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It is an honour for me to write a short foreword to introduce Pius Malekandathil's collection of essays. Some of these are already published, but often in relatively obscure journals. They will be made more accessible by being presented in book form. This collection has a strong thematic unity, for all of the essays deal with the role of people and goods and ideas coming via the sea, and their influence on India. As he says in the Introduction, 'it is a study of the impact that the circuits in the Indian Ocean exerted on the socio-economic and political processes of India.' The author uses sources in many languages, and shows familiarity with broader historiographical trends.

Many readers will know of Malekandathil's previous work. I would single out especially his book on Cochin (Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime Trade of India, 1500-1663, New Delhi, 2001), which is an exemplary study of a port city. It stands out amongst the burgeoning port city literature because it deals in great detail with the immediate interior of Cochin, rather than simply concentrating on the city itself and its export trade. The author drew on his own Kerala heritage to use indigenous sources, especially those in Malayalam.

Malekandathil uses sources from most of the major European languages, but Portuguese ones are most often found. Many of these chapters deal, at least in part, with the Portuguese presence in India. He represents a new and moderate trend in studies of the Portuguese in India. There used to be a pronounced dichotomy. Some wrote of the valiant Portuguese bringing civilization to India, and dominating the trade of the Indian Ocean. Others took a contrary view, claiming the Portuguese had very little impact on the broad sweep of Indian history, or condemning them for introducing a new and extreme form of violence into what had been a peaceful trading world. Malekandathil takes a much more nuanced and sophisticated view, one which neither glorifies nor denigrates the Portuguese.

Historians are increasingly trying to bring the ocean into their studies of India and other Indian Ocean countries. It used to be thought that the sea had little influence on the broad sweep of the history of India. All of its conquerors, until the British, came overland from the north-west. Hindus, we were told, were discouraged from travelling over the Black Water by caste
pollution notions. For Muslims, power consisted of control over land and people, not over the sea. But we now know that the sea in fact contributed much more to the history of India than these accounts would allow. For example, Hindus did travel by sea, and settle in many Indian Ocean port cities. Muslim rulers encouraged bullion imports.

One of the greatest events in the whole history of India was the flood of bullion which came from the Americas from the mid-sixteenth century. Most of this came by sea, and more of it came under local auspices via the Red Sea than in European ships around the Cape of Good Hope. Nor was the influx by sea new in the sixteenth century. Najaf Haider has shown how this trade commenced some centuries before the arrival of the Europeans. The present collection reinforces these trends by showing that Indian rulers in fact were well aware of the potentialities of fostering and taxing trade in their realms. Chapter 2 shows a Deccan ruler encouraging sea trade, while in Chapter 3 another local ruler fosters the migration of trading groups to his area, in this case Christians. The same theme is to be found in Chapter 5.

Most of these essays are to do with early modern trade and commerce in south India. However, there are some other themes represented. Chapter 1 goes to an earlier period to discuss Sassanian trade with India. The conclusion is that it had an influence only on the coast. Chapter 3 apart from trade includes a fascinating study of St. Thomas Christians. This was a time before the arrival of intolerant Counter Reformation Catholicism. This is excellent social history, showing mutual accommodation, and synthesis, between these Christians and other religious communities in Kerala. Two other chapters provide interesting comparisons between the activities of the Portuguese, and first the Chinese, and second the Ottomans. It would be interesting to know whether the Portuguese learnt anything from the activities of their predecessors, the Chinese. It is claimed that the arrival of the Ottomans, a formidable force indeed, made the Portuguese become more militaristic, as seen in their erecting more forts and building more war ships. Chapter 8 concerns something very much on the scholarly agenda today, that is the flow of information. Malekandathil shows how Muslims and the Portuguese, tried to get faster and more reliable communications between the Indian Ocean region and the Mediterranean, the objective being to gain economic and political advantages.

I hope these essays will be widely read and discussed. They represent the work of an historian who now is in mid career, with a substantial body of work to his credit. We can hope that he continues to publish work which expands our knowledge of the role of maritime matters in the broader history of India.

Sydney
Australia

Michael N. Pearson
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PIUS MALEKANDATHIL
Introduction

Maritime India is a collection of ten research articles written at different time points, but within the larger frame of defining and understanding the historical trajectories and trails of that part of India which was shaped by the circuits in the Indian Ocean. The commonality of all the essays in this volume is that they address the larger question as to whether it is the collectivity of water which encircles its territorial land limits, or certain values emerging from the circuits in the water space of the Indian Ocean that constitute the consciousness of Maritime India. The circulatory cycles of commodities, men and ideas through the diverse channels of the Indian Ocean form the major focal themes of analysis in this book as to find out these values and to understand the meanings of power and social processes evolving out of them on the coastal fringes of the subcontinent.

There has been all through history two Indias, viz., the inland, or terrestrial India, and Maritime India, yet each mutually supplementing and complementing the other. Maritime (deriving from the Latin word *mare* = sea) India is the sea-oriented segment and it represents the long stretch of littoral India, which stands remarkably unique and different from its land-locked counterpart in its social, economic and political processes.\(^1\) During the early medieval and medieval periods, because of the frequent movement of commodities, people and ideas from abroad, Maritime India was exposed to changes, novelties and foreign elements of different nature and categories, which necessitated it to be relatively much more accommodative, liberal and tolerant in contrast to the Inland India which was increasingly turning out to be inward looking, conservative and socially rigid in the process of feudalization and authority-fragmentation. However this cannot be viewed as a watertight division as they were mutually supplementing and complimenting each other, and the dividing lines were often blurred and foggy, making a mixture of features appear at the intermediate realms.\(^2\)

Obviously ecology and geography of the sea played a vital role in shaping the ethos and mentality of people living on its fringes during medieval times. The fury of the sea, as well as the oddities and adversities waiting for them behind fatal waves and winds, were so common that these people had
to discipline their wills and shape their behaviour in ways very different from those of agrarian space or of urban space, where things used to happen considerably on the basis of certain rhythms and patterns. The ecology of the sea used to be such that people bordering its rim were perennially invited to shape certain behavioural patterns while fighting against the fury of the sea to tap its vast resources and sustain their livelihood. In this process of tapping the resources of the sea, a typical professional culture linked with fishing, salt-panning or a sea-borne trade, a food culture with rich ingredients of sea species, a religious culture where the sea becomes the central component of devotional practices and rituals, a social networking, where bonds established by collective sea-faring evolved over years, were made to become the basic features of the coastal societies of India, as in the case of any other country. One may call it features of coastal societies rather than constituents of the consciousness of Maritime India, for identifying which one has to look beyond the coastal fringes into the areas and zones shaped by the values supplied by maritime space.

The consciousness of Maritime India was shaped, at least during early medieval and medieval India, not only by the ecology and the geography of the coast alone, but also by the type of circuits and the value-condensed activities that the residents of a given geographical space resorted to using the channels or resources of its sea waters. It is quite natural that sea-oriented perceptions became integral to a society, if its sustenance had become impossible without depending on any of the sea-related activities like fishing, salt-panning, sea-borne trade, shipping and navigation. The more dependent a region on sea space and its resources for its survival is, the more intense maritime consciousness its residents would maintain. If the economy of a region, particularly its activities of production and distribution are conditioned by sea-borne trade, the region would have a great amount of maritime consciousness, even if it is physically and geographically relatively distanced away from the coast. Hence it is not the mere physiology of the coast alone that creates this consciousness, but the value-based dependence on sea space. In such cases the 'sea' would get more into the economy and culture of these inland spaces, as the rupture lines are not purely geo-physical. In this connection it is worth recalling the attempts of M.N. Pearson to see how far inland the maritime frontiers could be extended. His perception is that the notion is functional and discusses under maritime theme 'those land events which affect the ocean'.

It is to a great extent the intrinsic connectivities of a region with the circuits of maritime space that translate maritime consciousness to it, however big or small its geo-physical extent is. In that sense maritime consciousness is constituted out of a wide variety of activities like the economic linkages with the sea-borne trade, the political processes based on
the gains from sea-borne commerce, the cultural and religious processes entering through the channels of seas, social formation based on maritime circulatory processes, etc. In this book are included a few aspects of economy, culture, society and polity from different maritime regions of early medieval and medieval India and analyzed as to show how a distinctive consciousness of Maritime India evolved over time out of the circuits in the Indian Ocean.

Something very much intrinsic to the consciousness of Maritime India was that its entire coastline was viewed as having uneven economic significance. A certain segment of its coastline was considered to be economically highly valued and hence politically highly coveted, while some other segments had fluctuating values and the others with less value. The value of a coastal segment was determined by the type of economic activity carried out over there, which also used to decide the nature of its social processes as well. During the medieval and early modern period, Maritime India did not mean the mere long stretch of sandy space located on the fringes of sea-space; it meant value-condensed segments in uneven forms scattered along the coastline and extending up to inland space where the economic activities of production and exchange, besides social and political processes, were shaped by the circuits in the Indian Ocean.

The type and nature of economic activities, particularly production and exchange activities, of Maritime India, but linked with oceanic circuits, demanded the emergence of different kinds of maritime nodal points and outlets as ports for different microeconomic regions. However these ports were not of even importance and significance as far as the economy of a region was concerned; instead there used to be a hierarchy and gradation among the ports operative in each region. In the hierarchization of ports, one port used to evolve as the central and pivotal exchange centre attracting the bulk of overseas trade, while other ports were made to depend on it by converting them into its feeding satellite units or as its minor distribution centres. The creation of a principal port with several feeding ports in its vicinity was developed as a part of the strategy of the political elite and rulers to get the wealth from maritime trade concentrated on the pivotal port of each principality politically controlled by its chieftain, however crude this wealth was in form, content and manifestation. This was also a mechanism to reduce chances for the inferior rulers to get access to wealth, obviously a strategy that was meant to keep them always subjugated. This went hand in hand with the attempts to augment the possibilities for greater exchange activities in the port of the paramount ruler for the purpose of getting more wealth, which in turn was meant to empower his state further.

The Indian Ocean has been a theme of historical study for quite some time, thanks to a contingent of scholars who, following Braudelian study on the Mediterranean, tried to find unity and cohesion in this maritime space,
Introduction

as well, due to its circulatory processes. The otherwise scattered regions are said to have been linked together through the channels of trade or other forms of circulation. However, the strategic location of India in the ocean gave it a political meaning of great significance, which gets reflected in the early works of historians like K.M. Panikkar, for whom independence of India was intimately linked with assertion of authority over the Indian Ocean. It was through the prism of politics and power exercise that several other early scholars also loved to look at the history of the space of Indian Ocean. However, later a wide variety of themes linked with commerce, culture, social processes, science and technology used for sailing, shipping and navigation became the major concerns of historians who studied this ocean-space. This shift in historiographical tradition made its way very strongly from 1985 onwards, though its beginnings can be traced back to the writings of Hourani and Tibbetts. A large number of scholars started re-defining the meaning of the Indian Ocean for the economically and socially changing Indians since mid-1980s, particularly against the background of new perceptions that evolved with the changes in the socio-economic policies in India at the national level. Having got out of the colonial hangover and moorings, the scholars began to look increasingly at the history of larger linkages of India, highlighting the nuances and complexities of trans-national connectivities and cultural interactions realized through the maritime channels of the Indian Ocean. Consequently a large corpus of historical literature on the Indian Ocean appeared widening its scope of study. The leading figures of this historiographical tradition were Ashin Das Gupta, M.N. Pearson, Satish Chandra, Sinnappah Arasaratnam, Kenneth McPherson, B. Arunachalam, Om Prakash, K.S. Mathew, K.N. Chaudhuri, Lotika Varadarajan, Himanshu P. Ray, Lakshmi Subrahmaniam, Patricia Risso et al. Movement of commodities, people and ideas through the maritime space of the Indian Ocean formed their focal themes of analysis and their historical studies up to the mid-1990s, probably with the exception of Patricia Risso, were predominantly Indo-centric in nature. Ship-building and navigation in the Indian Ocean formed other important themes of this period, to which the works of B. Arunachalam, K.S. Mathew and Lotika Varadarajan could be added as major contributions.

The conceptualizations of globalization, particularly in late 1990s, had its impact on the historiography of the Indian Ocean Studies, and the academic perception of the globalization phenomena made historians move away from Indo-centric approaches to see the larger linkages and connectivities in this maritime space with multiple centres. M.N. Pearson, particularly in his writings after 2000, began to emphasize very strongly the poly-centric dimensions of the Indian Ocean and argued for equal weightage
of treatment for the temporal processes in the space between Australia and East Africa. Another major historiographical trend of this period was to look in depth into the history of the Indian Ocean and its nature before the entry of the Europeans, when developments used to revolve around multiple centres. Historians like Himanshu P. Ray used to focus on the seafaring traditions of South Asia highlighting linkages between India and South East Asia during the ancient period, while Ranabir Chakravarti made attempts to examine the role which the mercantile networks used to play in providing unity to this maritime space before the entry of the Europeans. However, Najaf Haider argues that it was the monetary system that was in circulation that used to give unity and cohesion to the Indian Ocean prior to the arrival of the Europeans. Obviously their studies did help to diversify the scope and nature of Indian Ocean studies, taking them to wider horizons.

This book is not a study on the Indian Ocean per se; on the other hand it is a study of the impact that the circuits in the Indian Ocean exerted on the socio-economic and political processes of India. The geography treated here is not the entirety of India; but the Maritime India comprising those regions over which the circulation processes in the Indian Ocean exerted qualitative influence. The time span of the themes discussed in this book stretches from early medieval to early modern giving a picture of the long-term histories that went into the shaping of Maritime India. Temporal processes in the vast stretch of coastal geography from Bengal to Gujarat are analysed, highlighting episodal changes and regional differences. In fact the central purpose of this work is to see the processes and mechanisms by which the consciousness of Maritime India evolved over time. This was done principally by analysing the socio-economic and political processes of some important regions of India, which were intimately linked with the circuits of the Indian Ocean.

The book starts with the chapter, which in fact looks into the way how early medieval India responded to the maritime trading activities of the Sassanids. Though this was a piece initially presented in the Indian History Congress and later published in its proceedings, in this volume it has a definite point to argue. On the one hand it shows how certain geo-physical segments of Maritime India linked with commercially active Sassanids looked like when a major chunk of inland India was falling increasingly into a socio-economic process often characterized by feudalization. On the other hand it indicates how the incorporation of Indian ports into the Sassanid mercantile networks led to the evolution of 'oasis of trade' or 'islands of commerce' on the maritime fringes lying between the Indian Ocean and the agrarian inland regions. The highly urbanized Sassanid Persia, with a very large segment of consumer class, emitted economic forces needed for the conduct of trade through these 'islands of commerce' along the border
regions in the Indian Ocean, when wheels of trade in Europe and in inland India declined considerably. In fact the mercantile links of the Sassanids extended up to South-East Asia and China, where their cargo was called Possu (which initially was a Chinese version of the place name Persia) merchandise. In India Revatidvipa or Gopakapattanam on the Konkan, which the Chalukyas occupied for their trade with the Sassanid Persia, Shingly or Cranganore on the Malabar coast, and Mahabalipuram on the Coromandel, which the Pallavas developed as an important port for their trading contacts with South-East Asia formed the 'larger oasis of commerce' in this process. The traces of these mercantile linkages are obtained in the form of Pahlavi-inscribed crosses from a stretch of coastal terrain starting from Goa and extending up to Mylapore. However the intensity of commerce seems to have been very much limited and the movement of commodities was restricted mainly to politically active societies with considerable number of political elite and power groups, whose consumer habits used to stimulate the markets. In between these scattered societies there were equally similar situations in which the markets were either dormant or dull against the background of increasing feudalization in Europe, and more or less similar socio-economic formations in the major part of inland India and what emerged was only scattered 'islands of commerce'.

The second chapter deals with the participation of Goa in the Indian Ocean trade and examines how the gains from its sea-borne trade were converted for political processes in the region. This was originally published as an article in *Deccan Studies*; however in this volume it is included with the argument that in the face of intensification of Indian Ocean trade by the ninth and tenth centuries many of the local rulers began the practice of appointing foreign merchants as governors of the major ports with a view to mobilizing and attracting overseas commerce, as it happened in Goa, where it was used as a mechanism to generate sufficient wealth to assert their power and authority in the region. The other side of the development was that the gains from maritime trade were increasingly banked upon by the chieftains of coastal principalities for setting up political institutions and quasi-state structures as to make their power ostensibly visible. The Rashtrakuta ruler Indra III, reigning over the inland part of Deccan, appointed an Arab Muslim by name Madhumati (Muhammad) as the governor of Sanjana-mandala in AD 926. What happened in Goa was that the Kadamba ruler Jayakesi I in his desire to attract more overseas merchants and thus foreign wealth to his emerging kingdom appointed an Arab merchant by name Sadhan as the governor of his major port, Gopakappatinam, in AD 1053. He was in fact the grandson of Madhumad (Muhammed) the Tajika (Arab) who saved Jayakesi's predecessor Guhalladeva, when he was shipwrecked on his way to Somnath.
Later this practice was followed by many other principality chieftains of coastal India including the Zamorin, who appointed a Mappillah Muslim for handling the affairs of coastal trade and a paradesi (foreign) Muslim for managing the overseas commerce of Calicut. By focusing on Goa, the study also shows how certain merchants and ship-owners involved in the circuits of the Indian Ocean, as in the case of Jamal-ud-din of Goa, appropriated power and political authority over the region by translating the mercantile wealth into political assets.

Chapter 3 shows how foreign merchant groups, particularly migrant Christians from Persia, with sizeable mercantile wealth and networks were utilized by rulers of coastal regions of India, the Cheras and their regional chieftains in particular, for promoting overseas trade and for ensuring regular flow of wealth for the process of strengthening their hands against the background of their recurring wars with the Pandyas and the Cholas. The Christian mercantile migrant leaders of Quilon and their church that are analysed in this chapter were empowered by the local ruler with several commercial privileges by mid-ninth century for the purpose of getting overseas trade concentrated in Quilon. In the decision to bestow mercantile privileges on the foreign Christian merchant leaders and to empower them, even the Brahminical elements joined hands with the ruler, and in doing so their intention was mainly to weaken and shatter the commerce of the Buddhists and the Jains of Kerala, with whom the Brahminical religion had already initiated an ideological war from the eighth century onwards. Incentives to foreign Christian merchants were believed to have been developed as a mechanism to formulate an alternative mercantile community in Kerala, which would eventually replace the commerce of the Jains and the Buddhists, and finally deprive them of enough resources needed for sustaining non-Brahminical ideologies. In this socio-economic process the Christians eventually assumed the status of Vaisyas and borrowed from the neighbouring cultural space several caste rules including untouchability, the wearing of sacred thread, tuft, observance of pula (pollution related to birth, death, etc.) and sradha. Meanwhile there were also attempts to Christianize the notion of sacred space and god-concepts in various eco-regions and to formulate a different category of saints for different eco-systems. The practice of veneration of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the construction of churches in her name was made to become prominent in low-lying, paddy-cultivating zones of Christian settlements, in the process of weaning believers away from fertility cults common to such eco-zones. Similarly the practice of venerating St. George, who was associated with killing a snake-like dragon, was projected as a Christian alternative to wean believers away from worshipping snakes in upland regions bordering forest areas. The Christians had developed, long
before the arrival of the Europeans, their own unique identity in India on the basis of the responses and meanings they derived from the social space in which they were frequently invited to interact and differentiate.

The fourth chapter deals with the larger geographical scenario of Maritime India against the backdrop of Chinese maritime contacts and Portuguese expansion with a view to seeing whether the Portuguese derived policy lessons from the voyage circuits of Cheng Ho in their attempts to establish hegemony over the coastal terrains of India. Though the Chinese were constantly in contact with India through maritime channels, the seven repeated voyages of Cheng Ho made the Chinese presence much more perceptible in several of the coastal exchange centres. The initial locations like Cochin, Calicut, Bengal, ports of Coromandel, Mangalore, Bombay and ports of Gujarat, where the Portuguese wanted to concentrate in India were interestingly trade centres that were repeatedly visited by Cheng Ho in several of his voyages. The Portuguese while strengthening their hold over the erstwhile locations of Chinese contacts, developed a maritime policy in which the west coast of India was made to become the focal area of their official expansion. This was mainly to obstruct flow of commodities to eastern Mediterranean and to protect the trade monopoly of the crown, for which several control devices like cartaz-armada and fortresses were set up on the western seaboard. Portuguese expansion on the east coast of India was realized with the help of the Portuguese private traders and renegades, who used to flee away from the control of their power centres on the west coast. The Church institutions and personalities acted as connecting links for integrating the scattered settlements of private traders with the official stream on the west coast. Thus, the Portuguese presence in India had different layers, with the official layer on the west coast, and the mercantile layer predominantly on the east coast, the layer of the renegades and freebooters extended to different inland kingdoms and principalities, where they used to sell guns, artilleries and commodities from various Portuguese settlements, the layer of the Portuguese adventurists who resorted to agriculture under a donatorial system in the vast stretch of land space between Thana and Daman, and finally the layer of the Portuguese padroado marked by church people and institutions that were constantly engaged in the process of integrating and legitimizing the second and third categories of the Portuguese elements. Through a process of commodity circulation and networking, these various scattered layers were bound together giving additional weight to the form of domination that the Portuguese state established with the instruments and devices of power exercise in Maritime India.

A study of the polity in Maritime India would provide answers to the question as to how the value-contents of the trade circuits in the Indian
Ocean gave a different format and character to the power processes in the region. Chapter 5 has attempted to do this by analysing the political dynamics of maritime Kerala, where some inland rulers of agrarian space shifted their seat of power to maritime centres of exchange against the backdrop of intensified sea-borne commerce from mid-fourteenth century onwards. The chief of Nediyiruppu *swarupam* shifted his power centre from the agrarian pocket of Eranadu to Calicut and the chief of Perumpadappu *swarupam* shifted his headquarters from Vanneri to Cochin by mid-fourteenth century for the purpose of procuring through trade enough resources needed for setting up institutions and instruments of power exercise. Zamorin and his al-Karimi merchant allies realized well that the state building ventures of Calicut depended very much on sustaining the Calicut-Red Sea-Venice trade routes that actually brought the major chunk of wealth needed for their political assertion in the region. Cochin, being another maritime principality, tried to emerge out of the political shadow of Calicut by ably converting the wealth that came to it in the form of customs duty and monetary rewards from the Portuguese into actual substance of power. With the intensification of sea-borne trade following the Portuguese commercial expansion, the state structures based on the gains from maritime trade had acquired precedence over the inland states that derived wealth from the agrarian sector. However the success of big political institutions having quasi-state structures like Cochin or Calicut rested chiefly on their ability and manipulation skills to keep a cluster of satellite inland power centres around them, not only as mere supportive political units, but also as feeding economic units, from where the former wielded power and derived wealth for sustaining power.

The sixth chapter dwells upon the type of expansion that the Portuguese and the Ottomans made into the Indian Ocean almost simultaneously but from two different directions and examines their repercussions on Maritime India. The Ottomans moved towards this maritime space from the western land-space, while the Portuguese entered it through the navigational channels of the Cape route. The study shows how the expansion of the Ottomans into Cairo, Suez, Basra, and their moves towards the various coastal regions of India made the Portuguese resort to increasing militarization and fortification of their settlements on the western sea-board of Maritime India. The Ottoman occupation of Cairo in 1516, Suez in 1517, Basra in 1534 and their visit of Vizhinjam in Kerala in 1538 and Bengal in 1545, followed by their siege of Diu in 1538 and 1546 and joint naval operation with the Malabar Muslims against the Portuguese in south India in 1553, were militarily responded to by the Portuguese who fortified their possessions on the west coast of India, equipping them with highly sophisticated weapons and fighting devices in places like Quilon (1519), Chaul (1521), Bassein (1534),
Diu (1536) and Daman (1559). Coastal Gujarat, which provided a maritime outlet for the production centres of north India and where the Ottomans used to get support from the Muzzafarid dynasty, became the major focal point of their activities in India, besides coastal south India where they had Malabar Muslims as their allies. Fearing larger threats from them, the Portuguese resorted to the policy of militarizing their settlements in Maritime India and these fortifications were later reinforced in the seventeenth century to confront the greater challenges from the English and the Dutch. When the Ottomans later stopped their assertive policies in the politics of the Indian Ocean by the 1590s, the Armenians who had earlier operated as part of the Ottoman fighting force, began to get increasingly dispersed into the length and breadth of the Indian Ocean and began to get politically and commercially engaged in the principalities and kingdoms of Muslim rulers like Aceh, or the Mughals or the Adil Shahis, obviously negotiating between them and the Ottoman world.

The seventh chapter treats the way the traditional Muslim merchants of Kerala, who had substantial mercantile wealth with them, got estranged from the Portuguese and how they eventually got themselves transformed into the Portuguese category of 'corsairs' in their attempts to define their role in the Indian Ocean commerce against the monopoly claims of the Portuguese. The Marakkar traders who had been collaborators of the Portuguese in the early days of their commerce, got antagonized and estranged from them, when the latter with a view to favouring the emerging commerce of the Portuguese casados, started confiscating the cargo of Marakkars and drowning their vessels under the pretext of checking cartazes. In turn, the Marakkars under the leadership of Kunjali retaliated by developing a strategy of attacking the Portuguese vessels, whenever needed, in order to create a space required for dispatching cargo regularly to the ports of the Red Sea: The wealth that they thus accumulated out of their mercantile ventures was eventually transferred for buying guns and weaponry to confront the Portuguese, which ultimately went to the extent of establishing a state like political institution with headquarters at Pudupattanam and setting up diverse instruments and devices of power exercise, followed by assumption of several highly power-denoting titles by Kunjali. However, later the entire process boomeranged, and the Zamorin, who initially was the mentor of Kunjali, soon smelled foul play and suspected that the rudimentary political process happening under the leadership of the latter in the vicinity of Calicut would eventually turn out to be a threat of severe magnitude to his authority. Acting on this premise the Zamorin joined hands with the Portuguese to capture Kunjali, who was later executed at Goa in 1600, and shattered and erased all the power-symbolizing institutions as well as the structures of the
latter. With this a good many of the Muslim merchants, who had till then been diverting the major chunk of their mercantile wealth for buying guns as well as weaponry to thwart the expansion of the Portuguese and for setting up diverse instruments as well as devices of power exercise instead of investing it in productive ventures, turned out to be highly pauperized and began to move towards the inland part of Malabar, resorting ultimately to agricultural activities. Meanwhile, a relatively considerable number of them, who were till then bound together and united as a disciplined band by the leadership of Kunjali fell apart and scattered all over the Arabian Sea. With the execution of Kunjali they began to resort to maritime criminality and piratical activities of a different nature.

The eighth chapter looks at the nature of information-networking between Maritime India and the Mediterranean at a time when the Portuguese made attempts to control the process of information-dissemination between the two worlds for the purpose of protecting their monopoly. However, both the worlds did not remain as isolated as was believed, since the information about the market conditions of the Mediterranean and the developments in Maritime India was exchanged at Mecca and Jidda through the channels of haj pilgrims and feeders of the traditional caravan routes. Access to updated information about the Mediterranean market conditions helped the local Muslim merchants to quote much higher prices in the production centres of south India, often depriving the Portuguese of the possibility of purchasing cargo at their fixed rate. The communication channels from India through the Persian Gulf, Baghdad, Aleppo and the Lavant ran for a considerable period of time along with the commodities flowing to the Mediterranean and also with the movement of people between the two worlds. An organized venture for information networking between India and the Mediterranean world overland started by the mid-1580s, when Italian and German business houses that took up the Indo-European trade from the Portuguese crown, wanted to communicate frequently with their trade agents in different parts of coastal India. Ferdinand Cron, who as the trade agent in India of the German business houses of the Fuggers and the Welsers, used to gather trade directives and information from Augsburg through this overland communication system. Later, even when the German and the Italian commercial establishments dropped the Indian contract, the same communication system was kept operative by Ferdinand Cron, who used it for his private trade and gathered information, not only about the demand factors of European markets, but also about the nature and size of the Dutch fleet moving to the Indian Ocean. He secured the credibility and acceptability of the Portuguese by passing on to them updated information about the character and intentions of the Dutch fleet in the Indian Ocean, which enabled the Portuguese to make
timely preparations to thwart the Dutch attacks. Later, against the backdrop of increasing blockades on the navigational lines of the Portuguese by the Dutch and the English, the Portuguese crown wanted to institutionalize this overland communication system between India and Europe with Cron as the key figure, and supported by several nodal personalities at different information hubs of Asia and Europe. When this system failed the Portuguese authorities used the services of the Augustinian and the Carmelite monks then working in different parts of Saffavid Persia and the Ottoman territories to transmit messages to Europe, at times employing their own runners.

The ninth chapter deals with how the Portuguese casados, who moved to Bengal initially as private traders, eventually set up chains of mercantile settlements in different parts of Bengal, where their social and mercantile capital were considerably utilized by some Portuguese adventurers and traders for setting up territorial power units in the region later. The Portuguese private traders who used to roam around Bengal in the early quarter of the sixteenth century soon realized that it was not a destination in itself, but a wider door to a larger market located in the power centre of Delhi, and an alternative door to the scattered markets of Ming China. With the incorporation of Bengal into the wider market systems of Delhi-administration realized through the wielding of power from the Mughals by Sher Shah, particularly by 1540s, and the consequent construction of Grand Trunk Road connecting Bengal with Delhi there was an increasing flow of spices from Kerala to Bengal on a large scale, which was followed by an equally increasing flow of Portuguese private traders from Cochin and Goa to the deltaic regions of Bengal and to the banks of the river system of Hugli, where they slowly established their settlements. Gradually a chain of Portuguese settlements appeared in the gulf of Bengal in places like Pipili on the Orissa coast, Hijili located at the mouth of Rupanarayan, Chittagong, Satgaon, Buttor (Betor-Howrah), Dacca (particularly at Feringhi Bazar), Sripur (near Sonargaon), Chandecan (on the banks of a branch of Hugli), Bakla (identified with Chandra dwip pargana), Catrabo (Katrabuh), Loricul (28 miles south of Dacca), Dianga, Bhulua, etc. They absorbed different categories of Portuguese migrants including the entrepreneurs, private traders, freebooters and renegades from the west coast of India, and there they soon emerged as a powerful social group noted for their skills of entrepreneurship, expertise in warfare with guns as well as artillery and acumen in political manoeuvring. While a segment of them were engaged in taking spices from Kerala to Bengal in return for long pepper, silk and rice, the other segment was involved in the political processes of Arakan and the neighbouring principalities, making themselves inevitable for any of these local rulers for asserting their authority in the region. Later, the absorption of Bengal into the Mughal administrative frame by Akbar in the mid-1570s gave
the Portuguese private traders chances to engage in commodity movements up to the markets of Agra and Delhi through different intermediaries. Many Portuguese private traders and adventurers like Sebastião Gonçalves Tibau, Manuel de Matos and Domingos Carvalho, who wielded considerable clout in the region, translated a significant portion of their wealth and trade surplus into setting up territorial power units in the region, at times challenging the neighbouring chieftains as well as rulers, and on several occasions banking upon the power centre of Goa to get their ill-gotten political positions legitimized and justified.

The tenth chapter analyses the phase of intensification of private trade in the sixteenth century and highlights the ways and means by which the mercantile wealth of the leading private traders in the Portuguese pockets of Maritime India was transferred for the sustenance of the politico-commercial edifice of the Estado da India at a time when the flow of wealth from Europe was severely obstructed. Though there was a sizeable amount of private trade in India in the early part of the sixteenth century already puncturing the trade monopoly of the Portuguese crown, it became rampant from the mid-1570s onwards, when the crown stepped down from being a merchant monarch and the Indo-European trade was handed over to the Germans as well as the Italians and later the Portuguese business houses. In fact the burden of procuring the required volume of cargo for Europe fell primarily upon these private business houses, and consequently the Portuguese casado private traders in Maritime India began to increasingly engage in intra-Asian trade, often with the support of officials who allowed the controlling mechanisms like armada as well as the administrative machinery of the state to get transformed into mechanisms for protecting their 'empire' of private trade. In this process of intensified private trade of the casados, their wealth in Cochin and Goa was eventually banked upon by the state for resorting to a chain of construction processes, ultimately producing magnificent and elegant structures as well as edifices and architecturally inscribing into their urban spaces notions and meanings of hegemony. By the seventeenth century with the increasing blockades on the navigational lines of the Portuguese by the Dutch and the English, the Estado had to depend on the mercantile wealth of the private traders for its sustenance. While the casados of Cochin liberally lent money to the state for maintaining its spice trade, the Saraswat Brahmins, who had relatives across the Maratha border and in the Northern Province, emerged by the early decades of the seventeenth century as the leading bankers and tax-farmers in Goa. When a considerable chunk of Portuguese population fled from the city of Goa because of frequent epidemics and pestilences, the financially sick Portuguese state was compelled to bank upon the wealth of private traders like Ferdinand Cron and tax-farmers from the Saraswat Brahmin community to run its business uninterruptedly. The