

# *Cidade de Chaul*-The Portuguese Town Building Experience and Its Urban Landscape, 1509-1635: Historical Perspective

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**Abstract:** This paper provides model study for understanding emergence and growth of the Portuguese colonial town in India, which evolved from one form to another through methodical machinations followed by the colonial power in the host land.

**Key Words:** Chaul, Gujarat, Mozambique, textile, *casados e moradores*, Nizamshahi Urban landscapes

## 1. INTRODUCTION:

This paper deals with the Portuguese town that was emerged on the western coast of India during first half of the sixteenth century, but soon besieged by the Sultan of Ahmadnagar for nine months during 1570-71. This siege caused heavy damages to the properties of new settlers, churches and the religious institutions. But, after the siege, the impromptu growth of *bandel* turned into planned urban configuration and strong fortification. Later in the eighteenth century, the Marathas became powerful in Deccan politics, occupied the Portuguese territories of Salcete and Bardez of Goa, It unnerved the Portuguese; however, they came with a proposal to surrender this town to Marathas in lieu of Salcete and Bardez. Matter was settled between them, and a treaty was concluded on 18<sup>th</sup> September 1740.

Chaul was a town of wealthy merchants, flourished on account of textile–ivory trade between Gujarat and Mozambique. When trade of this sector was disrupted due to policies adopted by Portuguese; dejection spread among merchants as their financial status suffered a massive setback. Such stages used to happen for a short time, and when the state changed its policies, town thrived back in trade and commerce<sup>1</sup>. But in 1690, the resident merchants of Chaul became panic when the Portuguese declared that the state would carry out trade between Gujarat and Mozambique through its own Trading Company. Finally, in 1694, this company started operating trade. But, *cidade de Chaul* was dropped from its list and its resident merchants were banned in their conventional trade between Gujarat and Mozambique<sup>2</sup>. Hence, they had no option but to migrate with families to other towns. As stated earlier, administration of the town shifted from the Portuguese to the Marathas by a treaty. And, it created the sense of insecurity among the Portuguese *casados e moradores*, or married residents, who then migrated with families to the British Bombay and other Portuguese towns in India. These two factors attributed largely towards setting the process of diminishing urban identity of Chaul. Further, some of the Portuguese *casados e moradores*, who had the agriculture fields in the vicinity of Kōrlāi village, left the town and settled permanently on their fields. In short there was not a single Portuguese *casado e morador* left in the town after mid of the eighteenth century.

Thereafter, entire area of town proper turned into cluster of agriculture blocks, owned mostly by the non-Christians. Today, it is a hamlet of town Revdanda [Raigad district of Maharashtra], where one can see thick plantation of different types of trees, but no dominant sign of magnificent landscapes belonging to the Portuguese *casados e moradores*, or married white settlers. There are certain deserted and ruined churches exist in the groves.

However, it is difficult to visualize this town in the perspective of unorthodox sketch of the seventeenth century, prepared by Pedro Barrate de Resende, who outlined dwelling units with courtyards, marked roads and plazas without names, and shown the location of churches and other religious institutions. At present the fortification of the town remains undamaged mostly. The houses and a church shown by Resende in the suburb are not traceable. There were squared shaped sweet water wells at the western part of the town, are existed closed to ruins of St. Barbara—now locally known at *Sāāt Khāni*.

It was developed between the sea and the river *Kūndālikā*, about two leagues, or nine kilometers, at the south and southwest of the ancient town of Chaul<sup>3</sup>. The ships entered into port of Chaul through this river since depth of water was between fourteen and twenty fathoms, or nearly 25.02 to 36.00 meters, during medieval times<sup>4</sup>. Facing to the port and running across the river, a hill exists where the Portuguese had fortress, known as *morro de Chaul*. It served to protect port and town from naval attacks. With the emergence of this town, conventional land route between port and ancient Chaul was obstructed. Hence, merchants of that town transported commodities in small ships through main stream of the river *Kūndālikā*.

Needless to say that Portuguese came to India to establish direct trade link with Indian markets, but their inadequacy in trading resources, did not allow them to compete with Indian and Arab merchants at the Malabar Coast. However, they followed the strategy to control spice trade by belligerent and unfriendly business practices. They detained merchants' ships carrying spices to the overseas markets. So, it created animosity against *phirangis*, which

turned into killing of a few Portuguese and their factory at Calicut was razed to ground<sup>5</sup>. Determined to control spice trade, the Portuguese started preparing another voyage from Portugal and their intention was loud and clear. While this preparation underwent, Doctor Pietro Pasqualigo, the Venetian ambassador, was in Lisbon, who remarks, ‘...If this voyage from Lisbon to Calicut continues as it begun, there will be a shortage of spices for the Venetian galleys, and their merchants will be baby without milk and nourishment. And in this, I clearly see the ruin of Venice...’<sup>6</sup>

The Portuguese fleet of twenty five ships reached Calicut in 1502, and demanded expulsion of Arab merchants from the ports of Zamorian, but later denied Portuguese warning. However, Portuguese attacked ships of merchants belonging to that region, but spared those of the kingdoms of Cochin, Cannanore and Quilo<sup>7</sup>.

Meantime, Portuguese introduced system of *cartazes* and insisted merchants and rulers to purchase by paying minimum fees, and ensure effective implementation of the system; they instituted another device called *armadas*. It gave the Portuguese advantage of knowing details about merchants’ trade such as nature of cargo and their destinations. Thus, first, they attempted to exercise control over the spice trade at the Malabar Coast, and slowly trying to influence Indian trade with the Persian Gulf and Red Sea, which was conducted through the western Indian ports. A *regimento*, or royal decree, issued to captain general of *armadas*, Dom Francisco de Almeida, which declares, ‘...you shall advice them [i.e. rulers of Chaul and Dabhol] that no spices shall reach from their lands or place to any other place whence it may reach to Mecca. If you see these articles in their ships, you can seize them. It would be up to you to decide whether agreement be discarded, and in this manner, you shall enter into an agreement with other kings, if they be Moors who demand of this from you. Likewise no spices should reach from their lands for Aden, Hormuz or other places of the straits...’<sup>8</sup>

It obstructed the supply of spices to the Persian Gulf and Red Sea regions, and led to sharp decline in revenue resources to Mamluk Sultan of Egypt. Therefore, he had taken imitative to restrain Portuguese influence over Indian Ocean trade, and formed a league against them.<sup>9</sup> A powerful fleet was prepared by the Egyptians with Venetian artilleries. This fleet sailed to India under command of the Egyptian admiral, Husayn-al-Mushrif, and reached Diu. The Gujarati fleet joined with them, and defeated the Portuguese at Chaul in 1509<sup>10</sup>. Dom Lourenço, commander of Portuguese *armadas*, was killed in action. Hundred and fifty Portuguese soldiers were killed while hundred and twenty were taken prisoners by victorious Afro-Asian league, and send to Chaul where they were treated with great care and consideration<sup>11</sup>. On receiving news of Portuguese defeat at Chaul and killing of his son, Governor Dom Francisco de Almeida left Cannanore with nineteen ships and twelve hundred soldiers in 1509. He defeated Afro-Asia fleet at Diu, and demanded war indemnity from Sultan of Gujarat. On his way back, he freed the Portuguese prisoners at Chaul and forced its ruler, Sultan Nizamshah of Ahmadnagar, to pay war indemnity and annual tribute<sup>12</sup>. Thus, the Portuguese victory over Afro-Asian fleet gave them advantages to pierce into commercial environs of Chaul, which eventually led to the emergence of the Portuguese town, through three distinct phases.

## 2. STAGE FIRST: Foundation of the *feitoria*

The Portuguese demanded thirty thousand *cruzados* as war indemnity and twelve thousand *cruzados* as annual tribute from the Sultan Nizamshah. By insisting such inordinate demands, first they frightened the Sultan, and at time of the negotiation, they demonstrated friendly gesture of reducing the annual tribute to two thousand *pardaos* and renounced war indemnity. It helped Portuguese for bringing the Sultan to their terms. They made an agreement with Sultan on 1509, whereby they became the master of the land at Chaul and obtained tax exemption to their trade at Chaul<sup>13</sup>. They constructed the *feitoria*, or factory at Chaul. It was started functioning under the *feitor*, or factor, who was assisted by the interpreter and other subordinates. João Fernandez was the first factor at Chaul<sup>14</sup>.

Chaul factory was a transitory unit of trade. Commodities such as pepper and other spices, copper, quicksilver, vermillion, and many more were brought from the Malabar Coast, and obviously to get them, merchants supplied textiles of Gujarat, horses and copper of Persian Gulf/Red Sea to the market of Chaul<sup>15</sup>. Initially, the Portuguese presence at Chaul did not bring any change to existing structure of trade; rather they had benefit to have advantage to develop the commercial affinity with merchants of Gujarat, which they utilized for developing their trade. Trade in pepper and other spices were conducted at the Portuguese factory at Chaul. In 1510, the Portuguese factor of Cannanore insisted on not sending spices to Chaul as spices reached from there to the ports of the Persian Gulf and Red Sea<sup>16</sup>. But, the Portuguese had no option. Spices were supplied to Chaul for obtaining textiles from Gujarat, which the Portuguese needed for getting supply of spices from the Malabar Coast and Malacca<sup>17</sup>. In 1513, two ships loaded with textiles of Gujarat, horses from Hormuz and other items left Chaul to Honavar while five ships with spices reached back to Chaul from the Kanara and Malabar Coast<sup>18</sup>. The Portuguese promoted coastal trade in order to generate the capital. It is estimated that pepper was available at Cochin at the rate of 2.67 *cruzados* per quintal while it was sold at Chaul at the rate of 10 *cruzados* per quintal<sup>19</sup>.

In 1512, Affonso de Albuquerque captured Goa, and soon horse trade was brought under control. Reason was clear. It gave the Portuguese an advantage to bring the Indian rulers under spare of their influence since horses were always required in India for wars and show. However, in 1513, he issued instructions to the captain general of

*armadas* to divert ships carrying horses from the ports of Persian Gulf and Red Sea to the port of Goa, and not to allow drifting them at any other ports under any circumstances<sup>20</sup>.

Meantime, the Portuguese realized that copper did not have profitable market at the Malabar Coast, through which the capital could be generated to purchase the spices<sup>23</sup>. Instead, textiles of Gujarat were in demand in the Malabar Coast, and copper could be sold in Gujarat easily. They estimated the annual requirement of copper in Gujarat was more than forty thousand *quintal*. And, the spices of Malabar had fabulous market in Gujarat<sup>21</sup>. In 1513, the spices, copper and silk worth of sixteenth thousand *pardaos* sold at Khambhat and Chaul<sup>22</sup>. And decision was taken in the same year to shift entire stock of the spices from Chaul factory to Khambhat<sup>23</sup>. From that year onwards, the spices and copper sold at the markets of Gujarat for purchasing textiles. It sidelined Chaul factory from the commercial transactions. Thus, both these factors had enduring impact on Chaul from 1513 onwards. Its conventional trade of horses was diverted to Goa, and secondly, its position in international trade became marginalized. Tomé Pire (1512-1515), the Portuguese apothecary and traveler, say in his *Suma Oriental*,

‘...Chaul was renowned throughout Asia and famous, and so was Dabho ... Dabhol not so much on account of the water, which is brackish...the port of Chaul was very famous but it is already on the decline...the kingdom of Goa always had the advantage over Chaul...they used to bring horses to Goa from the kingdoms in Arabia, Persia and from the kingdom of Cambay, and from Goa they were sent to the kingdoms of the Deccan and Narsinga [i.e. Vijaynagar]...’<sup>24</sup>

In 1518, another *regimento* was issued to Portuguese factor of Chaul, instructing him to divert all ships to the port of Goa, and not to allow them to anchor at the port of Chaul<sup>25</sup>. Such, commercial and diplomatic strategies had created an apprehension to the Sultan of Ahmadnagar since its position in the Deccan politics was weak.

### 3. STAGE SECOND: Foundation of the *Fortaleza*

In 1510, Burhan-the minor son of Ahmad Nizamshah, became Sultan of Ahmadnagar, but his accession to power was challenged by his brother. He managed to subvert the conspiracy. The conspirators, including his brother, sought political asylum at the court of Sultanate of Berar. The relationship between Ahmadnagar and Berar further turned to belligerent on the issue of town Pathri which was taken into possession by Sultan Burhan Nizamshah in 1518. But, it was re-captured by the Sultan of Berar with help of Sultanates of Khandesh and Bijapur. Three sultanates formed alliance against Ahmadnagar and sought support from the Sultan of Gujara<sup>26</sup>. It frightened the Sultan Nizamshah, who thought of a strong coalition against them. At that juncture, the Portuguese envoy approached Burhan Nizamshah for obtaining the permission to erect the *Fortaleza*. Sultan Burhan Nizamshah welcomed Portuguese envoy, and put forward his condition. He wanted assurance from the Portuguese the support against his enemies, and to allow bringing three hundred horses to Chaul every year<sup>27</sup>. Later, numbers were reduced to one hundred by the treaty of 22<sup>nd</sup> April 1539<sup>28</sup>.

While Portuguese constructing *Fortaleza* at Chaul, Malik Ayaz, the Governor of Gujarat, opposed them, and sunk a large trading vessel along with commodities of Hormuz<sup>29</sup>. He persuaded the Chief of Baglan to attack the Portuguese at Chaul from land side<sup>30</sup>. Meantime, the Portuguese at Chaul had received reinforcement from Goa, Cannanore and Hormuz, and subverted the Indian resistance.<sup>31</sup> Construction of the *Fortaleza*, or fortress, was completed in the year 1523. Dom Garcia da Silva was then appointed as its first Captain<sup>32</sup>.

This fortress was built at the north-eastern side of the port, encircled *feitoria*. Thus, by 1523, the Portuguese commercial hub was transformed into a strong military base which remained confined to soldiers, mariners and personals who were engaged in the King’s trade. The Portuguese *armadas* started visiting Chaul for fresh water and essential provisions. The locals from surrounding areas were employed for laborious works, received rice on every Saturday as weekly ration<sup>33</sup>. It was deemed to be a charity which employed to attract locals to the doctrines of the Christianity.

### 4. STAGE THIRD: Formation of the *cidade*

From fifth decade of the sixteenth century onwards, the Portuguese *casados*, or married persons, started inhabiting the area at the northern side of the *Fortaleza*, which was then termed as *bandel*, or a ward wherein the Portuguese resided in India<sup>34</sup>.

As a part of scheme of the colonization, inter and intra racial marriages were promoted in the orient, and as a result of which, two distinct groups marked existence in the Portuguese overseas society. The offspring of inter-racial marriages were known as *mestiços* while children of the intra-racial called *castiços*<sup>35</sup>. The Portuguese documents did not distinguish them and put them under single category as *moradores*, and if they were married and settled with families, they were termed as *casados e moradores*. By third decade of the sixteenth century the *casados* were numbered hundred and sixty in Cochin, fifty in Cannanore and more than five hundred in Goa. Their numbers went on increasing in subsequent decades.

The Portuguese possessed land at Chaul by an agreement of 1520, where they built a small *Fortaleza*, and outside of it, they built warehouses, religious edifices, dockyard and barracks for the soldiers and mariners. Remaining

plain land at the north and north-east of the *Fortaleza* was divided into blocks, which were given to the Portuguese *casados*, or married persons. It was the state sponsored migration, which encouraged the Portuguese *casados* to settle on the host land. The state offered them landed plots free of cost with no obligation of any duties or payment of quiet rent<sup>36</sup>. In theory, the ownership of landed plots remained with the Portuguese king, and could not be sold or exchanged without permission from state. Anyone who found violating this charter, his plot was reverted to the state, and later on, re-allotted to another *casado*. But, evidences indicate that the *casados* became the sole owner of the landed plots after some years. For instance, Governor Martim Afonso de Sousa (1542-45) granted a piece of land in Chaul to certain Baltasar Fernandez. It was re-confirmed by Governor Dom João de Castro (1545-1648)<sup>37</sup>. Later on, a huge house was constructed on this plot, which was possessed by certain Martime through the deed of purchase on or before 1593<sup>38</sup>. Governor Martim Afonso de Sousa allotted blocks to the four *casados* between 1542 and 1545, while one block was granted to certain *casado* by Governor Dom João de Castro<sup>39</sup>. Since these landed blocks were exempted from quite rents, they were known in the records as *the property owned by the King of Portugal*<sup>40</sup>.

Inflow of Portuguese *casados* continued to Chaul. Some of them had no access to settle on land in the '*property owned by the King of Portugal*'; however, the landed plots were purchased from the locals. And so it created apprehension to Sultan Burhan Nizamshah, who imposed certain restriction on selling agriculture fields to Portuguese. A *mahajarnama* of circa 1539 A.D. of *majlis mamle* Murtazabad [alias Upper Chaul] declared that if a landowner would sell agriculture field to Portuguese without taking permission from the divan office, he would hang to death in his own field<sup>41</sup>. References from the Portuguese sources indicate that they possessed agriculture field in Chaul, probably with consent from divan office. And, it worried the Sultan who brought this issue to the Portuguese authorities. Finally, it was decided that Sultan would collect quite rents from properties owned by Portuguese, and no further purchase would be made by them. A treaty of this nature was signed on 30<sup>th</sup> March 1542<sup>42</sup>.

An area inhabited by the Portuguese *casados* was termed as *bandel*, which remained under two political authorities for a few decades. One part of it, around the *Fortaleza*, was administered by the Portuguese as the properties owned by the King of Portugal. It was acquired through negotiation, where a few Portuguese *casados* settled while a great part of land was used by the state for development of the military and commercial establishments. The second part of *bandel* was a part of Sultanate of Ahmadnagar, where some migrant Portuguese *casados* settled on the gardens and built houses. Being the tenants of Sultanate of Ahmadnagar, they used to pay quiet rent to Sultan.

By fourth decade of the sixteenth century, the Chaul *bandel* was inhabited noticeably by Portuguese *casados*; hence the Portuguese institution of *camara*, or the municipal council, was introduced. Earliest reference to its functioning is dated to 1544 when the councilors pleaded the Crown of Portugal for unprecedented status for Chaul. Next year the Crown granted privileges which were similar to *cidade de Goa*<sup>43</sup>.

In perspective, this town had a distinct characteristic. A great part of land of it was owned by the Sultanate of Ahmadnagar. In spite of that the Portuguese introduced institution called *camara*, or the municipal council, and started collecting various taxes from the *casados e moradores*, or the Portuguese married residents, who were paying tax to sultan for the land they occupied.

There was no systematic urban planning and fortification of the Chaul *bandel*. It was developed haphazardly on account of continuous inflow of Portuguese *casados*. Secondly, the Portuguese did not envisage any danger from the Nizamshahi side since Sultan Burhan Nizamshah was friendly with them, who employed some Portuguese in his army<sup>44</sup>. On the other hand, wealthy Portuguese residents had constructed houses which were strong enough to combat any danger. These houses were mostly located closed to the religious institutions and on internal roads.

## 5. THE SIEGE OF 1570-71

In 1553, Sultan Burhan Nizamshah died, and his son Husain ascended to the throne of Ahmadnagar<sup>45</sup>. The Portuguese did not anticipating cordial relationship with a new Sultan; hence they decided to build a fortress at the top of Kōrlāi hill, which they thought would ensure protection to their settlement at Chaul<sup>46</sup>. They communicated their intension, but the Sultan had taken it as an insult and imprisoned the Portuguese emissary. Immediately he sent his army under command of Farhad Khan and Rumi Khan to Kōrlāi, who started constructing the fortress. Garcia Rodrigue de Tavora, the Portuguese Captain of Chaul, informed Goa about intention of Sultan. The Viceroy sailed to Chaul with a fleet of four thousand Portuguese soldiers, including the natives. They prevented progress of work, and agreed to the proposal of Sultan that Kōrlāi would remain as it was before<sup>47</sup>. Thus, Sultan's attempt to fortify his own hill was subverted by the Portuguese, who then was waiting for opportunity to subdue the Portuguese influence in Deccan.

The rulers of Bijapur and Calicut formed an alliance against the Portuguese and invited the Sultan to join them. They planned to attack the Portuguese possession in India at the same time. Accordingly, Adilshah would attack Goa; the Zamorian would at the Malabar Coast and Sultan Nizamshah would attack Chaul<sup>48</sup>. The Portuguese came to know about their intention a few months before impending actions<sup>49</sup>. And, it gave enough time to the Captain of Chaul to make preparation for defense<sup>50</sup>.

He increased height and thickness of bastions of the *Fortaleza*, which ensured safety to *feitoria* and the south-east corner of the town. Houses situated on the roads were converted into strongholds, equipped with the garrison, arms and ammunitions. These houses were belonged to certain residents. For instance, the house of Nuno Alvares Pereira was in front of the *casa da misericordia*, or House of Mercy. Opposite to it, Nuno Velho had his house. The house of Dom Gonçalo de Menezes was in front of the monastery of St. Dominic, at the western side, while the house of Heitor de Sampaio was at the eastern side. Some of the houses of unknown residents were on the roads linking St. Sebastian Church. Meantime, he assembled the children, women, aged residents and sick people, shipped them to other Portuguese settlements. He kept warship ready at the *barra grande*. He received reinforcement of eight hundred soldiers, nine warships and a shipload of ammunitions.

The Nizamshahi army marched to Chaul under command of Farhad Khan, and besieged the town on 30<sup>th</sup> November 1570. By second week of December, thirty pieces of cannons were placed strategically which started firing the town day and night. In the first week of January 1571, Sultan Nizamshah placed artillery on the *Morro de Chaul*, and started bombarding on the Portuguese ships.

The houses became strongholds and proved catastrophic to the army of Sultan. The house of Nuno Alvares Pereira besieged for forty days with five hundred soldiers while on other side, there were forty two Portuguese. The house of Nuno Velho was besieged for thirty days. The Sultan captured the St. Dominic monastery, and made the attempts to possess houses situated on the road linking Casa da Misericordia. But, it caused heavy damage to the Nizamshahi army. Nearly nine hundred Nizamshahi soldiers were killed, and they lost the monastery of St. Francis to Portuguese. Realizing such heavy humans and materials, Farhad Khan tried to make an attempt to peace with the Portuguese, but he was blamed by the Sultan for being bribed<sup>51</sup>. The Sultan occupied the houses of Nuno Alvares Pereira and Gonçalvez de Menezes, and the monastery of St. Dominic. On 29<sup>th</sup> June 1571, he gave order to his army to attack the Portuguese from all sides. It was a wrong decision. His army was scattered all over town, which helped the Portuguese to attack from various strongholds. As a result, the Sultan had heavy damages, however, he decided to retreat his army from Chaul and entered into peace agreement with the Portuguese on 24<sup>th</sup> July 1571<sup>52</sup>.

## 6. Impact of the siege on Chaul:

This siege lasted for nine months. Defense strategy adopted by the Portuguese helped safeguarding the properties of King, but properties of residents suffered with heavy damages. This very issue was brought by the Portuguese during negotiation. Finally, the Sultan agreed to make compensation to physical damages of houses, religious establishments and palm-groves of the residents. It was decided that two responsible persons from each side would evaluate damages and report would submit to the Sultan for seeking compensation<sup>53</sup>.

Henrique da Silva, comptroller of revenue, declared in his report of 10<sup>th</sup> February 1575, in which he says,

‘... I found that within boundaries of this city of Chaul there are many gardens, palm-groves and fields used to pay quite rents to Malik [ i.e. Sultan Nizamshah] prior to battle that took placed in the year seventy. After this war, people who have possessed and now possessing aforesaid properties will not pay quite rents to Malik because the King, our Lord, is defending this city of Chaul, and it deprived aforesaid Malik from his claim over the said properties by way of righteous battle. Therefore, I declared that all those palm-groves, gardens and fields within the boundaries of this Chaul are pertaining to His Majesty as well as the quite rents...’<sup>54</sup>

Thus, the battle of 1571 helped the Portuguese to renounce the Nizamshahi claim over Chaul *bandel* which then transformed into *cidade de Chaul*. After this siege the Portuguese thought of fortifying this town from all the sides, and work of fortification was completed in the year 1577<sup>55</sup>.

Father João Santos visited town in 1597, and described it as strong enough to combat any attack<sup>56</sup>. Similar views expressed by Francisco de Pyrard de Laval who called on town during first decade of the seventeenth century<sup>57</sup>. In fact, such views did not matter to Portuguese engineer in 1599, who prepared a report in which he suggested some changes to the fortification<sup>58</sup>. Somehow these changes did not materialize at once. It was in 1625 when the Council of State in Lisbon passed order whereby changes were carried out under supervision of an expert architect and engineer<sup>59</sup>. Accordingly, work was completed on or before 1633, but internal urban planning remained unchanged.

## 6. AREA AND GATES:

The shape of town proper was parallelogram, and developed in 2.7 square kilometers or 270000 square meters. It had two main gates: one at the north fortification, which was known as *porta dos casados* or gate of married residents and another at south, known as *porta do mar* or the sea gate. The land gate was ‘L’ shaped with exterior opening and stone paved flooring. Both gates had the arches. The custom houses were at both the gates.

## 7. FORTIFICATION:

The defense of town was based on placing of abutted bastions in semicircular shape which bended frontward at each corner, and additional bastions at middle of the northern and eastern fortification. Interestingly, the numbers of

bastions were varied. The proceedings of State Council cited seven bastions<sup>60</sup>, while Antonio Boccardo counted nine bastions<sup>61</sup>. He perhaps included two *atalhas* to the list, which were at the southern fortification, at both sides of *porta do mar* or sea gate. Abbé Carré (1672-1674) calculated eleven bastions-three were facing the Sea while rests were at river and land side. In 1740-41, when this town surrendered to the Marathas, there were thirteen bastions<sup>62</sup>. And, when Garson da Cunha carried out his survey on antiquities of Chaul and Bassein in 1879, he recorded eleven bastions which could be seen today<sup>63</sup>.

All bulwarks were named after patron saints, and only exception was the bastion of St. Cruz or Holy Cross which was at the middle of eastern part of the fortification. Two *atalhas* were named after St. Peter, and served to keep surveillance on the entrance of town through *barra grande*. St. Dominic bastion was at the southern side and kept watch on the incoming ships to port. The bastion at the northwestern corner was known as St. Francis, and its height was increased after 1633<sup>64</sup>. The cannons were placed at this bastion. Next to it, at the eastern side, there was St. Denis Bastion that kept watch on the entrance to town through *porta dos casados* or gate of married residents<sup>65</sup>. Closed to this gate, there was a secret passage which went outside the town, and length of which was fifteen *braças* or ninety feet<sup>66</sup>. The bastion St. Paulo was placed towards the east of land gate i.e. gate of married residents, and at the northeast corner, the bastion St. Tiago was situated and its height increased after 1633<sup>67</sup>. Below of this bastion, two warehouses that used to store arms and ammunitions<sup>68</sup>. To keep watch on *barra pequena*, the bastions St. Cruz and St. Catherina/St. Philip were placed.

The heights of bastions at the land side was approximately between 4.5 and 5.0 *braças* or twenty seven to thirty feet, excluding curtain wall; while at the Sea side, it was 3.5 *braças*, or twenty one feet<sup>69</sup>. All bastions were interlinked. Black basalt stones used as the basic constructing material, while lime and lead used as main ingredients for cementing the stones<sup>70</sup>.

## 8. ROADS AND SQUARES:

Disposition of main and sub-arterial patterns did achieve the sectors and squares, and from any corner of town, one could reach to the *porta do mar* easily. The diagonal road, from northwest corner to sea gate, was known as *Rua da Nossa Senhora de Luz*<sup>71</sup>. It was main road of the town. Towards the southern side and parallel to main road, there was a sub-arterial road called *Rua do St. Domingo*, which was connecting the southwest corner with the sea gate<sup>72</sup>. A road among the four sub-streets in trapezoidal formation was known as the *Rua do St. Francisco*, which was parallel to the fortified wall at the western side and connecting the monastery of St. Francis with the monastery of St. Dominic<sup>89</sup>. Both these roads crossed the *Rua da Nossa Senhora de Luz* and created two dominant squares. In front of the *porta dos casados*, between the premises of Jesuit College and House of Mercy, an arch with image of St. Francis was placed at the middle, during beginning of the seventeenth century<sup>74</sup>. All sub-arterial roads connected the southern part with the northern part of the fortification, and terminated at the roads that ran parallel to fortification from northwest to northeast corners.

Placement of streets particularly on the main road helped in achieving four squares in town since sub-arterial streets parallel to each other crossed the main road at the right angles; hence these squares formed on the *Rua da Nossa Senhora de Luz* only, and not on any other streets of the town. Straight from the sea gate and little further towards the north, there was *campo pequeno* or small plaza.

## 9. HOUSES, SHOPS AND MARKET YARD:

The houses were built close to each other, wall to wall, and in quadrangular shape with one common courtyard at the middle, which served to store merchandise and a place for socio-cultural activities<sup>75</sup>. Entrance of each house was facing either at the main or sub-arterial road. Uniformity in the elevation was maintained. The houses built with dressed basalt stones with pitched roofing of tiles known as *telhas dos Portuguezes*<sup>76</sup>. Lime was the principal element for cementing the stones while wood also used for doors and windows<sup>77</sup>. There was a timber yard owned by private individual<sup>78</sup>. We find houses were built anywhere in the town in the earlier years, but restriction was imposed from fourth decade of the sixteenth century on building houses closed to the fortification<sup>79</sup>. Land plots were offered free of cost for constructing houses in the beginning, but later on these plots became sole properties to individuals. There is a reference that indicates a piece of land admeasuring 7 *braças* x 6 *braças*, or nearly 1512 square feet, was worth of 100 *pardaos* in the year 1573<sup>80</sup>. And, it gives us rough ideas about cost of land at the *cidade de Chaul*.

Generally, the rooms facing to the roads were used as *tendas*, or retail shops and working place for professionals such notaries, medical practitioners, apothecaries and others<sup>81</sup>. In front of *porta do mar*, there was a small plaza that used as the market yard where wholesale dealings of commodities were carried out<sup>82</sup>. Along with *porta do mar* and towards eastern side, a small *Fortaleza* that served for the residence of Captain and other officials. It also served as a *feitoria* or factory.

## 10. RELIGIOUS AND PUBLIC EDIFICES:

Out of six ecclesiastical institutions, each placed at every corner of town, while two were in middle at the north part. St. Dominic Church and Convent was at the southwest, and St. Barbara at the northwest corner of town which was a seven storied building of the Franciscan order<sup>83</sup>. At the northern side, between bastions of St. Denis and St. Paulo, the Church of Augustians was situated, and known as Our Lady of Grace<sup>84</sup>. Next to it, and at the same direction, the Jesuits Church and Convent was situated<sup>85</sup>. At the northern corner of the town, another Church of St. Paulo and St. Peter existed<sup>86</sup>. The Matriz or the Cathedral was located at the southeast corner of the town, a few yards from the Sea gate on the road linking Church of St. Dominic. There was a small chapel dedicated to St. Francis Xavier, who stayed in the town for a few days. *Casa de Misericordia*, or House of Mercy, was at the middle of town. It was on the square that formed on the *Rua da Nossa senhora de Luz*.

Towards the northern side of the Matriz, there was the local jail<sup>105</sup>. It was built inside fort wall up to the bastion of St. Cruz. At present there are twenty one chambers of the Jail. The Hospital was completely destroyed during the siege of 1570-7<sup>87</sup>. And, a new building for hospital was constructed in the year 1625<sup>88</sup>. It is not ascertained exact location of it, probably; it was near to the House of Mercy, in the middle of town. Similarly, our sources did not reveal location of the *camara*, or municipal council.

## 11. SUBURB OF THE TOWN:

A suburb was developed outside the fortification towards the northern direction. This area was under the jurisdiction of Sultan Nizamshah, which brought under possession by the Portuguese by a treaty that signed after siege of 1570-71<sup>89</sup>. There was a weavers' colony, known as *challes dos tessalões*, or chawls of the weavers, outside of the fortification at the northern corner of suburb<sup>90</sup>. It was northern boundary of suburb of cidade de Chaul, and behind it on other side of the river *Kūndālikā*, there were houses in the Nizamshahi area. Towards the north side of the town, certain residents had their houses and gardens. At the middle of suburb, on the straight road linking the *porta dos casados* or gate of married residents, there was a church dedicated to Saint Sebastian<sup>91</sup>. A little further towards the north of St. Sebastian church there was a fishermen's colony and fish market known as *bazaar dos paixos*<sup>92</sup>. An area of suburb was much bigger than the area within the fortification.

## 12. CONCLUSION:

In perspective, the *cidade de Chaul* provides a model study for the emergence and development of Portuguese colonial towns in the host land, which evolved from one form to another through systematic machinations of the Portuguese policies. Foundation of *feitoria* gave Portuguese an advantage to master of a piece of land in the host territories and scope to influence the local trade. Foundation of *Fortaleza* ensured safety to their trade and people in host land. Both the forms achieved through negotiations with the local ruler, the Sultan Nizamshah of Ahmadnagar. Ultimate and third form was a conclusion of the state sponsored migration to host land, gradual infiltration of the Portuguese *casados* into the Nizamshahi area, who in theory were the tenants of Sultan, but in practice they were the subjects of *Estado da India*. The *bandel* had dual political entities, which continued over a long period until the Portuguese brought entire area under their control through a treaty of 1571. Initially, the societal growth of the *bandel* was confined to the Portuguese *casados*, who nominated urban actors to administer the town. It remained a town of the married Portuguese families for a few decades.

The financial status of the residents of Chaul was increased on account of charter of privileges they enjoyed of being resident merchants. They developed professional affinity with merchants of Upper Chaul [i.e. ancient town of Chaul], and must have persuaded the non-Christian merchants to migrate to their cidade. The Marathi records of the *Adhikari daftar* clearly indicate a mass migration of 'kshetris' or merchants from the ancient town of Chaul to *cidade de Chaul*<sup>93</sup>. Migration of merchants to *cidade de Chaul* was due to the Portuguese policy of implementing *pro-resident form of taxation* i.e. exemption in custom and other local duties. The process of migration of non-Christian merchants was set after siege of 1570-71. My study reveals that nearly 61% were the non-Christians, mostly the Gujarati Hindu/Jain *Vāniās* and the *Cānāris* while remaining were the Portuguese *casados* e moradores, or married residents.

### Abbreviations:

AHU	Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Portugal.
ANTT	Arquivo Nacional de Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Portugal
BA	Biblioteca Ajuda, Lisbon, Portugal.
B.Mus.	British Museum, London, UK.
BNL	Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, Lisbon, Portugal.
BPADE	Biblioteca Publica e Arquivo Distraial de Evora, Evora, Portugal.
HAG	Historical Archives of Goa, Panjim, India.

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