

Lourenço de Noronha<sup>1</sup>

KONKANI SONGS FROM GOA  
GOENCHIM KONKNNI GAIONAM  
CANÇOËS GOESAS EM KONKANI

DEKNNI, DULPOD and MANDO  
AN ATTEMPT TO WRITE AN ESSAY

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<sup>1</sup> Goans have three names, namely a personal name, the name of her or his father and the name of the home village or town plus *-kar*, meaning “from”. Thus a “Priolkar” comes from “Priol”. Chodnakar is my traditional surname in this case, Chodna being the Konkani version of Chorão, my home village. The Portuguese surnames of the Portuguese sponsor (godfather or godmother) were given to Goans in the 16<sup>th</sup> century in the course of their baptismal ceremony. My forefathers then received the surname “de Noronha”. We sometimes do not use the “de”.

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## 1. The historical background

The roots of the Luso-Indiano Song<sup>2</sup> in Goa can be traced back to the 25<sup>th</sup> November, 1510 when the Portuguese entered the country. The traditional Indian culture in Goa then came into contact with that of Portugal creating a symbiosis I now term as the Luso-Indiano Culture, one aspect of it being the *deknni*, *dulpod* and *mando*. I have therefore included some aspects of the Goan past in this essay attempting to explain the origin of the Luso-Indiano cultural synthesis in these songs. Cultural synthesis in the face of colonial rule exposes the complexity of the process of cultural integration and also the capacity of the colonized to distinguish and select the grain from the husk. This occurred in Goa from a position of the ancient Vedic tradition facing a recent religion and culture.

My attitude towards the 451 years of Portuguese presence in Goa tends to consider its benefits. It gave Goans the opportunity to confront themselves with a new way of life, a new economy, a new language, a new educational system and new religious concepts. A *de facto* compulsory Primary School education was introduced into Goa in 1545. The Portuguese Presence consolidated the existing communal harmony in Goa, brought economic stability, over 90% literacy and, most of all, equal rights for men and women. Goan women are not proud, but they have a pride.

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*Ganv*<sup>3</sup> is derived from the Sanskrit *grama*, stands for “aggregate” and may be interpreted as “village”. *Ganvkar* is its freeholder, a descendant of the founder cultivators. *Vangod* stands for “clan”. *Ganvkari* is the village association. Those who are members of the commune are known as *zonkar*, *zon* being the share of the net-income of the *ganvkari*. Rights and privileges were inherited by the male descendants, women were excluded<sup>4</sup>. *Mahajan*<sup>5</sup> is a title used by members of a religious association in Goa consisting of founder members of temples and their descendants. The Portuguese renamed the *mahajans* as *mazantias* and the *ganvkari* as *gauncarias* or *comunidades*. A Kamat headed a hereditary association of *bhaus* (fraternity) of peasants who cultivated reclaimed land called *khazans*. A Kamat was usually a member of the Brahmin *jati* (caste). The customary laws of the existing agrarian communes were codified by the then Portuguese Official of the Treasury Afonso Mexia in the *Foral dos usos e costumes dos Gauncares e Lavradores desta Ilha de Goa e outras annexas a Ela* of 1526. The *Foral dos foros e contribuições* dealing with taxes in 1541, the *Regiment* of 1735, the Decree of 1836, the Code of Village Associations of January the 1<sup>st</sup>, 1908 and the Code of 1961<sup>6</sup> followed.

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<sup>2</sup> I am using the term Luso Indiano Song in order to distinguish the identity of *deknni*, *dulpod* and *mando* from the traditional Indian culture in Goa which continues to exist in its original identity.

<sup>3</sup> This word and its meaning corresponds to the German *Gau*.

<sup>4</sup> This was compensated by the dowry when they married.

<sup>5</sup> *Mahajan* means “an honourable person”.

<sup>6</sup> Souza de, Carmo. “The Village Communities. A historical and legal Perspective”, in: Borges, Charles J. 2000: 112 and Velinkar, Joseph. “Village Communities in Goa and their Evolution”, in Borges, Charles J. 2000: 126.

The *mazánias* are associations of a religious nature while the *gauncarias* are the agricultural and welfare associations of the *gavnkars* and embody the concept of joint possession.

Village affairs were managed by a group of people's representatives, each of whom was called *gavnkar* or *gramapurusha*. The council of *gavnkars* was called *gavnkari* or *gavnpon* (in Portuguese *gauncaria*). Each councillor represented a *vangod*. The village was divided into *vaddos* (wards, in Portuguese *bairros*). The person who headed a council was honoured on feast days with a betel-leaf presented to him and dancers starting the festival dance at his door steps. His field was ploughed first and harvested first. The meetings of the council were held either in a hall (*chauddi*) or under a *banyan*<sup>7</sup> tree which is sacred in Goan traditional culture. Such age-old trees are still to be seen on the precincts of some Roman Catholic churches such as St. Bartholomeu's Church in Chorão, Tiswadi (Ilhas), which was built in 1569 and rebuilt from 1641-1649. One may presume that a Hindu temple existed there prior to the building of that church. The tax collector was called *potecar*. The clerk, who was usually a Brahmin, was called *kulkarni* or, later on, *escrivão* in Portuguese. He drew up deeds (*namoxims*), kept all the records and accounts and did all the written work. The village records of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries were kept in Kannada (Canerese), Konkani or Marathi<sup>8</sup>. All the employees, including the temple-dancers, were mostly compensated by lease of land.

The *ghor-batt* (land adjacent to a house) existed within the framework of the village organisations, the *bhattkar*<sup>9</sup> being the landowner on whose landed property the *mundkar*<sup>10</sup> lived. This feudal aspect which is contrary to the traditional joint ownership system must have been introduced by the Saraswat Brahmins<sup>11</sup> when they entered Goa probably in the eight to tenth century A.D. In exchange for the offer of residence, the *mundkar* and his whole family had to guard the *bhatt* and to serve its owner in agricultural as well as domestic matters. Since the *mundkars*, many of them were *kunnbis*, were denied a political forum against exploitation by the landlord and against the libidinous approaches of his sons towards the *mundkar*'s daughters, the Konkani poets and composers voiced their grievances in dulpods, as for example Agô chedua, Fulu any jardinintulem, Fulola fulancho mollo and Sanquale paddunc guelear. A Royal Decree for Goa dated 25<sup>th</sup> August, 1901 aimed at protecting the *mundkar* from the arbitrary excesses of the *bhattkar*<sup>12</sup>.

A resolution of the Portuguese Government in Goa dated the 5<sup>th</sup> of July, 1649 declared the State to be the owner of all community lands and the village councils as tenants.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Botanical name: *ficus bengalensis* (Romano Abreu)

<sup>8</sup> Xavier, P.D. 1993: 178.

<sup>9</sup> *Bhatt* means "land, fields" and *-kar* means "having, owner". A *battkar* is a "landlord".

<sup>10</sup> A *mundkar* is a tenant or a tiller. I have not yet found out the etymology of the word *mundkar*.

<sup>11</sup> Singh, K.S. / Shirodkar, P.P. (ed.). 1993: 185-189.

<sup>12</sup> Kamat, Pratima. "Peasantry and the colonial State in Goa 1946-1961", in: Borges, Charles J. 2000: 149.

<sup>13</sup> Velinkar, Joseph. "Village Communities in Goa and their Evolution", in: Borges, Charles J. 2000: 124-132.

The *gavnkari* were in fact co-operatives entrusted with the task of providing for the needs of their members, such as the opening and maintaining of public roads, setting up places of common use and wards for artisans. Destitute persons and beggars – if any – were a concern of the *gavnkari*. The recent phenomena of “street” children, for example in Panaji, begging in public was then simply out of question. The *gavnkari* also maintained the chief Hindu temples which were places of worship and teaching. These temples were also centres of culture where music and *natok* (dance drama) depicting scenes from the Indian sacred scriptures were taught and performed. At the time of the arrival of the Portuguese in Goa in 1510, the district of Ilhas had about 116 such temples, Bardez 176 and Salcete 264.<sup>14</sup> These *gavnkari* permitted the Syro-Malabar Christians, who lived in India since about the third century<sup>15</sup>, and also Buddhists, Jains and Muslims<sup>16</sup> to freely practice their faith and even offered the same opportunity to the Roman Catholics from Portugal when they arrived in Goa in 1510<sup>17</sup>.

Afonso de Albuquerque (1453-1515) did not disturb the religious harmony that prevailed in Goa. The Portuguese Government in Goa, whose primary interest was to establish and maintain trade relations in Asia, promoted the services of Hindus and Muslims in the context of its own commercial interests.

The so-called Christian Europe, however, believed that it had attained the plenitude of universality. The three most important Papal Bulls (Letters) which legitimated the behaviour of the Sacral State and the Roman Catholic Church of Portugal in all overseas lands which they had conquered and occupied are Dum diversas of 18<sup>th</sup> June, 1452, the Romanus Pontifex of 8<sup>th</sup> January, 1455, and the Inter caetera of 13<sup>th</sup> March, 1456. “In the first the Pope authorises the King of Portugal to attack, conquer and subdue Saracens, pagans and other unbelievers who were inimical to Christ; to capture their goods and their territories; to reduce their persons to perpetual slavery, and to transfer their lands and properties to the King of Portugal and his successors.”<sup>18</sup> The two others are even more specific.

That probably accounts for the traumatism when Christian Europe faced the ancient and living cultures and civilizations in Asia, which led to an attempt to impose European structures on the existing societies in Asia in all spheres of activity.

The Portuguese Government in Goa got under pressure of the Roman Catholic Church in Portugal which had immense influence in the then Sacral State.<sup>19</sup> “Like all powerful

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<sup>14</sup> Pereira, Rui Gomes. 1978 : 6.

<sup>15</sup> They believe that the Apostel Thomas brought the Gospel to India in the first century A.D. It is most probable that Christian immigrants and traders from Syria and Persia brought the Gospel to the West Coast of India at the latest by the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.

<sup>16</sup> The early Muslim settlers must have migrated to the Indian Konkan Coast soon after the Hirja (A.D. 622) , the traders followed them. Old Goa was also a stop-over for Muslims from the Far East on their pilgrimage to Mecca.

<sup>17</sup> Pereira, Rui Gomes. 1978 : 16.

<sup>18</sup> Boxer, C. R. 1977 (1969). The Portuguese Seaborne Empire. London: Hutchinson. p. 21.

<sup>19</sup> Robinson, Roven. “The Construction of Goan Interculturality. A historical Analysis of the Inquisitional Edict of 1736 as prohibiting (and permitting) syncretic Practices”, in: Borges, Charles J. 2000: 289-315.

delusions the missionaries believed that in order to advance their faith they had to destroy the faith of others.”<sup>20</sup> The First (Roman Catholic) Provincial Council of Goa, held under the chairmanship of the then Archbishop of Goa, Gaspar de Leão Pereira in 1567, declared that Christians in Goa should not be permitted to use their former Indian names, thus initiating a process of alienation. These Christians had to adopt the family names of their Portuguese godparents at baptism. The same Council also decreed the demolition of “all idols, temples, trees and sites of Hindu worship”. Diogo Fernandes, the Captain of the Fort of Rachol, destroyed 280 Hindu temples in Salcete alone.<sup>21</sup> One of the few *pimpoll*-trees (*ficus religiosa*), the Hindu sacred tree par excellence, which escaped the attention of these destructive forces stands in the vicinity of the church in Colva<sup>22</sup>.

This policy forced the faithful Hindus, who did not want to abandon the “faith of their fathers”, to flee from Bardez, Ilhas and Salcete, to Ponda, Satari and other areas beyond the jurisdiction of the Portuguese. Centuries later Christian Goans living in the christianized districts Bardez, Ilhas and Salcete looked across the River Zuari and composed their nostalgic *deknis*. The “polthory” or “pelthory” meaning “the other shore” of the River Zuari is a geographical term but also an attitude referring the lost Hindu past in the course of Christian missionary efforts.

The Inquisition of the Archdiocese of Goa with its Palace and 200 cells<sup>23</sup> was established in 1560 and abolished in 1812. This period of brutality lasted 252 years. The Goa Tourism Office near the Sé Cathedral faced by a green meadow now stands on its former site in Old Goa. The Arch through which the victims had to pass invoking the blessing of the Blessed Virgin Mary on their way to their execution – an apotheosis of irony - still stands near the Church of St. Cajetan opposite the Sé Cathedral. Except for a crucifix of Jesus with open eyes and an upright head which was kept in the chapel of the Adil Khan Palace (now the Secretariat) in Panaji and then transferred to the Chapel of Saint Sebastian in Fontainhas, Panaji in 1918<sup>24</sup> and the Inquisition Table in the Institute Menezes Bragança in Panaji (verbal information received) no trace of this Inquisition is now existing. After a long phase of anti-Hindu legislation<sup>25</sup> which started in 1567, the *Bando* of August the 6<sup>th</sup>, 1763 gave instructions to respect the practices and customs of the people of Goa. The *Carta Regia* of 15<sup>th</sup> January, 1774, interpreted by that 16<sup>th</sup> February, 1774, recommended that the Hindus should not be disturbed in the

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<sup>20</sup> Shirodkar, P.P. 1994. „Evangelization and its harsh Realities in Portuguese India“, in: Souza de, Theotonio. Discoveries, Missionary Expansion and Asian Cultures. New Dehli: Concept Publishers. p. 80.

<sup>21</sup> Cruz da Fernandes, Caetano. 1997. “Evangelization of the St. John the Baptist’s Parish”, in: Fourth Centenary Souvenir. St. John the Baptist Church, Benaulim 1596-1996. p. 20-21.

<sup>22</sup> Verbal information received from Father Caetano da Cruz Fernandes, Pastoral Centre in St. Cajetan, Old Goa in 1999.

<sup>23</sup> Costa da, J.A. 1982. A History of Goa. Printed at Ramakant Printers, Mapusa, Goa. p. 189.

<sup>24</sup> Menezes de, Antonio. 1978 : 39.

<sup>25</sup> Priolkar, A.K. 1961. The Goa Inquisition. Mumbai: Printed by Mumbai University Press. pp. 114-149. The author has had no documents as primary source at his disposal since they were totally destroyed.

practice of their rights, in their individual liberty, and in the possession of their property.<sup>26</sup>

The formal education which existed in Goa before the arrival of the Portuguese in 1510 had been reserved to males of the upper strata of the caste-oriented Goan society<sup>27</sup> i.e. to the Brahmins. The institution for Primary Education known as *patasala* or *parisha* provided instructions in reading, writing and arithmetic in the local language. Higher Education was given in an institution known as *agrahara*, *brahmapur* or *matha*. The medium of instruction was Sanskrit<sup>28</sup>. In addition to Vedic studies, other subjects such as astrology, medicine, mathematics, phonetics and grammar were taught. Girls, except the temple dancers (*devadasi* and *kolvont*), were excluded from formal education.

An *agrahara* is a community of learned Hindu Brahmins, a *brahmapur* is a settlement of learned Hindu Brahmins but not a corporate body, a *matha* is a Hindu monastery. All such institutions were financed by the former Hindu rulers in Goa, especially by the Kadambas. The Muslims in Goa had their own educational institutions as in other parts of the world. The *maktaba* cared for Primary Education and the *madarasa* for Higher Education. These institutions restricted themselves to teaching *tafsir* (exegesis of the Holy Koran), *hadis* or *hadith* (tradition) and *sharia* (Islamic law).

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The Portuguese conquered Goa on 25<sup>th</sup> November, 1510 and were forced out by the Indian Army on 19<sup>th</sup> December, 1961. The States of the Republic of India being linguistic units, Goa had to provide a linguistic identity in order to be recognized as a State. The *Sahitya Akademi*, the National Academy of Letters, declared on 26<sup>th</sup> February, 1975, “As Konkani fulfils the criteria formulated by the *Akademi* for recognition of a language it is recognized as an independent literary language of India.”<sup>29</sup> The former Estado da India Portuguesa became the State of Goa within the Republic of India on 30<sup>th</sup> May, 1987. The Official Language Bill passed earlier through the Assembly on 4<sup>th</sup> February, 1987 gave Konkani in the Devanagri Script official status.

One of the probable origins of Konkani, the southernmost of the modern Indo-Aryan languages, is described by José Pereira as follows: “Into a non-Aryan country came the Sarasvat Brahmins and the Tsa-ddi bearing with them a Northern Indian speech. In their trek southwards they took over some of the Nagari Prakrit of Western India and more of the Maharashtri of the Northern Deccan ... . By the eight century they were already in the Konkani. The amalgam of the Prakrits had, two centuries afterwards, given rise to Konkani.”<sup>30</sup>

Goan Konkani which is spoken all over Goa in various dialects and sociolects is now being taught in schools in a Standard Version written in the Devanagri script. At a time when *jati* (castes) existed in Goa each *jati* had its own dialect which was a subvariety of

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<sup>26</sup> Pereira, Rui Gomes. 1978: 14.

<sup>27</sup> Xavier, P.D. 1993: 176.

<sup>28</sup> Xavier, P.D. 1993: 176.

<sup>29</sup> Gomes, Olivinho. 1999. Old Konkani Literature. The Portuguese Role. Panaji. p. 15.

<sup>30</sup> Pereira, José. 1992: 8.

the regional form of Konkani. The traditional *mando* usually uses the Brahmin sociolect with preference to the Salcete dialect, the traditional *deknni* adopts terms and words from the so-called Hindu environment across the River Zuari as seen from Bardez, Ilhas and Salcete. The Konkani in the traditional *deknnis*, *dulpods* and *mandos* was the version common in Bardez, Ilhas and Salcete. Konkani with a Marathi influence is used in the Pernem District. The so-called Kerala-Konkani which is probably written in the Malayalam Script is spoken in the tract between Cranganore and Quilon. The so-called Managlorian-Konkani with a rich tradition of *mandos* is spoken in the southern part of the State of Karnataka. It is written in the Canerese (Kanada) Script

Research and teaching of the Konkani language was started in St. Paul's College in Old Goa which was founded in 1541, in the Seminary in Maddel, Chorão<sup>31</sup>, Ilhas, and in Rachol Seminary in about 1576 onwards. The Czech-Austrian Jesuit Karel Prikryl completed his Konkani Grammar Principia Linguae Brahmanicae in 1748. Recent institutions which promote Konkani are the *Konkani Bhasha Mandal* (1939), the *Konkani Sahitya Samiti* (1944), the *Dalgado Konknni Akademi*, *Thomas Stephans Koknni Kendar* and others. The *Goa Konkani Akademi* was established on 4<sup>th</sup> March, 1986<sup>32</sup>.

The Roman script<sup>33</sup> for Konkani was introduced by the Portuguese along with the types of the printing press installed in Goa in 1556, with a phonetic form of writing based on the Portuguese phonology of those times, with diacritical marks added. Since the early missionaries discouraged the converts from learning the Devanagari script in which the Hindu sacred scriptures were written, the Goan Roman Catholics adopted the type of spelling in the Latin script for Konkani known as *Porni Praman* for their liturgical texts and also for their printed media and for daily use. This is also the version used by André Xett in a modified form in his collection of *dulpods* and *mandos* published in 1953 as Album Cantarancho. The Rachol Convention way of writing Konkani in Roman script since April 1957 is generally followed by Goan writers at present<sup>34</sup>. José Pereira has used a modified version of it taking the Devanagari into consideration for his publication A Song of Goa. Mandos of Yearning, A Song of Goa, Mandos of Union and Lamentation and Mandos, Dulpods and Deknnis. The orthography of the *deknnis*, *dulpods* and *mandos* on the website [www.songs-from-goat.com](http://www.songs-from-goat.com) is not uniform, since I have retained the spelling as it appears in the published literature and unpublished manuscripts in order to avoid any conflict with the written music. I have no knowledge of music.

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Goa has an area of 3.701 km<sup>2</sup>, 443 villages or *gany*, 11 counties or *talukas* and a population of about 1.500.000 with a literacy of over 90% and about 97% of the children of their native (*zonkar*) Goans attending school in the 1990s. The question of

<sup>31</sup> Built between 1558-1560 for the Patriarch of Ethiopia, it was converted into a novitiate of the Jesuits in 1610 but fell into ruins after the Jesuits were suppressed in Goa in 1749.

<sup>32</sup> Gomes, Olivinho. 1999. Old Konkani Literature. The Portuguese Role. Panaji. p. 20.

<sup>33</sup> It is not uniform, for example *aõ*, *aum*, *anv* and *hanv* all stand for I, the subject pronoun for the first person singular.

<sup>34</sup> Pereira, José. 1992: 62-64.

those children who are not attending school or begging on the streets has to be discussed in the context of migrant labour and immigrants from other States who have not yet been integrated into Goan society.

Schools attached to churches were first established in Goa under the Viceroy Dom João de Castro in 1545 by an Order of King João III of Portugal<sup>35</sup>, a *de facto* compulsory education. They came to be known as *Escola Primaria*. The children, both boys and girls, were also taught European music which contributed to the genesis of the Luso-Indiano Song. The salaries of the teachers were paid by the village *comunidades*. The College of St. Paul in Old Goa, the University of Goa, was founded under a former name on 24<sup>th</sup> April, 1541. It was handed over to the Jesuits in 1548<sup>36</sup> and from 1578 onwards it was entitled to issue degrees up to the Doctorate in theology, philosophy, language and literature. It had a curriculum of studies based on that of the University of Sorbonne in Paris.<sup>37</sup> This relationship with the Sorbonne was probably due to the Spanish Jesuit Francis Xavier who arrived in Goa on 6<sup>th</sup> May, 1542 and was a former student of that University. A regular study of medicine began in 1692 with Manuel Rodrigues de Souza as Dean of the Faculty. It was attached to the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Coimbra, Portugal, in 1764,<sup>38</sup> The *Conclusiones Philosophicae*, a thesis defended by Franciscus Cabral of St. Paul's College in Old Goa, was printed in the same college in 1556<sup>39</sup>. It was the first book to be printed in India.

The printing press Tip. Rangel in Bastorá was founded in 1886 and was able to print music (staff notation) in the European manner. The Historical Archives of Goa was founded in Old Goa by a Royal Decree on 25<sup>th</sup> February, 1595<sup>40</sup>, the Publica Libreria (now Central Library of Goa) in Panaji was established in 1827 (1832?), the Escola Médica Cirúrgica de Nova Goa in 1842 and the Liceu Nacional de Nova Goa in 1854. The present University of Goa was founded on 30<sup>th</sup> June, 1985. The Kala<sup>41</sup> Akademi in Panaji promotes art, song and dance.

The present State of Goa evolved in the course of many centuries. It has been conjectured that the *kunmbis* were the earliest colonizers of the land of Goa. They came with their cattle which perhaps led the country to be called Goparashtra. Parts of the present territory were ruled by the Mauryas, Satvahanas, Bhojas, Chalukyas and Silaharas.<sup>42</sup>

The Kadamba kings, whose seal was a lion with a curled tail, ruled Goa from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries A.D. Their original kingdom consisted of the area south of

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<sup>35</sup> Xavier, P.D. 1993: 192.

<sup>36</sup>It once had over 3000 students from all over Asia but fell into ruins after the Jesuits were suppressed in Goa in 1749. Only the gateway which formed the entrance now stands in Old Goa on the main road leading to Ponda.

<sup>37</sup> Xavier, P.D. 1993: 181.

<sup>38</sup> Menezes de, António. 1978: 103-104.

<sup>39</sup>Barros de, Joseph. 1989: 9-10. Refer also to Priolkar, A.K. 1958. *The Printing Press in India. Its Beginnings and early Development*. Mumbai: Marathi Samshodana Mandala.

<sup>40</sup> Menezes de, Antonio. 1978 : 46.

<sup>41</sup> *Kala* means "art, culture".

<sup>42</sup> Pereira, Gerald. 1973. *An Outline of Pre-Portuguese History of Goa*. Printed by Diaro da Noite Press, Panaji, Goa.

Tiswadi (Ilhas) with Chandrapuri, the present Chandor, as their capital. It was later on shifted to Govapuri, now Goa Velha or Vodlem Goem, on the north bank of the River Zuari in about 1052<sup>43</sup>. The Kadambas used Kannada, also called Canarese (the State Language of the present Karnataka), as their official language<sup>44</sup>. An influence of the Kannada language still exists in some Goan folk songs.<sup>45</sup> Some village names like Benaulim, Bambolim, Carambolim, Chicalim, Loutulim (Loutolim), Panelim, Talaulim, Navelim, Zambaulim have the Portuguese modification of the Kannada word *halli* as their suffix in the form of *-alim, -elim, -olim, -ulim*. *Halli* in Kannada means “village. In 1378<sup>46</sup> Goa, then named *Konkanya Rajya*, was included in the Vijayanagara Empire with Govapuri as its capital. In about 1403, a Goan, Mai Sinai Waglo was appointed as the Vijayanagara Governor of Goa.<sup>47</sup> They, like the Kadambas, encouraged Vedic worship and promoted international trade. The official language continued to be Kannada.<sup>48</sup> The *Konkanya Rajya* of Vijayanagara lasted about a hundred years, 1378-1469 (1472), and was followed by the Bahamani Muslim rule. Mahmud Gawan captured Goa in 1472<sup>49</sup> and established his capital in Ela (Velha Goa, Old Goa).

The Adil Shah Dynasty of Bijapur ruled Goa for a short period, from 1488-1510, after the Bahamanis. Their palace in Old Goa stood in the present compound of St. Cajetan’s Church. They employed Turkish and Persian craftsmen and artisans. It is a hypothesis that the Persian-type dome of St. Cajetan’s Church in Old Goa, built in 1665, could be a replica of Gol Gumbaz of Bijapur, built in 1626-1656. I presume that the Turks and the Persians must also have had some influence on the Konkani song and its music but have not done any research on this hypothesis. Afonso de Albuquerque (1453-1515), supported by the local population<sup>50</sup>, defeated the ruler from Bijapur, Ismail Adil Shah on 25<sup>th</sup> November, 1510 and claimed Ilhas<sup>51</sup> for the Crown of Portugal. Bardez and Salcete followed in 1543<sup>52</sup>. The Portuguese further extended their rule to Bicholim, Cancona. Pernem, Ponda, Quepem, Sanguem and Satari between 1763-1788,<sup>53</sup> thus drawing the boundaries of the present State of Goa and laying its foundations.

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“Goa can be acclaimed as an example of communal harmony”<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Rajagopalan, S. 1975. Old Goa. New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India. p.4.

<sup>44</sup> Xavier, P.D. 1993: 29.

<sup>45</sup> Khedekar, Vinayak. Religion in Goan Folk Songs. A paper read on 24.03.1985 at the Local History Seminar organized by the Xavier Centre of Historical Research, Porvorim, Goa.

<sup>46</sup> Kamat, Pratima. 1999: 21.

<sup>47</sup> Kamat, Pratima. 1999 : 21.

<sup>48</sup> Pereira, Jose/ Martins, Micael. 1984. “Goa and its Music “, in : Boletim do Instituto Menezes Bragança, Nr. 145, p. 20. Panaji.

<sup>49</sup> Kamat, Pratima. 1999 : 22.

<sup>50</sup> Barros de, Joseph. 1984. “Local Collaborators of Albuquerque”, in: Boletim do Instituto Menezes Bragança. Panaji. No. 140. pp. 29-38.

<sup>51</sup> At that time Goa consisted of only Old Goa, Chorão, Divar, Vansim and Jua.

<sup>52</sup> Xavier, P.D. 1992: 121.

<sup>53</sup> Xavier, P.D. 1992: 7

<sup>54</sup> Singh, K.S. / Shirodkar, P.P. (ed.). 1993: XVII.

The Kadamba Kings who ruled Goa from the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> century had laid the foundation for an intercultural and an interreligious society. They offered religious and cultural freedom to Buddhists, Hindus, Jains, Muslims and Syro-Malabar Christians, who in turn enriched the economy of Goa.

Goans are eclectic by nature. They accept a new way of life and assimilate it into their own traditions. During the Portuguese presence Goans became Christians by faith, but remained Hindus by culture, they spoke Portuguese but sang in Konkani. The Portuguese presence in Goa gave the people an opportunity to be exposed to new ideas. Obviously on account of this, there has been a marked impact on at least one of the aspects of Goan society, namely the status of women since more than 400 years. Formal education at all levels for women, the right of inheritance, access to almost all jobs and offices, and freedom of movement in society, gives them a sense of security and self-respect.<sup>55</sup>

“Goa is probably the only State in India which does not have any scheduled tribe.”<sup>56</sup> The Goans, in general, classified their society according to the existing Indian *varna* and *jati*<sup>57</sup> System. The Goan Catholics, however, restrict themselves to three groups: the Brahmins (mostly Saraswat Brahmins), the Chadde (Kashtriya), and Sudras (Dhobi, Mahar, Chambar and others). The fisher-folk who are mostly Catholic are called Kharvi. The three essential criteria for the choice of a partner in marriage were, therefore, *amchi jati* (our caste), *amchi bhas* (our language) and *amchem dhormon* (our religion). Hindus and Catholics accept monogamy as a norm and avoid divorce. The Goan Sunni-Muslims<sup>58</sup> speak Urdu and Konkani and follow their own traditions. They have, however, adapted themselves to local customs including monogamy. All marriages in Goa are registered under the Civil Code.

It is sheer anachronism to speak of castes in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. However, I have to do so in this essay since the traditional *mando* in Konkani was mainly the creation of the Goan Brahmin aristocracy of Salcete, one of the exceptions being António João Dias of Benaulim in Salcete, who composed the *mando Sangato Moga Tuzo*. He was the son of a carpenter. The Konkani of the *mandos* is therefore *jati*-specific, a sociolect.

The Portuguese stratified society in Goa in their own pigmentocracy terms. The *reinos* were the aristocratic Portuguese officials who returned to Portugal after their term of service. The upper strata of the *reinos* was known as *fidalgos* and the lower as *nobres*. The *casados* were married Portuguese nationals. The offspring of the *casados* were known as *castiços*, if both the parents were of Portuguese origin, and *mestiços* if one of the parents was of Indian origin. These so-called Indians were mostly Muslim girls of Persian and Turkish origin<sup>59</sup>. Afonso Albuquerque had captured and killed a number of Muslims in March-May 1510. However, he had spared the lives of the good looking young wives and daughters of the slain Muslims, to marry them to the Portuguese

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<sup>55</sup> Silva Gratias da, Fatima. 1996. Kaleidoscope of Women in Goa. New Dehli: Concept Publishing Co.

<sup>56</sup> Singh, K.S. / Shirodkar, P.P. (ed.). 1993: XXIV.

<sup>57</sup> Caste. The Post-liberation Generation in Goa does not associate itself with *jati*.

<sup>58</sup> Singh, K.S. / Shirodkar, P.P. (ed). 1993: 167-170.

<sup>59</sup> Rodrigues, L.A. 1975. “The Indo-European Miscegenation”, in: Boletim do Instituto Menezes Bragança. Panaji, Goa: Tip. Rangel, Bastorá. No. 108, pp. 21-37.

nationals who were willing to settle down in Goa. This was repeated in November of the same year<sup>60</sup>. These Muslim women were baptized before getting them married<sup>61</sup>. *Mulatos* were the offspring of Portuguese men and African girls, mainly from Mozambique, bought at the *Praça de Leilão* on the *Rua Direita* (still called so) which started at the Arch of the Viceroys (near the ferry to the Divar Island), passed the Sé Cathedral and ran for over a mile. The *naturaes* were the natives of Goa, subdivided in *canarins* (Neo-Christians) and *gentios* (Hindus and Muslims). The slaves stood socially at the lowest level, if considered to be human beings at all.

Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello (1699-1782), commonly known as The Marquês de Pombal, who had introduced liberal ideas into Portugal, promulgated the Act of 1761, whereby all Portuguese subjects born in India or in the Portuguese Asian possessions, who were Christians and not suffering from any legal disability, were to enjoy the same honours, privileges and prerogatives as enjoyed by those born in Portugal, without any discrimination whatsoever<sup>62</sup>. Hindus und Muslims were excluded.

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“The scenic beauty of Goa is arresting and matches with the Goan’s love for music, dance and religious tolerance.”<sup>63</sup>

The traditional Goan musical instruments are *dholak*, also called the *mridanga*, *gumot*, *madlem*, *sarangi*, *tambura* and *veena*. *Dholak* or *mridanga* is a wooden cylinder covered at both ends with a goat skin. The *gumott*<sup>64</sup> is an earthen-ware pot-like vessel made by Goan potters with openings on the two opposite sides, one large and the other small in diameter with the middle portion much bulging outwards. On the larger opening with the edge conveniently moulded for the fitting, a wet skin of a lizard (*lacerda ocelata*), known in Konkani as *sap* or *ghar*, is fully stretched to cover the whole surface of the opening. When accompanying a song or dance the *gumott* is usually placed on the left thigh, while the player sits comfortably on a chair. The *gumott* along with the violin and mandoline is essential for a *mando* performance. A *madlem* is a cylindrical earthen vessel covered at both ends with the skin of a lizard. A *sarangi* is a string instrument with some similarity to an European harp. A *tambura* is a stringed instrument like the *veena* but with only one string. The *veena* is a stringed instrument

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<sup>60</sup> His son writes: „ (...) Afonso Daalboquerque told the captains to reconnoitre the whole of the island and to put to the sword all the Moors, men, women and children, that should be found, and to give no quarter to any of them; for his determination was to leave no seed of this race throughout the whole of the island. (...) And for four days continuously they poured out the blood of the Moors who were found therein; and it was ascertained that of men, women, and children, the number exceeded six thousand.” Albuquerque, Braz. 1877. Commentaires of the Great Afonso Daalboquerque, Vol. II (Tr. By W. de G. Birch). London. p. 102. Quoted in: Priolkar, A.K. 1961. The Goa Inquisition. Mumbai: Printed by Mumbai University Press. p. 68.

<sup>61</sup> Xavier, P.D. 1992 : 30.

<sup>62</sup> Menezes Rodrigues de, Pia. 2000. “Emmergence of a Goan Elite of Intellectuals “, in : Borges, Charles J. 2000: 197.

<sup>63</sup> Singh, K.S. / Shirodkar, P.P. (ed.). 1993: XXII.

<sup>64</sup> Miranda de, Agapito: 48-56.

made of two gourds which are connected by a piece of wood. Strings of brass and steel are passed over it. There is a hole bored in one of the gourds.

The Portuguese brought the piano, the mandolin and the violin to Goa.

Konkani Song may be classified in four groups: The first which draws on the traditional mere pristine form in music and verse as in the *fugddi* or the *dhalo*; the second which blends western and native music but retains words and expressions from the native language as in the *deknnis*; the third which blends native and western music as well as a few borrowings from Portuguese as in the *dulpod*; and the fourth which has a marked influence of western music and intrusive Portuguese words as in the *mando*.

As many as 35<sup>65</sup> types of songs in Konkani have been classified. These include *banvarh*, *deknni*, *dhalo*, *dulpod*, *duvalo*, *fell song*, *fughri*, *kunnbi song*, *launimm*, *mando*, *ovi*, *palnam*, *talghari*, *theatre song*, *zagor song* and *zoti*. The Christian and Hindu religious song is also a type of its own.

*Banvarh* is a mourning song, usually sung on the day of cremation by Hindus.

*Deknni* is a song which originated in Bardez, Ilhas and Salcete, imitating a traditional Indian music of Goa and dealing mainly with Hindu life across the River Zuari.

*Dhalo* is a wedding song.

*Dulpod* is a dance song with quick rhythm and themes from everyday Goan life, but also with reference to exploitation of the tillers and tenants by the upper strata of landlords and social injustice,.

*Duvallo* is a pregnancy song.

*Fell* is folk drama with themes from Indian epics or Indian history. It is performed by wandering artists usually after the rains which start in June and end in August or September. The *fell* song is a dance song.

*Fughri* is a dance song performed on religious occasions particularly in honour of the deity Ganesha.

The Kunnbi who are probably together with the Gaudde the oldest inhabitants of Goa still belong to the socially neglected peasant strata. The *kunnbi* song is a dance song in the *fughri* style depicting their own life but also protesting against exploitation and social discrimination in a subtle manner. The pseudo-*kunnbi* song, now so popular, was probably first written for the stage and popularised by João Agostinho Fernandes (1871-1947)<sup>66</sup>.

*Launim* is a song dealing with religious and legendary themes.

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<sup>65</sup> Pereira, José/ Martins, Micael. 1984: Nr. 145, p. 62. Refer also to Rodrigues, Manuel C. 1957. "Folk Songs of Goa ", in : Goan Tribune of 6.10.1957, pp. 9-10.

<sup>66</sup> Pereira, José/ Martins, Micael. 1988: Nr. 156, p. 34.

*Mando* is a dance song whose major theme is love, the other themes being historical narratives and political resistance during the Portuguese presence in Goa.

*Ovi* which the Portuguese termed as *versos*<sup>67</sup> is a song with nuptial themes. It has the Sanskrit root *vri* which means “to choose, to select”. The *ovi* has three rhymed lines and one unrhymed. The three rhymed lines contain each three or four words and the fourth line one, two, and exceptionally three words. The number of syllables is nine for the rhymed lines and four or five for the last line. The early Portuguese Christian missionaries adopted the *ovi*-form for liturgical and devotional hymns.

*Palnnam* is a cradle song, a lullaby.

*Talgarhi* is a song of the Gaudde.

The *theatr* song is sung during the stage play mainly performed by wandering artists during the dry season. They entertain the public while touching on daily life but also sing subtle satires on local politics and the shortcomings of Goans.

*Zagor* means “watch”. The *zagor* song is sung in *kunnbi* folk plays depicting their own life. They are usually staged at night.

*Zoti* is sung at nuptials.

The Christian hymns<sup>68</sup> and Hindu *arathi* and *bhajans* for the liturgy and popular devotions are an essential part of Goan daily life.

One of the earliest researchers of Konkani Song was the Goan scholar Miguel Vicente de Abreu (1827-1884), who published his anthology of songs from Goa, in the Ramalhetinho de alguns hynos (1886-1870) which consisted mostly of *ovis* and *dulpods*. He had a valuable private library in the ward of Sao Thomé in Panaji<sup>69</sup> One of the early *mandos* is Empregadu zaunchako by Frederico de Melo (1834-1888). The earliest *mando* dance of which there is a record is an occasion when António Sergio de Souza, Governor of Goa (1877-1878), witnessed a *mando* dance to the singing of Paolo Milagres de Silva (1855-1931) and Arnaldo de Menezes (1863-1917)<sup>70</sup>.

The *sari* and the *kapodd*<sup>71</sup> are the traditional garments of Goan women. During the era of the classical *mando* Goan women, however, preferred the *torhop-baz*. Some claim that ladies from Malacca, who were married to Portuguese men, introduced this garment

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<sup>67</sup> This term appears in the *mando* Sobit kens moje manir galtam.

<sup>68</sup> Gaionancho Jelo (“A Garland of Songs” is the hymn book of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Goa). 1995. Old Goa 403 402, India: Pastoral Institut, St. Cajetan’s Church. Books with the staff-notation (written music), audio-cassettes and CDs are available at St. Paul’s Bookshop, Rua de Ourem, Panaji, Goa.

<sup>69</sup> Pereira, José. 1992: 17 and Menezes de, António. 1978: 33.

<sup>70</sup> Pereira, José / Martins, Micael. 2000: 47.

<sup>71</sup> Bragança Pereira de, A.G. (translated by Couto, Maria Aurora). (Date of the original manuscript?) 2008. Ethnography of Goa, Daman and Diu. New Dehli: Penguin. pp. 78-84.

into Goa.<sup>72</sup> This hypothesis could be possible, since a similar type of garment is still worn in South-East Asia. In the Philippines it is associated with Muslim women. Others say that it is a borrowing from Muslim Bijapur.<sup>73</sup> The word *torhop* is probably derived from the Kanerese, which was the official language of Goa during the Kadamba rule, *tarhapu* meaning an “apron”.<sup>74</sup> The *torhop-baz* consists of three items: the *torhop* or *sarong* like loin cloth, the *baz* or bodice, and the *tuvalo*, a shawl. The *torhop* has a horizontal border along the lower edge of the cloth, and a vertical one in the middle of the body, from the waist to the feet. There were prescribed colours for mourning and for festivities, for married women and for widows. The ceremonial *torhop-baz* worn during the *mando* dance was of velvet or silk, red, blue or green in colour, embroidered with gold (rarely with silver) threads. A white or blue shawl was worn. The socks had to be white and the slippers ornamented. This was all graced with a fan, which enhanced the lady’s mood with a secret charm during the dance. The Portuguese word for *torhop-baz* is *fota Quimão*.

## 2. Folk song or Art Song<sup>75</sup>

Should we term *deknni*, *dulpod* and *mando* Folk Song or Art Song?

Generally speaking folk songs are popular songs sung by non-professional persons or groups at various occasions mainly in the context of traditional customs and daily life. They are songs of a particular people, who may be termed as an *ethnos*. These songs are usually a part of the oral tradition of this *ethnos* existing in various versions of text and music. They must have been composed by someone, but the poets and composers have remained anonymous since they were not concerned about their names being handed over to posterity. Neither did the singers see any need for it. Some folk songs may have originated as a collective effort during work, demonstrations, procession or other communal activities. The poets and the singers were more concerned about the function and the message than about the artistic aspect, probably they were not even qualified musicians.

I tend to consider the *mando* as an art song and *deknni* and *dulpod* as folk song.

## 3. Deknni

The term *deknni* seems to have existed already in the 16<sup>th</sup> century in Goa. The Third Provincial Council (of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Goa), held in 1585, decreed that women were not to learn dancing, play or sing *deqhanins* (...) <sup>76</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Miranda de, Agapito: 44.

<sup>73</sup> Pereira, José/ Martins, Micael. 2000: 76-78.

<sup>74</sup> Pereira, José. 1967: 32.

<sup>75</sup> Haid, Gerlinde. 2006. “Volkslied”, in: Österreichisches Musiklexikon. Bd. 5. Wien : Akademie der Wissenschaften.

Röhrich, Lutz. 1973. „Die Textgattungen des populären Liedes“, in: Handbuch des populären Liedes. Bd. 1, S. 19-38. München.

Hofer, Anton. 1987. „Anmerkungen zur Debatte um ‚Begriff und Funktion des Volksliedes heute‘“, in: Tradition und Innovation. Schriften zur Volksmusik 11. S. 24-36. Wien.

<sup>76</sup> Pereira, José/ Martins, Micael. 2000: 20.

The *deknni* is a dance song. The subject matter of the contemporary *deknnis* is usually life in the Hindu areas, presumed to be “on the other side of the river”, termed *peltoddi* or *peltorhi* or *poltorhi*. The river Zuari separates Ponda from Salcete. This symbolical distance with the River Zuari as a dividing element stirs up the imagination of the song writer and composer in Salcete with a nostalgia for the lost Hindu culture which survived in those areas across the River Zuari which the Portuguese Roman Catholic missionaries did not interfere with. These areas were known as the New Conquests. Missionary work concentrated on Bardez, Ilhas (Tiswadi) and Salcete known as the Old Conquests. The nostalgia of the *deknnis*, however, is not the search for values of the traditional Indian culture in Goa, but for the odd and sensual. The Konkani of the *deknnis* tends to adopt the Konkani of the New Conquests, especially that of Ponda.

The *deknnis* Altorhi (Altolli) Gongu and Jamnam porobaja are probably a vague reminiscence of the legendary trek of the Aryan *Saraswat* Brahmins to the present Salcete and Ilhas (Tiswadi). Saiba Rayan bandu galila probably makes reference to a Kadamba king in the popular idiom *Kozmu Ray*. One of the earliest *deknnis* still popular, which may be dated around 1869, is Kuxttoba in which he is called “heir to India and terror of Goa”<sup>77</sup>, implying resistance to Portuguese rule. Kuxttoba was a member of the Salekar branch of the Rane family<sup>78</sup>. Information about his birth, the reason and the course of his rebellion and the manner of his end are vague. He did rebel as an individual against the rule of the Portuguese in Goa but he presented no concept for a free Goa. Neither did the Ranes do so when they took to arms against the Portuguese Government in Goa, nor the Sipais (Sepoys) when they mutined. Kuxttoba was shot dead on 13<sup>th</sup> June, 1871. The official version is that Constâncio de Rosário e Miranda of the 4<sup>th</sup> Division ambushed and killed him. The popular version is that he was betrayed by his mistress Bulem in exchange for a bribe. The most popular *deknni* is Kuxttoba mirasi Indiecho. Pratima Kamat has published the text but not the music of Aik ge aka<sup>79</sup>, Doriant marun uddi<sup>80</sup> and Mia re Kuxttoba<sup>81</sup> and also an elaborated version of Farar far where she replaces the Bhonsule as mentioned by André Xett in his Album Cantarancho (1953) with Kuxttoba.

Another historical episode is mentioned in the *deknni* Gonnespoti Raya, namely the building of the railway from Murmugão to Castle Rock which began on 8<sup>th</sup> of April, 1881. In 1878 the Portuguese had signed a treaty with the British administration in India called the Abkary Act. The Portuguese were to make Goan currency conform to that of British India and permit the construction of a railway line in addition to other items such as the salt monopoly. This treaty was very unpopular with Goans since it had a devastating effect on the economy of Goa subject to the control of the Portuguese and the British. It was denounced in 1891. This *deknni* ridicules the railway: “The British have built a railway ( ...) unmarried girls are having the fun of their life with the *botler* (cooks)<sup>82</sup>” The *deknni* Portugala saun also embodies political agitation in the literary

<sup>77</sup> “Miraxi Indiecho, Terroru Goincho ...”

<sup>78</sup> Kamat, Pratima. 1999: 183.

<sup>79</sup> Kamat, Pratima. 1999: 188-189.

<sup>80</sup> Kamat, Pratima. 1999: 190.

<sup>81</sup> Kamat, Pratima. 1999: 183 and 190.

<sup>82</sup> Inglezanim bandili reilvei ... ankvar cheddvani garhamorhi, botler bonvtai barabori.”

form of ridicule. It tells us of a Portuguese who came to Goa with eighteen Rupees in his pocket.

The Hindu temple fascinated the *deknni* composers sometimes as an object of reverence, but sometimes as something odd and sensual.

Monday is a devotional day for the Hindus, when they prostrate in front of a deity, as the *deknni* Aj somoracho disu says, “Today on Monday, we prostrate at the feet of God.”<sup>83</sup> The Hindu priest, however, is ridiculed in the *deknni* Bottu melo, “The priest died, and he became ash. His wife died, and she became mud.”<sup>84</sup> This is probably the influence of foreign missionary indoctrination.

The *kolvont*, also known as *bailadeira*, who lives on the precincts of the temple in Goa, is such a common theme in the *deknnis* that it misled Lucio Rodrigues to classify the *deknni* as “The Song of the Dancing Girl”<sup>85</sup>. The subject matter of the *deknni* is wider.

The Goan *kolvont*<sup>86</sup> who was selected from among the prettiest virgin girls of the Devli caste and was well educated in music, song and dance is the descendant of the *devadasi*, daughter of God, of Ancient India, the temple dancer, the virgin dedicated to the deity. She fanned the deity, carried the sacred lamp, sang and danced before him or her in an ecstasy of adoration. In the *deknni* Fulo mallunum she sings, “The night does not end. I will stay awake. I adore you, oh God. I go round the sacred *tulsi*”<sup>87</sup>.<sup>88</sup>

The Goan *kolvont*, however, appears in the *deknni* as a creation of the composers. The composers probably confuse her with the *bhavini* of the same caste. These girls of lesser education were associated with the temple, but also with the *mahajans* and *bhattkars* to whom the illegal children were attributed. The present Konkani language and the *deknnis* wrongly identify the Goan *kolvont* with the attribute of a *fille de joie*. In the *deknni* Kolvontam-i amim one of the girls sings, “The Big Man (lit. master) called us and took us with him.”<sup>89</sup> Her presence lends distinction to social gatherings, as only the rich men, like the goldsmith (*xett*) and the village chief (*desai*) can afford the luxury of her services. Her performance in the house of a Desai of Ponda is described as follows in the *deknni* Fonddecha Desai-geri, “This is how she dances. This is how she bends (her hips). She lies on the bed. This is how she rolls.”<sup>90</sup> In the *deknni* Aj somaracho disu someone makes an offer to a Desai, “Which dancing girl do you want?”<sup>91</sup> One of the dancing girls, Sundorem is her name, says that they are from Siroda. This village with

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<sup>83</sup> “Aj somaracho disu, Deva y at-panyem pot-ttai-i.”

<sup>84</sup> “Bottu melo. Bott’gobor zalo. Bottiny meli. Botinim mati zali.”

<sup>85</sup> Rodrigues, Lucio. 1955. “Konkani Folk Songs. No. 2: Deknni”, in: Journal of the University of Mumbai. pp. 65-75.

<sup>86</sup> Singh K.S./ Shirodkar, P.P. (ed.). 1993: 76-80.

<sup>87</sup> The *tulsi*, with the botanical name *ocinum sanctum*, is sacred to the Vaishnava Hindus in India. It is commonly cultivated in front of the house, surrounded by a simple white-washed structure and is venerated during the ritual washing of the body every morning.

<sup>88</sup> “Soronom rati, ravonom zagem. Nomskar kortam, Deva, tolloxi bountem.

<sup>89</sup> “Maxtorra baban y amkam apounum velim.”

<sup>90</sup> “Ox’m ox’m nachota, ... ox’m ox’m moddota, ... Polngari nideta, .. ox’m ox’m lollota.”

<sup>91</sup> “Tuka kolvont fuinchem zai-i?”

temples and music is commented upon in the *deknni* Xirodechim cheddvam with the attribute, “The girls of Siroda are big flirts.”<sup>92</sup> The dallying of a *kolvont* with a prospective lover is dramatized at least in two *deknnis* Muzo fulantso porhu and Ge,Ge,Ge,Ge,Ge, the latter ending with, “A kiss from my cheek, please take it, Sir.”<sup>93</sup> The composers of the *deknni* presume that the Goan *kolvont* likes gaudy clothes and fancy names, as for example in Bottu melo. A *kolvont* sings, “A sari of silk, a bodice of red calico. I am a dancing girl, and my name is Peppermint.”<sup>94</sup>

The most popular *deknni* Anv Saiba polltoli (polltori, pelthori, peltoddi) voitam (vetam) was published by its composer, Carlos Eugenio Ferreira, in 1926 and printed by Casa (Tip.) Rangel in Bastorá. It was introduced at a wedding many years earlier. The credit for popularising this *deknni* goes to Mestre Lourenço Henrique Dias, leader of the Banda Nacional de Salcete, who died in about 1930.<sup>95</sup>

The fascination of the *deknni* lies to some extent in the haunting music with the syncopated rhythm of the *tabla* and the *mridanga* and the clang of the *kansollim* (cymbals) enhanced by the sound of the anklets of the dancing girls.

Lucio Rodrigues subtitles the *deknni* as “The Song of the Dancing Girl”. I would rather call it “The Song of the Lost Past”, referring to the rich traditional Indian culture in Goa which the Portuguese tried to suppress in Bardez, Ilhas and Salcete. “The intensive missionary effort (...) produced many converts who, it was believed, needed to be protected from Hindu cultural influences, which included traditional Indian music. Consequently, the Third Provincial Council (of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese) of Goa, held in 1585, decreed that women were not to learn to dance, play or sing *deqhanins* or other festive dances and courtly songs of native origin.”<sup>96</sup>

#### 4. Dulpod

The word *dulpod* is probably derived from the Sanskrit word “*druta-pad*” meaning “fast song”.<sup>97</sup> The *dulpod* is a folk song, anonymous, freely improvised and sometimes lacking in thematic unity as for example in Ghoru nam daru nam. “*Dulpod dorunk*” is a Konkani idiom which means “to follow up something” (with a series of refrains). The *dulpod* is usually sung in sequence with a *mando*.

The tunes of the *dulpod* are usually in the six-eight measure, though the two-fourths are not uncommon.<sup>98</sup>

The subject matter of the *dulpod* is the daily life of the people of Goa. Beggars, as a class of destitute persons, did not exist in Goa and were not compatible with the village social system. The beggars in the *dulpod* Ami bikari are chronic drunkards who claim,

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<sup>92</sup> “Xirodechim cheddvam mottinch pamprelam.”

<sup>93</sup> “E muja poleacho beiju, ge ga Saiba.”

<sup>94</sup> “Seda’ kapoddo, cholie tambddem chito. Kolvonto nanv mujem Pipirmitto.”

<sup>95</sup> Pereira, José. 1967: 8.

<sup>96</sup> Pereira, José/ Martins, Micael. 2000: 20

<sup>97</sup> Pereira, José/ Martins, Micael. 2000: 9.

<sup>98</sup> Rodrigues, Lucio. 1959: 48.

“The beggar gets his food without doing any work.”<sup>99</sup> The fishermen are mentioned in Arê veller rampon, the carpenter in Moddgonvam tovoiaguer, the grandmother who reared a pigling, hoping to finance her snuff (*chimti*) in Chicú eôî, the old village *belle*, who has passed her prime and still hopes to attract attention with a gaudy red blouse, a suggestive walk and a fair complexion with rice flour on the face in Mattari xamãî and the essential nagging mother-in-law in Sassu mãî. An uninvited guest, a lover, is mentioned in E’de ratricho. The maid servant, who also had the status of a *bhavini* of the *battkar*, appears in Fulola fulacho mollo and Fullu anv jardinintulem. The last verse of Ago chedva needs to be identified in the social context. The sophisticated girl belonging to the *battkar* strata, who has enough of leisure time to sit at the window and display her hair appears in the *mando* Arso dantonim gheunum, while the girl of the *dulpod* is a woman of Goan soil, sensual and homely.

Fugar zata cazra vocuncheaco is an obvious parody on the quasi-feudal structure of the *battkar* and *mundkar* system. Dona Piedade dancing the *polka*, a status symbol of the aristocracy, on the dance floor, contrasts with João and Jacquin (a female name in Konkani), common names among the *mundkar* (tenants), enjoying life in their own manner outside that floor, beyond the fence, a symbol of segregation.

Farar-far zatai ranantu is one of the best known *dulpods*, a masterpiece of its genre. It was composed at a time when even the slightest sign of sympathy with the Ranes and the Bhonsule would have led to brutal repressions by the Portuguese in Goa. My opinion is that the simple formula of Portuguese rule in Goa from 1510-1961 was: “There is peace if there is no resistance.” The composer of this *dulpod* has achieved the sheer impossible in two sentences, without getting into direct conflict with the rulers: The Rane are equal to the white soldier (in version No. 2). The composer sings: “The white soldiers are shooting at the Rane. The Rane are shooting at the white soldiers.”<sup>100</sup> Version No. 1 shows the plight of the civilians.

The Rane-Clan were Kshatriyas who had immigrated to Goa. They were the feudal lords of Satari, the province with seventy villages, known in Konkani as *Sattar-vadi*. The dense forests with teak, eucalyptus and ebony and the hills with pasture land for grazing the cattle and goats yielded sufficient revenue for an independent living. The Rane who lived in conflict with their overlords, the Bhonsule of Sawantwadi, were utilised by the Portuguese in Goa against the Bhonsule and also against the Marathas who fought for Independent India. A treaty was signed between the Portuguese and the Rane on 21<sup>st</sup> October, 1746 whereby 800 soldiers of the Portuguese Army in India were to be posted in Satari. The Rane soon realised that the Portuguese administration permitted them less autonomy than the Sawants of Wadi. They revolted and overthrew the Portuguese domination in Satari in 1781. They, however, signed a second treaty on 29<sup>th</sup> January, 1788 but rebelled again on at least 14 occasions between 1782 and 1825. The revolt of Bapu Rane in 1845 is characterised by attacks on military posts, kidnappings and looting of churches and homes. This was followed by the revolt of Dipu Rane on 26<sup>th</sup> January, 1852 harassing the Portuguese in Goa for a period of over three-and-a-half years. The immediate reason for this revolt were the heavy taxes which the Portuguese administration in Satari levied, the decrease of feudal rights and privileges, but also the Portuguese contempt for the customs and religious practices of

<sup>99</sup> “Bikareanko jevon meuta aitem.”

<sup>100</sup> “Pakle mat’tai ranneank(u). Ranne mat’tai pakleank(u).”

the people of Satari. They forbade the *tilak* (red dot) on the forehead and they did not permit the people to grow the *tulsi* (*ocimum sanctum*), which is sacred to the Vaishnava Hindus, in their *angana* (inner courtyards). A law was passed which forbade men to wear the traditional lower garment called *doti* or *langotti* and forced them to wear pants. Likewise women were compulsorily asked to wear a *choli* (blouse) under the sari which led to atrocities when the Portuguese administration checked up the implementation. The capture of the strategic Fort Nanuz by Dipu Rane is sung in a variation of the *dulpod* Farar (farrar) far:

*Velha ranantum,*  
*Nanuz khotantum,*  
*Pakle martai Ranneakun,*  
*Rane martai Pakleankun*<sup>101</sup>.

The support of the people for the Dipu Rane Revolt is recorded in the song Sath Sattar Gavamadhem of which I have only the English translation<sup>102</sup> at the moment. I have neither the original Konkani text nor the staff-notation.

After a long struggle Dipu Rane saw his demands fulfilled and signed a formal treaty of non-violence with the Portuguese Government in Goa on 20<sup>th</sup> December, 1855. Dada Rane, however, revolted from 1895-1897 but all resistance from the Rane of Satari came to an end by 1912.

Lucio Rodrigues inspired by a rather poetic mood, describes the diversity and the irregularities of the *dulpod* in a bloomy manner: “The atmosphere of the *dulpod* is that of an open meadow in the countryside where the flowers grow in natural profusion at their own sweet will, flowers of native hue and scent. The breath of spring blows cheerfully through the *dulpod*.”<sup>103</sup>

## 5. Mando

Most of the Konkani speaking people use the word *mando*<sup>104</sup> as a generic term, meaning *deknni*, *dulpod* and *mando*. I am using this word in this essay as a particular term.

The *mando* is a dance song from Goa in Konkani. Although it is popular among all the social stratas of the Konkani-speaking peoples and many of the composers have remained anonymous, it should not be classified as a folk song. It is an art song

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<sup>101</sup> In the old forest, in the Nanuz Fort, the Portuguese are killing the Ranes, The Ranes are killing the Portuguese. (Kamat, Pratima. 1999: 169 and 187).

<sup>102</sup> Who is the man of might and prowess, in the sixty-seventy villages? Who is the man of might and prowess, in the line of the Ranes, Dipu is the man! He gathered sixty and three hundred muskets, and only with sixty and three hundred muskets, took the Sankle Fort! Who is the man of might and prowess? The white soldiers fled for their lives. O, they fled for their lives! The white soldiers heaved a sigh, as they fled and jumped into their boats! Who is the man of might and prowess? (Sukhthanker, V.S. 1974. Tales and Tellers of Goa. Bangalore: Asia Trading Corp. p. 90).

<sup>103</sup> Rodrigues, Lucio. 1959: 26.

<sup>104</sup> The Fifth Provincial Council (of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese) of Goa (1601) forbade dancing and singing of the popular free dance, the *munda* and *cafrinho*.

composed for particular occasions. There have been many attempts to explain the origin of the word *mando*. One of them refers to the *mand* which was traditionally an open space of about 100 sq.m. where religious ceremonies were held and folk dances were performed.<sup>105</sup> The text form of the *mando* is based on that of the traditional Konkani song *ovi*, which was usually sung at weddings.

Father Nascimento Mascarenhas from Saligão, born on 8<sup>th</sup> September, 1940, whom I interviewed while he was Chaplain in the Church of Moira in February 1998 spoke of three schools of *mandos* which are influenced by the environment: Benaulim, Curtorim and Loutulim.

The sand and the sea, the coconut palms, the rich vegetation and the blue sky endow the village of Benaulim with a specific charm which we experience for example in the *mando* Doriachea larari. The village of Curtorim lies in a valley. The *mandos* which were composed here rise to a certain level and descend as is in the case of Sontos bogta rê jivaco by Arnaldo de Menezes. The *mandos* composed in Loutulim rise in a crescendo and suddenly descend as in Adeus korcho vellu paulo by Torquato de Figueiredo. Raimund Baretto of Loutulim (1837-1906), who married Maria Adelina Cecilia de Silvera of San Mathias on Divar Island in 1850, composed the music of one of the most popular Konkani hymns Sam Fransisku Xaviera.<sup>106</sup>

Most of the the traditional *mandos*, which gained the term “classical”, were composed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The choral dance which accompanies the *mando* in two-four or six-eight time has two forms, the circle form and the double file form, where women and men face one another. This double file was the one which was adopted for the *mando*.<sup>107</sup> The *polka*<sup>108</sup> and the *valsavina* (Vienna Waltz) with its three-four rhythm seem to have found their way to Goa. The *mando* was originally composed and danced by the Brahmin aristocracy of Goa, mainly of Salcete, whose spacious mansions had a big hall for festive occasions. A memorable moment in the history of the family was the bridal *mando*, for example Anju tum aranju. The *mando* reflects the tranquil and leisurely character of this aristocracy.

The Goan woman in the *mando* reflects the ideals and virtues then ascribed to her, namely self-sacrifice, piety and motherhood. The process of informal sanctions shapes daily behaviour and gives rise to specific cultural patterns. The emphasis of achieving and maintaining an untained reputation is determined through such sanctions, as in the song Aramitha mojem naum. This Aramitha has ruined her reputation and that of her parents. She has thus no prospects for a marriage proposal.

Marriage in the *mando* has a sacred character as for example in Bara tera vorsam zalim. The main theme of the *mando* is love, love in its various aspects. One of the

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<sup>105</sup> Khedkar, Vinayak. 1983. “Rhythm and Revelry: the Folk Dance Performances”, in: Goa: Cultural patterns. Bombay: Marg Publications. p. 138. I (L. Noronha) would like to add my personal opinion that the so-called “classical” *mandos* were not composed for the *mand* but rather for the large halls of the wealthy upper strata.

<sup>106</sup> Mascarenhas, Nascimento. 1995 (Feb.). “Sam Fransisku Xaviera. Songitacho sad”, in: Arso. Khorlim, Goa: Sahyadri Printers. pp. 28-31.

<sup>107</sup> Pereira, José/ Martins, Micael. 2000: 72-76.

<sup>108</sup> Refer to the footnote to Fugar zata kazra vochuncheaco.

saddest *mandos* is Ek dis baguint anv guelolim, a literary masterpiece in the art of suggestion and unsaid words. A lady reflects on her youth. One day while walking from the garden to her home with a few *abolim*<sup>109</sup> she met a boy, and, strangely enough, he asked her for the flowers. She reflected: “Why should he want flowers? Who is there in his house to wear them?” She understood the message, but could not utter the “two” (in fact three, namely “I love you”) words he would have liked to hear from her. She lives now alone and lonely. The *mando* is pre-eminently a song of the Goan woman. The emotional life of a man is rather analytic and less complex than hers. If he does happen to be in love and all fails he ends up in a philosophical sigh as in the *mando* Sonvsar chearuch rê disancho saying “Life covers a span of just four days”.

Nowhere in any *mando* does the belief in destiny or curse (*birmot*), as an adverse power ruling human life, appear. These are songs of a people whose faith in *Devachi Sasai* (Divine Providence) surpasses every obstacle. The wish, “May my *birmot* come upon you”<sup>110</sup> does appear in the *mando* Dônn tin muine zale as a rare deviation from the norm.

The political tensions of that period, however, did not pass by unnoticed by the *mando* composers. This compilation documents five of them: Farrar-Far (*dulpod*), Konum rê khobor-kitem, Luizinha, mojea Luizinha, Setembrachê choudavê ratri and Setembrachê ekvissavêru.

Apart from the revolts of the Rane, which are mentioned earlier in this essay, the Portuguese Government in Goa was confronted with the mutinies of Volvoi and Marcela in 1870-1871. A decree dated 2<sup>nd</sup> December, 1869 by the Overseas Minister of Portugal Augusto da Silva included a clause that sanctioned the transfer of troops to any part of the Portuguese Empire during times of war and emergency<sup>111</sup>. There were four battalions in Goa at this time. They were stationed in Margão, Mapusa, Ponda and Bicholim. The two mutinies of 1<sup>st</sup> March, 1870 and 29<sup>th</sup> September, 1871 were non-violent and had no political ambition of liberating Goa from Portuguese rule. The demands of the mutineers were granted.

After these two mutinies the Portuguese Army in India was reorganized into one unit of Artillery, one of the Police and one of European Troops. All the units of the garrison of Panaji were made up exclusively of Maratha Sepoys (*Sipais*).

The *mandos* Eka Setembrachê rati, Setembrachê choudavê ratri and Soglea sonsarak khobor refer to the Maratha Sepoy Mutiny of 1895. The genesis of this mutiny can be traced back to the attempt of the Portuguese to extend their rule from the coastal regions of Mozambique and Angola to the interior, which was controlled by local African rulers. A company of 480 Maratha Sepoys organized in two units was scheduled to leave Goa for Mozambique on 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1895. Before these orders could be implemented, the companies of the infantry battalion with about 298 Maratha Sepoys revolted in the early hours of 14<sup>th</sup> September, 1895. This revolt is documented in the

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<sup>109</sup> Botanical name: *Crossandra undulaefolia*. It is a quasi-national flower of Goa.

<sup>110</sup> “Moji birmot futtum tuka”. The term *birmot* which may be translated as “curse”, contains the inevitability of nemesis. This term is rare in common language use.

<sup>111</sup> Kamat, Pratima. 1999. “Mutiny in the Portuguese Army”, in: Govapuri. Panaji: Institute Menezes Bragança. Vol. 2, No. 2, p. 73.

*mandos* Eka Setembrachê rati, Setembrachê choudave ratri, Soglea sovnsarak khobor. These *mandos* express the sympathies of the composers for the demands of the Sepoys and the inability of the Portuguese to deal with them. The Sepoys assembled at the Afonso de Albuquerque Square (now Azad Maidan) in Panaji, proceeded to the *Palácio do Governo* and looted arms and ammunition there. The Portuguese soldiers who were following them did not shoot at them nor did the Sepoys do so to the Portuguese. The Sepoys then marched to Fort Nanuz which had been the place of political encounters between the Rane and the Portuguese. One of the songs in which these many encounters were documented is Farar Far (*dulpod*). The Sepoys captured the fort. On 14<sup>th</sup> October, 1895 the joint forces of the Sepoys and the Rane who had joined them under the command of Dada Rane Advaikar, proceeded to Panaji marching through Bardez, blowing their cornshells and horns (*shinga*), looting and plundering the villages, which is documented in the *mando* Salea (Sogle?) Sipai ektain zaun. The Portuguese Administration was forced to make a compromise and granted the Sepoys their demands and an amnesty which was signed on 27<sup>th</sup> May, 1896.<sup>112</sup>

Political changes in Portugal had an influence on the Konkani Song in Goa. Portugal was ruled by a hereditary monarchy from 1143 to 1910, when it was declared a republic. After the French Revolution of 1789 French troops had invaded Portugal in 1807-1810. Their presence there had an influence on the existing political structures. The absolutist monarchy in Portugal became constitutional in 1821, this continued till 1910, with the exception of a short period (1823-1834) when the Absolutists ruled. Goa was accorded the right to elect its representative to the Portuguese Parliament. The first elections were held in Goa on January 14<sup>th</sup>, 1822. The existing rivalry between the highly educated Brahmins and Chaddos together with the Roman Catholic priests on one side, and the mestiços, who neither cared for letters nor arts but only military service, on the other side. These mestiços, who were stubborn Absolutists, also clashed with the new generation of Portuguese officials who came to serve in Goa representing the constitutional aspect. When the Goan Bernardo Peres da Silva was elected deputy to the Portuguese Parliament in 1822, and was appointed Governor of Goa in 1835, this caused panic among the mestiços who rebelled, disposed him and started a reign of terror. The Goans replied with violence. They beat to death the mestiço Captain Joaquim Garces Palha on 4<sup>th</sup> November, 1854 in the Church Square of Nossa Senhora da Piedade in Divar when he went there to campaign for votes, after his campaign in Mercês. This tragedy is documented in the *mando* Luizinha, mojea Luizinha. It sounds like a melancholic love song, but the message conveyed is harsh. The farewell words of love “do not cry” (“*roru naca*”) spoken by Joaquim to his wife Luizinha are being used by the people of Divar in this *mando* as an apotheosis of irony after having murdered her husband. I have no knowledge of music, but was told in Goa that the melody of this *mando* and that of Setembrachê ekvissavêru appear to be similar and one may presume that both may have been composed by the same composer. During the elections of Salcete the soldiers of Governor Vasco Guedes, who was in office from 1889 to 1891, fired on an unarmed crowd on 21<sup>st</sup> September, 1890 in the Church Square of Espírito Santo Church<sup>113</sup> in Margão. Twenty-three civilians were killed. This tragedy is documented in the *mando* Setembrachê ekvissavêru. It also praises the Goan leader of

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<sup>112</sup>Kamat, Pratima: 71-102.

<sup>113</sup> The church was first built in 1564, the present structure dates from 1675.

the *Partido Indiano* Dr. José Inácio de Loyola<sup>114</sup>. The *dulpod Undir mojea mama* also refers to this incident in the form of a metaphor, the “rat” being the “Portuguese” and the “cat” being the “Goans”.

The resentment against the Abkary Act of 1878, which had a devastating effect on the economy of Goa, is documented at least in four existing *mandos*<sup>115</sup> which agitate against this treaty: Trato feringuean kelo (A treaty has been signed by the foreigners), Soglea sonvsarak khobor (Everybody knows), Chintunleari kaliz fafsota (Even the thought of it upsets us) and Chintlem na re konnem (Nobody thought about it).

This Act also forced many Goans to emigrate to British India, to British East Africa, to Portuguese East Africa and to Portugal in search of a living. Some of the *mandos* in which this aspect of Goan history is documented are Afrikacho novro, Ghorantulum bhair sorlim, Ugdas dôtan, Ugdas eta maca Natalamchê ratricho, Vorsam sabar sarlea uprant pordesant and Xitol chondrimanchê ratri.

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The Portuguese sometimes termed the Konkani song *ovi* as *versos*. This term has been adopted in Sobit kens moje manir galtam in the words, “*Moje versu cantar cortam*”<sup>116</sup>. The usual pattern of the *mando* consists of three stanzas of four lines each. Each stanza is held together by the use of one rhyme. Each line of the stanza usually contains eight syllables.<sup>117</sup> The refrain consists of two lines with one rhyme. The art of the poetry of the *mando* lies in the simplicity of words, phrase and image, e.g. “*At-paim zorounu feliz kortol’ tuka*”<sup>118</sup>. The charm of the poetry lies in what remains unsaid, “*Monant tôddinch (donu) uttram goulim, Tedonam ankvar aum aslim.*”<sup>119</sup> The poets make use of a play of vowels and consonants to produce melodious phrases, e.g. *doriachea larari*.

The Konkani of the traditional *mandos* includes Portuguese words, as were in use at the time they were composed.<sup>120</sup>

The accent in spoken Konkani is always on the last syllable, when sung on the pre-ultimate syllable. The dialect used in the *mandos* of the 19<sup>th</sup> century is the *Bambonn Saxtti* of Salcete, particularly as spoken in the villages of Benaulim, Curtorim, Loutulim and Raia, where most of them originated. It is the most musical of the Konkani dialects with its consistent use of elisions. One of the characteristics of this dialect is that words are stretched out in pronunciation with the addition of an extra vowel sound either in the middle of the words or at the end. Thus the word *dista* is lengthened to *disota* and *sanddlear* into *sanddilear*. The suffixes –i and –o are commonly used to add an extra

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<sup>114</sup> Refer to: Borges, Charles J. (ed.). Goa’s foremost Nationalist: José Inácio Candido de Loyola (The Man and his Writings). New Delhi: Concept Publishers.

<sup>115</sup> Kamat, Pratima. 2000. “Peasantry and the colonial State of Goa”, in: Borges, Charles J. 2000: 144.

<sup>116</sup> “I am singing my song.”

<sup>117</sup> This form is found in popular Portuguese poetry and also in the *utenzi* in Kiswahili.

<sup>118</sup> “I will (work and even) rub hands and feet sore to make you happy.”

<sup>119</sup> “Some (two words) went through my mind. I was then a maiden.”

<sup>120</sup> Sardessai, Manohar L. 1978. “Portuguese Influence on the Konkani Language”, in: International Seminar on Indo-Portuguese History. Mumbai: St. Xavier’s College.

syllable to a line. Thus *larar* becomes *larari* and *neke| becomes *neketro*<sup>121</sup>. The full sound -o- is softened in this dialect. Thus *roddonk* becomes *roddunk*, *mozo* becomes *muzo*. The possessive pronouns in the *mando* have the Salcete form, as *tugel'lem* for *tujem*, *mugel'lem* for *mujem* or *mojem*. Shorter forms are derived when the music needs to cut off a syllable, e.g. *tuj' kodden* or *koddem* instead of *tuje koddem* and *mak' naka* instead of *maka naka*. Not only the phonetics correspond to the Salcete dialect but also words like *masoli* (*masli*) for “fish” instead of *nishtem*, e.g. “*Dongrari fulo nam, dorient masli pun nam*”<sup>122</sup>.
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Konkani also has a sociolect aspect. The Brahmins address a girl or a woman with “*rê*” instead of “*gô*” and use the pronoun “*ti*” instead of “*tem*”. This has been retained by the “classical” *mandos*, but to some extent eliminated by André Xett, since it has a discriminating effect today. André Xett has also partly adapted the Salcete dialect to that of Ilhas, his own home district, in his compilation *Album Cantarancho* (1953), e.g. *Papach' licens as' rê maka* has become *Papachem licença assa rê maca*.

The *mando* is mostly a monologue, in the first person singular or plural, except for the historical narratives. In some *mandos*, however, one person addresses another, who in turn replies.

As a dance the *mando* is a square type (double file), men facing the women. When the partners come face to face in the centre, they retreat to the starting point, then move forward again crossing to the opposite side. The men then flick their handkerchiefs while the women open their fans. All in all, it is a stately and leisurely dance. The melody of the *mando* is slow in movement, with a soft and languishing atmosphere.

The music of the *mando* is studied in some detail by José Pereira and Micael Martins.<sup>123</sup>

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The *deknnis*, *dulpods* and *mandos* have not lost their charm<sup>124</sup> even in this fast changing world. While at home or abroad Goans shed a hidden tear when they sing *Doriachea larari* or bid one another farewell with *Adeus korcho vellu paulo*. Goans created the *mando*, Goa's message of *sucegado*,<sup>125</sup> to a world in a hurry.

Xevott / End

<sup>121</sup> In words as *amizado*, *amigo*, *neketro*, *sangato*. this -o is pronounced as the English -u in b-u-ll.

<sup>122</sup> “On the hill there is no flower, not even fish in the sea.”

<sup>123</sup> Pereira, José/ Martins, Micael. 2000: 53-61 and *Boletim do Instituto Menezes Bragança*, Nr. 153, pp. 89-98.

<sup>124</sup> Efforts are now being made to interpret these songs in the traditional way with a violin, mandoline and a *gumot* and to maintain the original flavour. The electronic keyboard, electric guitars and wind instruments are, however, gaining popularity in this context.

<sup>125</sup> This Portuguese word meaning “calm, tranquillity” is integrated into the Konkani vocabulary.

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<sup>126</sup> Most of these books and articles are to be found in the libraries of the Institut fuer Ostasienwissenschaften und Tibetologie of the University of Vienna, Spitalgasse 2, A-1090 Vienna, Austria and Institut fuer Volksmusik und Ethnomusikologie of the University of Music and Performing Arts (Universitaet fuer Musik und darstellende Kunst), Anton-von-Webern Platz 1, A-1030 Vienna, Austria.

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