of the artisan classes who were manumitted.

Forced labour

The *Foral* or Charter of AD 1526 made mention in clause twenty-one that unpaid labour or *begari* could be exacted from the villagers. This could be for the clearing of weeds from the walls of the city as well as for other instances as required.[110] Forced labour was also used to tow the Portuguese ships to sea. This labour had become a burden on the people who required to work to sustain themselves. They also had to pay taxes on the crops they grew. In AD 1545, on the advice of Miguel Vaz, the king of Portugal agreed to free the Christians from this labour. However, he required more information before deciding about other people.[111] Teotonio R. de Souza also informed that the Portuguese demanded some compulsory work or *veth begari*. There was also forced labour practiced in the galleys and in the manufacture of gunpowder. There was also the presence of domestic slavery in the villages. This restricted the locals from finding jobs in the city of Goa. In the villages, it was also noticed that in the construction of places of worship, skilled labour was to be provided without payment.[112]

In the *Foral*, the clause twenty-one which informed of the clearing of the walls and other works, made use of the term *begarins* for these labourers.[113] *Begarim* or *begarins* or *bigairins* or *bygarys* referred to workers who performed forced labour. The work was compulsory which may have been with a salary or not. The term may have

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[108] HAG, *Escravos: Alforria dada aos escravos (1682-1759)*, n.º 860, fol. 26r.

[109] HAG, *Escravos: Alforria dada aos escravos (1682-1759)*, n.º 860, fol. 31v.

[110] B. H. Baden-Powell, "The Villages of Goa in the Early Sixteenth Century," *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 32, no. 2 (April 1900): 274.

[111] Anthony D'Costa, "Administrative, Social and Religious Conditions in the Goa Islands 1510-50," *Indica* 1, no. 1 (March 1964): 27.

[112] Teotonio R. de Souza, "Why Cuncolim Martyrs? - An Historical Re-Assessment," in *Jesuits in India: In Historical Perspective*, ed. Teotonio R. de Souza and Charles J. Borges (Macau: Instituto Cultural de Macau; Goa: Xavier Center of Historical Research: 1992), 41.

[113] J. H. da Cunha Rivara, ed., *APO-CR*, fasciculo 5 parte 1 (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1865; repr., New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1992), 126.

also referred to a labourer or worker.[114] Gaspar Correa informed that towards the end of AD 1510, work took place on the fortification of Goa. Those involved included the *mestre das obras* or master of the works called Tomaz Fernandes, twenty Portuguese stonemasons as well as other stonemasons of the land. There were a number of *cabouqueiros* and *trabalhadores* who were called *bigairins*.[115] The term *cabouqueiro* was the same as the term *cavouqueiro*.[116] A *cavouqueiro* referred to a someone who dug stones or an unskilled person.[117] The term *trabalhador* referred to a worker or labourer.[118] In a record dated 30 November 1512, Afonso de Albuquerque informed of some items in payment for the *bygarys* and other people.[119] Records of the religious orders of the seventeenth century show cash payments to *bigairins*. In March 1684, a certain amount of cash was paid to some *bigairins*.[120] In January 1691, a certain amount of cash was paid to some *bigairins*.[121] Hence, there are some instances which indicate that workers called the *bigairins* were paid.

Professional classes in Portugal

In AD 1384 during a turbulent period, the artisans of Lisbon supported king João I. Due to this action the king rewarded his supporters.[122] The *mesteres* or masters of Lisbon got the opportunity to be represented on the city council. The *Casa dos Vinte e Quatro* or the House of the Twenty-four was the organisation which represented the artisans. Two representatives each of twelve professions were allowed on the city council of Lisbon. This was how it derived its name.[123] In due course, the number of representatives to the municipal council was limited to four. The body of Twenty-four

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[114] Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, vol. 1, 111.

[115] Gaspar Correa, *Lendas da India*, ed. Rodrigo José de Lima Felner, tomo 2 parte 1 (Lisboa: Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1860), 157.

[116] Lacerda, *A New Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages*, 178.

[117] Lacerda, *A New Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages*, 209.

[118] Lacerda, *A New Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages*, 890.

[119] Afonso de Albuquerque, *CAA*, ed. Raymundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato and Henrique Lopes de Mendonça, tomo 5 (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1915), 267.

[120] HAG, *Conventos extintos: Papeis (1681)*, n.º 4397, fol. 30r.

[121] HAG, *Conventos extintos: Papeis (1681)*, n.º 4397, fol. 79v.

[122] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 123.

[123] Carl A. Hanson, *Economy and Society in Baroque Portugal, 1668-1703* (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1981), 51.

continued, but could send only four *mesteres* who were representatives. This practice continued till AD 1755 when new changes took place in the aftermath of the great earthquake.[124]

Guild organisation

Goa was known as an important commercial centre since the rule of the Kadambas. Due to this, it is believed that guilds of merchants and craftsmen, which were present in the medieval period in the Karnataka region and Vijayanagara, would have been known in Goa. The Portuguese brought the guild organisation which was present in Lisbon to Goa. In Portugal in AD 1572, the regulations for the craft guilds from AD 1549 to 1564 were collected in a text. This text was called the *Livro dos regimentos dos officiaes mecanicos*. This was the book of regulations of the artisans.[125] In Portugal, there were professionals who included the goldsmiths, silversmiths, painters, booksellers, merchants and others who formed a separate class from the rest of the people. Due to certain exemptions granted to them, they had a position which was likened to part nobility.[126]

There were two *juizes* or inspectors for every craft guild on a yearly basis. They looked after raw materials, quality, prices and could fine violators. The *almotacels* or market inspectors enforced the fines.[127] Each craft guild had two elected *mordomos* or presidents. Crafts were divided into *oficios* or crafts.[128] To open their own workshops, artisans needed to be tested by *examinadores* or examiners. The craftsmen had to complete an *aprendizagem* or apprenticeship period. This included a certain period as an *obreiro* or worker which had to be completed. Thereafter, a work as instructed by the examiners had to be produced. On successfully passing these stages, the craftsman would receive a certificate. Thereafter, the craftsman could setup a workshop and employ workers.[129] A record dated AD 1615 informed that Bertolameo Soares, a *mestre pedreiro* or master stonemason and *examinador* of the craft examined Pero Lopes, a

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[124] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 123-24.

[125] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 121-22.

[126] Hanson, *Economy and Society in Baroque Portugal, 1668-1703*, 44.

[127] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 122.

[128] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 123.

[129] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 123.

stonemason who was a resident of the city of Goa and of the village of Goa Velha.[130] A record dated AD 1617 informed that Antonio Rodrigues, master stonemason and *juiz examinador* of the same craft examined Bernardo de Lima, a stonemason who was a resident of the city of Goa.[131]

Separate streets for craftsmen

In Portugal, the mechanical professions formed their own guilds. The members of chief guilds assembled in one street. This was seen in Lisbon and other cities. In doing so, the *mesteres* or masters of different professions were able to control the quality of their work and secure themselves. They were also easily accessible to customers.[132] In the context of medieval Portuguese cities, the street played an important role. It was a place where work and trade were conducted. It was also a place where power was exhibited at the time of religious and secular processions.[133] In the context of late medieval Portuguese cities, there were certain chief streets. These included the *Rua Direita* or the Main Street. Another was the *Rua dos Mercadores* or the Merchant Street.[134]

In Goa, the baptism of the *mocadão* or headman of the goldsmiths took place on 27 August 1559. The *Rua dos Ourives* or the Street of the Goldsmiths had banners for the festivities.[135] A record dated June 1560 indicated that there were *ourivesarias* in Goa, namely the one on the street on the way towards *São Paulo* and another on the way towards the street of *Nossa Senhora da Luz*.[136] The *ourivesaria* referred to a shop where works of gold and silver were made. The *ourivesaria da prata* specifically referred to a shop of a silversmith. The *ourivesaria do ouro* explicitly referred to a shop

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[130] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registo das cartas patentes (1612-1619)*, n.º 7752, fols. 154r-154v.

[131] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registo das cartas patentes (1617-1618)*, n.º 7753, fols. 367v-368r.

[132] Hanson, *Economy and Society in Baroque Portugal, 1668-1703*, 50-51.

[133] Luísa Trindade, "From Islam to Christianity: Urban Changes in Medieval Portuguese Cities," in *Religion and Power in Europe: Conflict and Convergence*, ed. Joaquim Carvalho (Pisa: Edizioni Plus - Pisa University Press, 2007), 36.

[134] Luísa Trindade, "Jewish Communities in Portuguese Late Medieval Cities: Space and Identity," in *Religion, Ritual and Mythology: Aspects of Identity Formation in Europe*, ed. Joaquim Carvalho (Pisa: Edizioni Plus - Pisa University Press, 2006), 66.

[135] Josef Wicki, ed., *DI*, vol. 4 (1557-1560) (Romae: Apud "Monumenta Historica Soc. Iesu", 1956), 327.

[136] Wicki, *O Livro do "Pai dos Cristãos"*, 196-97.

of a goldsmith.[137] A record dated 8 January 1588 informed of a street of the *pintores*.[138] A *pintor* referred to a painter.[139] There was also the *Rua dos Chapeleiros* and the *Rua dos Toneleiros*.[140] A *chapeleiro* was a hatter or one who manufactured hats.[141] The *Rua dos Toneleiros* referred to the Street of the Coopers.[142] The *toneleiro* was the same as the *tanoeiro*.[143] A *tanoeiro* referred to a cooper.[144]

In Goa, Pyrard informed of the street called *la Ruo drecho*.[145] This was the *Rua Direita*.[146] He informed that on either side of this street were lapidaries, goldsmiths, merchants and artisans. They included Portuguese, Italians and other Europeans.[147] Pyrard further stated that each of the craftsmen and merchants had their own street. The goldsmiths and lapidaries had their own street.[148] Some of the streets were named after the professionals who were present there like the *Rua dos Ourives* or Street of the Goldsmiths, the *Rua dos Ferreiros* or Street of the Blacksmiths, the *Rua dos Surradores* or Street of the Curriers.[149] A currier was one who was involved in the preparation and colouring of tanned leather.[150]

A record dated AD 1623 stated that viceroy Dom Francisco da Gama informed that separate streets were assigned for the professionals including the goldsmiths,

[137] Lacerda, *A New Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages*, 662.

[138] J. H. da Cunha Rivara, ed., *APO-CR*, fasciculo 5 parte 3 (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1866; repr., New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1992), 1160-61.

[139] Lacerda, *A New Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages*, 706.

[140] Figueroa, *The Commentaries of D. García de Silva y Figueroa on his Embassy to Shah Abbas I of Persia on Behalf of Philip III, King of Spain*, 209.

[141] Lacerda, *A New Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages*, 217.

[142] Figueroa, *The Commentaries of D. García de Silva y Figueroa on his Embassy to Shah Abbas I of Persia on Behalf of Philip III, King of Spain*, 209n144.

[143] Lacerda, *A New Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages*, 886.

[144] Lacerda, *A New Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages*, 867.

[145] Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil: Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619*, vol. 2 part 1, 51.

[146] Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil: Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619*, vol. 2 part 1, 51n1.

[147] Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil: Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619*, vol. 2 part 1, 51.

[148] Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil: Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619*, vol. 2 part 1, 57.

[149] Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil: Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619*, vol. 2 part 1, 57n1.

[150] Sykes, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, 251.

locksmiths, coppersmiths, metalworkers, canvas manufacturers and others. They were to live and have their workshops facing the streets. This was done so that they could be easily accessed by customers. It was also done so that their work could be checked. Anyone who violated the order would face a fine of fifty *cruzados* and a whipping.[151] Thus, it was seen that certain crafts had separate streets where they conducted their work.

Craftsmen, guilds and their presence in celebrations and processions

A record of around the mid-sixteenth century, informed of the entry of governor Dom João de Castro into the city of Goa. It was informed that artillery was fired into the air. After crossing the *Rua Direita*, there were people with different types of flowers and scented water which were scattered on the governor. The Hindus and the craftsmen of the different crafts offered things of their professions. The goldsmiths brought small items of beaten gold. The silversmiths did the same. Also present were the merchants of silk.[152]

There was a record of instructions which informed of how the incoming viceroy was to be welcomed when he came to India.[153] This record is believed to have been from the sixteenth century towards the end of the reign of king Dom Sebastião.[154] In Goa, it was informed that a number of municipal officials were to be present. These included the *vereadores*, *juizes* and others. It was further informed that the goldsmiths, painters, washermen, merchants of cloth and others were also to be present in the procession.[155]

The crafts had separate *bandeiras* or standards. The standard had a religious symbol of a patron saint. More than one craft could share a patron saint. The banner with this patron saint was carried during the procession of Corpus Christi.[156] In Portugal, a record from the late fifteenth century AD, indicated that the procession of

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[151] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, Appendix B-8, 219.

[152] Diogo do Couto, *Da Asia de Diogo de Couto: Dos feitos, que os Portuguezes fizeram na conquista, e descubrimento das terras, e mares do Oriente*, decada 6: parte 1 (Lisboa: Regia officina typografica, 1781), 317-18.

[153] J. H. da Cunha Rivara, ed., *APO-CR*, fasciculo 2 (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1857; repr., New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1992), 221.

[154] Rivara, *APO-CR*, fasciculo 2, 221n(a).

[155] Rivara, *APO-CR*, fasciculo 2, 221-22.

[156] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 123.

278

Corpus Christi involved various professionals. The cobblers, curriers, tanners and related crafts took part in the procession. The tailors carried the depiction of a serpent tempting Eve. The blacksmiths, farriers, barbers and others carried a litter depicting Saint George slaying a dragon. The weavers, carders and others carried the litter of Saint Bartholomew. The figure of a devil tied with rope was pulled by them. The silk weavers and other carried the image of Saint Sebastian. The cord makers carried the image of Saint Michael, the Archangel which depicted him expelling devils. The potters, tile makers and others had the image of Saint Claire. The carpenters, masons and others carried the litter of Saint Catherine. The goldsmiths and tinsmiths carried the litter of Saint John along with lit torches. Other secular and religious groups also took part in the procession.[157] The guilds were also involved in a similar Corpus Christi procession in Goa.

In Goa in a record dated 3 November 1618, it was informed that there would only be the celebration of Corpus Christi and the feast of Saint Catherine in which the craftsmen would carry their *bandeiras* as well as the figures of castles, dragons, snakes and others.[158] In this context, a *bandeira* was the flag or standard on which were the images of saints or religious emblems.[159] It was informed during feasts of Saint Isabel, Saint Martin, the Guardian angel and Saint Sebastian, the crafts would carry their banners but not the castles and other insignias. During the two celebrations of Corpus Christi and the feast of Saint Catherine, the *juizes* and *mordomos* of the crafts would allow the use of the castles and emblems. Those craftsmen who did not carry the assigned castle would be fined one thousand *reis* in the first instance. It was two thousand *reis* for the second instance. Half of the amount would go to the council and the other half to the guild. It was also informed that any *juiz* who would allow the craftsmen to carry the castles or other insignias on other days, besides these two days, would be fined ten *pardãos* for the first time and twenty *pardãos* for the second time. Half of the amount would go to the council and half to the accuser. It was also informed that the present *vereadores* and future ones were not to change this *postura* without a

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[157] A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *Daily Life in Portugal in the Late Middle Ages*, trans. S. S. Wyatt (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1971), 217-19.

[158] Viriato A. C. B. de Albuquerque, *O Senado de Goa: Memoria historico-archeologica* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1909), 426.

[159] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 1, 282.

reference from the Twenty-four.[160] The Twenty-four would have referred to the House of the Twenty-four.

In a record dated 27 April 1623, Pietro della Valle informed that the procession of Corpus Christi in Goa was held in April of that year. He further informed that the procession was not held on the correct day of the feast which took place during the rainy season. This was because the procession could not be performed in the rain. He observed that the clergy took part in the procession. There were also people in disguises and there were depictions of imaginary animals. However, he stated that the procession was more appropriate for a village than to a city.[161]

A record dated 16 November 1691 made mention of the procession of *Corpo de Deus* in Salcete.[162] This procession was the same as the Corpus Christi and it was informed that it was still celebrated. The image of São Jorge (Saint George), who was known as the *camarancho santo* or *santo dos ferreiros* always appeared in the procession. The image was mounted on a horse which was pulled by a blacksmith of the village.[163] The work which mentioned this observation was published in AD 1852.[164] The blacksmith was known as a *kammar*.[165] The term *santo* referred to a saint.[166] The *camarancho santo* or *santo dos ferreiros* referred to the saint of the blacksmiths.

Guild headmen and collective responsibility

In a record dated 14 November 1559, it was informed that in Goa among the Muslims and Hindus, there were people with the title of *mocadão*. In the local language this referred to a superintendent. This person was superior to the others.[167] The word

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[160] Albuquerque, *O Senado de Goa: Memoria historico-archeologica*, 426.

[161] Pietro della Valle, *The Travels of Pietro della Valle in India: From the Old English Translation of 1664*, ed. Edward Grey, trans. G. Havers, vol. 1 (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1892), 167.

[162] Filippe Nery Xavier, *Collecção das leis peculiares das communidades agricolas das aldeas dos Concelhos das Ilhas, Salcete e Bardez*, parte 1 (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1852), 53.

[163] Xavier, *Collecção das leis peculiares das communidades agricolas das aldeas dos Concelhos das Ilhas, Salcete e Bardez*, parte 1, 53n1.

[164] Xavier, *Collecção das leis peculiares das communidades agricolas das aldeas dos Concelhos das Ilhas, Salcete e Bardez*, parte 1, Title page.

[165] Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa: From 10000 B.C. to 1352 A.D.*, 45.

[166] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 2, 832.

[167] Wicki, *DI*, vol. 4 (1557-1560), 324.

mocadão was the same as the word *mukaddam* and referred to a headman.[168] The baptism of the *mocadão* of the goldsmiths took place on 27 August 1559.[169] A letter from Goa dated 14 November 1559, informed of a *mocadão* of painters who became a Christian.[170]

The working of the guilds can be seen from a study of the guild of barbers. The guild members elected the *mukaddam*. However, this person had to have the approval of the municipality. The *mukaddam* was assisted by four arbiters who were also elected. The guild *mukaddams* and guild inspectors were to be Portuguese. The representatives of the guilds to the municipal board were also to be Portuguese. The decisions of the *mukaddam* was final. Those who did not comply with the decisions of the *mukaddam* paid a fine of ten *cruzados*.[171] In AD 1644, there is evidence of collective responsibility between seventy-one goldsmiths who worked on the *Rua de São Paulo*. It was decided that even if any one person fled with gold, silver or precious stones given to him, the others would compensate the owner.[172] Thus, there is evidence of craft guild activity in Goa.

Municipality of Goa and craft administration

The *Senado da Camara* referred to the municipal council.[173] There were ten members of the municipal council who were elected annually. These included three *vereadores* or aldermen.[174] It was noticed that of these three, there was one who was a *vereador fidalgo* and there were two who were *vereadores nobres*.[175] There were two

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[168] Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive*, ed. William Crooke, 2nd ed. (London: John Murray, 1903), 569.

[169] Wicki, *DI*, vol. 4 (1557-1560), 327.

[170] António da Silva Rego, ed., *DMP: Índia*, vol. 7 (1559) (Lisboa: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1952), 335-36.

[171] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 125.

[172] M. N. Pearson, "Indigenous Dominance in a Colonial Economy: The Goa Rendas, 1600-1670," in *Government and Governance of European Empires, 1450-1800*, ed. A. J. R. Russell-Wood, Vol. 21 part 1 of An Expanding World: The European Impact on World History, 1450-1800 (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2000), 90.

[173] Boxer, *Portuguese Society in the Tropics: The Municipal Councils of Goa, Macao, Bahia, and Luanda, 1510-1800*, 3.

[174] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 100.

[175] Boxer, *Portuguese Society in the Tropics: The Municipal Councils of Goa, Macao, Bahia, and Luanda, 1510-1800*, 12.

juizes ordinários or justices of peace. There was also one *procurador da cidade* or city attorney and four *procuradores dos mesteres* or worker's representatives. Further, the city captain also took part in the city administration. However, his participation was usually resented by the others.[176]

Since the time of Albuquerque, the municipal positions were set aside for the *casados* and their descendants. The *casados* were the married Portuguese citizens in Goa. In AD 1542, it was clarified that the representatives of the *mesteres* were to be married residents who were Portuguese by birth. They could not be persons of another nation or race.[177]

A record dated 15 November 1571 informed that the three *vereadores* were Francisco de Brito, Antonio Rebello and Vasco de Pina. The two *juizes ordinários* were Nuno Fernandes Girão and Paulo de Freitas. The one *procurador da cidade* was Rui Freire. The four *procuradores dos mesteres* were Simão Fernandes who was a *corrieiro*, Antonio Gonçalves who was a *tanoeiro*, Manoel Rodrigues who was a *sapateiro* and Francisco Matheus who was a *ferreiro*.[178] A *corrieiro* was one who made or sold items of leather like harnesses, bags and other items.[179] A *tanoeiro* was a cooper who made barrels.[180] A *sapateiro* was a shoemaker who made or sold shoes.[181] A *ferreiro* was a blacksmith who made or sold items of iron.[182] A record dated 9 December 1609 informed that the three *vereadores* were João Caiado de Gamboa, Pero Correa de Laserda and Fernão d'Andrade Zuzarte. The *juizes ordinário* was Antonio Moreira da Fonçeca. The *procurador da cidade* was Francisco Machado. The four *procuradores dos mesteres* were Antonio Jorge, Miguel João, Marcos Fernandes and Amador Ferreira.[183] A record dated 3 November 1618 informed that the three *vereadores* were Antonio de Tavora, Francisco Ferreira de Sa and Luiz da Costa Lobato. The two *juizes ordinários* were Gaspar Mendes de Lemos and Bertholameo Pereira. The one

[176] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 100.

[177] Boxer, *Portuguese Society in the Tropics: The Municipal Councils of Goa, Macao, Bahia, and Luanda, 1510-1800*, 34.

[178] Rivara, *APO-CR*, fasciculo 2, 188-89.

[179] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 1, 582.

[180] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 2, 973.

[181] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 2, 834.

[182] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 1, 1045.

[183] Antonio Lourenço Caminha, *Obras ineditas de Diogo de Couto, chronista da India, e guarda mor da Torre do Tombo* (Lisboa: Impressão Imperial e Real, 1808), 66-67.

procurador da cidade was João da Silva. The four *procuradores dos mesteres* were Domingos da Fonsecca who was a *sirgueiro*, Gonsalo Luis who was an *espingardeiro*, Diogo Rodrigues who was a *sapateiro* and Inacio Domingues who was a *tanoeiro*.[184] A *sirgueiro* was one who worked with silk threads and cords.[185] An *espingardeiro* was one who manufactured or sold guns.[186]

In a record dated 3 April 1633, it was informed that the *vereadores* were Lourenço Carvalho and Romão de Lemos. The *juizes ordinários* were Manoel Pinto Brochado and Francisco d'Oliveira Mostacho. The *procurador da cidade* was Baltazar Garcez. The four *procuradores dos mesteres* were Bertolameu Machado, Antonio Carvalho, Pero Dias and Marcos de Matos.[187] In a record dated 16 April 1653, it was informed that the *vereadores* were Dom Gilianes de Noronha and Francisco de Magalhais. The *juizes* were Domingos Ferreira de Lemos and Francisco Pinto Ribeiro. The *procurador* was Francisco Henrriques Pinto. The four *mesteres* were Pero Soares, Antonio da Costa, João Alvres and Manoel Tavares.[188] In a record dated 25 May 1654, it was informed that the *vereadores* were Luis da Pedroza da Cunha, Domingos Roiz and Paulo Boracho de Siqueira. The *juizes* were Antonio Ferreira and Antonio Soares da Veiga. The *procurador* was João Pereira de Vasconsellos. The *procuradores dos mesteres* were Manoel Roiz de Paz, Domingos Jorge and Manoel Roiz.[189] In a record dated 7 March 1655, it was informed that the three *vereadores* were Luis Pires Pachequo, Pedro Homem Ferreira and Aires de Sousa da Silva. The two *juizes* were Paschoal de Torres and Manoel Laureins. The *procurador* was Francisco Soares de Castelbranco. The four *procuradores dos mesteres* were Lucas Fernandes, João Gonçalves, Matheus Mendes and Duarte Rodrigues.[190] In a record dated 13 January 1656, it was informed that the *vereadores* were Dom Luis de Mello, Manoel Corte Real de Sampayo and João Cardoso Sodre. The *juizes* were Simão Pinto Preto and João do Prado. The *procurador* was João Pereira de Vasconsellos. However, Matheus Mendez

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[184] HAG, *Senado de Goa - Almotaçaria: Livro de posturas camarárias (1808-1822)*, n.º 7795, fol. 2r.

[185] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 2, 892.

[186] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 1, 925.

[187] Julio Firmino Judice Biker, ed., *CT*, tomo 1 (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1881), 293-94.

[188] Panduranga Pissurlencar, ed., *ACE*, vol. 3 (1644-1658) (Bastorá, Goa: Tipografia Rangel, 1955), 242.

[189] Pissurlencar, *ACE*, vol. 3 (1644-1658), 340.

[190] Julio Firmino Judice Biker, ed., *CT*, tomo 2 (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1882), 232.

de Maya came and stayed in his place. The *procuradores dos mesteres* were Domingos João and Antonio João.[191] In a record dated 7 October 1657, it was informed that the *vereadores* were Luis de Mello de Sampayo, Miguel de Valadares Sotto Mayor and Simão Teixeira Thibao. The *juizes* were Antonio da Fonçequa Guedes and Luis da Costa de Miranda. The *procurador* was Matheus Mendes de Maya. The *procuradores dos mesteres* were Pedro Soares and Antonio Duarte. Antonio Duarte was a goldsmith.[192]

In a record dated 5 March 1663, it was informed that the *vereadores* were Diogo de Mello de Castro, Dom Fernando de Castel Branco and Joseph Vas Freire. The *juizes* were Antonio Gil Pretto and Manoel de Silva Cabral. The *procurador* was Fabião Ferreira. The four *procuradores dos mesteres* were Domingos Jorge, Manoel Roiz, Manoel da Silva and Antonio da Costa.[193] In a record dated 23 August 1668, it was informed that the *vereadores* were Diogo de Freitas de Macedo, Manoel Salgado and Manoel de Moura Rolim. The *juizes* were Domingos Barreto and Miguel dalmeida da Silva. The *procurador* was Amaro Semois Pereira. The *procuradores dos mesteres* were Domingos João, Antonio Leitão, Manoel Pinheiro and Luis da Costa.[194] The occupations of some of the *procuradores dos mesteres* are not known. However, from those which are known, it is seen that they were from different professions.

The *Casa dos Vinte e Quatro*

The activities of the artisans were looked after by the *Casa dos Vinte e Quatro* or the House of the Twenty-four. This body elected the four representatives to the municipal council.[195] The House of the Twenty-four in Goa represented the different guilds. The *juiz do povo* or the Judge of the People who was the president of this organisation was elected. He presented the four representatives sent by the organisation to the municipal board.[196] A record dated 15 November 1571 informed that the *juiz* of

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[191] Pissurlencar, *ACE*, vol. 3 (1644-1658), 426-28.

[192] Pissurlencar, *ACE*, vol. 3 (1644-1658), 455-59.

[193] Panduranga Pissurlencar, ed., *ACE*, vol. 4 (1659-1695) (Bastorá, Goa: Tipografia Rangel, 1956), 126.

[194] Pissurlencar, *ACE*, vol. 4 (1659-1695), 193.

[195] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 98.

[196] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 125.

the *Casa dos Vinte e Quatro* was Antonio Pires who was a *corrieiro*.[197] In a record dated 16 April 1653, it was informed that the *juiz* of the *Casa dos Vinte e Quatro* was Lucas Fernandes.[198] In a record dated 25 May 1654, it was informed that the *juiz* of the *Casa dos Vinte e Quatro* was Pero Soares.[199] In a record dated 5 March 1663, it was informed that the *juiz* of the *Casa dos Vinte e Quatro* was Manoel dos Santos.[200] In a record dated 23 August 1668, it was informed that the *juiz do povo* was Manoel Roiz.[201]

Conflict between the *vereadores* and the *procuradores dos mesteres*

The *procuradores dos mesteres* advised the council members about matters dealing with the artisans and merchants. However, at times they indulged in other matters. This brought them into conflict with the other members. In AD 1522, the *procuradores dos mesteres* protested that they were not treated well. In AD 1550, the *vereadores* wrote to the king that the *procuradores dos mesteres* should not sign classified letters of importance to the king. This was because they could not understand these matters due to their low position. In AD 1552, without the authorisation of the other council members, the *procuradores dos mesteres* wrote a letter complaining to the king. They informed the king that the viceroy had not helped Ormuz against the attack of the Turks. They also informed that the viceroy prevented the council members from writing the truth to the king. In AD 1595, the *vereadores* wrote to the king informing that the *procuradores dos mesteres* were not competent to deal with secrets.[202]

The four representatives of the workers did not sit with the other members of the municipal council. They had a separate bench opposite the three aldermen.[203] The aldermen were the *vereadores*.[204]

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[197] Rivara, *APO-CR*, fasciculo 2, 188-89.

[198] Pissurlencar, *ACE*, vol. 3 (1644-1658), 242.

[199] Pissurlencar, *ACE*, vol. 3 (1644-1658), 340.

[200] Pissurlencar, *ACE*, vol. 4 (1659-1695), 126-27.

[201] Pissurlencar, *ACE*, vol. 4 (1659-1695), 193.

[202] Boxer, *Portuguese Society in the Tropics: The Municipal Councils of Goa, Macao, Bahia, and Luanda, 1510-1800*, 27-28.

[203] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 103.

[204] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 100.

Despite the problems, there is one instance where the *vereadores* came to the aid of the *procuradores dos mesteres*. The council informed the king in AD 1605 of an incident when the council members visited the viceroy. Viceroy Martim Affonso de Castro did not want the four *procuradores dos mesteres* to be seated. Due to this, he kept everyone standing. The *vereadores* objected to this and informed the king that the four *procuradores dos mesteres* were a vital part of the council.[205] Except for judicial matters, they cast their vote with regards to various issues. The four representatives of the workers signed municipal document. This included letters to the king. The other members of the council considered them less capable. However, despite this, their right to sign documents was still maintained.[206] The presence of the four *procuradores dos mesteres* in the municipal council indicated that the interests of the non-elite classes were also considered.[207]

Municipality and the examination of craftsmen

There was a high degree of specialisation among the craftsmen. There are records which show that the artisans were examined and certificates were issued. This was done after confirmation by the municipality.[208] The records of the *Senado da Camara* or municipal council provide an insight into the different craftsmen present. The *Treslados das cartas patentes* and the *Registos gerais* give information about the licences issued to various artisans. The artisans were examined and licences were issued. This allowed them to pursue their occupation or have a shop. These craftsmen included carpenters, stonemasons, shoemakers and others.[209]

A record informed that Domingos Dias who a *carpinteiro* was examined by Antonio Simois who was a *mestre carpinteiro* or master carpenter and *juiz* of the craft of the carpenters.[210] (Appendix 2). A *carpinteiro* was one who worked with wood and

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[205] Boxer, *Portuguese Society in the Tropics: The Municipal Councils of Goa, Macao, Bahia, and Luanda, 1510-1800*, 28.

[206] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 103.

[207] Boxer, *Portuguese Society in the Tropics: The Municipal Councils of Goa, Macao, Bahia, and Luanda, 1510-1800*, 41.

[208] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 124.

[209] Teotonio R. de Souza, "Rural Economy and Life," in *Goa through the Ages: An Economic History*, ed. Teotonio R. de Souza, vol. 2 (1990; repr., New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1999), 88.

[210] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registo das cartas patentes (1612-1619)*, n.º 7752, fols. 51v-52r.

was a carpenter. The *carpintaria* or *carpentaria* was the work of the carpenter.[211] A record of the year AD 1615 informed that João Delguado who was a *mestre* carpenter examined Domingos Pinto, a carpenter who was a local Christian and a resident of Santa Lucia.[212]

A record dated AD 1614 informed that Francisco Dias who was the *juiz* of the crafts of the *fundidores*, *caldeireiros*, *estanhadores* and others, examined João Simois.[213] A *fundidor* was a foundry worker who worked in a *fundição* or metal foundry.[214] A *caldeireiro* referred to a brazier or a coppersmith.[215] An *estanhador* was a tinner who was involved in the tinning of copper or iron items.[216] A record dated AD 1615 informed that Francisco Dias who was the *juiz* of the crafts of the *fundidores*, *caldeireiros*, *estanhadores* and others, examined Francisco Teixeira of the craft of the foundry-worker.[217]

A record dated AD 1683 informed that the *juiz* of the crafts of the *ferrarias* and *mestre* of the *serralheiros* examined Pedro Ferrão of the craft of *ferreiro*.[218] A *ferreiro* was a blacksmith who made or sold items of iron. A *ferreiro* or blacksmith was associated with the *ferraria* which was the workshop where iron from the mines was prepared. It also referred to a shop of the blacksmith.[219] A *serralheiro* worked with objects of iron like locks and keys and was a locksmith. A *serralheria* was the workshop associated with the locksmith.[220]

A record informed that Martim Pires who was a *mestre pedreiro* or master stonemason and *juiz examinador* of the craft of the stonemasons examined Baltazar Pires, a stonemason.[221] A *pedreiro* was a person who worked with stone and was a

[211] Lacerda, *A New Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages*, 200.

[212] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registo das cartas patentes (1612-1619)*, n.º 7752, fols. 187r-187v.

[213] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registo das cartas patentes (1612-1619)*, n.º 7752, fol. 102r.

[214] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 1, 1104.

[215] Lacerda, *A New Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages*, 184.

[216] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 1, 945.

[217] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registo das cartas patentes (1612-1619)*, n.º 7752, fols. 188v-189r.

[218] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registo das cartas patentes (1680-1688)*, n.º 7757, fols. 103v-104r.

[219] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 1, 1045.

[220] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 2, 876.

[221] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registo das cartas patentes (1612-1619)*, n.º 7752, fols. 211v-212r.

stonemason.[222] A record dated AD 1617 informed that Lourenço da Cunha who was a *mestre* of the stonemasons and *juiz* of the same craft examined Sebastião Dias, a local Christian stonemason and resident of the city of Goa.[223] A record dated AD 1643 informed that Matheus de Menezes who was a *mestre* stonemason, *examinador* and *juiz* of the craft of the stonemasons examined Lazaro Correa, a stonemason.[224] A record dated AD 1647-48 informed that Matheus de Menezes who was a *mestre* stonemason, *examinador* and *juiz* of the craft of the stonemasons examined Ambrozio de Freitas, a stonemason.[225]

A record dated AD 1660 informed that Domingos Gomes who was the *juiz* of the craft of the *lapidarios* examined Matheus Gomes.[226] A record dated AD 1677 informed that Domingos de Miranda of the craft of the *lapidarios* was examined.[227]

A record dated AD 1614, informed that Simão Dias who was the *juiz* of the craft of the *tanoeiros* or coopers examined Pero Gomes for the craft of the coopers.[228] The *tanoaria* was the workshop where items of wood like barrels were manufactured by the coopers.[229] Another record informed that the *juiz* of the craft of the *tanoeiros* examined Bastião Roiz for the same craft.[230]

A record informed that Bertolameo Machado who was the *juiz* and Estivão Gomes who was the *mordomo* of the craft of the *sapateiros* or shoemakers examined Fabião Godinho who was a local of the area and of the same craft.[231] The *sapataria* was the workshop or shop of the *sapateiro* or shoemaker.[232] A record dated AD 1619 informed that Pero Gonçalves who was the *juiz examinador* of the craft of the *sapateiros* or shoemakers and Manoel da Souza who was the *mordomo* of the same

[222] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 2, 495.

[223] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registo das cartas patentes (1617-1618)*, n.º 7753, fols. 304v-305r.

[224] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registos gerais (1643-1647)*, n.º 7699, fols. 13v-14r.

[225] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registos gerais (1648-1653)*, n.º 7700, fols. 43r-43v.

[226] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registo das cartas patentes (1660-1664)*, n.º 7756, fols. 18r-18v.

[227] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registos gerais (1675-1680)*, n.º 7703, fols. 75v-76r.

[228] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registo das cartas patentes (1612-1619)*, n.º 7752, fols. 114r-114v.

[229] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 2, 973.

[230] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registo das cartas patentes (1620-1622)*, n.º 7754, fol. 26v.

[231] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registo das cartas patentes (1612-1619)*, n.º 7752, fol. 107r.

[232] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 2, 834.

craft examined Manoel de Souza, a local of the land and of the same craft.[233] A record dated AD 1619 informed that Pero Gonçalves who was the *juiz examinador* of the craft of the shoemakers and Manoel de Souza who was the *mordomo* of the same craft examined Matheus Barbudo, a local of the land.[234] A record dated AD 1642 informed that Lucas Fernandes who was the *juiz* and Joao Alvres who was the *mordomo* of the craft of the shoemakers examined Francisco Lopes, a local of the land and of the same craft.[235] A record dated AD 1692 informed that Joseph Roiz of the craft of the shoemakers was examined.[236] A record dated AD 1697 informed that Pedro Nunez of the craft of the shoemakers was examined.[237]

A record dated AD 1644 informed that Martim Gonçalves who was the *juiz examinador* of the craft of the *douradores* examined Domingos de Misquita of the same craft.[238] A *dourador* or *doirador* referred to a gilder.[239] A record dated AD 1646 informed that Domingos de Souza of the craft of gilders was also examined.[240] Another record dated AD 1653 informed that Martim Gonçalves who was the *juiz* of the craft of the gilders examined Domingos de Souza of the same craft.[241] It was noticed that the craftsmen were examined by master craftsmen of that particular craft.

Hindu craftsmen were also examined

A record informed that in AD 1613, Polpotia Naique who was a Hindu carpenter and resident of Santa Luiza, was examined by Antonio Simois who was a *mestre* carpenter and *juiz* of the craft of the carpenters.[242] (Appendix 3). A record informed that Pursso Naique who was a Hindu, was examined by Antonio Simois who was a *mestre* carpenter and *juiz* of the craft of the carpenters.[243] A record dated AD 1617 informed

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[233] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registo das cartas patentes (1620-1622)*, n.º 7754, fols. 30r-30v.

[234] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registo das cartas patentes (1620-1622)*, n.º 7754, fols. 36r-36v.

[235] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registos gerais (1640-1643)*, n.º 7698, fols. 136r-136v.

[236] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registos gerais (1688-1697)*, n.º 7704, fol. 131v.

[237] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registos gerais (1688-1697)*, n.º 7704, fol. 282v.

[238] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registos gerais (1643-1647)*, n.º 7699, fols. 48r-48v.

[239] Lacerda, *A New Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages*, 348.

[240] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registos gerais (1643-1647)*, n.º 7699, fol. 149r.

[241] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registos gerais (1653-1659)*, n.º 7702, fol. 50v.

[242] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registo das cartas patentes (1612-1619)*, n.º 7752, fols. 63v-64r.

[243] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registo das cartas patentes (1612-1619)*, n.º 7752, fols. 64v-65r.

that Bastião Tavares who was a *mestre* carpenter and *juiz* of the same craft examined Sidu Parbu, a resident of the ward of Santa Luiza.[244] A record of the year AD 1642 informed that Pascoal Pereira who was the *juiz* of the craft of the carpenters examined Pondia Naique who was a resident of the ward of São Thomé.[245] Another record dated AD 1642 informed that Pascoal Pereira who was the *juiz* of the craft of the carpenters examined another Pondea Naique, a resident of the ward of São Thomé and who was of the craft of the carpenters.[246]

A record dated AD 1614 informed that Francisco Dias who was the *juiz* of the crafts of the *fundidores*, *caldeireiros*, *estanhadores* and others, examined Matima Chetin of the craft of the *fundidor* or foundry-worker.[247]

A record dated AD 1617 informed that Lourenço da Cunha who was a *mestre* or master of the *pedreiros* or stonemasons and *juiz* of the same craft examined Feiru Parbu, a *bramane* stonemason and resident of the island of Goa.[248] The word *bramane* was the same as the *bragmane* or *brahmane* or *bracmane* and referred to a Brahmin.[249] A record dated AD 1642 informed that Matheus de Menezes who was a *mestre* stonemason, *examinador* and *juiz* of the craft of the stonemasons examined Malopa Camoti, a stonemason and resident of the city of Goa in the ward of Santa Luiza.[250] A record dated AD 1644 informed that Matheus de Menezes who was a *mestre* stonemason, *examinador* and *juiz* of the craft of the stonemasons examined Parpatia Gauro of the same craft.[251] A record dated AD 1646 informed that Matheus de Menezes who was a *mestre* stonemason, *examinador* and *juiz* of the craft of the stonemasons examined Vitu Naique, a stonemason and resident of the city.[252] A record dated AD 1646 informed that Matheus de Menezes who was a *mestre* stonemason, *examinador* and *juiz* of the craft of the stonemasons examined Caulia Gauro, a stonemason.[253] A

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[244] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registo das cartas patentes (1617-1618)*, n.º 7753, fols. 362r-362v.

[245] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registos gerais (1640-1643)*, n.º 7698, fols. 164v-165r.

[246] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registos gerais (1640-1643)*, n.º 7698, fols. 166r-166v.

[247] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registo das cartas patentes (1612-1619)*, n.º 7752, fol. 107v.

[248] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registo das cartas patentes (1617-1618)*, n.º 7753, fols. 305r-305v.

[249] Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, vol. 1, 144.

[250] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registos gerais (1640-1643)*, n.º 7698, fols. 143r-143v.

[251] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registos gerais (1643-1647)*, n.º 7699, fols. 31r-31v.

[252] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registos gerais (1643-1647)*, n.º 7699, fols. 183v-184r.

[253] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registos gerais (1643-1647)*, n.º 7699, fol. 202v.

record dated AD 1646-47 informed that Matheus de Menezes who was a *mestre* stonemason, *examinador* and *juiz* of the craft of the stonemasons examined Pondea Naique, a stonemason.[254] A record dated AD 1646-47 informed that Matheus de Menezes who was a *mestre* stonemason, *examinador* and *juiz* of the craft of the stonemasons examined Rama Gauro, a stonemason who was a resident of the city and a local of São Miguel.[255] A record dated AD 1647 informed that Matheus de Menezes who was a *mestre* stonemason, *examinador* and *juiz* of the craft of the stonemasons examined Ganessa / Ganeça Naique, a stonemason.[256] A record dated AD 1647 informed that Matheus de Menezes who was a *mestre* stonemason, *examinador* and *juiz* of the craft of the stonemasons examined Mucu Naique, a stonemason.[257] In a record dated AD 1681, it was informed that Nogo Naique of the craft of the stonemasons was examined.[258] Among the names of the various Hindu craftsmen who were examined, there was also the mention of a Brahmin stonemason.

A record dated AD 1649-50 informed that Pondia Parbu of the craft of the *lapidarios* was examined.[259] A record informed that Bonu Naique of the craft of the *lapidarios* was examined.[260] A record informed that Matheus Gomes who was the *juiz* of the craft of the *lapidarios* examined Mucu Naique.[261] Thus, it is seen that Hindu craftsmen were also examined for various crafts.

Alexander Hamilton recorded details of his travels between AD 1688 and 1723.[262] He informed that in the city of Goa, the Hindus were hardworking and seen in the fields of agriculture and the mechanical professions.[263] The Hindus also played an important role in the economy. Even in AD 1734, the king of Portugal remarked that

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[254] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registos gerais (1643-1647)*, n.º 7699, fol. 227r.

[255] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registos gerais (1643-1647)*, n.º 7699, fols. 227v-228r.

[256] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registos gerais (1643-1647)*, n.º 7699, fols. 240v-241r.

[257] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registos gerais (1643-1647)*, n.º 7699, fol. 248v.

[258] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registo das cartas patentes (1680-1688)*, n.º 7757, fol. 52v.

[259] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registos gerais (1648-1653)*, n.º 7700, fols. 146r-146v.

[260] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registos gerais (1648-1653)*, n.º 7700, fols. 184r-184v.

[261] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registo das cartas patentes (1660-1664)*, n.º 7756, fols. 62v-63r.

[262] Hamilton, *A New Account of the East-Indies: Being the Observations and Remarks of Capt. Alexander Hamilton, From the Year 1688 to 1723*, vol. 1, Title page.

[263] Hamilton, *A New Account of the East-Indies: Being the Observations and Remarks of Capt. Alexander Hamilton, From the Year 1688 to 1723*, vol. 1, 248.

the Portuguese could not do without the Hindus. The Hindu professionals were still issued licences by the municipality.[264]

Craftsmen who were *mestre* or master craftsmen

Some of the Hindu craftsmen who were examined were later designated as *mestre* or masters of their respective professions. A record dated AD 1654 informed that Pondea Naique was a *mestre carpinteiro* or master carpenter and was a resident of the ward of São Thomé.[265] A record dated AD 1654 informed that Rama Naique was a *mestre pedreiro* or master stonemason who was also a resident of the ward of São Thomé.[266] A record dated AD 1655 informed that Ganneça Naique was a *mestre* or master stonemason.[267] (Appendix 4).

Another record dated AD 1655 informed that Caulia Gauro was a *mestre* or master stonemason.[268] A record dated AD 1655 informed that Rama Gauro was a *mestre* or master stonemason.[269] A record dated AD 1655 informed that Mucu Naique was a *mestre* or master stonemason and a resident of the ward of Santa Luzia.[270] A record dated AD 1656 informed that the *mestre* or master stonemasons included Ganneça Naique and Ambrozio de Freitas.[271] These craftsmen were designated as *mestres*. It is noticed that the names of some of these craftsmen appear earlier as being examined by *mestres* or master craftsmen in their respective fields.

These records also carry the symbols, marks and signatures of the *mestre* or master craftsmen at the end of the documents. In a record dated AD 1654 there is a mention of Pondea Naique, who was a *mestre* or master carpenter, wherein he had put his symbol at the end of the document.[272] (see figure 7.1).

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[264] Pratima Kamat, "The Tail Wags the Dog? Colonial Policies of Conversion and Hindu Resistance through Syncretism and Collaboration in Goa, 1510-1755," *The Indian Historical Review* 30, no. 1 & 2 (January & July 2003): 37.

[265] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Livro de termos das obras (1654-1655)*, n.º 7832, fol. 17r.

[266] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Livro de termos das obras (1654-1655)*, n.º 7832, fol. 20r.

[267] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Livro de termos das obras (1654-1655)*, n.º 7832, fols. 35v-36r.

[268] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Livro de termos das obras (1654-1655)*, n.º 7832, fol. 36v.

[269] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Livro de termos das obras (1654-1655)*, n.º 7832, fol. 37v.

[270] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Livro de termos das obras (1654-1655)*, n.º 7832, fol. 47v.

[271] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Livro de termos das obras (1654-1655)*, n.º 7832, fol. 56r.

[272] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Livro de termos das obras (1654-1655)*, n.º 7832, fols. 20r-20v.

Figure 7.1. Symbol of Pondea Naique, *mestre* or master carpenter
Source: HAG, *Senado de Goa: Livro de termos das obras (1654-1655)*, n.º 7832, fol. 20v.

There is also a mark of Rama Naique who was a *mestre* or master stonemason at the end of the same document.[273] (see figure 7.2).
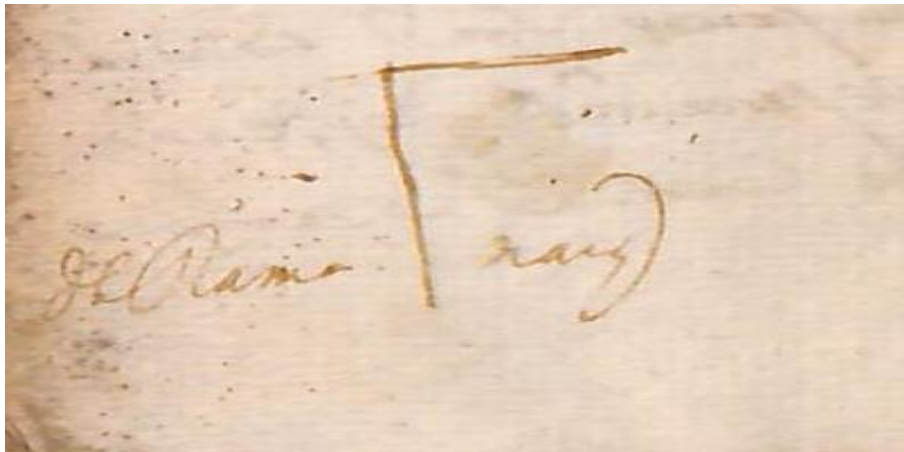
Figure 7.2. Mark of Rama Naique, *mestre* or master stonemason
Source: HAG, *Senado de Goa: Livro de termos das obras (1654-1655)*, n.º 7832, fol. 20v.

In a record dated AD 1655 there is mention of Ganneça Naique, who was a *mestre* or master stonemason, wherein he had put his mark at the end of the document.[274] (see figure 7.3).

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[273] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Livro de termos das obras (1654-1655)*, n.º 7832, fols. 20r-20v.

[274] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Livro de termos das obras (1654-1655)*, n.º 7832, fols. 35v-36r.
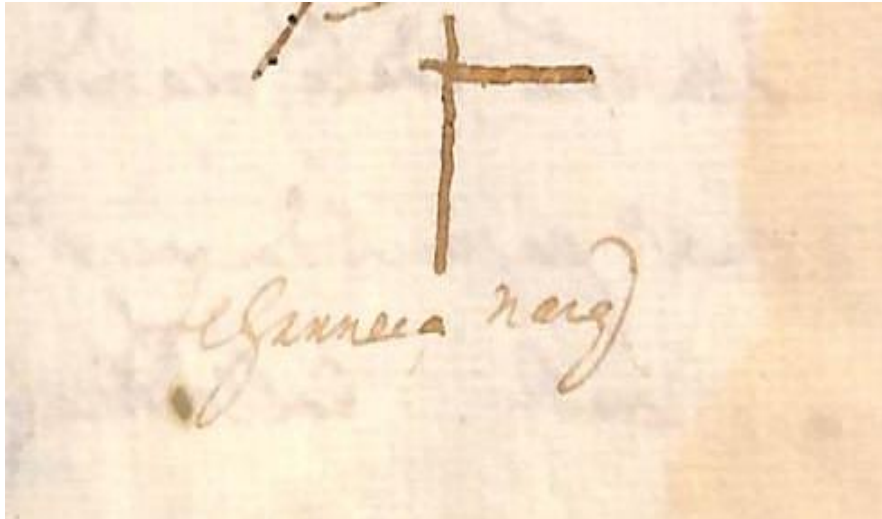
Figure 7.3. Mark of Ganneça Naique, *mestre* or master stonemason
Source: HAG, *Senado de Goa: Livro de termos das obras (1654-1655)*, n.º 7832, fol. 36r.

In a record dated AD 1655 there is mention of Caulia Gauro, who was a *mestre* or master stonemason, wherein he had put his mark at the end of the document.[275] (see figure 7.4).
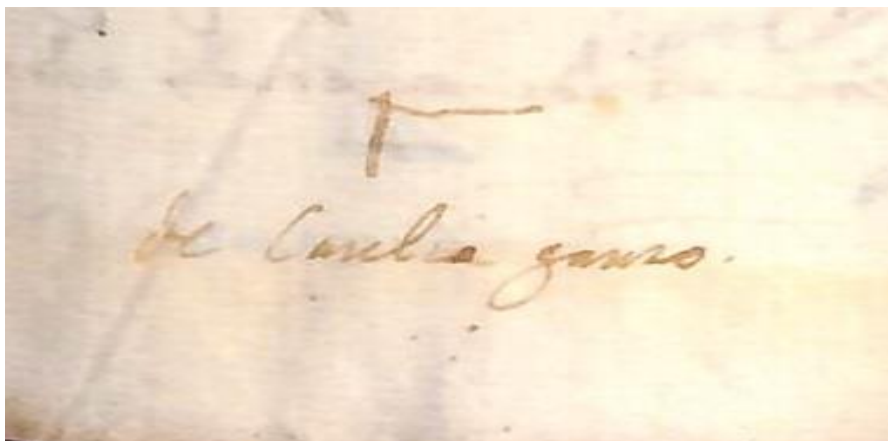
Figure 7.4. Mark of Caulia Gauro, *mestre* or master stonemason
Source: HAG, *Senado de Goa: Livro de termos das obras (1654-1655)*, n.º 7832, fol. 37r.

In a record dated AD 1655, there is mention of Rama Gauro who was a *mestre* or master stonemason, wherein he had put his mark at the end of the document.[276] (see figure 7.5).

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[275] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Livro de termos das obras (1654-1655)*, n.º 7832, fols. 36v-37r.

[276] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Livro de termos das obras (1654-1655)*, n.º 7832, fols. 37v-38r.
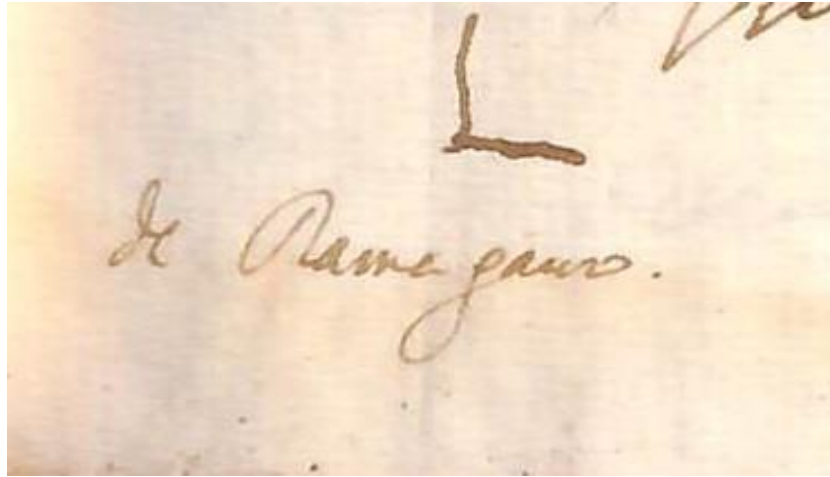
Figure 7.5. Mark of Rama Gauro, *mestre* or master stonemason
Source: HAG, *Senado de Goa: Livro de termos das obras (1654-1655)*, n.º 7832, fol. 38r.

In a record dated AD 1656 among other craftsmen there is mention of Ambrozio de Freitas, who was a *mestre* or master stonemason, wherein he had put his signature at the end of the document.[277] (see figure 7.6).
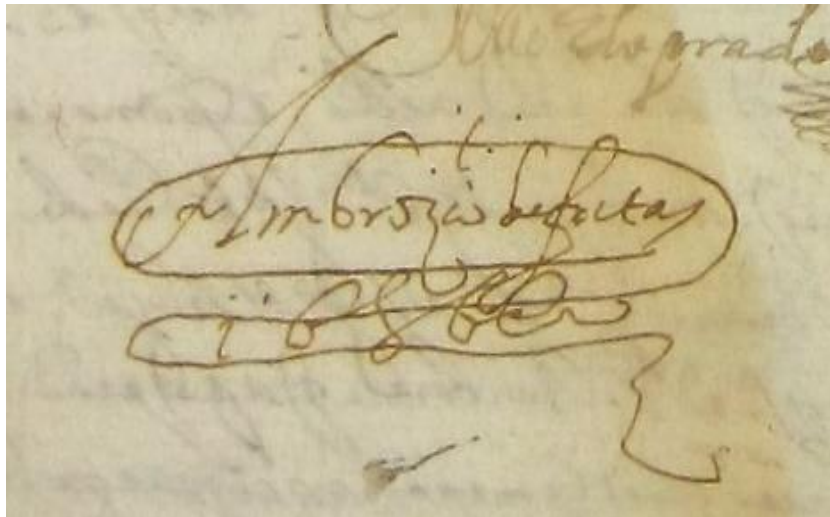
Figure 7.6. Signature of Ambrozio de Freitas, *mestre* or master stonemason
Source: HAG, *Senado de Goa: Livro de termos das obras (1654-1655)*, n.º 7832, fol. 56v.

It would appear that some of the craftsmen were not literate as they put their symbols and marks on the documents instead of signing their names.

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[277] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Livro de termos das obras (1654-1655)*, n.º 7832, fols. 56r-56v.

Municipality *posturas*

The *posturas* were the regulations of the municipality of Goa. Some related to AD 1535-37 dealt with food suppliers and bakers.[278] In a record dated 3 November 1618, the municipality informed that there was a need to reform the market regulations that were earlier in force. The new regulations were used even in the later period with minor changes.[279] In AD 1618, the new regulations came to encompass a wide number of craftsmen. These included goldsmiths, silversmiths, coppersmiths, masons and others.[280] The *posturas* detailed the rules and regulations governing various aspects of the market including taxes, weights and measures. Although the *Livro de posturas* was copied in the nineteenth century, the details relate to the year AD 1618 and later.[281]

Among a number of rules for the goldsmiths, one informed that business could only be carried out in the streets of Our Lady of the Light and the Hospital. It was also allowed in the street of São Paulo. A penalty of fifty *xerafins* was levied for non-compliance.[282] Half of the amount would go to the council while the other half would go to the accuser.[283] The goldsmiths had to have a proper balance scale. In case of wrongdoing, the fine was ten *xerafins* for the first instance and twenty *xerafins* for the second.[284]

The Portuguese were prohibited from working as lapidaries unless they were examined. This was because novices did not produce work of good quality.[285] Coppersmiths and those casting metals could not cast new items by melting old ones. They also could not make old items to appear new with the use of the red colour. A fine of five *xerafins* was levied for violations.[286]

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[278] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 124.

[279] R. R. S. Chauhan, "Senate Reforms in 17th Century (Goa)," *Purabhilekh-Puratatva* 5, no. 1 (January-June 1987): 15.

[280] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 124.

[281] R. R. S. Chauhan, "Life in 17th Century Goa vis-a-vis Senate Bye-Laws," in *Goa: Cultural Trends (Seminar Papers)*, ed. P. P. Shirodkar (Panaji, Goa: Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum, Government of Goa, 1988), 207.

[282] Chauhan, "Life in 17th Century Goa vis-a-vis Senate Bye-Laws," 215.

[283] HAG, *Senado de Goa - Almotaçaria: Livro de posturas camarárias (1808-1822)*, n.º 7795, fol. 22r.

[284] Chauhan, "Life in 17th Century Goa vis-a-vis Senate Bye-Laws," 215.

[285] Chauhan, "Life in 17th Century Goa vis-a-vis Senate Bye-Laws," 219.

[286] Chauhan, "Senate Reforms in 17th Century (Goa)," 21.

Coopers had to affix their registered city mark on the barrels or casks made by them. Not doing so would lead to a fine. A fine of five *xerafins* for the first instance and ten *xerafins* was levied for the second instance. The third instance had a fine of fifteen *xerafins* and confiscation of goods.[287]

New masonry or carpentry work could not be started by contractors without finishing the work previously taken up. A fine of ten *pardãos* and twenty *pardãos* were in force, if they were caught the first and second times. For being caught a third time, the fine was forty *pardãos* and they were expelled from the job.[288]

If a washerman gave clothes to someone else, both the people involved would have to pay a fine of five *pardãos*. The washerman would be whipped if he did not serve a customer. The loss of any clothes would be recovered from him. Clothes were to be washed twice weekly during the summer season and once weekly during the winter season.[289]

Shoemakers had to keep leather in different colours to serve male and female customers. They could not turn a customer away or a fine of six hundred *reis* was levied. In case of overcharging a customer, they were fined five hundred *reis* for the first instance. A fine of one thousand *reis* and a suspension of two months was levied if caught for a second time. In case of a third time, there was a two thousand *reis* fine levied and removal from the job.[290] The regulations indicate that the craftsmen were governed by complex rules.[291]

Teotonio R. de Souza informed that the municipality *posturas* controlled the market in three ways. There was control over the import of raw materials used by the artisans. The haphazard import of raw materials prevented competition among the artisans and thus benefitted the artisans. The control over the production of goods helped in the quality of goods prepared. This prevented the adulteration of goods and befitted the customers. The control over the distribution of goods took place with the

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[287] Chauhan, "Life in 17th Century Goa vis-a-vis Senate Bye-Laws," 214-15.

[288] Chauhan, "Senate Reforms in 17th Century (Goa)," 17.

[289] Chauhan, "Life in 17th Century Goa vis-a-vis Senate Bye-Laws," 216.

[290] Chauhan, "Senate Reforms in 17th Century (Goa)," 21.

[291] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 124.

standardisation of weights and measures and the fixing of prices.[292] Thus, it can be seen that under the municipality of Goa, there was control over the craftsmen.

The *Santa Casa da Misericórdia*

The *Santa Casa da Misericórdia* was a body which performed acts of social service in Portugal.[293] The Houses of the *Misericórdia* were present in different Portuguese settlements. They followed the same pattern of working as the *Misericórdia* in Lisbon. Their main function was to provide social and religious support to the Portuguese inhabitants. They were also connected to each other and Lisbon. This could be seen in the movement of goods, wills and other documents between them.[294] The *Misericórdia* of Goa is believed to have been established between AD 1515 and 1518. The earliest document which refer to it is dated AD 1519. The *Misericórdia* of Goa adopted the *Compromisso* or statutes of the *Misericórdia* of Lisbon. There were certain changes towards the end of the sixteenth century. Thereafter, the *Misericórdia* of Goa adopted the *Compromisso* of the *Misericórdia* of Lisbon dated AD 1618.[295]

In the context of Portugal, the *Santa Casa da Misericórdia* was a brotherhood which enjoyed certain privileges. A record dated AD 1499 indicated that its brothers could not be forced to take part in the processions of the artisans. A record dated AD 1502 informed that they were excused from the performance of municipal duties. These privileges were confirmed by the kings of Portugal. When other divisions of the *Misericórdia* were started in the Portuguese territories, these privileges were also granted to them. Due to this, the *Misericórdia* often came into conflict with the municipal and religious establishments. The *Compromisso* or statutes of the *Misericórdia* of Lisbon dated AD 1516 were followed by the branches of the *Misericórdia* in Portugal as well as the overseas territories. Some of the works of charity which were to be practiced included the ransoming of prisoners, sheltering the poor and

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[292] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 133-34.

[293] Fátima da Silva Gracias, *Beyond the Self: Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Goa* (Panjim, Goa: Surya Publications, 2000), 11.

[294] Amélia Polónia, "Global Interactions: Representations of the East and the Far East in Portugal in the Sixteenth Century," in *Networks in the First Global Age 1400-1800*, ed. Rila Mukherjee (Delhi: Primus Books in association with Indian Council of Historical Research, 2011), 270-71.

[295] A. J. R. Russell-Wood, *Fidalgos and Philanthropists: The Santa Casa da Misericórdia of Bahia, 1550-1755* (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1968), 27.

burying the dead.[296] The *Misericórdia* of Goa also saw that on the death of its members, they would receive a burial. This was done even if they did not have the money to meet the expenses. There were two institutions set up for women. The *Recolhimento da Senhora da Serra* was for orphans who were usually of the elites. The *Recolhimento de Santa Maria Madalena* was for women who needed rehabilitation.[297] The term *recolhimento* referred to a refuge or gathering or a place where women lived in retirement.[298]

The membership of the brotherhood of the *Misericórdia* was restricted only to men and its members were known as *irmãos* or brothers.[299] In the context of Portugal, the brotherhood of the *Misericórdia* was divided into two classes. One class was of the *irmãos nobres* or the noble brothers. They were also referred to as the *irmãos de maior condição*. This meant brothers of higher standing. The other class was of the *officiaes mecanicos* or the mechanical crafts. This group was also referred to as the *irmãos de menor condição*. This stood for brothers of lower standing.[300]

In India, the members usually consisted of the *casados*. However, bachelors above the age of thirty were also considered for membership. In Goa among the brothers, there were people drawn in equal number from the nobility and the artisans. The division was maintained as was in Portugal. The brothers of higher standing were from among the nobility and were government, military and religious officials. They were known as the *irmãos de maior condição*. The brothers of lower standing were from the artisan and trader classes. They were known as the *irmãos de menor condição*.[301] Thus, the classification of the *irmãos* or brothers of the *Misericórdia* was done on the basis of the *nobres* or *officiaes* depending on the social category to which

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[296] Russell-Wood, *Fidalgos and Philanthropists: The Santa Casa da Misericórdia of Bahia, 1550-1755*, 19-20.

[297] Isabel dos Guimarães Sá, "Shaping Social Space in the Centre and Periphery of the Portuguese Empire: The Example of the Misericórdias from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century," *Portuguese Studies* 13 (1997): 220.

[298] Lacerda, *A New Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages*, 769.

[299] Gracias, *Beyond the Self: Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Goa*, 17-18.

[300] Russell-Wood, *Fidalgos and Philanthropists: The Santa Casa da Misericórdia of Bahia, 1550-1755*, 20.

[301] Gracias, *Beyond the Self: Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Goa*, 18.

they belonged.[302] A *nobre* referred to a noble or nobleman.[303] An *official* or its plural *officiaes* was the same as an official. However, it also referred to a craftsman.[304] There were a number of craftsmen who came to work in Goa. These included carpenters, locksmiths, *torneiros* and others.[305] A *torneiro* was one who was a turner who worked with a lathe.[306]

In Portugal, the *Misericórdia* was managed by a body called the *Mesa*. This body was made up of one *provedor* who headed it. The *provedor* was from the upper class. Further, there were six members from the upper class and six members from the lower class. There were also nine councillors, two *mordomos* and an *escrivão* or scribe. The *mordomos* were elected monthly. The others were elected annually. The results of the elections were declared on 3 July every year.[307]

To be associated with the *Misericórdia* was considered to be a position of prestige. A number of viceroys, governors, religious heads and others served as the *provedor*. In Goa, the *Misericórdia* initially had one hundred members. However, in AD 1609, it had risen to about six hundred members. The members were divided into the nobles and the artisans. However, at times an equal number of the two classes were not retained due to a lack of artisans. In one instance in AD 1686, the viceroy who was the *provedor* elected more members of the nobles than the artisans. This was contrary to the *Compromisso*. In another instance, another *provedor* transferred members from the higher class of the nobles to the lower class of the artisans. This caused difficulties as the brothers of higher standing did not want to be associated with the lower class of the artisans. Due to this, a number of brothers of higher standing were expelled.[308]

Membership to the brotherhood was usually limited to white Portuguese. A record dated AD 1633 indicated that members were to be of pure blood and not Jews or Muslims. If the person was married, these conditions were also applicable to his wife.

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[302] José F. Ferreira Martins, *Historia da Misericórdia de Goa (1621-1910)*, vol. 3 (Nova Goa: Impresa Nacional, 1914), 468.

[303] Lacerda, *A New Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages*, 642.

[304] Lacerda, *A New Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages*, 653.

[305] Martins, *Historia da Misericórdia de Goa (1621-1910)*, vol. 3, 468.

[306] Lacerda, *A New Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages*, 888.

[307] Russell-Wood, *Fidalgos and Philanthropists: The Santa Casa da Misericórdia of Bahia, 1550-1755*, 21.

[308] Russell-Wood, *Fidalgos and Philanthropists: The Santa Casa da Misericórdia of Bahia, 1550-1755*, 27-28.

It was noticed that the *cristão novos* or the Jews of origin Portuguese were allowed membership. However, in AD 1646 the king prohibited such members. Other qualifications included being literate, being a resident of Goa and having a good reputation. Further, they were not to join the *Misericórdia* for personal gain.[309]

The *Compromisso* of 1633 also informed the basis on which the brothers could be expelled. One situation was when there was a failure to account for the funds of the *Misericórdia*. Another was when the funds of the *Misericórdia* were spent for their private use. Marriage or an affair with a member of the retirement houses were also grounds for expulsion. However, it was noticed that it was difficult to expel the brothers of the *maior condição*. It was relatively easy to expel the brothers of the *menor condição*.[310]

In a record of the *Misericórdia* dated September 1595, there was mention of three *alfaiates*, two *sapateiros*, one *livreiro* and one *dourador* among the *irmãos de menor condição*.[311] However, the names of some of them were not legible.[312] It was informed that Jacomo was an *alfaiate*. Domingos Fernandes was a *livreiro*. Jorge Fernandes was a *dourador*.[313] An *alfaiate* referred to a tailor.[314] A *livreiro* was a bookseller.[315] A *sapateiro* was a shoemaker who made or sold shoes.[316] A *dourador* or *doirador* referred to a gilder.[317] Jorge Fernandes who was gilder was elected in AD 1598 and 1601. The name of Diogo Rodrigues, another gilder was also mentioned for these years as well. His name was found mentioned as a *mordomo* of the House in AD 1608 along with Jerónimo da Costa, a goldsmith. It was noticed that from AD 1611 to 1620, Diogo Rodrigues was the *almotacé* and *mordomo* of the *Santa Casa*.[318] An

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[309] Gracias, *Beyond the Self: Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Goa*, 19.

[310] Gracias, *Beyond the Self: Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Goa*, 21.

[311] José F. Ferreira Martins, *Historia da Misericórdia de Goa (1520-1620)*, vol. 1 (Nova Goa: Impresa Nacional, 1910), 178-79.

[312] Martins, *Historia da Misericórdia de Goa (1520-1620)*, vol. 1, 179n1.

[313] Martins, *Historia da Misericórdia de Goa (1520-1620)*, vol. 1, 181.

[314] Lacerda, *A New Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages*, 55.

[315] Lacerda, *A New Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages*, 577.

[316] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 2, 834.

[317] Lacerda, *A New Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages*, 348.

[318] Vítor Serrão, "Painting and Worship in Goa during the Period of Iberian Union: The Santa Mónica Monastery at 'Monte Santo' (c. 1606-1639) and Its Artists," *Oriente: Revista da Fundação Oriente* 20 (2011): 43-45.

almotacé or *almotacel* referred to a clerk who was involved the setting of price and examination of weights and measures of the market.[319] A *mordomo* referred to an administrator or superintendent of an establishment.[320] The names of other craftsmen included Marcos Monge who was a *bate-folha* and Domingos Rodrigues who was a lapidary.[321] A *bate-folha* was an artisan who was involved in the production of malleable metal sheets which were used in gilding or similar work.[322] In AD 1627, Manuel da Fonseca who was a gilder was elected as a *mordomo*. In 1653, Domingos Jorge who was a *bate-folha* was elected to the *Misericórdia*.[323] In AD 1720, a *canarin* who was a local Christian from India, was accepted into the brotherhood of the *Misericórdia* of Goa.[324] Thus, it can be seen that craftsmen were on the board of the *Misericórdia* as well as were its members. Member of the craftsmen community held different positions in the *Misericórdia* of Goa.

The *Recolhimento da Nossa Senhora da Serra*

The *órfãs del rei* were orphan girls who were sent from orphanages in Portugal to India. The cost was borne by the king of Portugal. They were sent to be married to Portuguese men who were working in India. This was done as a lack of dowries made it hard for them to get married in Portugal.[325] The term *órfãs* did not just mean the girls who had lost their parents. It also referred to one whose father had died in the service of the king.[326] Generally, it was difficult to find accommodation for these girls with families. Archbishop Dom Alexio de Menezes recommended a separate home for them.[327]

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[319] Lacerda, *A New Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages*, 62.

[320] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 2, 330.

[321] Serrão, "Painting and Worship in Goa during the Period of Iberian Union: The Santa Mónica Monastery at 'Monte Santo' (c. 1606-1639) and Its Artists," 43-45.

[322] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 1, 296.

[323] Serrão, "Painting and Worship in Goa during the Period of Iberian Union: The Santa Mónica Monastery at 'Monte Santo' (c. 1606-1639) and Its Artists," 43-45.

[324] Boxer, *Portuguese Society in the Tropics: The Municipal Councils of Goa, Macao, Bahia, and Luanda, 1510-1800*, 34.

[325] Fátima da Silva Gracias, *Kaleidoscope of Women in Goa 1510-1961* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1996), 38.

[326] Emma Maria, *Women in Portuguese Goa 1510-1835* (Tellicherry, Kerala: Institute for Research in Social Sciences and Humanities MESHAR, 2002), 149.

[327] Gracias, *Kaleidoscope of Women in Goa 1510-1961*, 128.

In AD 1598, the *Misericórdia* approved the establishment of a shelter for orphan women. The orphans were housed in the *Convento da Nossa Senhora da Graça*.[328] The institution of the *Casa de Órfãs* temporarily housed the women in this convent.[329] The construction of the building of the *Recolhimento da Nossa Senhora da Serra* was completed in AD 1605.[330] In 1605, the orphans who had been temporarily accommodated in the convent of Graça were moved to this new building. The *Recolhimento da Nossa Senhora de Serra* was situated at the *Rua do Crucifixo*. It was near the *Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Goa*. It was also near the church of the *Nossa Senhora da Serra*.[331] At the *Recolhimento da Nossa Senhora da Serra*, the orphan girls were provided religious education and instructed in reading and writing. They were also taught stitching, tailoring and embroidery.[332]

The *Misericórdia* administered the *Recolhimento da Nossa Senhora da Serra*.[333] The *Recolhimento de Santa Maria Madalena* was established in AD 1611 and was known as the *Casas das penitentes, arrependidas e convertidas*. The *Recolhimento de Santa Maria Madalena* was also managed by the *Misericórdia*.[334] While the *Misericórdia* administered the *Recolhimento da Nossa Senhora da Serra*, the *Recolhimento da Nossa Senhora da Serra* had to support itself financially.[335] The king of Portugal paid a thousand *xerafins* yearly for the maintenance of twenty orphans sent by him. However, the amount was not enough. In AD 1620, the revenue of seventeen villages helped support the *Recolhimento da Nossa Senhora da Serra*. Besides the income of these villages, there were also others who contributed towards the

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[328] Timothy J. Coates, *Convicts and Orphans: Forced and State-Sponsored Colonizers in the Portuguese Empire, 1550-1755* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2001), 149.

[329] Gracias, *Kaleidoscope of Women in Goa 1510-1961*, 128-29.

[330] Coates, *Convicts and Orphans: Forced and State-Sponsored Colonizers in the Portuguese Empire, 1550-1755*, 149.

[331] Gracias, *Kaleidoscope of Women in Goa 1510-1961*, 128-29.

[332] Xavier, *Goa: A Social History 1510-1640*, 85.

[333] Coates, *Convicts and Orphans: Forced and State-Sponsored Colonizers in the Portuguese Empire, 1550-1755*, 149.

[334] Gracias, *Kaleidoscope of Women in Goa 1510-1961*, 131-32.

[335] Coates, *Convicts and Orphans: Forced and State-Sponsored Colonizers in the Portuguese Empire, 1550-1755*, 149.

maintenance of the *Recolhimento*. These included the fishermen of Agaçaim, Panelim and some other places and the *ourives* or goldsmiths of the city of Goa.[336]

Forms of non-agricultural production

In the context of medieval India, Eugenia Vanina divided non-agricultural production into four categories. The first category was unprofessional non-commodity production and the second category was unprofessional commodity production. In both these cases, agricultural production, fishing or some other occupation were the main ones. Craft production was carried out in addition to the main occupation. The third category was professional non-commodity production and the fourth category was professional commodity production. In both these cases, craft production was the main occupation. Activities like agriculture or some other activities were of a secondary nature.[337]

In the first category referred to as unprofessional non-commodity production, activities were carried out mostly to satisfy the needs of the family. Basic tools were used in this type of production. One example was the making of wooden utensils. In India at times, women and children were involved in weaving.[338] In Goa, Richard F. Burton noticed that some women had the knowledge of embroidery.[339] It is quite possible that such activities, to provide for the needs of the family, took place in Goa as well.

In the second category referred to as unprofessional commodity production, the peasants tried to earn an income, in addition to the main occupation. These activities may have been in the form of weaving, oil production, mining or ore smelting, etc. The tools would have been of a basic variety. Family members carried out the activity or a number of families together were involved.[340] In Goa Velha, there was the discovery of a stone mortar believed to have been used in the production of coconut oil. It is believed

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[336] Maria, *Women in Portuguese Goa 1510-1835*, 149.

[337] Eugenia Vanina, *Urban Crafts and Craftsmen in Medieval India (Thirteenth-Eighteenth Centuries)* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 2004), 106.

[338] Vanina, *Urban Crafts and Craftsmen in Medieval India (Thirteenth-Eighteenth Centuries)*, 106.

[339] Burton, *Goa, and the Blue Mountains; or, Six Months of Sick Leave*, 98.

[340] Vanina, *Urban Crafts and Craftsmen in Medieval India (Thirteenth-Eighteenth Centuries)*, 106-07.

to belong to the period of the Goa Kadambas.[341] In Goa, A. Lopes Mendes also noticed that there were certain foundry-workers of iron called *dovôllos*. A large number of them were from Navelim in Salcete. They extracted the ore, prepared it and it was sold to the blacksmiths to be purified.[342] However, it is not known in these cases, if these craft production activities were the main occupations of the people or simply to supplement the main occupations like agriculture or other occupations.

In the third category referred to as professional non-commodity production, while the craft producers may have cultivated land, their craft was their main occupation. The village community looked after the carpenters, smiths, potters and others. These craftsmen provided the villagers with necessities and in return they received a part of the produce or land. Some of the items they produced may have been sold at the local market. However, their main intention was not to gain profits or increase production. Their crafts were hereditary and their status was generally low. The level of division of labour was limited to the family.[343] In the case of the villages in Goa, there was a similar feature among the village artisans. The land given to the artisans was known as a *namashi* (*namasy*) land. The Prakrit word *namashi* was the same as the Sanskrit word *namasya*.[344] *Namasya* meant a gift which was to be held through the generations that could not be taken back.[345] The *namasy* lands were assigned to the village artisans who included the carpenter, blacksmith, potter and others.[346] The *Foral* of Bardez referred to a *namassy* of the *carpinteiros* or carpenters.[347] The *Foral* of Bardez made mention of the *namassy* of the *ferreiros* or blacksmiths.[348] The families of the blacksmiths, washermen, barbers and others also received *namasy* lands. In addition to the *namasy* lands, the elders of the families of these servants

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[341] Abhijit S. Ambekar, Rohini Pande Ambekar, D. N. Sridhar, and A. S. Gaur, "A Study of Unique Stone Mortars from Goa Velha," *Man and Environment* 39, no. 1 (January-June 2014): 89-90.

[342] Mendes, *A India Portugueza: Breve descripção das possessões Portuguezas na Asia*, vol. 2, 131-33.

[343] Vanina, *Urban Crafts and Craftsmen in Medieval India (Thirteenth-Eighteenth Centuries)*, 107.

[344] Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa: From 10000 B.C. to 1352 A.D.*, 318.

[345] Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa: From 10000 B.C. to 1352 A.D.*, 187-88.

[346] V. T. Gune, "Marathi Records at the Historical Archives, Goa, Panaji," *The Indian Archives* 34, no. 1 (January-June 1985): 5.

[347] HAG, *Foral de Bardês (1647)*, n.º 7588, fol. 23v.

[348] HAG, *Foral de Bardês (1647)*, n.º 7588, fol. 14r.

received a certain quantity of paddy.[349] The *namassy* was the same as the word *namasy*. Thus, they were provided land in return for their services.

In the fourth category referred to as professional commodity production, the category comprised of producers living in the cities, including special craftsmen villages. Here also craft production was the main occupation but it was highly specialised. The crafts in the cities were varied like gunpowder production, weapons manufacture, etc. The quality of the tools utilised and the goods produced was also high. The goods were usually sold in the cities and profits were higher. These craftsmen also had a higher status.[350] In the case of the city of Goa, we see this kind of production. Linschoten informed that in the city of Goa there were a number of craftsmen like shoemakers, coopers and others.[351] He also informed that there were streets where different professionals had their shops. There was also a whole street full of goldsmiths and silversmiths who made different items. There were also other kinds of artisans like coppersmiths, carpenters and others.[352] In the city of Goa, the *Ribeira* included the docks, the mint and the gun-foundry. There were people working there in different departments.[353] Pyrard also informed that there were a number of carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, foundry-workers and others working there.[354] A sepulchral inscription informed that Pedro Gonçalves who was the *mestre dos calafates* or master of the caulkers of the *Ribeira* died on 25 October 1553.[355] A sepulchral inscription dated AD 1657 informed that Manoel Sousa was an *ourives* or goldsmith.[356] An undated sepulchral inscription informed that Gaspar Lopes was the *mestre* or master of the

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[349] Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa: From 10000 B.C. to 1352 A.D.*, 188.

[350] Vanina, *Urban Crafts and Craftsmen in Medieval India (Thirteenth-Eighteenth Centuries)*, 106-09.

[351] Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies: From the Old English Translation of 1598*, vol. 1, 187.

[352] Linschoten, *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies: From the Old English Translation of 1598*, vol. 1, 228-29.

[353] Fonseca, *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa, Preceded by a Short Statistical Account of the Territory of Goa*, 238-39.

[354] Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil: Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619*, vol. 2 part 1, 41.

[355] Sousa Viterbo, *Trabalhos nauticos dos Portuguezes nos seculos XVI e XVII*, parte 2: Constructores navaes (Lisboa: Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1900), 64.

[356] J. H. da Cunha Rivara, *Inscripções lapidares da India Portugueza* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1894), 23.

Ribeira.[357] Thus, there were highly specialised professionals who worked in the city of Goa in different fields. The presence of sepulchral inscriptions, which bear their names in the churches of Goa, indicate that some of the craftsmen had a prominent position in society. In the situation of Goa, there is difficulty in finding evidence regarding the first category of unprofessional non-commodity production and second category of unprofessional commodity production categories. Although some instances have been provided, it is difficult to know which was the main occupation and whether these craft production activities were carried out in addition to the main occupation. However, it is quite possible such production activities took place in Goa. There is ample evidence for the third category called the professional non-commodity production and the fourth category called the professional commodity production.

According to Teotonio R. de Souza, in Goa under the Portuguese, monetisation of the region played an important role. There was a situation where different phases of craft production flourished. One was where craft production complemented agriculture. Another was where the production of crafts catered to the community of the village and market. Finally, there was a stage where specialised artisans produced wholly for the markets of the city and the towns.[358] Thus, we seen different levels of craft production in the villages and in the city of Goa.

Diversification of craft production in the urban setting

In context of urban medieval India, Eugenia Vanina pointed out that professional commodity production was greatly diversified. In the village, the blacksmith produced most of the metal implements. The tanner made items of leather like shoes, harnesses and other items of leather. However, in the urban centres there were was a diversification of craft production. There were different workers in metal including wire-drawers, gun-makers, smiths and others. There were also different workers in leather including shoemakers, dyers of leather, saddle-makers, harness-makers and others.[359] A similar situation is seen in Goa in the urban context.

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[357] Rivara, *Inscripções lapidares da India Portugueza*, 26.

[358] Souza, "Rural Economy and Life," 86-87.

[359] Vanina, *Urban Crafts and Craftsmen in Medieval India (Thirteenth-Eighteenth Centuries)*, 108.

A record dated AD 1614 informed that Francisco Dias who was the *juiz* of the crafts of the *fundidores*, *estanhadores* and others, examined João Simois.[360] A *fundidor* was a foundry-worker who worked in a *fundição* or metal foundry.[361] An *estanhador* was a tinner who was involved in the tinning of copper or iron items.[362] A record dated AD 1623 and a copy registered in AD 1627 indicated that in the city of Goa, there were various craftsmen including *ourives de prata e ouro*, *caldeireiros* and *cuteleiros*.[363] The term *ourives* usually referred to one who worked with gold. The term *ourives da prata* specifically referred to one who worked with silver or was a silversmith. The term *ourives do ouro* explicitly referred to one who worked with gold or was a goldsmith.[364] A *caldeireiro* referred to a brazier or a coppersmith.[365] A *cuteleiro* or *cutileiro* referred to a cutler.[366] A record dated AD 1683 informed that the *juiz* of the crafts of the *ferrarias* and *mestre* of the *serralheiros* examined Pedro Ferrão of the craft of *ferreiro*.[367] A *ferreiro* was a blacksmith who made or sold items of iron. A *ferreiro* or blacksmith was associated with the *ferraria* which was the workshop where iron from the mines was prepared. It also referred to a shop of the blacksmith.[368] A *serralheiro* worked with objects of iron like locks and keys and was a locksmith.[369] It was noticed that there were different types of metal workers.

A record dated 15 November 1571 informed that one of the *procuradores dos mesteres* was Simão Fernandes who was a *corrieiro*.[370] A *corrieiro* was one who made or sold items of leather like harnesses, bags and other items.[371] Some of the streets were named after the professionals who were present there. There was the *Rua dos*

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[360] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registo das cartas patentes (1612-1619)*, n.º 7752, fol. 102r.

[361] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 1, 1104.

[362] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 1, 945.

[363] José Ignacio de Abranches Garcia, *Archivo da relação de Goa, contendo varios documentos dos seculos XVII, XVIII, e XIX até a organisação da nova relação pelo decreto de 7 de dezembro de 1836*, seculo XVII: 1601-1640 (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1872), 319-21.

[364] Lacerda, *A New Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages*, 662.

[365] Lacerda, *A New Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages*, 184.

[366] Lacerda, *A New Dictionary of the Portuguese and English Languages*, 278.

[367] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registo das cartas patentes (1680-1688)*, n.º 7757, fols. 103v-104r.

[368] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 1, 1045.

[369] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 2, 876.

[370] Rivara, *APO-CR*, fasciculo 2, 188-89.

[371] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 1, 582.

Surradores or Street of the Curriers.[372] A currier was one who was involved in the preparation and colouring of tanned leather.[373] It was also noticed that there were different types of leather workers.

A record informed that Domingos Dias, a *carpinteiro* was examined by Antonio Simois.[374] A *carpinteiro* was one who worked with wood and was a carpenter.[375] A record dated 15 November 1571 informed that one of the *procuradores dos mesteres* was Antonio Gonçalves who was a *tanoeiro*.[376] A *tanoeiro* was a cooper who made barrels.[377] A record dated AD 1623 and a copy registered in AD 1627 indicated that in the city of Goa there were craftsmen including *marceneiros*.[378] *Marceneiros* were woodworkers who specialised in making furniture and inlaid works in wood.[379] It was also seen that there were different types of wood workers. Thus, there is evidence of diversification of crafts in the context of the city of Goa.

Self-sufficiency and disintegration of village communities

In the context of ancient India, Damodar Dharmanand Kosambi felt that the village artisans helped in providing services to the villagers and keeping the village self-sufficient. In return for their services, they were given plots of land. When they were not involved in craft production activities, they tilled the land or the land was tilled by their family members. They also received a share of the harvest. The village artisans were an essential part of the village.[380]

With regards to the village communities in western India, the *balute* system was one in which a certain amount of grain was paid to the village artisans. This was done at the harvest time. This was done once for all the services which the artisans rendered.

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[372] Pyrard, *The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas and Brazil: Translated into English from the Third French Edition of 1619*, vol. 2 part 1, 57n1.

[373] Sykes, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*, 251.

[374] HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registo das cartas patentes (1612-1619)*, n.º 7752, fols. 51v-52r.

[375] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 1, 422.

[376] Rivara, *APO-CR*, fasciculo 2, 188-89.

[377] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 2, 973.

[378] Garcia, *Archivo da relação de Goa, contendo varios documentos dos seculos XVII, XVIII, e XIX até a organisação da nova relação pelo decreto de 7 de dezembro de 1836*, seculo XVII: 1601-1640, 319-21.

[379] Aulete, *Diccionario contemporaneo da lingua Portugueza*, vol. 2, 245.

[380] Damodar Dharmanand Kosambi, *The Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India in Historical Outline* (repr., New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt. Ltd., 2011), 195.

A. S. Altekar was of the opinion that this system had its origin in ancient times before the use of coinage. When new lands were settled, the services of the artisans were required. The self-sufficiency of the village could be achieved if there were a permanent set of people providing services. Their presence could only be certain if they received a definite annual source of maintenance. It was due to this that the *balute* system was devised. The agriculturalists were benefitted as they had to pay by grain once at the harvest time. The artisans also benefitted as they received a guaranteed source of income. Thus, they did not leave the village.[381] Irfan Habib was also of the opinion that the self-sufficiency of the village was seen mainly due to the hereditary village artisans and servants.[382]

In Goa, the village artisans received a *namasy* lands in return for their services. These lands were passed down the generations in a hereditary manner.[383] Anant Ramkrishna Sinai Dhume informed the artisans were collective known as the *balutedars* in Marathi. The paddy they received was known as the *balutem*. Although this was practiced in Goa, there was no separate term in Konkani used for them. In addition to the *namasy* lands, the elders of these families received a measure of paddy.[384] Therefore, a similar situation would have occurred in Goa which would have also discouraged the village artisans and servants from leaving the villages.

With reference to sixteenth and seventeenth century Goa, there appears to have been a change. Teotonio R. de Souza noticed that in the village of Azosy, a contract was made with a cobbler named Braz Fernandes. He was given a *namasy* land as well as ten *xerafins* every quarter. The *ganvkars* who received footwear were to also pay him additional cash. This amounted to one and half *bargany* for footwear with double straps. The amount for footwear with a single strap was one *bargany*. The presence of this contract is believed to indicate a disintegration of the self-sufficiency of the village communities of Goa. This may not have been the situation with all the villages. Those villages near the city of Goa were more inclined to this disintegration. This was because the city of Goa offered better market opportunities due to its commercial importance in

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[381] A. S. Altekar, *A History of Village Communities in Western India* (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1927), 89-91.

[382] Irfan Habib, "Caste in Indian History," in *Essays in Indian History: Towards a Marxist Perspective* (1997; repr., New Delhi: Tulika Books, 2010), 171.

[383] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 56.

[384] Dhume, *The Cultural History of Goa: From 10000 B.C. to 1352 A.D.*, 188.

pre-Portuguese as well as Portuguese times.[385] Thus, it can be seen that the village artisans were an important part of the village being self-sufficient. The signing of the contract with the cobbler, as noticed by Teotonio R. de Souza, may indicate a shortage of labour as artisans had better opportunities in urban centres.

Impact of the Portuguese on the artisans

In the rural context, craft production was an activity which accompanied agricultural production. However, it is believed that the region experienced monetisation. This was because revenue was collected in cash. Those involved in non-agricultural production also looked for markets outside the village. At the same time, the artisans still provided their services to the village. Artisans did not provide items solely for the market. It was in the village that they served the community and received payment in kind. This was the situation in seventeenth century Goa. However, it was noticed that in certain cases, there was a disintegration of the village communities.[386]

Under the Portuguese, it is believed that a number of craftsmen and artisans went to the city of Goa to conduct their trade. This is attested by the accounts of the foreign travellers. In the seventeenth century, there was a decline in the economic position of the Portuguese. It is believed that the local craftsmen returned to their villages and continued their earlier mode of living. However, some went to new towns like Margão and Mapuça in search of markets. There was also emigration to Bombay and other parts of India.[387]

In the seventeenth century, there were a number of people who may have emigrated due to natural disasters, famines, attacks and the policies of the Portuguese. It was difficult for those who remained to improve their standard of living. With the arrival of the Portuguese, there was more employment generated. However, this helped the craftsmen and artisans fare better when compared to the land-owning classes.[388] Hence, the craftsmen communities did better than the others. The skills they possessed would have also played an important role in this. There were also a number of sources of employment for these different craftsmen in Goa.

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[385] Souza, "Why Cuncolim Martyrs? - An Historical Re-Assessment," 41.

[386] Souza, "Rural Economy and Life," 85-86.

[387] Souza, "Rural Economy and Life," 89-90.

[388] Souza, *Medieval Goa: A Socio-Economic History*, 30.

The foreign travellers to Goa informed of craft production activities which took place along the streets of the city of Goa. There is one evidence of conflict between the mercers and goldsmiths which may have related to the *idangai-valangai* conflict in Goa. Linschoten referred to craftsmen who came from outside Goa. A number of artisan communities emigrated to a number of places including Kanara. Slave labour was used in a number of places in Goa. There is also a record of slaves of the artisan communities being manumitted. The *Foral* of AD 1526 made mention of the use of forced labour in times of need. There are records of craftsmen being on the council of the municipality of Goa. There were also records of conflicts between the worker's representatives and others on the municipal council. There are also a number of records which indicate that craftsmen of different professions were examined by the municipality. They were examined by master craftsmen. There are records of Hindu craftsmen who were also examined. Some of these Hindu craftsmen were later designated as master craftsmen and their names appeared in records. It is noticed that despite the upheavals in the sixteenth century, Hindu craftsmen were still utilised for their services. Some of the craftsmen were not literate as they simply put their marks and symbols on the documents instead of signing their names. The municipality had a number of regulations which the craftsmen had to follow. Members of the craftsmen communities were also noticed in welfare organisations. Eugenia Vanina categorised non-agricultural production in medieval India into four types. In Goa, it is difficult to find evidence of unprofessional non-commodity production and unprofessional commodity production. This is because it is difficult to know which was the main occupation and whether these craft production activities were carried out in addition to the main occupation. However, it is quite possible such activities took place. There is sufficient evidence for the category of professional non-commodity production and the category of professional commodity production. The diversification of crafts took place in the urban context. The self-sufficiency of the villages discussed by A. S. Altekar in the context of western India would be applicable to Goa as well. In Goa, the village artisans were given a grant of *namasy* land and a share of grain which would have discouraged them from leaving the village. This would have contributed to the self-sufficiency of the village. However, Teotonio R. de Souza noticed that there was a gradual disintegration of the self-sufficiency of the villages. This was because a contract was made with a cobbler to retain his services. Better market opportunities in the city of Goa may have caused this decline.

Chapter 8
Conclusion

This study looks at the different craftsmen and artisans in the Goa between AD 1000 to 1700. In the pre-Portuguese period, the study looks at Goa and the surrounding regions which came under the territory of the rulers based in the Goa region. In the Portuguese period, the study confines itself to the Old Conquests.

The different craftsmen included the goldsmiths, blacksmiths, coppersmiths, stonemasons and carpenters. There were also the cobblers and the basket-makers. Caste identity played an important role among the different professionals. Usually, the artisan communities were at the lower levels of the caste hierarchy. In the case of medieval south India, Vijaya Ramaswamy informed that at times, there was an attempt made to raise their caste status when there was an improvement in their economic status. The Vishwakarma Panchalas are one such community who claimed a higher status. They did this by wearing the sacred thread and adopting Brahmanical practices. They also had myths which indicated that they had a high position and then they suffered a downfall. They also used names like *oja* and *achari* which were usually the names of Brahmins. This also indicated that they claimed a higher status. The study found that this took place in the Goa region as well.

In certain regions of south India, Ramendra Nath Nandi informed that there were the left-hand or *idangai* castes and right-hand or *valangai* castes. Usually the artisans made up the *idangai* castes. The *idangai* castes had a myth which depict their origin. The use of this was probably to associate themselves with the Brahmins. Although these divisions were not seen in Goa during the pre-Portuguese period, there is a similar myth where it was informed that the Panchalas accompanied the Saraswat Brahmins to Goa. These myths were probably an attempt at Sanskritisation and to achieve legitimacy in order to associate themselves with the Brahmins.

The other artisans of a lower status were the potters and the washermen. The *chamars* or cobblers and the *mahars* or basket-makers were at the bottom of the hierarchy. However, there were instances where the permission of the basket-makers was taken when their land was sought for some construction. A temple also allowed the *mahars* to enter the *sanctum sanctorum* on certain days. This was to acknowledge that they had parted with their land to build a temple. Thus, despite their low status, their

permission was still obtained. There was also record of a conflict between the goldsmiths and the Vaishyas. Record indicates that the dispute was settled amicably.

Inscriptions make mention of the names of different generations of craftsmen like son, father and grandfather. This would indicate that crafts were transmitted down the generations. The craftsmen were also given epithets to their names which indicate that some of them were well skilled in the craft. There were also inscriptions which had the names of the artisans with high sounding epithets like *ruvari-chakravartti* and *pratapa sutradhari*. These would indicate that they were highly accomplished in their field and were master craftsmen. Some inscriptions of the region indicate that the craftsmen had epithets to their names like *lekhacharya* and son of the goddess Saraswati which indicate that they were literate.

Ram Sharan Sharma was of the opinion that in certain areas in northern India there was no easy access to labour and hence serfdom was resorted to. The Kharepatan plates of Rattaraja dated AD 1008 of the South Konkan Silaharas makes mention of professionals like the oilmen, gardeners, potters, washermen and others who were transferred to the donee. The *Foral* of AD 1526 informed that rent-free lands were given to the village artisans. These lands were held hereditarily and transferred down the generations. However, it can be seen that this tied down the different generations to the land and this can also be seen as an evidence of serfdom. The study indicates that such a practice took place in the Goa region was well.

In the north Indian context, Ram Sharan Sharma informed that taxes were charged from the professionals in cash and kind. He informed that the income which was intended for the state and derived from craft production was granted to the temples and religious authorities. Thus, there was a feudalisation of crafts and commerce. It was also noticed that some inscriptions mentioned that income from trade was diverted for the maintenance of religious authorities. Thus, there was a feudalisation of industry and trade as well. This could be seen in the Goa region as well. Inscriptions also indicate that professionals were charged taxes which went towards the maintenance of temples.

S. G. Ghatapanadi informed that forced labour known as *visti*, *vetti* (*vetthi*) or *bitti* was known in the Karnataka region. An inscription of Jayakesi I of the Goa Kadambas informed that *vetthi* or forced labour was not to be exacted. Hence, forced labour was also known in the Goa region.

The craftsmen and artisans also served a wide variety of people. These included the rulers and elites as well as the common people. They were also involved in the making of copper-plate and stone inscriptions. These items had immense value as later rulers could study these inscriptions and take decisions. The designs of the images and the seals of the copper-plates depended on the dynasty in power.

The inscriptions in the region were in Sanskrit, Kannada and Marathi. The use of the language depended on the region and the dynasty in power. The knowledge of these languages by the craftsmen would have been required for them to craft the copper-plate and stone inscriptions. There were also a number of people who worked on the copper-plate and stone inscriptions. There was a composer and an engraver. However, certain inscriptions also mention an additional writer on the stone or copper-plate. This was probably as they had a pleasant handwriting and to avoid making mistakes.

In the Karnataka region, there were a number of organisations included the *seni*, *kottali*, *hittu*, *okkalu* and others. Some of these were seen in the inscriptions of the Goa region as well. The *seni* was the same as a *shreni* or a guild. Another organisation was the *kottali*. There is reference to the *kottali* of the stonecutters and the braziers. The *hittu* comprised of a number of artisans. An inscription of the Goa Kadambas informed of the *hittu*. Records mention this group as comprising of the blacksmith, carpenter, goldsmith and others. There is also reference to the *hittus* when donations were made. It is believed that this grouping was similar to the *ayagara* and the *barabalute* systems wherein grain was paid in return for their services. The *okkalu* referred to an agriculturalist or a family. However, at times this term referred to an organisation of professionals. An inscription of the Goa Kadambas informed of the *telligara aivottokkalu* which was group of oil merchants.

There were also trade guilds which were active in the region. The Goa region was an important commercial centre. The *hanjamana* was one such organisation of Muslim traders in the coastal regions. The *nagaras* or *nakharas* were also a trade organisation. It finds mention in an inscription of Goa with relation to the Vijayanagara rulers. The *nanadesis* were another trade organisation. They also find mention as making a grant in an inscription of the Goa Kadambas. The Ayyavole Five Hundred were another important trading organisation in the region. They find mention in the inscriptions of the Kolhapur Silaharas and the Goa Kadambas. The trade guilds would have dealt with the goods of the craft producers. There were also records of the *settis*, *settiguttas* and *sreshthins* who were involved in trade in the region.

The Goa region had significant overland as well as sea trade. This can be seen in the inscriptions where there is mention of a number of trade guilds. There were well known ports in western India. There is also mention of ships from different places which were to pay certain duties. There were a number of different communities of merchants in the Goa region. These included Persian Christian merchants, Arab merchants, Jewish merchants as well as others.

Under the Hoysalas, a number of traders had important administrative positions in the government. This was also noticed under the Silaharas and the Kadambas of Goa as well. It was seen that merchants and traders were able to accumulate wealth through trading activities.

People took up craft production activities to meet the requirements of the sea trade. Craft production activities were taxed. There were taxes levied on the blacksmiths, washermen, oil-men and others. Records indicate that the craftsmen and artisans contributed to the economy in the form of taxes. They also contributed to the temples during the time of religious festivals. Smita P. Surebankar was of the opinion that despite the number of taxes which were levied, a large portion of the taxes were spent on welfare activities of the people.

The skills of the various craftsmen were utilised in different areas. The inscriptions of the Silaharas, the Goa Kadambas and the Vijayanagara empire indicate the use of a number of coins which were in circulation in the region. These coins were minted in the region by skilled craftsmen in the mints. Under the Goa Kadambas, coins like the *gadyanakas* and *nishkas* were popular. A Vijayanagara inscription from Panjim dated AD 1391 informed of the use of coins like the *jaithalas* or *jitals*. Another Vijayanagara inscription dated AD 1402 from Veluz made mention of *tankas*. It is possible that after the invasions in the region by Malik Kafur in AD 1310 and by the forces of Muhammad-bin-Tughlaq in AD 1327, these coins became popular. The mention of these coins are found in Vijayanagara inscriptions of a later period. Phillip B. Wagoner was of the opinion that there was an Islamicisation at the Vijayanagara court. Due to this, the men wore clothing which resembled those worn by the Muslims. The Vijayanagara rulers also took titles which resembled titles used by the sultans. This was done in order to be accepted by their subordinates as well as the neighbouring rulers. It is quite possible that it was for this same reason that the Vijayanagara kings continued using the *tankas* and *jitals* in Goa. The local craftsmen would have been employed in the production of coins.

The expertise of the local craftsmen was also used in the production of stone sculptures, hero-stones, *sati*-stones and *nishidhi*-stones. Hero-stones or *viragals* commemorated the death of a person who sacrificed their life for a cause. There were hero-stones which depicted naval battles. Some of these give the impression that the craftsmen were highly skilled. The depictions of ships on the hero-stones were highly detailed. There were also *sati*-stones which were set up to commemorate the wife who had committed self-immolation on the death of her husband. There were also *nishidhi*-stones which were set up. These were to commemorate those who took up the vow of *sallekhana* and died. There were also *thadagems* which were memorial structures which were built.

The sculptors were also influenced by the rulers and the styles present around them. It is for this reason that a number of the sculptures show influences from Gujarat, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. The influence of the Rashtrakutas as well as the Hoysalas can be seen. The Mahadeva temple at Tambdi Surla had features which were comparable to others in the region. It could indicate that the craftsmen had contacts with these regions or there was a migration of craftsmen. There was a Vishnu sculpture in the Mahadeva temple in Tambdi Surla in Goa which was exactly the same as another Vishnu sculpture in the premises of the Shiva temple of Ambarnath in Maharashtra. There was a panel of *matrikas* found in Chandor in Goa which has close similarity to a panel of *matrikas* found in Tambur or Tammiyur which was a territory under the Goa Kadambas. This would indicate that the craftsmen had contacts with these different regions. It may also indicate that the craftsmen travelled to these places. The craftsmen were also involved in the excellent carvings of the figures of Madhava mantri and Martanda Bhairava.

George M. Moraes felt that there was a school of sculpture which developed under the Goa Kadambas in the south Konkan and that there was an influence by Hoysala sculptors. But, V. R. Mitragotri did not believe that there was an independent school of sculpture in the south Konkan. However, he felt that sculptures in Goa were influenced by Gujarat, the later Chalukyas and the Hoysalas. He also felt that the sculptors of Goa were very creative. Nandkumar Kamat felt that the craftsmen drew influence from the styles of the surrounding areas as Goa was an important centre which linked important towns in south India.

V. R. Mitragotri informed that some of the sculptures found also indicate that the craftsmen adhered to the elements of iconography as prescribed by texts. Hence, the

craftsmen had a knowledge of such rules of iconography. The craftsmen would also have assisted the rulers in the building of forts. The hero-stones depict battles where arrows, shields and javelins can be seen. The hero-stones also depict naval battles and ships. The craftsmen would have been involved in the manufacture of such items and ships.

The inscriptions of the region indicate that the rulers patronised the building and maintenance of religious structures. The inscriptions inform that Hindu temples were built in the region. There is also record of a number of Jain *basadis* constructed and maintained. There is also evidence of mosques built. All these would have needed a number of stonemasons, carpenters as well as painters in their decoration. The kings may have made use of the services of the goldsmiths during the time of donations, especially at the time of the *tulapurusha*. The craftsmen were also involved in the making of jewellery for the elites.

There are also records which indicate that the artisans played a part in the religious life of the village. There are records of contributions which were made in cash and in kind. These were made at the time of the celebration of festivals.

In the village, the artisans were paid in the form of a *namasy* land. This was also known as a *nomos* or *namas*. This land was to be held by succeeding generations of the family of the artisans. It was only in the case of the non-performance of their duties that the land could be taken and given to another family member who would perform the duties. The elders of the families of the village servants also received a share of paddy.

In medieval south India, fishermen were among the village servants who maintained dams. They received a tax-free land in return. It was noticed that in one case in Goa, even the fishermen received a *namasy*. However, it is not known what service they provided.

There is a mention of the *barazan* in Goa. Pandurang Phaldesai was of the opinion that the *barazan* referred to the *bara balutedars* or the twelve village artisans. However, it is felt that this may not have been the case. Antonio Mascarenhas informed that the *barazan* may have referred to those who helped settlers arrive into Goa. These were gradually worshipped as a deity.

Hiroshi Fukazawa studied the village community in Maharashtra to classify them into the categories of the demiurgic labour or *jajmani* system. In the case of Goa, Rowena Robinson was of the view that the lower castes provided services to the higher castes and it was likened to the *jajmani* system. However, Stella Mascarenhas-Keyes

was of the opinion that in the *comunidade* system in Goa, the artisans were paid by the village with lands. Most of the artisans served all the villagers. According to her, this was different from the *jajmani* system which was composed of patron-client relationships among individuals. Although the artisans could be fined if they did not provide services to a *ganvkar*, the artisans were part of the joint village wherein they came under the *comunidade* and served the village as a whole. Thus, is seems that the artisanal classes in Goa could be termed as providing demiurgic labour.

However, there are some similarities of the study of Hiroshi Fukazawa of the village servants in Maharashtra to the village servants in Goa. The Brahmin priest did not serve all the members of the village community. This can be seen in the case of the *chamars* and *mahars*. But, it was observed that the Brahmin priest did inform them of the rites to be performed and received a fee. The barbers also did not shave the men of the *chamar* and *mahar* communities. However, details are limited. Nevertheless, it was noticed that records from the sixteenth century informed that the village artisans were called the servants of the temples and the villages.

The Portuguese played an important role in trade in Asia. They were the paramount power in the Indian Ocean prior to the arrival of the English and the Dutch. With the arrival of the Portuguese in Goa, an inspection revealed that there were a number a weapons, gunpowder and materials for its manufacture. It would indicate that such production was present in Goa. A mint was established to make coins of the Portuguese variety.

It was noticed that members of the craftsmen communities helped Albuquerque. A goldsmith informed that his father had helped Albuquerque during the taking of Goa. Also, it was seen that blacksmiths who were taken from Goa helped in the repair of weapons used in the capture of Malacca. The services of local stonemasons were also utilised in the fortification of Goa.

Records indicate that there were a number of Portuguese employed in different professions. The *casados* included carpenters, blacksmiths and others. They were also involved in trade. There are also records of Indian craftsmen who were paid in cloth and different items. These included an Indian *mocadão* or *mukaddam* or headman of the carpenters, an Indian *mestre* or master blacksmith and others. There are also records of other Indian carpenters who were paid. This indicates that Indian craftsmen were employed by the Portuguese quite early on and some headmen and masters were Indians. There are also records of other craftsmen who were paid in cash or kind for

their services. At the time of Albuquerque's death in AD 1515, there were a number of craftsmen in the city of Goa. These included carpenters, blacksmiths, caulkers, jewellers and others.

It is believed that after the arrival of the Portuguese, the Muslims were expelled from the region. There is a record dated AD 1511 which informed that some Muslim blacksmiths who are believed to have been from Salcete were paid for some work. There is also information from AD 1559 of the baptism of the headman of the painters. It is informed that a number of Hindus and Muslims were present. Therefore, not all Muslims were expelled from Goa.

The *Foral* or Charter of Afonso Mexia attempted to understand the village functionaries and their duties. The clause twelve of this Charter informed that the *ganvkars* could give rent-free lands to the village servants. These lands were hereditary and could only be taken back if they did not perform their service.

There are records from the 1520s which indicate that a foundry-worker, stonemason and carpenters performed different works in Goa. The factor had the responsibility for procuring supplies. He was to consult the rope-maker, the caulker and other professionals while purchasing items. There were also rules which the workers present had to follow regarding the attendance of their duties.

In the 1540s and thereafter there was a change in the religious policies of the Portuguese. Temples were destroyed and measures were taken so that Hindu artisans could not produce items of Christian worship. It is seen that there were measures taken which discriminated against the non-Christians. There were a number of legislations which added to the difficulties of the non-converted people. However, it was noticed that the craftsmen communities generally fared better than the others. One edict asked the goldsmiths who had left Goa to return with their families. Another exempted carpenters, blacksmiths and certain other professionals among the people who were to be banished from Goa. A letter dated AD 1565 indicated that the policy of expulsion of all Hindus was not completely enforced and that Brahmins and goldsmiths still lived in Goa. It is understood that the Portuguese could not do without the services of the craftsmen. This would indicate that they had a special status. There were also decrees which prohibited the non-Christian craftsmen from making items of Christian worship. Cristina Osswald noticed that these decrees were reiterated repeatedly which indicate that the services of Hindu craftsmen were still utilised despite the decrees.

There are also records which indicate that a number of craftsmen converted to Christianity. In AD 1559, a headman of the painters wished to convert. The viceroy who was away from Goa sent word that the baptism was to be postponed until he returned so that he could be the godfather at the baptism. There was also the baptism of a headman of the goldsmiths where the viceroy stood as the godfather. Such instances where the viceroy stood as their godfather indicate that certain craftsmen enjoyed privileged positions. There are also records of other craftsmen like stonemasons who converted. There is record of a Hindu master carpenter in the convent of Santa Monica who converted in AD 1613. Thus, it may be seen that despite the numerous decrees, Hindus still continued to be employed by the religious orders. Teotonio R. de Souza informed that the work of Hindu artisans was preferred. At times, Hindu artisans who converted got distanced from their relatives and guild members. The Portuguese also preferred Hindu artisans and this led a number of converted artisans into poverty.

It was in AD 1540 that Hindu temples were first destroyed. Thereafter, there were records of a number of Hindu temples being destroyed. Records indicate that some of the temples which were destroyed were of excellent craftsmanship. However, records show that despite the prohibition on the building of temples, the temples continued to exist or be rebuilt. This would indicate that there was a constant use of the services of the craftsmen in Goa. Teotonio R. de Souza informed that the lands of the temples had gone towards the maintenance of the temple staff. With the destruction of the temples, the land and the money went towards the building of churches and its activities.

The Inquisition was feared by the people. It was introduced into Goa in AD 1560. It was especially harsh on the Jews or New Christians. François Pyrard informed of an account of a Dutch jeweller who resided in Goa and who was persecuted by the Inquisition. There is record of a Hindu goldsmith called Gorqua or Gorca dated AD 1608 informing the Inquisition that he had been treated badly. It was also noticed that some landowning Hindu goldsmiths had utilised the services of Christian labourers which was prohibited.

There was a constant need for craftsmen. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there were a number of incidents like fires, lightning strikes, an earthquake and cyclonic storms which would have damaged buildings and houses. There was even an attempt to move the capital from the city of Goa to Mormugão. All these would have required the services of a number of craftsmen and artisans in the repair and maintenance of buildings.

There is also a record of a dispute among the craftsmen. In the early sixteenth century, there was a record of a goldsmith named Nemu (Chetim) Chatim who complained that the privileges given to his father and him were not recognised. P. D. Xavier was of the opinion that it was a case where the privileges granted to Hindus were withdrawn. However, this may not have been the case. Nemu Chatim had informed that his father was the headman of the goldsmiths during the time of the Sabayo. His father had provided assistance to Albuquerque during both the times when Goa was taken. Due to this, Albuquerque confirmed the position of the headman of the goldsmiths to his father. This position passed on to Nemu Chatim. However, it was informed that Diogo Lopes de Sequeira did not confirm his position. Raulu Chatim, another goldsmith had gone to Portugal and had made a number of items for the king of Portugal. The king thereafter appointed him as the headman of the goldsmiths in Goa and provided him some privileges. Some years later, Raulu Chatim in a letter to the king informed that he was the headman of the goldsmiths. These letters indicate a conflict between the two goldsmiths. It does not appear to have been a case where the rights granted to the Hindus were revoked.

Panduranga Pissurlencar informed of a letter dated AD 1529 which had the signature of Raulu Chatim. Gajanana Shantaram Sinai Ghantkar was of the opinion that this signature was the first example of the *Cánadi* or *Gõykanadi* script. This indicated that some craftsmen were literate and could sign documents.

Josef Wicki informed that the Biblioteca Casanatense has the *Manuscript 1889* which contains drawings of people from Africa to China. The authorship is unknown. However, certain pages depict scenes from Goa. These include drawings of Goan washermen, blacksmiths and goldsmiths. They were depicted going about their everyday work. The Goan washermen and women were shown in the process of washing and carrying clothes. The Goan blacksmiths were shown hammering metal and working the bellows. A Goan master goldsmith and others were shown involved in the production of jewellery. Thus, as attempt was made to depict the craftsmen in Goa as they went about their daily work.

Soon after the Portuguese conquest of Goa, the mint was established. Tristão de Gá was selected as treasurer of the mint. After the second conquest of Goa, operations of the mint were farmed out to a *chetim* from Batecala. One source informed that Álvaro Godinho was appointed as the treasurer of the mint. However, other records indicate that Tristão de Gá was still the treasurer after the second conquest. Orders from Afonso

de Albuquerque dated from December 1510 to February 1511 asked the *feitor* of Goa to give Tristão de Gá copper to make coins. The name of Álvaro Godinho as treasurer of the mint is found in a record dated April 1511.

There were a number of staff of the mint. There were also *moedeiros* who assisted the officers. There was one *moedeiro* by the name of Affonso de Albuquerque who was a local from India who had converted to Christianity. The governor had named him as a *moedeiro das moedas de bazarucos de cobre e calaim* for life. The study indicated that there was no significant change in the salaries of the mint workers between AD 1554 and 1574. There was a coin with the letters J-A instead of G-A. This was probably done as the Hindu goldsmiths did not know the Portuguese language or due to a similarity in the sound.

The contracts for the minting of coins were farmed out. This policy allowed the government a secure source of cash. A record dated AD 1595 informed that Pondea Chatim was involved in the minting of coins called *são-tomés*. It was also seen that there was a presence of a number of moneychangers in Goa. This was informed by foreign travellers like Linschoten and Pyrard. These moneychangers or *shroffs* or *xaraffos* were successful in their business as people had constant need for their services.

The *Ribeira* was an important centre for craft production. It housed public buildings, the docks, the mint and the gun-foundry. Pyrard informed that there were numerous professionals including carpenters, caulkers, blacksmiths, founders, masons and others working there. Many of them were Indians. They worked under a senior Portuguese staff. Pyrard also informed how the salaries of the staff were disbursed. The study indicated that the salaries of the *patrão* and the *mestre* of the different crafts for the years AD 1554 and 1571 remained the same except for a few craftsmen. There is a record dated 30 March 1606 wherein the king of Portugal informed the viceroy that a master or *mestre* of the carpenters of the *Ribeira* of Goa had appealed to him to provide him with a pension.

There were also some craftsmen on board ships. These included carpenters, caulkers, coopers and others. In the seventeenth century, Goans were recruited to work on the ships. We get the name of Jacinto Roiz (or Rodrigues) who was a carpenter, Joseph Gomes who was a caulker and Thomé Dias who was a cooper.

After the capture of Goa in AD 1510, Albuquerque was impressed with the weapons manufactured in Goa and was full of praise for the items made. There were a number of craftsmen who worked in Goa. One such craftsman was Fernando or

Francisco Anes. C. R. Boxer informed that high quality cannons made by the Dias and Tavares Bocarro family. Manuel Tavares Bocarro was the son of Pedro Dias Bocarro who was a master founder at Goa. He was the grandson of Francisco Dias who was also a master founder. Manuel Tavares Bocarro was involved in the development of the foundry in Macau. One of the bells in the Sé cathedral was probably made by Pedro Dias Bocarro due to an inscription mentioned on it. Another bell had the name Ramacrisna Chatim inscribed on it. These were probably involved in the making of these bells. There were a number of officials in charge of metal works. There was the *mestre da fundição* and the *mestre da ferraria*. The craftsmen were involved in metal works as well as weapons manufacture. There was also the *mestre da armaria*. The *armaria* was where weapons were deposited.

A. Lopes Mendes pointed out that Goa had iron mines and there were a number of *dovôllos* who were foundry-workers of iron. They obtained the ore, prepared it and sold it to the blacksmiths for purification. The iron was prepared in foundries called *solónes*. Women carried the product to the blacksmiths for purification.

The manufacture of gunpowder was also present in Goa. The materials required for the production of gunpowder were easily obtained by the Portuguese through trading activities. There were a number of gunpowder specialists who provided their expertise. João Luis is believed to have made a device to safely produce gunpowder. Over time, it was noticed that the gunpowder factory increased its production of gunpowder. However, it was noticed that in the gunpowder factory in Chaul, there was the development of a device which increased the production of gunpowder at a lower cost when compared to the device produced by João Luis in Goa. There was also the use of slaves in the manufacture of gunpowder in Goa.

The descriptions of Linschoten and Pyrard indicate that there were jewellers in Goa. Goa was also a transit point for precious stones from different parts of India. George Winius informed that initially the state did not tax precious stones. Austin Hiriart informed in a letter dated AD 1625 that he was more efficient than the diamond cutters in Goa who took a long time to cut diamonds. Goa was also an important transit point of jewellery sent from Ceylon to Portugal. Nuno Vassallo e Silva noticed that due to this, a style developed in Goa known as the Ceylon style. Goan jewellers tried to imitate the styles of Ceylon.

Pedro Dias informed that Gaspar Correa was involved in the of paintings of the governors and viceroys of India. He made use of a local artist to paint their faces.

Linschoten and Pyrard inform of seeing the paintings of the viceroys and governors of India in the palace of the viceroys. There were also paintings of the ships which left from Lisbon to Goa and from Goa to Lisbon. There were other foreign travellers who also saw these portraits in the palace of the viceroys. On another occasion, there were also two portraits of Saint Francis Xavier which were created. It was informed that they bore a remarkable likeness to Saint Francis Xavier. This indicates the skill of the painters.

Fernão Vaz Dourado was a cartographer who is believed to have been born in Goa in a family of map-makers. The maps he created depict his skill and workmanship. His maps are preserved in the British Museum as well as in Portugal in the Torre do Tombo and in the Biblioteca Nacional. Manuel Godinho de Erédia was another cartographer who was present in Goa. He accompanied Giovanni Battista Cairato, the chief architect of India to inspect the fortifications in Hormuz. He lived in Goa as a painter and produced a number of map and charts. His charts were less artistic but had details which were required for mariners. Some of his works are preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro and in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid.

There were also other artisans like the washermen, goldsmiths, potters and leather workers who were involved in various everyday needs of the people. There were also records which show that different people held *rendas* which were sources of revenue farmed out to the highest bidder. The study of M. N. Pearson on the *rendas* informed that besides the Saraswat Brahmins, Gujarati vanias and others, the Chatims also held a portion of the *rendas*. The Chatims were either Vaisyas or goldsmiths. There are also records which show the *rendas* of the moneychangers, goldsmiths and washermen.

The religious orders constantly utilised the services of the craftsmen. There would have been a constant need to repair and maintain the buildings of the religious orders. In the seventeenth century, there are records which indicate that the services of the carpenters, blacksmiths, stonemasons and others were utilised on a constant basis. They were paid for their services in cash.

A record dated AD 1654, under the East India Company in Fort St. George in Madras, informed of some unproven allegations against the agent. It was alleged that he had utilised the services of smiths and carpenters of the Company to build his house and make items for him. A similar situation was noticed in Goa and was informed by Diogo do Couto of a time slightly prior to this record. He informed that the house of

325

the *vedor* would constantly be filled with different craftsmen making carpentry works and decorative jewellery. These records indicate the private use of the craftsmen.

The printing press was another area which utilised skilled craftsmen. The press in Goa started functioning in AD 1556 under Juan de Bustamante (João de Bustamante). There was also an Indian who was sent and who was well skilled in the working of the press. However, there is relatively less information about him. There is information of Joam Gonçalvez (Juan / João Gonçalvez) who was a *ferreiro* or blacksmith who was involved in the production of types for the press. He was also involved in the production of clocks. He was referred to as a highly skilled blacksmith.

With the arrival of the Portuguese, one of the important tasks was the fortification of Goa. The *mestre das obras* or master of the works called Tomaz Fernandes, some Portuguese stonemasons, local stonemasons and other workers known as *bigairins* who took part in the work. Later on, work took place on the city fortification wall. It was an important military structure. The causeway linking Panjim and Ribandar was also another important structure that would have required the service of a number of local stonemasons.

There were also a number of religious structures which were constructed. The king of Portugal instructed viceroy Dom João de Castro to complete building the church of Santa Cruz in Calapor and to construct other churches. The cathedral as well as the convent and church of Santa Monica were some of the important structures built. The basilica of Bom Jesus in Goa was also an important structure. There were also stone inscriptions carved. All these indicate that the services of craftsmen were utilised. It was also informed that among the Jesuits, there were a number of brothers who were well skilled in different crafts and were architects and painters. Thus, a number of structures of the Jesuits were built my members of their own order.

In AD 1560, a mosque was constructed in Ponda. There was also an inscription in Persian dated AD 1570-71 of the reign of Ali I of the Adil Shahi dynasty regarding the practice of *niputrik* prevalent in Goa. A stone inscription in Persian dated AD 1594-95 informed that a bastion known as the *burj-i-fath* was constructed. Another inscription informed of the construction of a mosque called the *masjid-i-fath*. This was most probably done by stoneworkers in the surrounding area which would later come under the Portuguese.

There was the development of the Indo-Portuguese style. It was a mixture of Portuguese and Indian elements. The Indo-Portuguese style was seen in furniture as

well as in religious statues. The influence of the local artisans could be seen in the churches of Goa and in religious items. It was noticed that Christian sacred art had Hindu elements. It was also noticed that Hindu temples which were built had western influences. This was because the Goan artisans were influenced by the European styled churches in Goa. There was an exchange of influences.

In the city of Goa, there were a number of groups of people. It was noticed that the *reinões* usually comprised of the viceroys, governors, captains and other high ranking officials. Among the *reinões*, there were the two categories of the *fidalgos* and the *nobres* The *casados* comprised of two groups which were the *castiços* and the *mestiços*. There were also the *mulatos*, *soldados*, members of the religious clergy, other traders and the locals of the land.

In the city of Goa, foreign travellers noticed that there were a number of professional groups. Linschoten informed that there were shoemakers, coopers and others. There were people selling a variety of goods. There were craftsmen like goldsmiths, silversmiths, coppersmiths, carpenters and others. They were mostly Hindus.

It was also notices that among the Brahmins and the goldsmith, there were Shaivites and Vaishnavites. In south India, there as a division among the non-Brahmins into the *idangai* or left-hand castes and the *valangai* or right-hand castes. They had conflicts among themselves over the use of certain privileges such as the use of an umbrella, riding a horse and others. There is a record of a fight during the tenure of viceroy João Coutinho, count of Redondo in the early seventeenth century between the mercers of Goa and the goldsmiths over the use of an umbrella with some ornaments on it. It is quite possible that this was an instance of the *idangai-valangai* conflict in Goa during the Portuguese period.

Linschoten informed that people called the Canaras and Decannis were also present in Goa. A number of them were goldsmiths, silversmiths, coppersmiths and carpenters. In their eating habits, they emulated the Brahmins, Gujaratis and the Banias.

It was also noticed that a number of Goan craftsmen found work in other places. In AD 1538, there were a number of Goan craftsmen in Diu. In the mid-sixteenth century, a number of people would have left Goa due to the decrees which discriminated against the non-Christians. Teotonio R. de Souza also informed that there were reasons for the emigration of people. These included the Dutch blockade of Goa, natural disasters and invasions. A record dated AD 1665 indicated that Portuguese attempted

to bar the entry of craftsmen into Bombaim or Bombay, which was to be ceded to the English. A number of people migrated to Kanara. In Kanara, it was noticed that there were a number of professionals like goldsmiths, coppersmiths, carpenters and others who had links with Goa.

Linschoten in the late sixteenth century found that there were still Hindus, Muslims and others in Goa and the surrounding areas. Foreign travellers indicated that the Portuguese could not do without the Hindus. This was especially seen with the Hindu merchants and the Hindu craftsmen who were well skilled.

A number of foreign travellers also commented that the craftsmen in Goa were highly skilled and worked diligently with the least amount of resources and tools. There were also some unpleasant interactions with some members of the craftsmen community. Niccolao Manucci informed that his friend had a disagreement with a local shoemaker and an unpleasant confrontation took place. Richard F. Burton informed that some craftsmen charged an excessive amount and would keep the customer waiting.

Goa made use of a number of slaves. The Portuguese also made use of slave labour in the galleys and in the manufacture of gunpowder. The clause twenty-one of the *Foral* informed that unpaid labour or *begari* could be utilised from the villagers for public works. The religious orders were also known to have a number of slaves. A number of slaves were also utilised in the building of the basilica of Bom Jesus in Goa. There are records of a number of slaves being manumitted. These included slaves from the *mahar*, shoemaker and carpenter communities. Some of these slaves included women.

Teotonio R. de Souza informed that the Portuguese brought the guild organisation which was present in Lisbon to Goa. The craftsmen who wanted to work independently had to pass an examination first. There are records of a number of craftsmen who were examined. A master craftsman in the field would conduct the examination and certify the artisans.

In Portugal, the different craft guilds met in different streets. This was done to safeguard their interests, control the quality of their work and be accessible to customers. A similar situation was seen in Goa. Linschoten informed that there were separate streets for different professionals. Pyrard also informed that the professionals had streets named as per their professions. A record from AD 1623 informed that separate streets were assigned to the different craftsmen. This was to allow for the checking of their work and for easy access to customers.

328

In Portugal, the craftsmen took an active part in the procession of Corpus Christi. They carried their banners and items depicting the patron saints of their respective crafts. A similar situation was seen in Goa. It was noticed that craftsmen also took part in processions. There were instructions which indicated that the municipal officers and the craftsmen were to be present in a procession to welcome the viceroy when he came to India. It was also noticed that in the procession of the Corpus Christi and the feast of Saint Catherine, the craftsmen had to carry the banners of their guilds and insignias during the procession.

The municipality of Goa had four worker's representatives on the municipal council. They were called the *procuradores dos mesteres*. There are records of some of their names and profession found in records. The artisans had the *Casa dos Vinte e Quatro* or the House of the Twenty-four to look after their interests. It elected the four worker's representatives to the municipal board. The *juiz do povo* or the Judge of the People presided over the *Casa dos Vinte e Quatro*. At times it was noticed that there were disagreements with worker's representatives called the *procuradores dos mesteres* and the aldermen or the *vereadores*. However, the presence of the four worker's representatives in the municipal council indicated that the interests of the craftsmen, artisans and traders were also taken into account.

The study also found that there were a number of craftsmen who were examined by master craftsmen. The craftsmen were in various fields including stonemasons, metalworkers, carpenters, gilders and others. There are records of even Hindu craftsmen being examined and certified in the seventeenth century. These included Hindu carpenters, stonemasons and others. One record mentioned that a stonemason was a Brahmin. This would indicate that the services of Hindu craftsmen were still utilised even in the seventeenth century despite the religious upheavals in the sixteenth century.

The study also found that many of these Hindu craftsmen who were certified, were named *mestre* or masters in their respective fields later on. Documents mentioning them as *mestre* or masters and bearing their symbols have also been found. It would seem that master craftsmen like Pondea Naique, Rama Naique, Caulia Gauro and others could not sign their names. Hence, they left their marks and symbols on the documents. There is a record of Ambrozio de Freitas, a master stonemason who left his signature on a document. The study indicates that Hindu craftsmen were examined and later

became master craftsmen in the seventeenth century despite the rulings against the use of non-Christian craftsmen in the sixteenth century.

There were a number of *posturas* or regulations of the municipality of Goa. These were guidelines which the different craftsmen had to follow. The craftsmen included goldsmiths, lapidaries, coppersmiths, coopers, washermen and others. They could be fined it they did not follow the rules laid down. These *posturas* as well as the examination of the craftsmen would indicate that the state controlled the activities of the craftsmen. Teotonio R. de Souza informed that the municipality *posturas* controlled the market in three ways. The first one was through the control of import of raw materials. The second was through control over the production of goods. The third was control over the distribution of goods by fixing prices and standardising weight and measures.

The *Santa Casa da Misericórdia* was a body which was involved in welfare works. It was seen that the craftsmen classes were grouped under the category of the *irmãos de menor condição*. They took part in the functioning of the *Misericórdia*. There were a number of office bearers of the *Misericórdia* from the craftsmen community. It was also noticed that the *Recolhimento da Nossa Senhora da Serra* received financial support from the king of Portugal. However, at times this amount was not enough. It was seen that the revenue of some villages were allocated towards its maintenance. Some professional groups like the fishermen of Agaçaim, Panelim and other places and the *ourives* or goldsmiths of the city of Goa also contributed towards its maintenance.

Eugenia Vanina classified non-agricultural production in medieval India into four categories. In the situation of Goa, there is difficulty in finding evidence regarding the first category of unprofessional non-commodity production and second category of unprofessional commodity production categories. This is because it is difficult to know which was the main occupation and whether these craft production activities were carried out in addition to the main occupation. However, there is ample evidence for the third category called the professional non-commodity production and the fourth category called the professional commodity production. Eugenia Vanina also discussed the diversification of crafts in the urban context. There is also evidence of the diversification of crafts in the context of the city of Goa.

A. S. Altekar in a study of western India discussed that the self-sufficiency of the villages was accomplished by giving the village artisans grain at the harvest time, so that they would not find a need to leave the village. Irfan Habib also shared the

opinion that the village artisans helped in the self-sufficiency of the village. In Goa, Teotonio R. de Souza informed that the village artisans were provided a piece of rent-free land called a *namasy*. This land was held down the generations in a hereditary manner. The elders of the families of the temple servants also received a share of paddy. It appears that this would have discouraged the artisans from leaving the village and led to its self-sufficiency.

Teotonio R. de Souza was of the opinion that gradually, there was a disintegration of the self-sufficiency of the villages. There was a contract made with a cobbler to provide his services. However, this was not seen in all the villages. It is possible that this took place in villages which were situated near the city of Goa which was a commercial centre. The disintegration was possibly due to the opportunities present in the city of Goa. Generally, it is seen that the craftsmen were sought after. There were a number of sources for the employment of the craftsmen and artisans in the city of Goa.

Overall, it may be seen that the craftsmen were an important part of the society. The study found that during the pre-Portuguese period, there are records which indicate that the craftsmen and artisans took part in the economic and the religious life of the society. There were a number records in the region that indicate that craft production was taxed. Some inscriptions informed that certain craftsmen were highly skilled. However, the records of the craftsmen and artisans in this period are comparatively less than the records of the Portuguese period. During the Portuguese period, there are a much larger number of records which inform of the craftsmen. The study also found that the services of Indian craftsmen were utilised right from the time of Afonso de Albuquerque. Records indicate that they were paid in cash and kind for their services. Gradually, with the rise of religious intolerance in the mid-sixteenth century, edits prohibited the use of non-Christian craftsmen. However, craftsmen were sought after and had a good standing in society. The viceroy was the godfather at the baptisms of the headman of the painters as well as the headman of the goldsmiths. It was also noticed that a decree was passed which exempted certain craftsmen from expulsion from Goa. It was noticed that the Hindu craftsmen were used in places. However, despite the upheavals of the sixteenth century, it was seen that the services of Hindu craftsmen were utilised in the seventeenth century. The study also found records of a number of craftsmen who underwent certification for their trades in the seventeenth century. Many of these included Hindu craftsmen. Many of these Hindu craftsmen were

later called master craftsmen. It is seen that under the Portuguese, craft production was highly regulated.

This work is limited to the study of the craftsmen and artisans during the pre-Portuguese period to Goa and the surrounding areas which were under the territory of the rulers based in Goa. During the Portuguese period, it is restricted to the areas of the Old Conquests. The period of study is from AD 1000 to 1700. Hence, it has not looked at the village communities and the situation of the craftsmen communities in other parts of India. It has also not looked at the changes undergone by the craftsmen under the other European powers in other parts of India. These could be themes for future research.

Appendix 1

Document mentioning some Goans on board the *Nossa Senhora do Rosario e Santo Antonio*

Cassados vivos salteados, da ... Galeceisso ... na viagem ...
su ... da Galeota João ... na egreja ... [e]les os nomes se
seguintes

João de Araujo   Antonio da Silua
João Roiz   Domingos de meranda
Mel Souso   Domingos Cardozo
Diogo Pz   Goncallo Nancisco
Lourenço Pz

Embarcarão mais na dita ... da gente do mar sinco offes brancos
sete offes nau dahr, 12 marinheiros brancos 9 Artilhros bran-
cos e 4 Artilheiros nau dahr que ao todo fazem 48 pessoas.
a saber 2 brancos e 2i natr. E dos offes brancos faleceram na
viagem dous a saber o meshe, e contra mestre, e dos nahes datrs
su q se Calafate, e dos marinheiros brancos faleceram 6 e dos
artilheiros brancos dous, e dos Artilhros nah ... datrs dous. Com
ficarão na egreja do dito Nº dos brancos e natr.es 35 pessoas cu-
jos nomes são os segtes

Brancos
O Pelloto Antº Barboza   Joseph Roiz
O Guardião Domingos Pz Viana   Domingos Roiz
O tanoeiro Manoel Pz   Antonio do Ramo
O Condestavel Nicolao da Roza   Manoel Antes
                                         Vicente pinto

nau datr.
O Carpinteiro Jacinto Roiz   Artilheiros nah.es datr.
O Carpint. Sobreselente Fran de sang   Jacinto do Rosario
O Calafate Sobreselente Joseph gomes   Thome de Souza
O Tanoeiro Sobreselente Thome dias   Antonio da Costa
O Surgiao Marcello do logr   Joseph Pz
O Sangrador Matheus de ...   Joseph Roiz
                                      Domingos Viegas

Marinr.es brancos
Manoel telles   Antonio Pz
Manoel Roiz   João da Cocba
Joseph pinto   Antonio Caruz
Antonio Vieira   Francisco da Silva
Manoel da Costa   Simão de Souza
Luis de Souza

Artilheiros brancos
Manoel Pz
...

... Nave embarcarão ... vivos salteados ...

Source: HAG, *Livro das Monções do Reino (1688-1690)*, n.º 54, fols. 167r-167v.

Appendix 2

Document informing that Domingos Dias, a carpenter was examined

Mas ditto offo Esto lhe duraia em dias de sua vida f[e]z
Mart.z a ie? em f[eve]r.e a xxbiij de f[e]br.o de b[i]c? [...] [ano?]
anos, Berto la miz francis escriuad da [Cam.a?] f[e]z
escreuer, Domingo loba, J[ose]ph de [Caru]ealho de
menefes, Bras pr.a de sousa, Aluaro de [Caru]ealhos
Luis tx per de [Car]ualhos, paulo miz, Jacome
f[e]rn? Sebastião detres, migel p[a]?

+ Registo de hũa scetidão Comfirmaçã?

Certefico Eu francisco pereira escriuad deste offo de [Barb]o des padas em
[...] Juis sebastião aranha de dito officio Examinou perante
mj es criuad a Mel dias official de dito officio E p[e]lo dito
Juis o achar [...] E p[or] sufficiente ja pode seruir sua teda
E[...] de dito offo nesta Cidade e mais partes d[o]nde
lhe [...] Bem parecer E p[or] as[s]ỹ ser mandou a mj nes
Criuad lhe passase a presente certidão p[or] bem d[...]
a Requerim.to de dito Mel dias lhe passa [...] na verdade
em goa aos vinte E hũ dias de [setemb]ro de b[i]c xiij anos
Eu [f]es [...] a escreuỹ: de Bastião aranha
[...]

[...] Vereadores Juis procurador E procurador[es] dos
mis[te]res da Cam.a desta Cidade de goa
E por elle[s] [...] Esta certidão d a[s]ima de [...]
[...] apresentada a certidão a sima

Source: HAG, *Senado de Goa: Registo das cartas patentes (1612-1619)*, n.º 7752, fols. 63v-64r.

Appendix 4

Document mentioning Ganneça Naique as a *mestre* or master stonemason

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