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GOA & ITS MUSIC

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IV. THE HINDU—MUSLIM TUSSLE

The irruption of the Turkish and Afghan invaders into Indian affairs, so disastrous to the millenary life and culture of the subcontinent, became crucial in Goan history only after the extinction of Yadava and Kadamba rule. Hinduism, prostrate in the north before the Muslim blast, was in the south rallying its forces for last-but-one counter-attack (the last being the Maratha). Its headquarters were Vijayanagara, the City of Victory. (³¹)

The fire of Indian civilization, slowly smothered in its own ashes from the time of the Guptas, still radiated a cultural brilliance. Though consuming itself out in slow degrees, it twice worked up its dying energy to bright heat — first in Vijayanagara and then under the Mughal Empire — before it finally gave out. The involved perfection of Dravidian architectural forms, the systematization of a dualist logic and metaphysics, the codification of a stricter musical system, the Carnatic, or South Indian (as opposed to the less intellectualized Hindustani or North Indian) and a blossoming of devotional literature and song, are some of the achievements that culture owes to the City of Victory.

The armies of the Hindu Revival struck triumphantly at the Muslim tyranny in the Deccan; Goa once again changed masters. (³²) During this period, Marathi settled down to being the sacred language of Goan Hinduism. The more skilled and educated Konkani Brahmins deserted their temples for lucrative posts in the civil service and their places were taken over by the less

gifted Brahmins of Maharashtra. But as Vijayanagara was situated in the Kanarese country, the official language continued to be Kanarese. This was to have an incalculable influence on Konkani. Among other things, the "musk of South", *Kannada*, deepened the aroma of that rare essence of India's Aryan tongues, *Konknni*.

For all their cultural brilliance, the Hindus were inferior to the foreign invaders in fighting spirit. When the Muslim Bahmani kingdom and its successor states had got over the shock of the Vijayanagara attack, and after a little over a hundred years of Hindu imperial rule in Goa, the general of Sultan Muhammad II, Mahmud Gawan, captured the province in 1469. There were several attempts on the part of the Hindu emperors to regain this important port, but none succeeded.

Chief among the Bahmani successor states was Bijapur. The rulers of this city were great lovers of splendour and built a monumental complex of mosques and minarets, which are some of the best in India. They also raised the biggest domed mausoleum in the world, the Gol Gumbaz, which stands a black colossus on the tableland of the Kanarese country. Bijapur is perhaps the most powerful image we have of the rock-like domination of a desert religion, of the puritannical simplicity of Islam clamped on an exuberant and metaphysical land.

The inhabitants of Goa were not happy under Bijapur and revolted — without success. During this period, as indeed from the very beginnings of its history, Goa, though an important port, was a backwater to the main events of Indian history. Nothing that happened there ever seemed to affect the course of events in the subcontinent much. Muslim rule over Goa was nearing its end and all this was soon to change.

V. THE FIRST PORTUGUESE EMPIRE

While the Goans were chafing under the regime of Bijapur, a people at the extreme end of Europe, the Portuguese, had for some centuries already knit themselves into a nation, in answer to a Muslim problem of their own. Their relationship to the peninsula of which their country formed a part was nearly the same as that of Goa to the Indian peninsula. They were also similar to the Konkani in temperament. (33) In contrast to the dramatic

Spaniards, they are an idyllic and dreamy people, with a proneness to a fatalistic nostalgia. When not faced with danger they tend to sink into torpor; but on being confronted with a challenge react with a flare of energy that often effervesces in great achievement. Among the reasons for their activist spirit was their Christianity — itself not a passively resistant doctrine. Long subjected to Islamic persecution, Catholicism in the Iberian peninsula could not but end by absorbing some of its opponent's elemental colour.

The struggle with Muhammadan domination produced in the Iberian peoples a tenacious determination never to yield or compromise. On the other hand, the inhabitants of the Konkan were formed under the influence of the Indic religions, which resist aggression more by withdrawal than by attack; and this is why there was never an outburst against Islam in the Indian peninsula of the kind there was in the Iberian. The people whom the Portuguese were to find in the Konkan coast were similar to themselves in their passive and not active propensities.

Spanish and Portuguese hatred for the Moors did not die after their oppressors had been ejected. Seven centuries of tyranny had given them a wild thirst for revenge. Only Muslim blood could slake it — the blood of any Muslim anywhere. Spurred on by this motive, as well as by the desire to find new markets and make new converts, the Portuguese began by modernizing the study of geography and developing the art of navigation. Due chiefly to the foresight and imagination of Prince Henry the Navigator and once achieved, it opened the way for the conquest of the sea. Portuguese fleets rounded the Cape of Good Hope. They had a master of strategy, Francisco de Almeida, who struck a blow at Islamic domination of Asian waters (34), thus wrecking their commercial monopoly. The time was now ripe for a thrust inland.

It was not long before the right man appeared — Afonso de Albuquerque (1453–1515). He saw the need for a central focus for the projected land empire — a scheme impossible to realize, considering Portugal's resources and man power — and two flanking points. The triangle of Goa in India, Ormuz in Persia and Malacca in Malaya seemed to be the answer. Albuquerque then wisely waited for the right moment to arrive.

And it did. The Hindus of Goa, the majority of the population, fretted under Bijapur rule, but could do little more than await their deliverance.

This came in the form of Portuguese sails on the horizon. A Hindu prince-ling, Timoja, invited Albuquerque to intervene and bring the hated regime to an end. Goa was conquered for King Dom Manuel on 25 November 1510, and was to remain Portuguese for exactly 451 years. On its soil, Albuquerque established the capital of the last crusading or *sacral* empires, in which Church and State interests were inextricably linked. ⁽³⁵⁾

With a dramatic suddenness, Goa became the centre of a project of dominion, it had for its diocese nearly the whole of the Tropical Old World. ⁽³⁶⁾ There the Portuguese built the most splendid city that Europeans were ever to raise in Asia. ⁽³⁷⁾ The octopus-like landscape, with its green tentacles raised for the destruction of everything man-made, was fettered with Baroque monuments. Fortifications hardened the militarily tender sports of the island of Goa. Towers and church vaults soared above the canopies of coconut palms, the naves glowing with gold leaf lavished on reredoses, walls and arches. Granite crosses were clamped on pedestals in squares and at the ends of avenues. ⁽³⁸⁾ Silks, jewels and luxury goods glutted its shops. In the evenings, at the hour of the Angelus, the hymns of children and the chimes of church bells formed a symphony of sacred sound that echoed for miles. ⁽³⁹⁾

It was the image of the Church, aided by a crusading state, imposing a Roman order on a transmigratory world. Into the city came Xavier, the greatest of the conquistadores ⁽⁴⁰⁾, and still remains in it, though now it is nothing more than a broken shell. From there he encompassed the entire extent of its diocese ⁽⁴¹⁾ and died on an island off China, into which country he was preparing to take Christ's doctrine and his own martyred body and soul. Continuing his work, the missionaries introduced the cultural features of contemporary Europe into the now Christian Goa, many of which survive today. ⁽⁴²⁾

A Church linked with a State cannot avoid being affected by its fortunes. The empire was doomed from the very outset. Though directed by heroes, the human stuff which they had to rely upon was not of the best. Men came to the East to make money and this led to a piracy and corruption difficult to control. The destruction of Hindu Vijayanagara further precipitated the Portuguese empire's downfall. Banding together, the Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan determined to wipe out the great Hindu power that had kept them so long at bay. At the battle of Talikota in 1565, they succeeded.

Hammers and crowbars smashed the stone temples of the City of Victory and its gilt pavilions were charred by flames. Now nothing stood between the two mortal enemies. The might of Bijapur loomed over the tiny Portuguese state, whipping up a tension in it that almost broke its spirit.

That was not all. On land a new Hindu empire-building power was emerging. Unlike, Vijayanagara, the Marathas had sworn enmity to Portugal. On sea, the Dutch intruders were eroding its established commercial monopoly and had already begun to appropriate some of their forts and cities, chiefly in Ceylon and South India. The death-knell of the empire had rung.

The challenge was a severe one from the religious view-point as well. For the first time in its history, Christianity was faced with the great non-Semitic religions of Asia massed together in a phalanx. Never before had there been a collision with any orthodoxies (except Islam) that could be compared with these in the number of believers, extent of territory covered, and capacity for resistance — and with elusive and incomprehensible methods too.

Goa was in the grip of a trauma. The Portuguese conquest had given the land an importance quite out of proportion with its hitherto developed stamina to cope. It was some centuries now that the traditional Indian civilization had broken down and the sapping of India's creative energies could not but blight Goa as well.

Somnolent and fatalistic Goa was in a state of siege. A tenacity and an active endurance were unremittingly and exhaustingly being demanded of it. Though the more activist Europeans living there were the ones who had to face the brunt of the attack, the Catholic Indian inhabitants could not escape the tension, both as believers and as members of a sacral state. For a brief moment a strange alchemy fused an activist heroism, demanded by the circumstances, with the fatalistic dreaminess deepening through the centuries. A Goan Oratorian Mission to Ceylon came into being and gave the Church, among others, the great priest José Vaz. But soon the power of resistance broke under the strain.

The encroaching flood of a phantasmagoric infidel world, frightening in its elusiveness, now encircled sacral Christendom in the East. The Christian movement stiffened and drew into a shell. Goa was transformed into a mystical city of God, poised like a Holy Grail over the swamps of paganism.

shrouded in a magic that kept its monsters at bay. Except for Lisbon and Rome, too remote to be real, it was the whole Christian world.

Inside this Holy Land, the glory of the Faith was contained, not emanating; the incorruptible body of Xavier shrivelled into a mummy on its marble altar. All that now survives of the old city's shroud of towers is a spectral silhouette of ruins. Xavier left behind a Christianity that changed into his cracked and blackened likeness. The Church in Japan was crucified⁽⁴³⁾; in the Moluccas, when not literally devoured by cannibals, it was sucked into the quagmire of savagery. The flame lit by Xavier burned only in Goa and on the sands of Fishery Coast.

This period of tragedy and heroism was also one of great cultural achievement. In Portugal its efflorescence in poetry and historical writing was never quite equalled afterwards. In architecture and the arts, Indian forms percolated into Europe for the first time.⁽⁴⁴⁾ In Goa the foundations of a new Konkani literature were laid. Later in this period, the government made war on Konkani and Marathi. While able to eradicate Marathi from the Christian districts, it was not successful with Konkani, which continued to live, but without freedom to develop and without honour among its own people.

The outstanding architectural achievement in India of the sacral state was Tropical Baroque. European architecture was first implanted on Indian soil in its late Portuguese Gothic or Manueline forms, followed soon after by those of the Early Renaissance. This is the first period of Indo-European architecture, whose buildings are a spontaneous flowering of individual initiative.⁽⁴⁵⁾ In the meantime, the Council of Trent had galvanized Catholicism. There was a stronger sense of the universality and splendour of the Church, a feeling of exaltation at the ebb of the Protestant heresy towards the dreary lands of the North.⁽⁴⁶⁾ The then emerging architecture of magnificence and glory, the Baroque⁽⁴⁷⁾, was beginning to give this transfigured state of mind a more powerful expression than similar exalted emotions had known before.

Rome was the heart of the Baroque, whose blood pulsated through the arteries of Iberian expansion to the corners of the earth. The aorta of the influx was the complex of the great religious orders, channelling the impelled vital fluid into its growing art tissues. A new gush of vigour

brought into being the second period of Indo-European architecture, that of the Roman programmes. ⁽⁴⁸⁾ Churches not seldom recalling the spaciousness and grandeur of the great temple of the Counter-Reformation, the Gesù in Rome, rose up everywhere over the vast coastal empire. The Gesù's plan was not unlike that of the Hindu temple — and would have practically coincided if the latter had substituted arched construction for its traditional trabeate one: in either case, there were no side aisles. The only difference was the temple's diminuted sanctuary, smaller than the nave not only in length, but also in height and width. In the Indian Baroque transcript of the temple, more light was permitted to enter the sanctuary, so that a dim nave opened out into a luminous centre, terminated by a reredos resplendent with gold. In this way the altar allured the eye to itself. Except in one small imitation of St. Peter's in Rome ⁽⁴⁹⁾, the architects eliminated the Roman cupola, which had reached perfection in Michelangelo's basilica — now the cathedral not only of European, but of world, Christianity. ⁽⁵⁰⁾

Hindu influence made itself manifest in an unclassical manipulation of classical forms, thus carrying the revolt against the classical style (while using its architectural motifs) — which is of the essence of Baroque — a step further. Motifs from Indian architecture and landscape broke out in profusion over the accommodating Baroque framework. The churches were of enormous size, some having naves wider than that of St. Paul's in London. ⁽⁵¹⁾ While these piles of red laterite were going up in the capital and in important imperial towns, the members of the empire were being wrenched apart by its enemies. The Safavid kingdom of Persia engulfed Ormuz; and Malacca, where Xavier had preached, was stormed by the Dutch.

There was more to come. But in these excruciating moments, the brightest heroism shone in the efforts of the Goan Oratorians in Ceylon. ⁽⁵²⁾ Because of them, Dutch persecution failed to stamp out Catholicism on that island. They also put to the test a different method of conversion, whereby the pagan (and the convert) was spoken to in his own idiom, and not that of Latin Europe. The results were amply successful. ⁽⁵³⁾

But disasters were closing in on the empire. The Marathas, with their eyes set on an India united under their dominion, moved their cannon against the Portuguese fortified towns of the North. In 1739 the capital of this area, Bassein, was overrun; in Goa, Saxty and Barhdes were occupied; the very metropolis of the empire, the city of Goa, was surrounded. ⁽⁵⁴⁾

Xavier's dismembered body, now with only one arm, was kept in readiness to be shipped to Portugal as the "last relic of the Portuguese empire in the East". (55)

VI. THE SECOND PORTUGUESE EMPIRE

However, the moment of doom had not arrived, yet. But something had happened during this time which was to change the importance of Goa in Asia and the Portuguese world. Rebuffed by the greater strength of Asian armies and by the military superiority of adventurous European newcomers, the Portuguese abandoned all hopes of an Asian empire and fell back on the primitive areas of Africa and Brazil. The inglorious rout of her soldiers and fleets had shaken, but not broken, Portugal. Lusitanian national pride, whetted earlier by conquest, was now tinged with a deep nostalgia through defeat. (56) It had not lost any of its vitality, but only needed a vigorous external force to launch it into action.

Gushing out of the gold mines of Brazil, a lustrous metal stream poured its warm flood into Portugal's hardening veins. (57) This proved to be the needed infusion, which brought courtly glitter and pageantry back to the country and fortified it for new wars and conquests. Unlike the First Empire, the one to be founded did not have a crusade for its spiritual ideal; now the glory of the nation was paramount.

The enemies of the Portuguese state, believing their prey to be at its last gasp, closed in on what they thought was the kill, but were aghast to find a revived ferocity springing at them with bared teeth and claws. They were gradually pushed out of the hilly terrain behind Saxtty, Barhdes and Tisvarh, to the mountain wall of the Ghats. By 1763, the jungle hinterland of the "Old Conquests" was prostrate; on its green ground, the Portuguese lion was to be rampant for almost two hundred years.

"New Conquests" was what the annexed area came to be called. The triumphant comeback of Portuguese arms gave the land a pause to draw breath: to recapture a moment of relaxation from the sense of cataclysm that had oppressed it for so long. A fresh flowering of culture was the result. Tropical Baroque attained its greatest level of originality. (58) In the closed mystic world of Goa, its forms proliferated in a splendid exuberance;

yet they never caught the lightness and caprice of the Rococo. This was not a period of great churches, but of smaller and more florid buildings, mostly inspired by its central event, the first solemn exposition of Xavier's body (1782).

This burst of architectural fertility did not germinate from an expanding Catholicism; it blossomed in the claustal hothouse of a Faith set apart from a hostile and ungovernable world. But the Second Empire had only a very brief moment of glory. The crises that were transforming Portugal in the eighteenth century and the threat from India precluded it from enduring longer. Portugal, in the throes of change, as indeed much of the greatness of this period, is typified in the Homeric figure of the Marquês de Pombal (⁵⁹), one of the most outstanding statesmen of the time. New French ideas, lethal to the postulates of the sacral empire, now found a powerful Portuguese champion, who suppressed the Inquisition and the Jesuits, and commanded the Europeans in the colonies, long accustomed to bullying the Indian inhabitants, to treat the natives as their equals. Revolutionary notions these, ones which the rulers in Goa found difficult to swallow to the end of their days. (⁶⁰) Ideas of a like kind were, in France, slowly mounting up to the violent crescendo of the French Revolution. The whole fabric of the Portuguese establishment was soon to shudder under the blast from the explosion.

France swung from republic to empire. Debilitated and prostrate, Portugal underwent a yet more cruel scourging. The Peninsular War rolled down on it in hobnailed boots. The old order, as indeed everything that Portugal had stood for, was facing extinction. But for timely British help, its political identity might have been blotted out. With independence regained, the old absolute state was to make one last bid for reestablishing its hold over the land.

Almost equally overwhelming was the threat from India. A hydra with many heads—of rajas, sultans and swashbuckling European adventurers—it presented one visage of horror to the stunned Portuguese. The king of Sunda (Soundem or Sundem) and the Rannos of Maratha affiliation gave them no peace. Many of the "New Conquest" provinces were constantly being shuttled between the "Majestic State" (as the Portuguese liked to call their government) and the "Grandiose" Bonsulo Ranno (as they dubbed their disagreeable neighbour) and other Hindu princes.

The Nizam and Tippu Sultan, who succeeded the Mughal Empire as Muslim rulers of the Deccan peninsula, caused even greater worry, as they were more organized and powerful than the Grandiose Ranno himself. At this time, too, French imperial ambition in India was at its height. Tippu and the French soon teamed up against the English. In the course of the campaign, the plan was for Tippu to take Goa and hand it over to the French. For over five years, the Majestic State's nerves were on the pitch of vertigo by the constant threat of invasion. Some Goan Brahmin families, headed by the Pintos, gambling on this chance, made a desperate bid to oust their rulers and establish an independent republic. The invasion did not come off and the rebellion of 1787, called "The Conspiracy of the Pintos", was bloodily suppressed⁽⁶¹⁾. Tippu himself was doomed, for the British ran him down to his capital Srirangapattana. There a shot put an end to his turbulent and savage life.

The imperial programme of Versailles received a momentary setback from the French Revolution. Napoleon later took up the imperial day-dreaming from where it had been interrupted. Here again, he was rudely awakened to reality by the tiresome British, who had all along shown an unwillingness to share other people's territories with the French (or for that matter with anyone else.) Their next step was to show great concern for the Portuguese domains in India. The French fleet, they said, had left Brest for Goa. The thought of seeing the colony in French hands was unbearable; so the British were sending ships and troops to guard it. For a time, extending broadly from 1799 to 1813, it was not clear whose property Goa was. Long and patient diplomacy, as well as the treaty of Amiens, obliged the unwilling Anglo-Saxons to withdraw their troops from Goan soil.

Portugal gradually regained her balance, the threat from neighbouring Indian powers and territory became less acute. However, another menace glowered from the Goan forests — and was to remain with the Portuguese for the rest of their allotted time in the colony. The annexation of the "New Conquests" had brought a motley mixture of turbulent peoples within the fold of the state. It was not long before they began to find it galling and started to give trouble. A Hindu chieftain, the Dessai of Uspa, triggered the first major revolt, soon crushed. Not long after the Sardessaina Durga Bai rose in rebellion, and was also suppressed.

The inhabitants of the "Old Conquests" were themselves becoming

restive. Two centuries of rule had not succeeded in making them friends of the government. Portuguese colonialism, in principle, was not aimed at exploiting the colonies; at its highest, it had desired nothing but to transform them into something as completely Portuguese as the homeland itself⁽⁶²⁾ — though on its own conditions. But this homeland was so far away that its monarchs were not able to effectively supervise the doings of their corrupt and lustful colonial officials, who liked their natives docile like “sheep before their shearers” and were dismayed when sometimes the sheep turned round and bit them.⁽⁶³⁾

But the French Revolution, and especially contact with the English, made constitutional monarchy a fashion among disgruntled Portuguese intellectuals. The flight of the country's sovereign to Brazil after the French invasion gave constitutional ideas a firm foothold, so that when he hurried back after liberation, the king was forced to renounce absolutism. For a time, the usurper Dom Miguel fruitlessly tried to reestablish the old regime. With constitutionalism restored, the provinces were asked to elect representatives to the parliament; among the first was Bernardo Peres da Silva (died 1844), perhaps Goa's greatest politician. The debacle of the absolutist monarchy, which in its halcyon days had brought the Second Empire into being, did not mean the latter's doom as an exercise in political sovereignty. But it brought about its radical transformation in spirit. Before elections were introduced in Goa, the only outlet for rebellion was war. The Conspiracy of the Pintos was the first and last attempt of the people of the “Old Conquests” to bring the State to its knees through armed attack. Other ways would be open to the colonized in the future.

VII. PARLIAMETARY RULE AND DICTATORSHIP

As in other colonies, the history of Goa was an appendix to that of the home country. Events there shaped occurrences within its own borders. The goings-on in Portugal after the downfall of the old sacral state are easy to summarize. As an alternative to the familiar absolutist rule, the Portuguese first opted for that British compromise between monarchy and republicanism — the constitutional monarchy. They tried this for about ninety years, beginning roughly in 1821. Growing dissatisfied with it, they then killed their king and some time after adopted the French system, the

republic (1910). This led to a hopeless political muddle, with a quick succession of governments and frequent spells of anarchy. Finally, they went back to a form of absolutism, frankly revivalist, as it adopted the ideals of the sacral state, "Faith and Empire". This phase, which terminated abruptly in 1975, was initiated by Salazar in 1932 and undoubtedly gave the country stability.

In the epoch of the First Empire, it was impossible to think of Goa apart from the context of the whole area of Portuguese influence in the East. This connotation shrank during that of the Second Empire⁽⁶⁴⁾ and in the age we are dealing with, had virtually disappeared. The Portuguese State now settled for mere survival and a peaceful unnoticed existence. The history of Goa to the present day can be broadly reduced to five points, which show the problems facing the Portuguese government and its attempts to cope. These are the destruction of the old traditions, modernization, the elections, revolts and the ever-present threat of foreign powers.

Let us first take the destruction of old tradition, which hit the Church more than any other institution. Pombal suppressed the Jesuits (1759), and later, the constitutional monarchy did the same with the religious orders (1835). The Holy See had, in the early years of the First Empire, placed the missions under Portuguese royal patronage (the *Padroado*), but deepening Papal diffidence sapped its power. To take its place, Rome was constrained to found the *De Propaganda Fide* (1622), an institute with no political affiliations.⁽⁶⁵⁾

The savage laicism that had engineered the destruction of the orders, not bothered with what the Pope thought, now turned its battering rams against their buildings. In a passion of hatred its myrmidons hacked to bits the great wooden retables veneered with gold that stood at the end of the sanctuaries. Frenzied demolition of nearly half a century (1829-1876) blotted the laterite walls and high vaults of the churches from the skyline. S. Paulo dos Arcos and S. Domingos were ruthlessly wrecked; Asia's noble complex of ecclesiastical buildings, the Augustinian monastery and church were allowed to fall into ruin. Thus, the most beautiful Christian city east of Constantinople lay levelled, to make way for palm groves and ant-hills.

Hostilities between Church and State finally brought about a head-on collision between the *Padroado* and the Propaganda — fully resolved only

by the Concordat of 1940. On the secular side, there was even a move to suppress the Gaumponn. Thanks to the efforts which scholars like Felipe Neri Xavier and João Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara made to save it, the proposal happily failed. ⁽⁶⁶⁾

Second, the modernization of Goa, in many ways a corollary to the destruction. The telegraph was installed ⁽⁶⁷⁾ and the steamship began to be seen in Goan ports. Bridges now spanned the rivers, roads brought villages nearer to each other, and later the railway linked Goa with British India. ⁽⁶⁸⁾ The number of schools increased. Zeal for secondary school institutions led to their being repeatedly founded and suppressed. Last in the process and the only survival was the Liceu, modelled on the French Lycée. ⁽⁶⁹⁾ A National Library was established at Ponnji (Panaji) on the banks of the river Mandovi. ⁽⁷⁰⁾ Journalism ⁽⁷¹⁾ and scholarship were encouraged. Goans learnt European social dancing ⁽⁷²⁾ and the custom of wearing Western clothes became more common. ⁽⁷³⁾

Third, the elections—a cause of the greatest suffering to the Goan people. ⁽⁷⁴⁾ Smouldering without a pacific outlet for two whole centuries ⁽⁷⁵⁾, they found a vent for their dislike of the government in the vote. Soon rulers and ruled clashed. On the one hand, the government wished to brow-beat the electorate into obedience, using all kinds of pressure—preferably force; on the other, the electorate was unwilling to be bullied. Of their many leaders the most inflexible defenders of their people's liberties were the great Bernardo Peres da Silva, and Luís de Menezes Bragança (1878-1938). While the people obviously suffered the greater casualties, the officials on whom the government rested did not emerge unscathed. One of them, Joaquim Garçês, was savagely done to death in 1854. ⁽⁷⁶⁾ This event is commemorated by the earliest political mando we possess. ⁽⁷⁷⁾

Konkani gift for intrigue only brought about rifts in the people's ranks. These the government did not fail to exploit. Different political parties were formed. Enthusiastically leathing the others, each spent its time in diatribes and polemics which became increasingly mean and low-minded. ⁽⁷⁸⁾ In Saxtty the main parties were those led by the Costas of Morhgoun (Margão) and the Loyolas of Ol-Ili (Orlim) and many of the political *mandos* we possess are works of members of the "Costaist" and "Loyolist" factions. The most bloody contest of all were the elections of 1890. 23 people were gunned down on the church square at Morhgoun by the guns.

of the troops sent by the hated governor Guedes, who "dug graves, turning Morhgoum into a pool of blood".⁽⁷⁹⁾

Fourthly, the revolts, which raged like wildfires among the Rannos of Satari⁽⁸⁰⁾ and the Indian soldiers in the army. The most serious of the Ranno uprisings were those of 1852, commanded by Dipu Ranno, and 1869, by Kuxttoba, "the heir of India and the terror of Goa", who became a popular hero.⁽⁸¹⁾ The army rose up in arms in 1842, 1872 and 1895. The last rebellion was the most disastrous and all but successful.⁽⁸²⁾ It was the violent side of the *nativista* movement, which itself was very like the Swadeshi movement in British India: both recommended the sole use of Indian goods. The revolt of 1895 needed the Portuguese king's brother, the Infante Dom Afonso, to come and quell it.⁽⁸³⁾ The last of the revolts was the Ranno insurrection of 1912, after which peace was established — to last to the very end of Portuguese rule.

Lastly, the attempts of neighbouring powers to absorb Goa. The British, after their sojourn in the area at the beginning of the nineteenth century, had taken a fancy to it.⁽⁸⁴⁾ When parted from it in 1813, Goa had not seen the last of them. A nation of stubborn men⁽⁸⁵⁾, they had not renounced, but only postponed their courtship. Putting their bayonets aside, they tried this time to ingratiate themselves with more diplomatic methods. They were now willing to settle for complete financial control; for a certain sum paid to the Portuguese rulers, the favours of maindenly Goa were to be theirs. They thus got the monopoly of salt and spirits — the latter as indispensable to the Goan peasant as to the British pub-crawler — in the Abkary Act of 1878.⁽⁸⁶⁾ Some time afterwards, they build a railway from Goa's own good, because, they said, its progress depended on its link with British territory.

Anglo-Saxon love-making was passionate, though unsubtle. One of the parties found the caresses less pleasurable. Growing mistrustful of the motives behind the apparently philanthropic actions, the Portuguese Government managed to skilfully disengage Goa — now exhausted from the mauling she had received — from the over-tightening imperial embraces of the British.

This time of troubles was, paradoxically, the classic age of Goan culture, perhaps even of Konkani culture as a whole. The Indian, Muslim and Latin

elements in its history acquired a state of integration, and depth, balance and repose. Konkani folk song, slowly branching out in types through the centuries, now found expression in the musical and poetic forms of high art.

The face of Goa came to be what we now recognize it to be. The dawn of history had found it a green glaze of jungle crazed with shimmering cracks and spots of rivers and lakes. As civilization filtered through these depths, the gloom of the forest was broken by the bright and even-widening expanse of green rice fields. Temples to the gods and to God transformed the powerful but voiceless emotional impact of the complex of trees, hills, rivers and sunlight into articulate and significant accents. ⁽⁸⁷⁾ Most of these fanes, crushed by the jaws of the jungle, reappeared sevenfold, until the whole face of the land was mushroomed with white temples and shrines.

One main feature in the landscape of the Konkani is the coconut palm, integrated into both Hindu and Christian Goa. Connected in the past with only the Hindu temples and thus loaded with Brahmanic associations, the coconut tree had come to look almost intransigently tropical and non-Christian. However, "Goa seems to have narrowed it into the almost liturgically Catholic tree it became as much in Portuguese India as in Brazil and Lusitanian Africa. Coconut palms and Catholic churches seem today to complement each other in the composition of genuinely luso-tropical landscapes." ⁽⁸⁸⁾ Chapels to Our Lady of the Mount crowned the hills, rising above their summits and the verdure that rolled down from their plinths over the body of the land as though it were the Virgin's protective mantle. ⁽⁸⁹⁾

Goan Sacred Song rises to some of its summits in the hymns to Our Lady of the Mount. Coming down from the starry heights of glory where her throne stands before the Trinity, she makes her seat the Mount for the sake of us sinners. ⁽⁹⁰⁾ Such is one of the ideas of the authoress of the hymn *Papiañchi Xeratinni*, Barreto — perhaps the most eloquent of all the composers of Goan Song the tenderness and sweetness of Konkani devotion, the *Konkana Bhakti*, so far limited to humble folk manifestations, is now elevated to the level of conscious artistic expression in Goan Sacred Song. ⁽⁹¹⁾ The peak of Goan Song, the Mando, was also thrown up into the atmosphere in this period, one of its three pinnacles being Arnaldo de Menezes (1863-1948).

These men wrote their poetry in Konkani. There was besides a large output of verse in Portuguese of a highly colourful and romantic nature. ⁽⁹²⁾ A strong interest in Goan and Portuguese history in the East was generated. The protagonist of the movement for research into it was Cunha Rivara, a man of Portuguese nationality but of Spanish and Italian extraction. He likewise worked hard to give back to Konkani the intellectual respectability it had lost. Indeed, it is from him that the study of Konkani literature stems, with his masterly treatise on the history of the language in 1857. ⁽⁹³⁾ Some other important scholars in this movement were the Goans Filipe Neri

Xavier (⁹⁴), Jacinto Caetano Barreto Miranda (⁹⁵), Miguel Vicente de Abreu (⁹⁶) and Casimiro Cristóvam Nazaré (⁹⁷). Further, the Teatr or Goan Stage Theatre first came to light at this time (⁹⁸), partly based on the popular theatre of the Goan village.

The Maratha power, last in the line of Indian empire builders, was at last humbled. Britain became the suzerain. Secure in their overlordship over the most of the vast subcontinent, the British generously decided to leave Goa to the Portuguese. The latter had troubles of their own from revolts, but they continued their mopping-up operations till the last of the rebellious hoteads in their territory had either been shot, propitiated or hauled before their tribunals. The line dividing Goa and British India became little more than a mathematical one. There was nothing to keep the Goans, now fonder of security and less enterprising than ever, from scrambling for the opportunities open to them there. (⁹⁹) British and Portuguese colonies in Africa later attracted some immigrants. Along with the others went the musicians, who were in great demand at maharajas' palaces, English clubs and public theatres. Their influence on Indian music was to grow and has by no means ceased.

After the peace of 1912 a lull descended on Goa. The next fifty years were to be the last of its traditional culture. Some of its luminaries were still bright, but a film of cloud had begun to veil them, so that in the air a phosphorescence replaced noonday dazzle.

A light sometimes appeared through rifts in the clouds. It came from the still luminous constellation of composers, especially from the "Three Greats", of Goan Song. However, they were snuffed out one after another, as the phase drew to its close. Arnaldo died soon after it began, Gizelino half-way through, and Torquato towards its end. But there were other glimmers too, like Joaquim de Menezes, Milagres Silva and Francisco de Sardinha. Scholarship in Goa flowered in isolated examples. Emigration was draining away most of Goan talent. Drawn by the magnetic charm on the great cities in British India, the emigrants there fell a prey to the new industrial ideas and ways of life. On their return to the land of their birth, they brought these notions with them. The declining sum of Goan historical culture was obscured by even thicker blankets of cloud. When the fog had dimmed the creative light of tradition, a gloom descended on the land and rumbles from beyond the mountains began to be heard.

Some of these rose from the tide of Indian nationalism as it eroded the foundations of the British empire. Even after the repulse of their armies, the Indians did not easily acquiesce to British rule. There were sporadic but spontaneous outbreaks of revolt over the country, culminating in the explosion of 1857, the "Indian Mutiny". This was suppressed by reprisals as bloody as those anywhere on record. (¹⁰⁰) Unprincipled economic exploita-

tion of the country followed. ⁽¹⁰¹⁾ As a result, at least twenty millions died in famines in the second half of the nineteenth century. ⁽¹⁰²⁾ The Indians were discriminated against on grounds they had never been before. The Muslims, for instance, had maltreated them for their religion, but this was a state of affairs which the Hindus could have altered by conversion. The new apartheid was based on something they could not avoid, had they wanted to — their ethnic character. For the first time in their history, the Indians had to suffer humiliation as a people. ⁽¹⁰³⁾

The victories gained by superior military technique cowed the subcontinent. A grand illusion of British invincibility was projected. Though later scarred by reverses — some of the work of the Japanese — its impressive image served a useful purpose for a time. Salutory indeed was its influence on the Indians — heirs to over forty centuries of civilization, but barbarians to the natives of an out-of-the-way northern island, their astute if slightly bovine conquerors. It kept them in their place.

But there was still another weapon whose efficacy had not been tried. Fatalistic India found it more in keeping with her age-old tendency of resisting by withdrawal to be non-violent. The force of passive resistance, *satyagraha*, was marshalled by Gandhi, and let loose among India's millions; not a little of its effectiveness was due to the character of British democracy and to the enfeeblement of the Empire; still, it spelt doom to an arrogant power. The final collapse of this power in India was a major step to its ultimate shrinkage on the map of world importance. With the hauling down of the British flag from Indian masts on the midnight of 14 August 1947, the country's greatest humiliation ended.

Satyagraha had jerked out of India's soil one of the most philistine of empires, but it also proved useful to Britain herself by building her "a golden bridge for withdrawing from an indvidious and untenable position." ⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ The British were enabled to leave with their pride still unhurt, but the Portuguese were fated to be ejected in opprobrium. After the fall of its Indian enemies, they had grown accustomed to basking in the many-rayed sun of the Union Jack. With its setting, their security was once again threatened. When Portugal and India had fidgeted and bickered and preached to each other for a while, the Indian army marched into Portuguese territory in December 1961, and a new chapter in Goa's history was initiated. That for us is the start of another story, of little relevance to traditional Goan Song, which flickered out a year before the event, with the death of its last important representative, Uílcia Rebelo, in January 1960.

CHAPTER II

KONKANI CULTURE

To describe the character of a way of life impregnated with beauty and not devoid of magnificence, but which has long been irreflexive about itself and has survived as an oppressed subculture, is like uncovering a mosaic hidden beneath layers of grime and whitewash, where the architectural framework itself is partly obliterated by accretions. The Konkani have not always ruled their homeland, but the stream of their culture has submerged the dykes of the dominant and divisive foreign hegemonies and turned them into fords. This culture now astrides groups owning allegiance to three civilizations—the traditional Indian, the Islamic and the Latin-European — while still being recognizably itself: no mean feat for a culture of its size and history. It has been enriched by the three civilizations, but each of the latter belongs by right more to one of the groups than to the other two; thus the Hindus are the special custodians of the traditional Indian civilization, the Muslims of the Islamic and the Christians of the Latin-European.

I. THE HINDU CONTRIBUTION

An oppressive damp, heat and fertility, and the gnarled embrace of mighty forests have destroyed all tropical civilizations (like the Maya and the Khmer), but not the Indian. It is thus a paradox that a culture obsessed with impermanence is the only permanent civilization in a type of environment that testifies to impermanence more strongly than any other in the world; it is the only human endeavour that has through three millennia resisted the Tropics' corrosive impact on the human intelligence.

How was this achieved? By a genius for order, but an order intricate and prolix enough to make it seem at first sight chaotic; by an intolerance about basic metaphysical suppositions (*samsara*, transmigration and *nivṛtti*,

liberation), but a great permissiveness about their interpretation (as the multitudinous sects of Indian religion can testify). Intolerance again about social discipline, embodied in the inflexible hierarchy of caste. Rigidity in the classification of a detail so complex as to make the assemblage of it seem confusion itself: the great temples of the later dynasts (as those of the Gangas, Chandellas and Cholas), which appear to be exercises in asymmetry, are the creation of one of the most mathematically-minded of architectures. This process is apparent also in the modes of Indian music, patterns of melody that are a congeries of weird sound to the uninitiated. The even more overpowering visual complexity that inspired the fine arts was curbed by an almost stultifyingly rigorous iconography, impossibly intricate though its icons might seem to someone from another civilization. But much of this civilization's poise in the midst of the dizzying phenomena of its environment was due to its capacity to look beyond them, and thus to be able at times and without compulsion, to surrender itself to their "inner vital violence and outer wild luxuriance". (1)

As with any other civilization, the strength and weakness of this one are due to the greatness of its basic insights, and the Indian insight can be summed up in the terms *samsara* and *nirvrtti*. They determine man's final end, which are four, one of them identical with liberation (also known as *moksa*) and the other three found in the transmigratory world — *dharma* (social convention, morality, respectability), *artha* (acquisitiveness, money, work) and *kama* (love, delight, sex). The phenomena of the transmigratory world follow one another inexorably and cause misery without end; the pursuance of *artha* and *kama* constrains one to this sequence, without relief. Only *dharma* acts as a bridge to the activities that lead to *moksa*, which hovers, starry image, over *samsara's* shadowy flux. (2)

Samsara is *sonsar* for the man of the Konkan. Konkani idiom is rich with that word's many connotations, and traditional Goan poetry, as we shall see, translates the notions of impermanence and freedom from it into the imagery of darkness and light.

Drowned in a glare of a sunlight, hot with fertility in the monsoon and blazing with blight in summer, the Konkan is itself an image of flux. Rain floods and the roots of trees tear buildings apart; the shapeless ruins are soon pock-marked with snake holes, perforated by worms and covered with

pinnacles of mud by crawling multitudes of termites. In the next season this is smothered in a blanket of vegetation that soon chokes out all sign of human presence.

Within the termite nests are galleries filled marrow-like with white clusters of eggs. The cobra (*nag* or *naginni*) delights in their taste and often hides in the nest's dark interior. Named *roinny* or *santery* in Konkani, this castle of red earth is the most popular object of worship in Hindu Goa ⁽³⁾, and a note in the distinctive character of Konkani Hinduism. The worship of snakes was later supplanted by the cult of the Aryans, which absorbed into its pantheon the Konkani's serpent gods and legions of ghosts and godlings. The jungle and its dreadful beings were cradled in the arms of an accommodating Brahmanic theology. *Santery* was placed under the divine feet of Durga ⁽⁴⁾ — the goddess who is the power or *sakti* of the of Hinduism's two great gods, Shiva.

What are the contributions of the Hindus of the Konkani to the culture of India? Not less than the following five. First, the impregnation of civilization's root notions with the imagery of the Konkani environment, at once gorgeous and delicate. Second, the preservation of some of that civilization's vital elements, now extinct or less vigorous elsewhere, such as the institution of the Gaumponn ⁽⁵⁾ and as much of Sanskrit as is consonant with the character of a New Indo-Aryan speech — in the Konkani language. In this the Konkani Hindus have been favoured by their land's sheltered position, almost sequestered as it is from the rest of India by a double wall of mountain and jungle. And thus their conservative instinct in some fashion counterbalances the ephemerality of their environment.

Third, the transmission to modern Konkani of the temperament and character created by the interplay of this environment and the old Indian forms. While keeping the conservative spirit of the Konkani alive, the Gaumponn fostered their individualism with its attendant defects. The environment itself, blighted by history and brightened by nature, has on the one hand given the Konkani a star-smitten dreaminess, and a melancholy and resignation about this unhappy world; on the other, it has endowed him with sprightliness and vivacity exhibited in merriment and irony. These characteristics have been both intensified by the individualism of the Gaumponn and coloured by its faults — a capacity for intrigue ⁽⁶⁾, quarrelsomeness ⁽⁷⁾, a sour and cancerous envy, and a stultifying laziness. ⁽⁸⁾

Shanta Durga — this is the image that best typifies Konkani character. In this peculiarly Konkani goddess one finds united the contrast of *sānti* (the sentiment of peace) and *raudra* (anger verging on destructive fury) — Durga's appropriate emotion. For everything that descends from the savage Ghats into the Konkani becomes reposeful; the raging divinity, who does not conceal her ferocity in the Maratha country, here becomes the paradoxically peaceful goddess of destruction. (9)

In the worst sense this can mean that malice often takes on a tranquil appearance, as in fact it does in the Konkani — all too often. It can also (in a better sense) mean that the terrible — to borrow a phrase from Sayana — becomes calm through the quality of purity and light, *sattvikatvena santa*. (10) This helps us to understand why images of heavenly bodies glow from the sad melodic depths of Goan Song.

Fourth, the creation of Konkani Song, whose fabric scintillates with the colour, heat and splendours of the Konkani; whose texture is saturated with its people's melancholy, merriment and malice; whose productions, like most of the land's creations, are blighted by evanescence, by exuberant growth wasted by quick decay — for in that corrosive climate only flint and granite can withstand the caustic lapping of the green flux around. In spite of the Konkani conserving instinct, so many picturesque customs and proverbs have suffered oblivion; of the myriads of songs created, only a pitifully small number survives.

Fifth, the beginning of a Konkani literature. For this the Hindus had a splendid instrument, one of their own creation, the opulent Konkani tongue. (11) Most languages grow rich through gleaning the efforts of a long literary evolution; but pre-literary Konkani (as we said) did so by preserving as much Sanskrit as was compatible with the character of the Aryan speech now changed all over India; in other words, only by an exercise of its speakers' instinct of preservation.

Sanskrit has a vocabulary of terrifying complexity, a limited portion of which has been incorporated into modern Indian tongues. A basic residue of this has been phonetically transformed, or become *tadbhava*, as Sanskrit grammarians would say. Middle Indian languages, descendants of Sanskrit and known as the Prakrits and Apabhramshas, have *tadbhava* vocabularies (12) not inferior in extent and subtlety; this is due to the fact that they can

with ease phonetically appropriate any Sanskrit word. Modern Indian tongues, on the other hand, have a "learned" vocabulary borrowed from Sanskrit with little or no phonetic change, consisting of *tatsama* word, in the language of the grammarians.

Sanskrit has indeed a wondrous sonorousness, but its sounds are complicated and consonantal. On the other hand, the Prakrits use more vowels and are easier on the tongue. Sanskrit Prakrit phonetic structure being different, there is often more than a touch of cacophony in languages that mix *tatsamas* and *tadbhavas*.⁽¹³⁾ The vocabulary of Old Standard Konkani was mostly assimilated and *tadbhava*. Sanskrit words, even long-syllabled ones⁽¹⁴⁾, were in common use; any Sanskrit word could be accommodated with ease to Konkani's phonetic demands. What is known as the "outer group" of Indo-Aryan tongues and which includes Bengali, Gujarati and Konkani, apparently possesses this assimilative power to a greater degree than the so-called "inner group", of which Marathi and Hindi are examples. In the sixteenth century, then, Konkani seemed to be an ideal modern language for any writer of genius that might appear, preserving as it did the opulence of Sanskrit in the lightness and ease of the Prakrits more perhaps than any other tongue.

And such a writer did emerge, with powers adequate to exploit this opulence, and to transform into high literature the ideas so far expressed only in the naive outpourings of folksong.⁽¹⁵⁾ He was ruxnnadas Xama. Like all Konkani writers of the time, he wrote Marathi verse, of no startling novelty. Startlingly novel, however, are Xama's achievements in Konkani. He created a standard literary speech for the Konkan, *Pramann Konkani*, which endured, from Goā to Kerala, to the eighteenth century. He also created the first literary prose of any of the modern Indo-Aryan tongues in his massive Mahabharata and Ramayana⁽¹⁶⁾, which await publication from a MS preserved in Braga in Portugal.⁽¹⁷⁾ In creating this prose he took as his model not the grand, intricate and ornamented prose of Sanskrit, but the everyday speech of his caste, the Xennais of Kut-tthall (Cortalim), the then educators of the Konkani world. It must be remembered that the basing of literary prose on the speech of the people, and not that of classical literature and rhetoric, was something that European writers were not to achieve before the nineteenth century.

This prose was later perfected by Christian writers, but in coming to

them we cannot ignore the Muslims, heirs to the great Islamic civilization of the subcontinent. Their opportunities for shaping Konkani culture were not as many as those of the Hindus and Christians, for their dominion was brief and the hostility of their Portuguese victors unrelenting.

Islamic culture's main task seems to have been to ease the transition from the Brahmanical culture of the Hindus to the Latin-European of the Christians, for it has much in common with both. In the city where the Muslim cultural synthesis was effected, Baghdad, ideas were exchanged by representatives of Greek, Indian, Persian and other civilizations. Formative elements in the cultures of both Islam and the West are Hellenism and Judeo-Christian monotheism. As the culture of Islam has a longer history in Asia than that of Latin Europe, the common ideas had a longer time to get acclimatized, thus making the later acceptance of their European mode easier for the subcontinent.

Like other civilizations, the Islamic also has its modes, and the one which prevailed in India was its most elegant, the Persian, its outstanding achievements in its habitat and in India being architecture and poetry. None left lasting monuments in the Konkani, but their impact is unmistakable. Indian Muslim architecture is at its most monumental in Bijapur, the kingdom to which Goa belonged before Albuquerque captured it; it was Bijapur that prepared the Konkani — whose architecture had previously comprised innumerable but mostly tiny temples — for the even more monumental experience of the Baroque. Some of the delicacy of Bijapur design, as seen in the minarets of Sultan Ibrahim's tomb in that city, also worked its way into Goan Baroque, and between the twisted salomonic columns of Goa's glided altars, wreathed in vines and embossed with grape clusters, glimmers the rose of Persia. (18) And in the sadness and mellow tones of Goan Art Song, one senses a whiff of the perfumes from the gardens of Shiraz and Isfahan, resonant with the plaint of the nightingale.

II. THE CHRISTIAN CONTRIBUTION

Western European civilization — the Latin-European facet of which the Konkani Christians are the special custodians in their part of the world — is not founded on bases as simple as the Indian. The humanistic and

Judeo-Christian elements which constitute it are ever in conflict. In our times the humanistic prevails, but then our times are hardly this civilization's apogee. However, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when it had at least greater command of itself, the Christian values were paramount, though humanism was beginning to make a headway.

Judeo-Christian belief is based on a dichotomy which parallels the Indian. Corresponding to liberation is the infinite and transcendent God (¹⁹), subsisting in Three Persons; to the transmigratory world, is the intrinsic nonexistence and radical insufficiency of created being. Everything outside the absolute perfection of God (²⁰) is intrinsically nothing; if it exists, it does so entirely through dependence on the causality of God (²¹); if this is removed there is a collapse into the void of annihilation. Into this emptiness and darkness the glory of God descended in the Trinity's second Person, Jesus Christ.

For traditional Indian thought *samsara* and *nivrtti* are without beginning, but for Christianity there is only one eternal reality, God. (²²) In both religions, however, it is the impermanence of the world of experience and its incapacity to satisfy human craving that turns the mind to the absolute. A tension between the two aspects of created being—its intrinsic nothingness and its dependence on divine causality—persists. This makes creation meaningful and takes it out of the category of the unintelligible phenomenon—flux of so much of Indian metaphysics. A Christianity in India would naturally tend to stress the first aspect; a Christian humanism, the second.

In the European cultured mind of the Tridentine age the force of these aspects was about equally balanced. And this age is indeed the age of magnificence in church history. The earth was opening to Christianity—soon to become a world religion in the strict sense. Revived and breathed into the epics of Camões and Tasso, the spirit of the Crusades now began to blow over the continents. A great wave of the arts, the Renaissance, surged from the Italian peninsula and broke over Europe and its colonies.

Of this age, St. Peter's in Rome is the crowning glory and the symbol of its Christian achievement (²³). In the horizontality of its colossal nave is symbolized the Catholic theology of the time, founded on the conviction of the validity of concepts and the unmitigated intellectuality of the Christian revelation. Among the colossi whose work embodies these ideas are Suárez (²⁴) and the Salmanticenses. (²⁵) The soar and light of the dome exemplify

Catholic mysticism, especially that of Juan de la Cruz rooted in solid concepts, but rising to the sublimest heights of the Christian mystical experience. A like fervour illumines too ; in a work of El Greco, an incandescence rises from the torches of death to the beatific splendour around Christian the heavens.

Finally, this synthesis of contrary tensions typifies Tridentine Catholicism, immense in extent and transcendent in the height of its achievement. Old St. Peter's (which the New replaced) was the centre of the Faith in Europe ; the basilica raised by Michelangelo, Maderna and Bernini is the cathedral of a Christianity spread over the world.

Yet this magnificence is marred by a pronounced streak of exclusiveness which the Second Vatican Council has tried to eradicate. Goa got more than its fair share of this quality ; its Catholicism, as Gilberto Freyre says, was more Roman in its orthodoxy than that of the Roman clergy itself. ⁽²⁶⁾ And a great deal of the tragedy that befell Konkani culture was due to its deleterious influence.

The carriers of the new civilization were the Portuguese. More activist than the Konkanis, they succeeded in the first stages of their empire building, but it was evident from the start that a nation of a million and a half could hardly found a world empire. When frustration set in they turned for relief to a vivid kind of nostalgia, the *saudade*, which "weds death to life". ⁽²⁷⁾ This peculiarly "Portuguese lyric love, always distant from the object of its affections, is tender and silent, with a touch of weakness and sadness". ⁽²⁸⁾ An intense yearning for a beloved past evokes a delectably sad illusion that it is actually present. Through this gift of the Portuguese to the Goans, the latter's already profound sense of melancholy was coloured and heightened.

Like the Konkanis, the Portuguese were also an individualistic people. This and the use the latter made of local rivalries to bolster up their power, only helped to augment the defects of Konkani egoism. As a result, these faults are more in evidence in the Christian districts than in the less Lusitanized Hindu ones. A marked sense of inefficiency was another of the invaders' qualities, but it cannot have much excelled that of the Konkanis.

Exciting new forms of art and living were brought in, especially those of the florid and macabre fourteenth century, such as the mystery plays performed in church squares ; Passion plays enacted through images, through living figures

representing the characters of the Passion and of the Old and New Testaments, and through persons masqued as animals and devils ; processions, particularly of "angels" — boys with artificial wings and wearing flower chaplets — and of the Flagellants, or self scourgers, whose origins are in the Black Death ; *devotas*, or prayers for the dead, recited at night by devotees with clappers and bearing braziers of live coal on their heads. And, of course, new musical forms like motets and masses, new instruments like the harp and the organ, and a new orchestra. Most of these were inaugurated in 1551 in the church of S. Paulo, the first monumental church the Jesuits ever erected, by the Dutch Jesuit and companion of Xavier, Gaspar Barzeu⁽²⁹⁾, to commemorate the first plenary Jubilee given to India by the Pope at Ignatius Loyola's request.

Of these only the Image Passion Plays and the processions have survived divested of much of their pomp. But not of course the macabre procession of the Flagellants, which was banned in the eighteenth century, by arch-bishops acting under the compulsion of Neo-Classic moralizing and prudery. But other religious forms have persisted, like the devotion to St. Anne, a popular saint in the Middle Ages. Pofane forms festivals too, such as the Carnival, with its riot, lewdness and pageantry ; and the social dances of the Europe before the World Wars, with their aristocratic elegance and rituals of love combat, which were to inspire India's own *ballo nobile*, the Mando.

But besides merely preserving and heightening old forms, Latinity, one of the world's great creative forces, can be expected to beget new ones. The new once make up the Christian contribution to Konkani culture, which is mainly threefold. First, the consummation of Konkani Song, the theme of this book. Second, the expansion of Konkani literature and its development upto modern times, when the Hindus took it up again and further evolved it. Third, their bringing to perfection of Indian Roman Revival architecture (through all its phases from Renaissance to Rococo), whose beginnings are to be owed to the architects of Kerala.

Let us now take the expansion of Konkani literature. ⁽³⁰⁾ Before the introduction of Latinity, Konkani, lacking patrons, had a scant literature, as its speakers were dependent for their religious and cultural pabulum on the upstart and not too sophisticated Marathi, which had set itself up as the Konkani's sacred speech. To this harsh upland tongue was accorded the sole privilege of having verse (most of it doggerel)⁽³¹⁾ ; Konkani, a song language in essence, was forced to turn its attention to prose. In this, as we

saw, it produced modern Indo-Aryan prose's first major literary monument, Kruṣṇanādas Xama's *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*.

The language of the epics, that of the Brahmins — which fact gave Konkani the peculiar name of *lingua bramana* — was the most stable of all the forms of speech descended from Maharashtra, and was now ripe for grammatical definition. This was given it in the 1560s by a Goan laybrother studying in (what in fact, but not in name, was) Asia's first modern university, S. Paulo, in Velha Goa (founded 1542). This book, now lost, was the first grammar of all modern Indo-Aryan tongues. Its work was continued by the Jesuit Henrique Henriques (c. 1520-1600) in a grammar ready by 1568 (now lost); it was elaborated by the English Jesuit Thomas Stephens (1549-1619) ⁽³²⁾, and was perfected by the Franciscan Gaspar de S. Miguel (...1595-1647...), author of a profound and copious treatise on the language's syntax. ⁽³³⁾ None of these scholars wrote any grammar of Marathi, but the Italian Jesuit Ignazio Arcamone (1615-1683) produced a comparative grammar ⁽³⁴⁾ of the latter language and of Konkani, marking out the factors that distinguish one language from the other. This again was the first comparative grammar of any spoken Indian tongues.

These researches in grammar and syntax were rounded off by those on the language's vocabulary. Except for Gaspar, Konkani's prominent scholars were Jesuits. They owned Goa's printing presses; due to their efforts, Konkani came to have the first printed books in any Indian language. The centre of Jesuit linguistic labours was Raitur (Rachol) in Saxtti. By the end of the sixteenth century a number of Jesuits residing in the Order's house in that town — and whom we may call the *Racholenses* — had already prepared Konkani's (and probably any modern Indo-Aryan tongue's) first vocabulary. Their work was given better shape by the Jesuit Diogo Ribeiro (1560-1633) ⁽³⁵⁾, pupil of Stephens; to the *Racholenses'* vocables Ribeiro seems to have added idioms. Other extensive vocabularies were those of the Jesuits António de Saldanha (1598-1683) and Miguel de Almeida (1610-1683). Konkani words had been studied by scholars who wrote in Portuguese; hence their researches took that language as their starting point. They were thus dependent on progress in Portuguese lexicography, which had been of middling quality until the arrival of the Jesuit Benedito Pereira (1606-1681). In 1634, Pereira brought out his bulky *Prosodia in vocabularium trilingue* containing about 50,000 words. For each of these words Almeida seems

to have found more than one Konkani equivalent, but his dictionary, like that of Saldanha, has not been traced.

All these endeavours gave Konkani the best scientific formulation of all contemporary spoken Indo-Aryan tongues. However, though complex in grammar and syntax, opulent in vocabulary and idioms, Konkani lacked that richness of nuance accruing from a long tradition of writing for an intellectually alert public, and which is formed of things like coined terms, expanded roots, multiplied derivations and a variety of phrases. Marathi absorbed most of the literary talent of the Konkani, though itself had very little sophistication, its poets being mostly employed in communicating their feelings to rude peasants who were alien to Sanskrit's finesse and incapable of comprehending the complexities of Hindu theologies.

With Latinity came Latin theologies and literatures, no less sophisticated than those of India. Sanskrit was unknown to Konkani's new scholars; their cultural world was that of the Greek and Latin classics and Scholastic theology. How express in Konkani the ideas embodied in these traditions? Obviously, through translation — the means whereby a less sophisticated tongue acquires with least trouble the graces and varieties of meaning of a more sophisticated one. The first works needing translations were catechisms, such as that of Marcos Jorge, rendered by Stephens; others were devotional books and sermons (³⁶), especially those of the Tridentino age and of course the Bible. The first translation of any part of the Scripture into an Indian tongue was undoubtedly Arcamone's *Sagalle varussache Vangel*. (*The year's Gospels*).

Translation fortified these writers to express their ideas in original works. Not only had they learnt to form phrases, but had wrestled with the problem of sentence pattern. They adopted that of Latin. As we said earlier, they did not know Sanskrit, which was just as well. That tongue expresses great complexities of thought, but through sentences of relatively simple structure; the weight of the complexity is borne by elaborate and often monstrous compounds. More intricate and balanced is the Latin sentence, used so effectively by Cicero, Europe's master in prose. When the other spoken Indo-Aryan tongues were given a prose in the nineteenth century, their sentence pattern was the relatively simpler Anglo-Saxon one, simpler because of the comparative inflexional incomplexity of English. Like Latin, the Indo-Aryan languages (and especially Konkani) have an evolved inflexional

structure, so when the periodic sentence was taken as a model, it was found to be far from alien to Konkani's genius. Even so, the adaptation was accomplished with much labour. It took the great Miguel de Almeida, who is a sort of Konkani Cicero and Aquinas in one, seven years to forge Konkani into a medium supple enough for the subtleties of Scholastic theology and colourful enough for the flamboyance of Baroque oratory; this he did in his *Onvalleancho Mallo*, "The Garden of Shepherds". Other original writers in Konkani were António de Saldanha, Ignazio Arcamone and Gaspar de S. Miguel; none of the latter's creative work can be traced.

The rise of Konkani linguistics (and literature) was a boon not only for the Konkani country, but also for India and Europe. For India, because through Konkani Studies began the Western discipline of Indology, through which India discovered herself; for Europe, because this discipline was introduced into many European countries—such as England, Portugal, Italy, France and Czechoslovakia⁽³⁷⁾ by scholars who were principally Konkaniists; and Indology helped Europe to know more about herself than she would ever have done otherwise.

But this great movement, so rich in promise, was struck by government decree in 1684 — ⁽³⁸⁾ only a year after the death of Saldanha, Arcamone and Almeida —, which condemned the language to death. This sentence was difficult to execute, but creative writing virtually stopped; the Standard Konkani norm disintegrated, giving rise to seven literary dialects. After the 1684 decree work in Standard Konkani is mainly linguistic, resumes of dictionaries and grammars, undertaken as though to check the decay of the Standard. Resumes of dictionaries, such as the *Vocabulario de tres linguas, portugueza, brachmana e castelhana* ⁽³⁹⁾, by the Goan Brahmins Simão and Lourenço Alvares, completed by 1695, and the Jesuit Diogo de Amaral's (1699—1762 ...) *Prosodia della lingua canarina*; a resume of (Stephens's) grammar is the Czech Jesuit Karel Prikryl's (1718—1785) *Principia linguae brahmanicae*. ⁽⁴⁰⁾

The one standard, as we said, broke up into seven dialects: Saxtti, Karwari, Kodialli, Kerali, Barhdexi, Manglluri and Antruzi. The oldest was the dialect of Saxtti, the province which had been the home of Standard Konkani, but whose form of speech was now in many ways furthest from the Standard. Still, the latter survives, though coloured through proximity with Kanarese, Tulu and Malayalam, in Karwari, Kodialli and Kerali.

But Saxtti became the vehicle for most of Goan Song. In this soft and tuneful dialect, Konkani which (as we said) is in essence a song language, reverted from prose to its natural medium. What we hear of poetry in the Standard Konkani period is not much. It is reported that musicians from Morhgoum were called to the nearby Naveli in 1604 to sing hymns "in Konkani (*Kanarim*)" (⁴¹) at the dedication of the village church. Gaspar de S. Miguel is said to have written a poem on the Passion in three thousand verses "in the tongue of the natives". (⁴²) And a look at the language of some of the numbers of the corpus of Christian Sacred Song makes it plain that they belong to the Standard Konkani period.

But Konkani poetry had little chance to flourish, as poetry was felt to be the proper domain of Marathi. This was because, in an earlier age, the Konkani Brahmins had abandoned their temples to their less educated Maratha opposite numbers and had taken employment in the Vijayanagar civil service. The Marathas installed both themselves and their sacred books in the vacant temples (⁴³); and their language almost displaced Sanskrit from its position of Konkani Hinduism's sacred speech. This usurpation was already established when Stephens wrote his long poem on Christ in Maratha puranic style (⁴⁴), interspersing it, however, with many Konkani words to make it intelligible to a Goan audience. But with Portuguese becoming the new state language the knowledge of Marathi decayed; further inroads were made by those new and effective art forms, the Konkani sermon and the hymn. Stephens's purana came to be less and less understood by listeners and interpreters alike. The latter often got drunk in order to dissipate the embarrassment that their ignorance would have caused them, and in consequence clowned and swaggered scandalously. The Goan Archbishop was finally constrained to ban the reading of the book altogether in 1776. (⁴⁵)

Marathi's expulsion made it possible for Konkani to be the language of devotion of its speakers; it could not, of course, be the liturgical language, which was Latin. For the first time the craving for an expression of devotion in the forms of high poetry could find fulfilment in the spoken tongue; thus was created the corpus of Konkani Song (⁴⁶) whose gems of poetry give lyrical expression to the tender, dreamy and visionary Konkani *bhakti* (devotion), where a star-smitten imagery hovers over waves of melancholy tune. In the terms of Sanskrit poetics, this *bhakti's* principal *rasa* (aesthetic

emotion) is *karuna* (pathos; that of Sanskrit poetry is primarily *srngāra* or love between the sexes). Over this is poised the pervading luminosity of *sānta* (contemplative peace). We have been able to trace over two hundred numbers of this corpus, scattered over several devotional manuals.

All this time the lack of prestige was gnawing at Konkani's substance, eating away the fibre of its vocabulary and disfiguring its syntactic texture with scars. Survival was impossible without a hardening of the tissues, hence a progress in literature is paradoxically accompanied by a depletion in ideas and vocabulary.

The high point of achievement in Saxtti is the Mando, which in its metrical patterns bought to perfection the rhythmic devices of Konkani Sacred Song. While its melodies increase in loveliness, its themes become set in a few grooves: human love in yearning, union and separation (the *sambhoga* and *vipralambha srngāra* of Sanskrit poetics), individual unhappiness and current events. But this limitation of theme often leads to concentration of emotion; not seldom a luminous contrast breaks in on the depths. In the mandos, the "Konkani Composite" of imagery-of-light-in-melody-of-gloom gains in maximum intensity.

Theme and degree of excellence differentiate the hymns from the mandos. The former are the finest expression of Konkani *bhakti*; in the mandos, the subtleties of *srngāra* embodied in the idiom of Goa's Christian aristocracy, are moulded into the lyrically concentrated and elegant form that more than sixty composers exploited.

More important is the architectural achievement. (47) The Roman Revival in its four phases (Renaissance, Mannerism, Baroque and Rococo) spread to the Orient as well, and its monuments were scattered on the coastline from the Cape of Good Hope to the isles of Japan — that is over the area which formed the Archdiocese of Goa. This area's metropolis was Velha Goa: its builders, almost messianically conscious of its importance, adorned it with the East's most grandiose churches, in some of which European (especially Portuguese) trends culminate. The Portuguese hall church saw its Renaissance masterpieces in Velha Goa, as in the S. Domingos (1550); in that city the Jesuits erected their order's first monumental church, (the new) S. Paulo dos Arcos (1560–1572); there too, the Portuguese Renaissance raised its most imposing church, the Sé (1563–1631). Many

of the creators of Portuguese architecture were foreigners, as was the architect of the Sé, the great Jules Simon (... 1581-1639 ...), French in origin but Indian by birth, a pupil of Filippo Terzi, another of Portugal's chief foreign architects. But Simon was perhaps also partly responsible for the design of cloister of the Basilica of Bom Jesus (1594-1607), whose façade is of a type found only in India, and erected in accordance with the idea that *monumentality is constituted by multiplicity*—of elements such as the units of a building and its decorative members and mouldings. The façade has four storeys divided by horizontal and vertical moulding into twelve compartments, each having only one unit, either a void or a decoration (or both combined). This practice was to become standard in Baroque India. For while European architecture was in some aspects attaining fulfilment in the subcontinent, a new Indian mode of the Roman Revival was simultaneously coming to light.

This new mode combines a Roman sense of interior space, the Baroque love of curvatures, of grandeur and of light, with the mystery-oriented plan of the Hindu temple. In this temple the shrine is smaller than the antechamber in length, width and height. All its illumination enters through its single door, and is not much, for it has already been filtered through the antechamber's small windows and further broken and impeded by the rows of pillars supporting the roof. So it happens that a penumbral antechamber is terminated by a dark shrine, its idol enshrouded in gloom. A plan, as we said, oriented towards mystery, and capable of expressing the arcane's dark moods.

Such an atmosphere is made possible by the Hindu temple's traditional mode of construction, the trabeate, where two vertical posts are surmounted by a cross beam. Trabeation tends to inhibit interior space, while promoting a sculptural treatment of the exterior. Not so the architecture of the arch, first monumentally fashioned by the Roman and later more magnificently shaped in the Roman Revival. Here the emphasis is on interior space, sometimes (with the Roman, not with the Roman Revival) to the neglect of the exterior. The superimposition of arcuation on the Hindu temple plan is the work of the architects of Kerala, heirs to a long but modest tradition of a Hinduistic Christian architecture. Their inchoative creation was perfected in the Goan Baroque — whereby the moods of mystery were dispelled by the radiances of glory — especially through the discovery (but infrequent use) of two devices. First, that of the *planed groin vault*, a combination of the

Roman and Gothic vaults, preserving the curvature of the former (without its ponderousness) and the groining of the latter (without the ribbing). Thus is combined a Roman elegance and a Gothic lightness ; no other Roman Revival vault has a like soar, vibrancy and sensitivity to luminous gradation.

Second, the lighting of the nave and sanctuary. The Roman Revival is an architecture of glory, as the Gothic is principally one of mystery. Light is preeminent in the former, gloom in the latter. One mode of ensuring light's dominance is to diffuse it through the edifice from a luminous centre, as is done in St. Peter's, where the light from the dome " scatters itself in enchanting gradations and cadences " (48) over the basilica's immense interior. This mode of glory is evocative of the Beatific Vision and the all pervasive splendour of the Godhead intuited in it.

But there is a glory more consonant with the *glorieuses bassesses du christianisme* (49) ; it precedes the Beatific Vision and is peculiar to the drama of the Redemption, where grandeur expresses itself through humiliation ; in other words, where only " the crown of thorns assures us the crown of glory." (50) As though sensing this in their hearts the Goan Baroque architects — no theologians but builders of a Christianity which had madly hoped to place all Asia, and indeed the world, under the feet of the Pope (51) — moulded the Hindu temple plan to express this redemptive mode of glory by limiting its diffusion to a luminous centre encircled by a shadowy penumbra. (The Hindu temple, it will be recalled, has a black centre framed by a penumbra.) This is best seen in the church of Morhgoum in the morning, and results from the fact that the windows of the smaller sanctuary exceed those of the bigger nave both in actual size and the proportion of their area to the wall space they pierce, thus facilitating and decreasing the influx of light in the sanctuary and nave respectively. If the church faces east — as it should according to the decrees of Trent (52) — the strong lighting of the sanctuary occurs in the morning ; but if it should face west, the same phenomenon occurs towards sunset, at the time of the Vespers. In the east-oriented church, however, evening turns the sanctuary into a dim cavern, because the size of the nave prevents the sunlight from coming in through the sanctuary's windows, while the nave itself is lit by the rays of the sunset. (53) As light is appropriate during Mass and darkness during Vespers, Trent's decrees have aesthetic validity ; that they were not always followed is due to

accidents of terrain and the placement of adjacent structures. Of the five great monuments of the Indian Baroque plan, the Espírito Santo, Velha Goa (1661), the Espírito Santo, Morhgoum (1675), the Santana, Tallauli (1695), the Nossa Senhora da Piedade, Divarhi (1700), and the Santo Estevão, Zuem (1750), only Morhgoum effectively embodies the concept of a light-centred and gloom-encircled Indian Baroque interior.

This architectural preoccupation with light also found expression in the lamp tower (*dipastambha* or *khambo*), the columnlike structure we see before Goan Hindu temples. It was probably derived, through the Marathas, from the Islamic minaret. To the sides of the later's tapering form the Marathas affixed brackets for lamps, but the result was ungraceful, for it looked much like a thick trunk with lopped branches. But the idea of a lamp tower is of itself fascinating, and can never be devoid of aesthetic possibilities; some of these were realized when the Konkani architects substituted the niche for the bracket. The tower was formed by the superimposition of several (usually seven) octagonal units, their angles accentuated by engaged columns crowned by an entablature, thus forming eight sides, all with a niche (for lamps) in the middle. This was a common type in classical architecture, and had been used by the Christians for the pedestal of their piazza crosses. But the Hindus exaggerated the shape of the entablature and shortened the shaft of the columns, thus giving the tower a vibrant surface and silhouette, and so making it consonant with an element that radiates vibrantly. Another application of the pillared unit was the Tulsivrindavana, a kind of monumental vase for the sacred Tulsi (*ocimum sanctum*) plant. Still another ingenious exercise in Baroquization was the Hindu temple tower (*vimāna* or *sikhara*). The traditional pyramidal variety was replaced by the domed turret of the Portuguese church façade, with modifications in the size of the members, the shape of the mouldings and the outline of the dome's silhouette — now modelled on the tombs and mosques of Bijapur.

III. THE COMMON CONTRIBUTION

Up to the middle of the nineteenth century Hindus and Christians had little cultural contact. The latter were converts from the old religion, and there can be little understanding between the convinced adherents to a way of life and those who have abandoned it for another, especially when the

memory of the conversion is fresh. But the Indian way of life encourages pluralism: so long as one keeps to one's appointed social place, one's ideas are not viewed with odium. Besides, not all the Hindus were converted solely out of conviction; quite a few turned Christian for gain.

However, what is beyond living memory ceases to have any very active effect. Hence, as new generations who had not voluntarily renounced Hinduism were born, and begun to form a new social order, the old animosity would fade. But the Inquisition did not permit this to happen. Though it rarely persecuted Hindus, it made them the civil inferiors of the Christians⁽⁵⁴⁾, and between those possessed and those deprived of privilege then cannot be true peace. Still, Indian fatalism helped to bring some tranquility into the unease.

Inquisitions can only exist in sacral states, where the interest of the Church and State coincide. So, in seeking relief from a Christian polity the Hindus turned to one that identified itself with their own religion—the Maratha empire, itself as intent on Konkani cultural genocide as was the Portuguese.

The allure of the intense Maratha patriotism and religion — both conveyed through devotional poetry — proved too strong for the Goan Hindus. Even in the days when the Marathas had themselves been a subject people this poetry had given the Goan much emotional and religious sustenance, for (as we said) it had gained entry into the sanctum of the Konkani temple. Now repression had further intensified pro-Maratha sympathy⁽⁵⁵⁾, making some Marathized Goans more chauvinist than the Marathas themselves. In due course the marauding Maratha empire (whose ideal was loot), despised by most Hindus elsewhere, fell, and the Inquisition was abolished. The revival of Hinduism, begun by Ram Mohan Roy, and the growth of the discipline of Indology, revealed that Hinduism has more modalities than the Maratha, and indeed of greater intensity, sophistication and intellectual power. This led some Goan Hindus to ask themselves whether there might not be a characteristically Konkani Hinduism too. Varde Valaulikar, or

"Xennoi Goembab" (1877-1946) discovered that there was, and this discovery also made him sense the distinctive character of Konkani culture, indeed, of *Konkanness* itself.

Christians and Hindus were brought closer and closer together by the extinction of the Maratha empire and the Inquisition, by the establishment of the Constitutional Monarchy and the Portuguese Republic. The discovery of Konkani culture was partly the work of the Portuguese themselves (for two centuries its inexorable foes), but only of a few Portuguese scholars and poets, and not of the Government, who replaced its traditional programme of cultural genocide by one of general indifference. One of these poets was the great Tomás Ribeiro (1831-1901), who more than anyone else perceived the specific character of the Konkani landscape with its beauty and sadness—that it was a land of hills, streams and palms; that palm groves tyrannized its landscape with a "melancholy somnolence" ⁽⁵⁶⁾ (intensified by that other "tree", the cross, which sprouts with such exuberance over the Goan countryside); that its heat is tempered by the magnificent foliage of trees like the champak, the cashew, the jackfruit, the mango, the jambool and the *vonvulli* — "whose white stars do not lose their fragrance even when dry". ⁽⁵⁷⁾ And also by the foliage of the palm, the coconut and the areca, the latter tree being the more graceful, as are its groves with their "haziness of distances, the melancholy of the light, the intensity of the blue of the sky, the sparkle of the water, and the liveliness of the sounds" which produce in one "all impossible fantasies, all the visions of opium, and all the aspirations of paradise". ⁽⁵⁸⁾

Ribeiro also saw, as had Jacinto Caetano Barreto Miranda (1842-1879) before him, the tragedy of Baroque ruins in a tropical landscape, of "six temples glowing white in an enormous palm grove." ⁽⁵⁹⁾ His insight was in many ways deepened by the Goan poet Floriano Barreto (1878-1904), who, if he had not died at the age of 26, would have doubtless become Goa's outstanding writer in Portuguese, and one of modern Indian's greatest scholars.

The significance of the Konkani's history was perceived earlier than was that of its landscape, though the latter, "like a tapestry" (⁶⁰) in its beauty, had always evoked transports. What was so significant about its history was that with Goa as their rallying point the Portuguese had achieved their greatest national exploits, which were the inspiration of their chief historians, among them Diogo do Couto (1543-1616). Succeeding historians were men of lesser stature, mostly compilers of facts; a Goan of this sort was Felipe Neri Xavier (1801-1852). His successors, in turn, were generally of his type, men like Casimiro Cristóvam Nazaré (1830-1928) and Panduronga Pissurlencar. But Goa produced at least two outstanding historians, the Oratorian, Sebastião do Rego (1699-1765?) (⁶¹), the "Indian Vieira", chronicler of the Goan Oratorian order, especially of its hero Jose Vaz (1651-1711); and Jacinto Caetano Barreto Miranda, one of so many Goans of promise to die young. In addition to a mastery of facts, these two men were endowed with vision and a sensitivity for pattern. A study of history led to that of ethnography, especially in the works of A. Lopes Mendes, A. B. de Bragança Pereira (1883-1955), and the ill-fated Floriano Barreto, a pioneer in so many branches of Konkani Studies. Another enquiry with a mainly historical and archaeological orientation was that of the arts, to which the labours of scholars like Ricardo Micael Teles (1882-1945) and Francisco Xavier Gomes Catão (1896-1984) contributed. However, in the mid-twentieth century, the study of Indian Baroque became genuine art history in the hands of that remarkable Portuguese scholar, Mário Tavares Chicó (died 1967).

No assessment of Konkani culture is possible without an enquiry into its song tradition, the ground for which was prepared by Miguel Vicente de Abreu (1827-1884), also a historian, when he published booklets of hymns (in 1855 and 1859) and of *ovis* and *dulpods* (from 1865-1870). The possibility of the enquiry itself was suggested by the Konkani poet Eduardo de Sousa (1837?-1905), also a novelist, a grammarian, and the founder of Konkani journalism. But Sousa was interested chiefly in the Christian hymns, in whose simple language he perceived "the most enchanting smiles of celestial poetry" (⁶²). Somewhat fuller was the investigation, of the

mestizo poet Fernando Leal (1846-1910), himself no mean figure in the nineteenth century literary Renaissance in Portugal; Leal believed that there was a body of heroic song in Konkani waiting to be discovered. The first detailed analysis on any part of Konkani Song was the work of Floriano Barreto, especially his essay on the Mando as music, poetry and dance. Barreto's ideas were developed by Frederico Dinís de Aiála or Ayalla (1860-1923), Francisco Correia-Afonso, Armando Menezes (1902-1983), Roberto de Souza, Amâncio Gracias (1872-1950), António Mascarenhas, Antsher Lobo; but with more detail and exactitude by Lucio Rodrigues (1915-1974), Micael Martins (1940-) and José Pereira (1931-). The cult of Marathi led to the neglect of Goan Hindu Song, not a few of whose examples were nevertheless collected by Vasudev Kamti-Vag (1910-1965) and some others, but unfortunately only their text and not their score. Efforts were also made to collect those of the Kanara Hindus, particularly in the 1940s; some of these songs were published (again, only the text by V. N. Prabhu of Gokarna, himself a noted poet. In Kerala Jambaka Xennai printed some of the religious songs current there. In the Christian Kanaras the assiduity of the collectors was second only to that of the Goans; worthy of note are the anonymous author of *Xembor Cantigo* (1892), A. J. de Souza (1914) and others. However, these songs are mainly those of the Mangalore region; the older and better preserved ones of North Kanara were virtually ignored.

There can be no Konkani Song, or indeed Konkani culture, without the Konkani language, whose lot, since 1684, had been one of persecution, contumely and neglect. Its two communities strove to Dekonkanize themselves, the Christians to become Portuguese and the Hindus, Marathas. Both despised their common tongue, but more so the Christians, the educated among them endeavouring to eradicate it from their homes, something which no Marathizing Hindu, however fervent, dreamed of doing. It was in the teeth of opposition of these Christians that a Portuguese scholar, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara (1800-1879) began the movement for Konkani's rehabilitation.

Rivara's essay on the history of the language (1857) and the dictionaries and grammars he published inspired first a few Goans, then more, and later the Konkani of Kanara and of Kerala. Among the Goans was Francisco Luís Gomes (1829-1869), brilliant writer, economist and parliamentarian, and also the first to formulate the rationale (cultural and nationalistic) for India's freedom in a Letter to Lamartine (5 January 1861). One of Rivara's most cherished projects was the founding of Konkani schools, which he tried to realize in 1859, but it took more than a century for his ideas to bear fruit, which was only in 1962. Rivara also fought to have Konkani accepted as an independent language, and not a mere dialect of Marathi. The Scottish dilettante John Leyden (1775-1811) had no idea of the furious storm he was to unleash when he propounded this idea, which, in the opinion of his truly erudite opponent William Carey (1761-1834), he did in his ignorance of both Marathi and Konkani. The controversy was laid by four great scholars, Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado (1855-1922), Konkani grammarian and lexicologist of Asian tongues, Jules Bloch (1880-1953), scholar of Marathi and pioneer of a new method of linguistic analysis, Varde Valaulikar, and Sumitra Mangesh Katre (1906 —) (⁶³), director of the mammoth project of a Sanskrit dictionary on historical principles. Valaulikar was the first scholar to synthesize the aspects of Konkani culture so far unearthed and to infuse them with a fervent mystique. This mystique fired the imagination of Madhav Manjunath Shanbag (1887-1950), who realized that Konkani could not flourish unless there was an institution to disseminate its knowledge — which led to his founding the Konkani Bhasha Mandal in 1939; and unless governmental business was conducted in it, the business of a state within a nation. Thus arose the idea of a Konkani State.

The sense of Konkanness acquired its most profound dimension in the works of its modern poets, which in excellence challenges comparison with any in modern India. In the past the language, which as we said is musical in its essence, was for long not judged fit for poetry. It was also subjected to the arduous discipline of prose, which indeed would have proved a boon for its poetry, had not the fruits of the discipline been lost with the suppression of the language in 1684. True, poetry had been evolved in the Saxtti dialect, particularly in the Sacred Song and in the Mando, but it was a poetry captive to music and having a limited repertory of ideas. It was only in modern times that Konkani so to speak realized its essence, and was able

to handle poetry as an independent art form. This was achieved in varying degrees in all the modern dialects; but especially in Mangluri, by poets like Luis Mascarenhas (1887-1961), Anthony John D'Souza "Moridas" (1922-), Charles Francis D'Costa (1931-) and John Baptist Morais (1933-); but most in Antruzi, the dialect used by Valaulikar, and some of whose poets are Kaxinath Xridhar Naik "Bayabhav" (1899-), Balkrishna Bhagwant Borkar (1910-), Vaman Sardessai "Abhijit" (1923-), R. V. Pandit (1917-) and Manohar L. Sardessai (1925-), who in 1966 was crowned "king of Konkani poets" (*Konknnikaviraj*), and in whose ode to Konkani (*Konknnitso Ulo*, "Konkani's Call") the lineage, tragedies and triumph of the language and its culture are eloquently described :

"This is the first call (sound) of the Vedic mantras. It has tasted the water of the Ganges on the summits of the Himalayas. It has leapt over hills, fields and plains and now echoes on the shores of the sea. It is filled with the perfume of the jasmines in the poetry of the evening.

"It is the call which the young absorb into their blood with mother's milk to the tune of lullabies. It has become honey through being imbued with the honey of the *ovis*. It is a call which the golden ears of paddy heard from the tongues of the Kunnbi women. It was devotedly guarded like a lamp in the huts of the poor; the toddy tappers on coconut tree tops kept it assiduously on their lips. It was made manifest on the claps of the *dhalo* and in the thumps of the *gumotts*. It flowered in the Mando's rhythms, in the *dulpods'* lilts and in the words of the stage songs. It fought for its life, weary and out of breath, under the tyranny of the Portuguese flag.

It is a call which has echoed in the temple's sanctum and reached the god within. It was hidden in the last cry of Christ on the cross. That same call, now free, seek to plumb the depths of your hearts. To gain life's victory, it demands the price of love". (64)

CHAPTER III

THE TYPES OF KONKANI SONG

We have a vast inheritance, but no inventory of our treasures. All is given us in profusion; it remains for us to catalogue, sort, distribute, select, harmonize, and complete.

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN

Prophetical Office,
Introduction.

INTRODUCTION

We have so far been up in the mountains, surveying the sweep of the valley below. It has been our endeavour to view the Konkani in the context of its cultural world, and Konkani Song in that of its domain's cultural history. To discover the significance of this history and to penetrate its depths imaginatively has hitherto been our main purpose. However, it is now time to leave the rarified atmosphere of our altitudes and go down to the plains. There the jungle of Goan Song awaits us: and hidden in its recesses, the glorious garden of the Mando. Unless we can be sure that we will not be lost, or bewildered by its mazes, we shall miss the thrill of adventure which the ramble has to offer us.

The next two chapters will therefore be strictly analytical. Once the Protean forms of the subject have been caught in the grip of definition, we shall be able to resume our attempt at a more sensitive handling of their contents. When we have familiarized ourselves with the structure of our

song tradition, we shall see clearly how it forms parts of Goa's cultural unfolding, and at the same time be better prepared to examine the place of the Mando in the development of the tradition itself.

The existence of a fertile complex of song in the Konkan from early times is obviously due to the fact that its inhabitants have been addicted to the habit of singing. Songs are a vent for their feelings of melancholy, merriment and malice. They have sung them in many languages—Konkani, Kanarese, Marathi, Portuguese, English and Hindi of the living ones, and Sanskrit and Latin of the dead. As to songs in dead tongues, those in Latin came very near to being as popular as any in a spoken language. Of the living tongues, the greatest output has of course been in Konkani.

English and Hindi did not exert an important influence on Goa's cultural development; hence songs in them interest us little. Those in Konkani and in the remaining languages link Goan Song with other Indian song families, of which the ones on the west coast have the most relevance.

I. THE GOAN SONG FAMILY

Konkani Song falls into four main groups. Most important of these and the best studied is the Goan. Its sphere of influence is the core of the Konkani-speaking zone. Second in importance is the Kerala Konkani, found in the Malayalam country, especially in the tract between Cranganore and Quilon; third, the Kanarese-Konkani, occurring in the corridor south of Goa which is now part of Karnataka. Starting from the confines of Kannkonn (or Canacona) southernmost district of Goa, this terrain extends as far as Bhatkal. There it runs into Tulu-speaking countryside, which then moves southwards for a considerable space till it touches Mangalore, where an island of Kanarese Konkani erupts in its midst. The fourth group is the Maratha Konkani; it covers the area north of Goa from Perhnm (Pernem) to Vijaydurg — now under Maharashtra. These traditions have their sub-varieties, based on regional and other subdivisions.

Konkani is no longer, as it once may have been, spoken along the whole tract of the Konkan coast ⁽¹⁾; in the North Konkan, the inroads of Marathi have probably replaced it by a dialect of that tongue. The people in this part of the Konkan who are nearest to the Goans in spirit are the so called

"East Indians". They are the Christians of the old Portuguese "Province of the North" — which comprises areas near Bassein and Bombay. The landscape with its palms, churches and crosses can be mistaken for Goa from the sea; and the patois, which is a considerable softening of Marathi, has many similarities to Konkani. Like the Goans, the East Indians came under the influence of Marathi Song; only more so than the former, who were exposed to an intense Latinization for a longer period. We must recall that Portuguese rule over the Province of the North ended over two hundred years before it did in Goa. ⁽²⁾ On the other hand, the Goan Hindus have been subjected more to Maratha than to Portuguese cultural activity, which fact has a distinct sub-variety of Goa Song. ⁽³⁾

Portuguese songs have been (and to a certain extent still are) popular in Goa. The few that were composed in Portuguese only ⁽⁴⁾ are in a Goan patois of that language ⁽⁵⁾; there are more bilingual songs, with some lines in Portuguese and some in Konkani. ⁽⁶⁾ On the other hand, those that have come down to us from Daman, Chaul and Diu — Portuguese cities on the west coast — are entirely in Portuguese. ⁽⁷⁾ Musically, some of the melancholy and the lilt of Goan Song pervades them, and a few songs of apparently Damanese origin are sometimes sung in Goan Song sessions. ⁽⁸⁾

Of all the song traditions, the influence of the Kanarese in the most difficult to isolate. Songs in its language are little known in Goa and are found only in the Kanarese Konkani. ⁽⁹⁾ Through Marathi and Kanarese, Konkani Song is connected with two important traditions of the peninsular interior, the domains of which lie chiefly beyond Goa's mountains. In summary, the family of song traditions, of which Goan Song is one member, are the following, starting with Goan Song and grouped according to the degree of their nearness to it:

- 1 Goan
- 2 Kerala Konkani
- 3 Kanarese Konkani
- 4 Maratha Konkani
- 5 East Indian
- 6 Marathi
- 7 Damanese
- 8 Kanarese
- 9 Chaulese
- 10 Diuese

II. CLASSIFICATION OF KONKANI SONG

The variety of the types of Konkani Song is staggering when we consider the exiguous number of its language's speakers. We have been able to trace as many as thirty five and cannot be sure that this is either an exhaustive or clearly defined list. ⁽¹⁰⁾

Only one of these types, the Mando (or, as in Konkani, *Manddo*), has been investigated in any detail and something has been done on the Dulpod and Deknni — the two other types sung after the mando at social functions. The rest still remain to be studied, and further research will no doubt show the redundancy and confusion in many of them. More definite are the criteria according to which they must be analysed. As the types logically precede the criteria, we shall begin with a brief description of the former, based above all on their literary content.

- 1 *BANVARH*. Hindu song for a "day of the dead". ⁽¹¹⁾
- 2 *BOAT SONGS*. Found in Kerala.
- 3 *BRAHMIN NUPTIAL SONGS*. Sung at the wedding ceremonies and rituals outside the church services. ⁽¹²⁾
- 4 *CHILD SONGS*. Sung by the mother in some of her acts to the child, other than lulling it to sleep. ⁽¹³⁾
- 5 *CHILDREN'S SONGS*. Sung by children at games, etc. ⁽¹⁴⁾
- 6 *DEKNNI*. A song imitating Hindu music in Christian musical idiom, dealing in the main with Goan Hindu life. ⁽¹⁵⁾
- 7 *DHALO*. Hindu songs sung during marriages. (?) ⁽¹⁶⁾
- 8 *DIRGES*. Recitative pieces improvised by mourners at funerals. ⁽¹⁷⁾
- 9 *DULPOD*. ⁽¹⁸⁾ A song with a quick rhythm, which as a rule describes everyday Goan life, notably that of Goan Christians. ⁽¹⁹⁾ A "genre" song. ⁽²⁰⁾
- 10 *DUVALLO*. A pregnancy song.
- 11 *FELL SONG*. A fell is a popular folk play performed by wandering players ⁽²¹⁾, usually during Carnival, Christmas and Easter, and sometimes on special occasions like weddings. There are three kinds of *fells*, according

to the social levels of Goan life they describe. One has to do with the three upper castes of the Christian districts, Brahmins, Tsad-ddis and Sudirs; another with the Kunnbis and the third with the Hindus.

12 *FUGRHI*. A Hindu dance song sung at religious festivals, particularly that of the god Gannes (Ganesha or Ganapati). (²³)

13 *GOD-DDE*. The folk *Ramayana* in 13 sessions. Survives in Kerala.

14 *KUNNBI NUPTIAL CHANTS* or *PITTAM*. Non-religious ceremonial wedding songs of the Kunnbis.

15 *KUNNBI SONGS*. Songs sung by the Kunnbis on various occasions, mostly in Fugrhi style. (²³)

16 *LAUNNIM*. A popular song treatment of religious and legendary themes. (²⁴)

17 *MANDO* (²⁵). A generally regular verse or verse-and-refrain song with a metre and rhythm of its own, whose themes are love, personal tragedy and outside events.

18 *MANDO—DULPOD*. A quicker variety of the Mando, which makes it easy for singers and dancers to go over from it to the fast beat of the *dulpods*. (²⁶)

19 *OVI* (²⁷) and *VERS*. Under this heading come the songs which are similar to the Nuptial ones (also known as Ovi, or Vovi and Vers) in style and musical characteristics, but deal with almost any theme outside domestic wedding ritual. (²⁸) Originally (and still in a majority of cases) all these songs were in the *ovi* metre. (²⁹) The Portuguese name for these songs is *verso*, which in Konkani becomes *vers*.

20 *PALNNAM*. Cradle songs. (³⁰) This is the largest branch of the songs sung by the mother to her child and therefore deserves a separate heading from "Child Songs".

21 *POPULAR ART SONGS*. A miscellaneous category comprising art songs which have not a fixed form like the Mando. (³¹)

22 *RANDOM FOLK SONGS*. Folk song without a set theme or

name, but not necessarily without form. When there is form it is an individual instance, not constituting a type. (³²)

23 SACRED ART SONG (CHRISTIAN). Hymns, antiphons and other species of religious vocal music, generally passed on through the written text. (³³)

24 SACRED ART SONG (HINDU). Found in Kerala.

25 SACRED FOLK SONG (CHRISTIAN). Hymns and popular catechetical songs and chants living entirely or largely in oral tradition. (³⁴)

26 SACRED FOLK SONG (HINDU). Survives all over the Konkani territory.

27 STORY SONGS. Sung dialogues between various characters in a story, set in a narrative of unsung prose.

28 STREET VENDORS' CRIES. Usually one-sentence melodies meant to attract attention to the sellers and their wares. (³⁵)

29 SUDIR NUPTIAL SONGS. Wedding songs of the Sudirs before and after the religious ceremony.

30 TALGARHI. A song of the Gaurhos.

31 TEATR SONGS. Sung in the Teatr or Stage Play. (³⁶)

32 WORK SONGS. Sung by labourers in the course of their tasks in the fields. (³⁷)

33 XOBHANE. Hindu marriage song of the Kanaras and Kerala.

34 ZAGOR SONGS. The Zagor is a play by the Kunnbis on their own life, elemental and often crude in character. (³⁸)

35 ZOTI. A form of song used either for nuptial chants by the Christians of Barhdes or by the Hindus at their *Xigmo* festival. They include epic and narrative songs, sung by groups of boys before houses. (³⁹)

III. CRITERIA OF CLASSIFICATION

Some of the criteria which can be adopted for a critical analysis of Konkani Song are the following :

- 1 Religion
- 2 Caste
- 3 Class and Profession
- 4 Linguistic Group
- 5 Education
- 6 Music
- 7 Literary Form
- 8 Content
- 9 Function
- 10 Region
- 11 Sex
- 12 Age

These categories need no explanation (and will be applied to the song types listed in this chapter) — except that of music, as it includes the controverted notions of art and folk song. An enquiry into what distinguishes them will need a chapter to itself. And in what follows we shall confine our discussion chiefly to the Goan branch of Konkani Song.

1. RELIGION. Goa has two main religious bodies, the Hindu and the Christian. In 1950 the Hindus numbered over three, and the Christians under two and a half, hundred thousand.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Most of the examples of Goan Song are of Christian authorship, those of Saxtty taking the lead. The types commonly sung by the Hindus are the Banvarth, the Fugrhi, the Launnia, the Ovi (or Vers), Sacred Song. Art and folk (Hindu, found chiefly in Kerala), the Story Songs and the Zoti. All these except the Banvarth, the treatment of Hindu life is salient, but we cannot say if it is Hindu in origin. As known today, it is exclusively Christian in authorship.

The following seem to be the work of Christians only : the Manddo, the Mando-Dulpod, Popular Art Song, Sacred Art Song (Christian), Sacred

Folk Song (Christian) and the Teatr Song. We have no clear knowledge of what the other types are for and when they arose. They may in all probability, have evolved from song types now extinct. The Christian song tradition in Goa is connected with its opposite numbers in the Kerala, Kanarese and Maratha Konkans, Chaul, Daman and the East Indian districts. The Hindu tradition also links up with those of the other two Konkans, and of Karnataka and Maharashtra.

2, CASTE. There is in Goa (as in all India) a proliferation of castes and social divisions, especially among the Hindus. We know little of the types of song found in this community to be able to say with confidence which castes engendered them. We are already familiar with the three upper castes and the Kunnbis of Christian society. The Brahmins fashioned the Mando, the Mando-Dulpod and perhaps the Dulpod too. Christian Sacred Art Song is mainly a Brahmin and Tsad-ddi creation. The fell derives chiefly from the Sudirs. The Kunnbi Nuptial Songs, the Kunnbi songs and the Zagor are all the work of the same group of people — perhaps the oldest of Goa's inhabitants.

There was also a mutual adoption of forms. Joaquim Santana Menezes, a Brahmin, composed *fells* whose songs are still popular today. Canon António Dias, a Sudir, wrote important mandos. Besides affecting the work of Teatr writers (some of whom have written pseudo-Kunnbi pieces) Kunnbi influence has been strongly felt in many older types of Goan Song ; indeed, it has worked its way through the *dulpods* to the Mando itself.

3, CLASS AND PROFESSION. The significance of caste was originally religious among what is today the Christian community, and continues to be so among the Hindus. In addition to caste stratification, there is an economic one which often cuts across caste divisions. Society in the halcyon days of traditional Goan Song was divided into two classes, those who owned property (*battkars*) and those who did not (*munddkars*) — and who in consequence had to work on the *battkar's* land. (41) Goan Art Song is the work of the latter class only and Goan Folk Song that of both the classes, but more that of the *munddkars*.

4, LINGUISTIC GROUPS. These are formed according to caste and class. Each caste has its own dialect, which is a sub-variety of the regional form of Konkani. The Mando uses the Brahmin speech as a rule, and Goan

Sacred Song does so in perhaps the majority of cases. The language forms of Konkani Sacred Song and the Mando have developed from the standard Konkani of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which later gave rise (as we said) to seven literary dialects—Saxtti, Karwari, Koddialli, Kerali, Manglluri, Barhdexi and Antruji. (⁴²)

Folk songs also make use of caste dialects. The wedding songs of each caste are composed in its own dialect, and this is also true of song-types that are the specialities of particular castes. In the *dekunis* there is a mixed dialect, which is intended to mimic Hindu speech but is really a Christian patois with features of Hindu talk that strike the Christians as peculiar. Such dialects are also employed in songs meant to ridicule the speech types of other castes.

In addition to caste dialects there are also those of class, which are linguistic varieties of speech within classes, and are salient among the landowners. Comprising the mestizos and the rich landlords and a few others, there is the class which, due to historical and other reasons, was very near to its Portuguese masters, always moving closer to them both culturally and linguistically. Its members usually knew Konkani and used it with other Goans, but hardly ever among themselves. Below these came two other classes, those who were bilingual in the family circle (⁴³) and those who spoke Konkani at home almost always. (⁴⁴) The latter may or may not have known some Portuguese—most of them did not. Goan Art Song rose among the last two classes, but at least one mestizo has composed expressive stanzas in Konkani. (⁴⁵)

5. EDUCATION. We know of the mando, popular Art Song and the Teatr Songs chiefly through written media. They are thus primarily the work of the educated groups. Formerly, only the Brahmins and Tsad-ddis could afford education, particularly those with large landed properties. The mando is the work of the generally literate Konkani-speaking class though many of the informants on it were illiterate. A large part of Goan Sacred Song came into being through the efforts of the talented Tsad-ddis of this class. As to the Hindu songs, it is difficult to say of what castes their authors were and what formal education they had.

6. MUSIC. As mentioned earlier, this topic is better studied separately (see Chapter IV).

7. LITERARY FORM. Of the art song types, only one with a finished literary form was in general use — the mando. Goan Sacred Song had one widely accepted metre, the *ovi*, used also from Kanarese and Marathi poetry. There are a variety of other forms, which however do not seem to occur often. The *ovi* metre is employed in Goan Folk Song too, and is found in the song type of its name that is known to us. In nearly all types of Goan Song, while there often is a strict metrical organization of the material, the resulting form seldom becomes a model to be repeated, at least with a discernible frequency.

8. CONTENT. This is the hardest to categorize. At a comprehensive glance, the subject matter of Goan Song seems to comprise life, Hindu and Christian, upper caste and Kunnbi; love, the wedding and the child; tragedy and death; work; and lastly, events, social, mythological and religious.

9. FUNCTION. Besides being a vehicle of aesthetic enjoyments (⁴⁶), song can also be put to other uses. In one of these, as in dance songs, the music and rhythm come to the fore; in another, the text may become its starting point, with music and rhythm assisting. Here, the main aim would be to show what a human event means to a singer or his group, and at the same time to bring out its aesthetic character.

Song-dance forms are the Deknni, Dulpod, Fell, Fugrhi, Mando, Mando-Dulpod, and the Zagor songs. The human events described in song are endless in number. Not all peoples have songs for all or even most of everyday or usual human happenings. But there are always significant moments in people's lives (like birth and death) that have always found expression, and are often marked with great elaboration in song usage. More specifically, they can be grouped under the headings of familial and social, profane and religious. (⁴⁷) Family events are ones like singing during pregnancy (*Duvallo*), lulling a child to sleep (*Palnnam*), certain wedding ceremonies performed in the home (Nuptial Songs), mourning for someone dead (Dirges and *Banvarhs*) or telling children tales (Story Songs). Social events can include some of the above, such as Nuptial Songs and Dirges, and fresh ones like drama (*Fell* and *Teatr*) songs, festival songs (*Fughri*), wedding songs to be sung at receptions (Wedding Mando), songs connected with agricultural activities (work songs) and with religious ceremonies (sacred art and folk songs).

10. REGION. The Christian songs arose chiefly in the predominantly Christian districts, the "Old Conquests", of Saxtty, Barhdes and Tisvarh. The Goan Hindu songs, as we know them today, are mostly from the "New Conquests" — where the population is predominantly Hindu. Preeminent in range and depth of output is Saxtty (⁴⁸), hence the use of its dialect is general in the *mandos* and in much of Sacred Art Song (Christian). The principal villages in which the Mando fructified are Kurhtori (Curtorim), Lotlli (Loutulim), Rai (Raia) Mõrhgoum, Vernnem (Verna) and Bannali, all in Saxtty. Within its borders too, the first Indian printing press was set up (⁴⁹) and the first Konkani grammar (⁵⁰) and prose text (⁵¹) published. The most productive village of all was Kurhtori, ministered, like the other villages of Saxtty, by the jesuits, but claimed as their parish by the Augustinians — one of the most enlightened and rich orders working at the time in Goa. (⁵²)

11. SEX. Women take the lead in singing some of the song — types (though men too know many of them, such as several Nuptial Songs, obviously the Pregnancy Songs, *Fughris*, Dirges, *Dalnam* and Child Songs, *ovis* (?), Story Songs, and *Zotis*. (?)) The two principal voices of the Mando are traditionally male and female. It is difficult to say if any of the types of Goan Song are exclusively or even primarily men's songs — except those of the theatre in its popular and stage forms (*Fell* and *Teatr*), where even the women's parts are sung by male impersonators. Of course, women can and do sing theatre songs outside the plays. Some of the softness in Goan melodies is surely due to the part that women have had in the singing of its tunes.

Of no less consequence to the continuity of Goan Song and to the preservation of its authentic character is the important fact that women tend to sing with more ornaments than do men. (⁵³) As Goan music employs a marked degree of ornamentation, the women's version of a piece of music thus stands a greater chance of being more faithful to the original composition than the men's. Women have the reputation of being better preservers of tradition. Examples of Konkani Song's rarer types can today be collected almost only from women, as for instance several of the verses of the nuptial songs.

12. AGE. Most of these songs have today become old people's songs. In the late years of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth,

the villages in which these people grew up were still very much what they had been for many earlier generations. Their agricultural economy could support a majority of the villagers. Their age old customs guaranteed a stable form of living and their time honoured types of entertainment — including the songs and dances — were sufficient to ensure a large measure of satisfaction and mental equilibrium. All this cumulatively kept village morale high, and was the cause of a justifiable pride and self-assuredness in all that village life stood for. (54)

However, the increased industrialization of India under the British ruined this. Its towns, of which the mammoth city of Bombay dominated the Konkan Coast, held out the prospect of rapid acquisition of money. The drift from the villages grew in strength, followed by the uprooting of the old habits of its members and the severance of their associations with the land. Education acquired in the new surroundings taught them to look down on their traditional modes of expression. A weakening of the spirit of the village set in, and a feeling of inferiority for everything that village life meant sapped the sense of belonging which had kept it going.

This was particularly fatal to the Indian way of life as whole, so deeply village-minded that it is. The tradition in song, one of the stabilizers of the village, was everywhere unavoidably affected. From being the strong and vigorous thing it was, it soon drooped and withered. In a short time the industrial media for propaganda, information and entertainment rendered the folk methods for the same purpose pointless. Papers and journals replaced the personal narration of tales, and mechanical music, the gramophone and the radio made home music-making superfluous. The greatest enemy of all, the radio, swept like a tide through the villages and the countryside, drowning the rills of traditional music under its flood of noise. Submerged also by the spate of new material were the sources of strength of song tradition — its continuity, capacity for natural selection and the creative impulse of its composers. New material, in the right proportions, would have exerted a beneficial effect on folk song, as it always had in the past, because a vigorous song tradition has the power for converting what it receives into its own idiom. But the radio gave the village musician more than he could assimilate, and thus acted as a destructive instead of a fructifying force upon past music, seriously imperilling its continuity. Its capacity for natural selection — of choosing and assimilating extraneous matter into its own

substance — was also constantly interfered with, ⁽⁵⁵⁾ Lastly, mechanistic appliances formed a dead weight which almost crushed the creative impulse in the traditional musicians mind.

Of all the districts of Goa, the greatest victim, and also the most anglicized, was Barhdes. Exposed more than other Goans to the influence of industrial media, as could be expected, its inhabitants were among the first to produce records, stage pieces and musical performances based on Goan Song. Their programmes soon began to be heard over the wireless. To such a degree was their influence felt that the songs one heard (even when composed in Saxtti) were mostly sung in their dialect—as in fact they often still are. It was also the Barhdeskar who initiated the Teatr, whose main patois is still Barhdexi, other forms of speech being brought in mostly for comic effect. In the field of Konkani journalism and novels they were again predominant ⁽⁵⁶⁾, and this was a fresh boost to their form of speech. The devotional manuals, which had earlier approximated Standard Konkani spelling, could be seen to shift to one suited to the Barhdexi dialect in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.


Not being too highly educated, most of these men were not haunted by critical misgivings. The penchant of the Barhdeskars for a music of a faster tempo ⁽⁵⁷⁾, and one less enamoured of ornaments and subtleties than the Saxtti, also not inconsiderably vulgarized Goan Song. These popularizers of Goan music were thus more prone to the charms of sprightly contemporary airs, especially to “pop” songs and jazz. Radio programme organizers, no matter where they came from, were usually not fussy about what they put across to their audiences, and the latter rarely minded what they got. What critical awareness they possessed was drugged by a weird mixture of mush, nostalgia and slapstick humour. Anyone who offered to sing a Konkani song was allowed to. Even when the melody was correct, which was rare, the singing was false in its style and method of performance. ⁽⁵⁸⁾ It became the fashion to turn an old song into a “pop” song. The tunes were not infrequently “jazzed up” to suit current taste, because the slow traditional manner was found to be “dragging”. As it turned out, the fuddled musical

faculties of a crowd desensitized by city life could only be excited by a full-scale "pop" orgy. For this purpose, the wild life of Goan Folk Song was slaughtered indiscriminately but the cries of death were only tiny squeaks in the general carousal and hubbub.

Because of this and other reasons the Mando too, so far the preserve of an aristocracy, became the expression of Goa as a whole.⁽⁵⁹⁾ While this was otherwise a good thing, it unfortunately put the high-born queen of Goan Song at the mercy of a rabble of half-educated industrialized emigrants, who had little understanding or respect for her elegant ways. Crudeness and lack of critical sense were among the main causes of the tragedy of Goan Song. On the one hand was the premature ageing of the tradition and on the other its coarsening and vulgarization. Thus, in every sense, the Mando was fated to become Goa's swan song.

The battering of the tradition of Goan Song by the cyclone of industrial vulgarization was paradoxically accompanied by an intensifying critical clarity in its research. Though not a noonday dazzle, it was however a tranquil expanse of moonlight on a stormy sea, bright enough to reveal the floating fragments of the shipwreck. The greater lucidity acquired only helped to lay bare a seemingly definitive disaster of a noble heritage, to make the tragedy in all its aspects even more bitter and complete.⁽⁶⁰⁾

*CHAPTER IV***ART SONG AND FOLK SONG****INTRODUCTION**

 ur jungle now is not only at its darkest and coldest, but the terrain begins to rise and grow ruggedly uneven, with summits and gorges indenting the greenery. No other way but breaking through the thickets will help us get to the source of the stream of Goan Song, whence it flows through the ravines of early Konkani vocal music to the splendours of the Mando garden.

In this Chapter, more than any other, we are burdened with the task of rarifying concepts to a high degree of abstraction. This is unavoidable, because we must be clear as to what distinguishes art song from folk song. The notions organic to such a conclusion are vital for an understanding of any school of vocal music in its subtler and more profound aspects, because they involve an analysis of what song is. They also help to throw light on its development in time, particularly on that of Goan Song. It must not be forgotten that we are dealing with a part of Indian musical evolution, and India is a land where documentation for even the classical musical tradition is scant, imprecise and controversial.

The task of clarifying the distinction between art and folk song was taken in hand chiefly by the students of folklore, and not by the critics of art music. Scattered as it is over several journals, books and encyclopedias, much of this analysis (so relevant to Goan Song) must be brought together and fashioned into a fitting tool for our research. It will thus serve to indicate the importance of the musical, and literary sides of song to a student who has specialized only in one of them. If our discussion is to be meaningful, we must categorize the points round which we can prèsume our topic

to hinge, or else be sucked into the plethora of details which unavoidably form quicksands over problems like it. Among many conceivable categorizations, we feel six of the following eight divisions to be as good as any others; the remaining two heads are a definition and its application to Goan Songs.

- I Material of Song
- II Purpose of Song
- III Intrinsic Characteristics of Song
- IV Production of Song
- V Preservation of Song
- VI Interaction of Traditions
- VII A Definition of Art Song and Folk Song.
- VIII Goan Art Song and Folk Song

I. MATERIAL OF SONG

Everything that people can think about and feel is conceivably the subject of song. Of course, not all possible themes are popular with song writers, as for example mathematics. Of those preferred emotional life occupies a high place. All these subjects are drawn on indiscriminately in art song and folk song and no subject is peculiar to either.

This is true when "material" is taken to mean "subject matter": *thematic* material, in other words. But the stuff of songs can also be *formal*, which is what goes to make a song song. Broadly speaking, song is a combination of words and music, or more exactly verse and music, strictly lyric verse and music. This definition furnishes no grounds for distinction between art song and folk song; both are equally and strictly song. We shall discuss this in more detail below, in section III, under *Intrinsic Characteristics of Song*.

Thematic and formal material together produce a body of song compositions, or a corpus or tradition of song. This, in its turn, can be material for song—*traditional* material. What happens when art song makes folk song and vice versa a quarry for themes concerns its development, and is best discussed under *Production of Song* (Section IV).

II. PURPOSE OF SONG

Strictly speaking, all song has some kind of function. It can subserve a group or social purpose, which is associated with clearly articulated and exteriorized actions, or it can perform a psychological function, which affects the individual more intimately. The song with the former rôle is usually called *functional* in common usage; that with the second is generally termed *non-functional*, as in the latter case the function is subtler and less obvious than in the first. ⁽¹⁾ These categories are not mutually exclusive, because the functional is not necessarily lacking in aesthetic quality. ⁽²⁾ It cannot be laid down that our types of song, art and folk, are exclusively one or the other. One can only say that art song *tends* to be primarily non-functional, in that the aesthetic aspect is predominant over, or equally important as the other one. On the other hand, folk song generally gravitates towards the functional. ⁽³⁾ It thus happens that the kind of folk song which is farthest from art song and least subject to its influence — primitive song — is invested with a rôle in which conscious aesthetic awareness has little or no place.

III. INTRINSIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SONG ⁽⁴⁾

Song has form and rhythm, textual and musical, melody (sometimes harmony and polyphony), and an interrelation between text and melody. These seven points, which determine its intrinsic characteristics, will now be reviewed serially.

1. *TEXTUAL FORM.* ⁽⁵⁾ Repetition is quite essential to form ⁽⁶⁾, and textual form is made up of repetitions — of lines, other formal devices and some non-formal connecting links. Let us take these in order. First, the number of lines. Forms of one and of more than one line are found, the latter making up a unit known as the stanza. Stanzas may have two, three, four or more lines. In Goan, as in Western European Song, the four-line type is usual, and may be extended either by repetition or by the addition of a refrain, as in the classical Mando. Orderliness and definiteness — the notes of form — are a major aesthetic necessity, but so is flexibility. As the latter gains in strength, rigour is relaxed. Symmetry in structure disintegrates and slides towards formlessness and total disorganization. The fact that

stanzas need not have a fixed length is a start in the motion downwards. Its pace is accentuated when strophic divisions are struck out. There comes a time when the subdivision of the text is possible only through the musical structure. The momentum in the landslide becomes dangerous when the repetition of a line builds a musical, and not a textual stanza. This process logically terminates in a complete vacuum of form, and even the musical stanza disintegrates. (7)

Second, forms can also differ according to various features in the stanza pattern, mainly rhythmic devices, to be examined below. Third, connecting links which are not formal devices, some examples of are phrasing in the same words, first line formulas, localization of the beginning of a song and cumulative effect.

Here again, there is no distinctive characteristic which unequivocally separates art song from folk song. Organization, even a rigid one, is common to both. (8) Art song may have a higher degree of it, but a degree that is difficult to define. Only in the length of these forms is there any difference. Folk song is characterized by the prevalence of short forms and art song is better equipped to handle longer ones, though it frequently employs the shorter variety with equal effect. Konkani Song types are nearly all simple.

2. *TEXTUAL RHYTHM* (9), whose concepts are in three groups— the organization of the stanza, rhythmic devices and the influence of language and music on the rhythm.

First, the organization of the stanza, or its rhythmic structure, which is of two kinds. On the one hand there is the *syllabic* structure where a line is measured by the number of syllables (as in Slavic and Modern Greek Songs); on the other, the *metric*, where the quantity or accent determines the structure of a line, as in a great deal of Western European music, and also in Goan Song. These categories are not mutually exclusive.

Second, the rhythmic devices used within the stanza. One of them is parallelism and contrast. Parallelism, when the metre is the same for all the lines, and which forms an *isometric* stanza. Contrast, when the metre differs, forming a *heterometric* stanza. Another device is rhyme, paired (*aabb*) opposed (*abab*) or constant (*aaaa*), as in many mandos. Still other devices are alliteration, assonance, etc. which help to achieve parallelistic and contrastive effects.

Applying this to the question of folk and art song, it is not possible to say that any specific type of organization or rhythmic device is peculiar to one or the other.

The third point is the influence of language and music on the rhythm. Language structure is a decisive factor in the choice of devices. Rhyme can arise mechanically in language (like Saxtti Konkani), which are fertile in suffixed elements.⁽¹⁰⁾ The problem of the influence of music brings us to examine the musical aspects of song.

3. *MUSICAL FORM.* ⁽¹¹⁾ As in textual form, repetition is an important element in the basic structure of musical form. However, not all repetition is structural; sometimes it is no more than a detail in the manner of performance. Only when such casual repetition becomes fixed does it acquire formal significance.

Of this repetition there are two varieties; one leads to no regular formation, while the other does. Repetition of the first kind has a variety known as the litany form, and another where the recurrence of the musical line cannot be marked off into stanza-like units, as in Yugoslav heroic epic poetry.

The second, more common, kind of repetition, leads to more regular formations — recurrent musical stanzas. When these iterations are built up from one-line forms, they may repeat the line in slightly different ways (*AA'BB'*) varied only by the cadenzas. This is common in Spain. There are also the two- and three-line forms, probably stemming from increasing differentiation in one-line forms. The four-line type is more frequent, and has its own sub-varieties, like the *progressive* form (*ABCD* and its ramifications) the *cyclic* form (*ABBA*), and the *reversive* form (*ABAC, ABCB*, etc.). The Mando employs the progressive form. More complex forms than the four-line variety are often connected with textual factors. Musical motifs and repetitions can be woven loosely into a larger whole, comparable to the *potpourri* of Western classical music. An even closer union (though of two generally independent melodies) is achieved in the *verse-and-chorus* form. The last type (of which the classical Mando is an example) is not native to folk song and prevails there only through the influence of cultivated music.

This leads us to observe a further formal relationship between independent melodies, when, for instance, a number of distinct songs can be performed

in a regular sequence — as in the suite form of the art music of the West. The *dulpods* are sung in this way, after the Mando. A regulated sequence of the same kind is found in narrative songs and in play songs (as in the Goan Story and *Fell* songs), separated though they are by dialogue. We must also remember that a manner of singing can itself have an impact on musical structure. For instance, solo songs and group songs intended to be sung in a responsorial fashion must have a form suited to this need.

4. *MUSICAL RHYTHM* (¹²), which can be explored in no less than five directions: modes of musical organization, rhythmic patterns of musical lines and phrases, rhythmic devices, rhythmic shifts, and the influence of function, language and subject matter on rhythm.

First, the modes of musical organization. These are of two kinds — the *free* (comparable to free verse), hardly permitting divisions into bars and measures, and the regular, with easily perceptible rhythmic design. In the case of free rhythm, division into bars would be artificial; in the second, not so. Most Goan songs are regular, but several hymns and the dirges are some examples of free rhythm. Constantly prone to crystallize into the regular, free rhythm gives rise to many complex and unusual rhythmic figures in the course of its evolution to a stable symmetry. All types of song employ both species of rhythm.

Second, rhythmic patterns of musical lines and phrases, called *isorhythmic* when the measure is the same in every line and *heterorhythmic* when it is otherwise. The correspondence of these types to the *isometric* and *heterometric* divisions of textual rhythm is evident. Both are used indiscriminately in folk and art song.

Third, rhythmic devices. Some of these are the pause, the opposition between longer and shorter values, alternation, triple rhythms, upbeats and syncopation. Pause in folk song tends to be restricted to the end of the lines or tune. Together with the long notes (also used as dramatic starting devices), it is one of the prime features which indicate a temporary close or finality.

Fourth, rhythmic shifts, found in folk music and in the art music influenced by it (¹³) (e.g. Bartok and Kodaly). Very often folk tunes are not based on a measure that runs through the melody. Its length sometimes changes repeatedly in the course of the tune. Far from being haphazard,

these changes, integral to the structure, are born out of a desire for contrast and change; blossoming into a variety of asymmetrical balances. Asymmetry already exists in virtual form in rhythms like $\frac{5}{4}$, $\frac{7}{4}$ and others (consisting of 2 & 3, 3 & 2, etc.).

Fifth, the influence of function, language and subject matter on rhythm. Songs with a close connexion to bodily movement (work, some children's and dance songs) incline toward simpler measures, and are apt to be sung to a more strict rhythm than ballads and lyrical songs. (Dance songs in the Balkans have intricate patterns as well.) The influence of language is seen through the text; as to the subject matter, it affects the pace of the rhythm.

5. *MELODY*.⁽¹⁴⁾ A scrutiny of melody must assess factors like compass, scales, intervals, tonality and melodic contour.

First, compass. Often used in art song to the fullest range of the singing voice, it is not infrequently characterized by a great richness and complexity. In folk songs it is employed with a certain economy, seldom coming even near the limit of the range of the voice. Melodies with a compass beyond an octave and a half are rare. This is especially true of melodies in archaic groups. A very restricted range and tone content is found in lullabies, children's songs and work songs, which come under those groups.

Second, scales, formed by the series of tones employed by the tune of a song. Art song has a large series of tones which constitute scales like the "octave" scales (major, minor and modal). These are found in folk song (though not commonly, especially the minor, which is very rare); so are more restricted ones, for instance, "gapped" scales like the pentatonic and the hexatonic. Several types of Konkani song are based on the notes of a tetrachord or on the pentatonic scale. The restricted tone series of folk tunes are thus not incomplete segments or fractions of the octave scale, but scales in their own right. The scale of a folk tune is nothing but the series of tones which it employs. Restriction of this sort is by no means confined to folk song alone. Two important art music traditions, the classical Greek and the Byzantine, have the *pentachord* and *hexachord* scales.

Third, intervals. While art song makes a rich use of all the technical possibilities of song⁽¹⁵⁾, many of these are found to be lacking in folk song.

For instance, half-tone steps are rare in pentatonic melodies; so are chromaticism or augmented and diminished intervals. Intervals "irrational", according to the terminology of some kinds of classical music (like the "blue" note of Negro folk songs) also occur; and there is no reason why another musical system may not legitimize them. The interval is much more frequent in popular art song than in peasant tunes.

Fourth, tonality, which may be described as a "system of dynamic interrelations which are carried by the tones of the scale, including the various roles assigned to different tones." (16) The relationship of the "tonic", "dominant" and "leading note" may be said to exist in art song and folk song, but with different meanings. In the art song of Western European music the dominant is second in importance to the tonic and is also defined by its position as the fifth above the tonic. A tone of comparable importance in many folk tunes is found on the fourth, or on the second above or below the tonic. In the same art song tradition the leading note is connected with the position of the seventh, a half-tone below the tonic. This, in folk song, is often associated with a major second above the tonic, or with a major second or third below the tonic.

Fifth, melodic movement and melodic countour. This is either *almost level*, oscillating back and forth as in the most archaic tunes (due to their limited tone-material); *ascending*, rare because difficult; *descending*, very frequent in older tunes and predominant in eastern and southern Europe: of this type, graduated descent in levels (in which each musical line sinks lower) is a variety, old Hungarian and Turkish melodies being some examples; *arc-like*, that is, a balance of ascending and descending lines (as in Anglo-American, Scandinavian and German ballad and lyrical pieces), where the tune may ascend to one or two melodic peaks and return to the main level of the melody; *undulating*, with repeated short waves of ascent and descent (as in Slavic and Balkan songs, and also in Goan).

6. *HARMONY AND POLYPHONY* (17) There are traditions of art music which are purely monophonic, like plainsong and Indian classical music. Folk music is in the main monophonic, examples of harmony and polyphony being rare. Much of folk harmony and polyphony is purely instrumental. The style of polyphony is usually the same, heterophonic, imitative, parallel (probably the most common) or contrapuntal. It is in the

latter that art song excels, and which is of the rarest occurrence in folk song. Often in folk part singing and also in many art song traditions, the voice predominates. The other accompaniment is either the voice of the *drone* or *ostinato* type, or an instrument. Instrumental accompaniment in Goan Song is chiefly supplied by the *gumott*, which is shaped like a pot or urn. European instruments, like the violin and piano, are also used, especially in Mando performance.

Folk part singing, which may well have been the origin of art song harmony and polyphony, varies in type according to geographical centres. In Scandinavia and Britain one finds rounds or canons, modest counterpart-like forms, singing in parallel intervals, and in parallel fourths and fifths. In much of Central and Latin Europe, it is usual to sing in parallel thirds. This is also the custom in Christian Goa, owing to Latin influence. In Slavic Europe, singers make use of parallel seconds, and by the inversion of these, of parallel sevenths. In some eastern European countries two or three voices sing a melody on the same tonal level in the canons or rounds. In White Russia vocal drone effects and even true counterpoint occur. Many types of Goan Folk Song employ harmony and polyphony, inspired no doubt, by plainchant, and Renaissance and Baroque religious music.

7. *RELATION ON TEXT TO MELODY* (¹⁸), a question that can be probed in the following six areas: the fixedness of the bond between both and the concreteness and memorability of each; the coordination between their formal elements and the parallelism of foot and measure; the relative strength of musical and textual elements; the connexion of the emotional content of the text with the tune; the relationship of the text to harmony; and lastly, the role of bodily movement in song.

First, the fixedness of the bond between a specific text and tune, which tends to be stable in art song. In folk song the same tune can be applied to widely differing texts—perhaps the reason why in many styles of folk song the number of tunes is smaller than that of the texts. Often a song is taken to be a new one when it is but an old tune in a new or even slightly altered old text. At other times, a text is severed from one tune and grafted on to another. The reason for this changeable text-tune relationship in art song and folk song is perhaps the differing grades of concreteness of each. A

tune is more abstract than a text, and hence a singer's appreciation of the words is clearer than that of the melody. In consequence, tunes tend to be more limited in number than texts.

Second, the coordination (or at least an all-over relationship) between formal elements in song. In both kinds of song a textual stanza is usually a melodic stanza; that is to say, a tune is repeated without major changes. A textual stanza does not also recur bodily but only its structural pattern, except when it serves as a chorus or in certain dance pieces. In both art and folk song, again, the text stanza is a self-contained unit as regards structure and content, and stanzas in each type of song have architectural traits which hold them together. We have gone into this before. As for the individual line of the textual stanza, the correlation between music and text is always, and in folk song as a rule, rigid. In both types of song, line units subdivide texts and line or phrase units subdivide tunes. Through the foot of the textual stanza is paralleled by the measure of the musical, we can by no means equate them. While they need not be rigidly coordinated, in their peak points they often are. If the metre of the foot is based on an alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables, the textual stress tends to be correlated with the musical one. If it is based on quantity, there is either less consistent correlation or none at all.

Third, the relative strength of musical and textual elements. It is impossible to lay down definitely which is the stronger; sometimes the one, and sometimes the other, has the upper hand. There is also a constant interaction. For instance, changes in melody are often caused by flexible patterns of the text, such as a variable number of syllables. Occasionally the music goes its own way, with its variations running counter to the text or metre. Again, the fact that songs are sung leads to an artificial use of language or at least one different from that of everyday speech. This is particularly remarkable in folk song, originating as it does from a people less conscious of artifice and artificiality.

Fourth, the connexion of the tune to the emotional content of the text. Of the two categories of this type of relationship applied to art music, the "abstract" and the "programmatic", art song tends to be programmatic (that is, adjusted to the mood and content of the text) and folk song to be abstract (indifferent to either). The emotional relationship to the text in folk song is chiefly brought out by its rhythmic character, speed and subtleties of

rendition. These are easier to sense than to prove, especially in the case of folk singers, rarely articulate as they are about the mood and emotional quality of their tunes. The aesthetic problems raised by the connexion of the tune with the emotional content (and *situation*) of the text are discussed in Chapter VII.

Fifth, the relationship of the text to harmony and polyphony.⁽¹⁹⁾ Polyphony can touch on a mood contrary to that of the express sense of the text though related to it. When recourse is had to this artifice a subtler treatment of a song's emotional content emerges, being in consequence more the domain of art than of folk music. For instance, while the poet speaks of tragedy, he may, without alluding to it verbally, want to suggest an undertone of hope. Nothing can be more suitable for evoking it than a contrapuntal tune.

Sixth, the role of bodily movement in song. Song music and dance music cannot be rigidly differentiated, though tunes of songs intended for dances have to have rhythmically organized movements of the body integrated with the musical rhythm. These interactions and cross influences are comparable to those between poetry and music. A dance song arises from the reciprocal action of three elements — poetry, music and the dance.

IV. PRODUCTION OF SONG

This problem needs examination under no less than three distinct points ; the causes and their nature, the manner of causation and its characteristics, and the necessary conditions of causation.

1. *THE CAUSES OF SONG AND THEIR NATURE.* The cause of the production is of course the composer. A folk song is the work of a composer who is of the "folk" and an art song of someone not of this class. It remains to be defined what "folk" means. On this question, there are large areas of agreement, and disagreement, but no unanimous accord. Nonetheless we may usefully define "folk" as *those groups of human beings who are uninfluenced by conscious intellectual reflexion in the creation and transmission of knowledge and skills.* Intellectual reflexion aims at conceptual articulation, and endeavours to adhere to a norm that it accepts or sets up for itself. It has a propensity for symbols meant to give fixed expression to ideas and skills, one of the most obvious of which is writing.

However, writing is not the only mode of expressing things in a fixed way. Indeed, it has no inner endurance of itself; the constant memory of the human mind, rooted in the human will, is what really assures the symbols of their fixity. Yet the objective and material invariability of the symbol is a rallying point, a check on the tendency of thought to wander and fluctuate. People without written symbols are thus more disposed to change unconsciously what they inherit than a society which uses those symbols. Hence the "folk" have often been described as those who create and transmit knowledge and skills through memory and oral tradition. (²⁰)

The "folk" character of song is best seen in the aspects of the cultural make-up of their creators, such as social stratification, literacy, and professional status. In the matter of social stratification, the "folk" are generally taken to belong to what each society accepts as the "lower classes", particularly the peasants and the serfs. It is not wise to base one's description of art and folk music on this distinction. The difficulties one has to face when asked to say what one means by "lower classes" are many, and the controversy that often ensues raises the emotional temperature too high for any cold intellectual appraisal. Interaction between the songs of the classes one takes to be opposed is also such a constant process that numberless borderline cases are found to exist (²¹), making clear differentiation impossible.

As for literacy, the "folk" are often thought to be a homogenous mass of people unacquainted with letters. In point of professional character, art music in its strictest sense is the work of those professionally trained in musical systems and terminology by specialists, and who generally live by their music. Folk music, on the other hand, is produced by people who lack professional education and status. (²²) Conscious adherence to a professional norm requires that the latter be buttressed with symbols to bear its outward thrust towards disintegration at two points, one universal and the others particular; in other words, the formulation of a system and terminology of music (universal), and individual musical compositions (particular). Common to all traditions of art music is the use of symbols for the definition of what each takes to be its postulates. As to individual compositions, we can think of art music systems having no notation at all for them, leaving it to the memory alone to reproduce the melody — as may have happened in the decadence of Hellenic and Roman music. (²³) At the other extreme is the use of symbols to fix every note, so that the artist can perform the piece

exactly as laid down, which is what happens today in cultivated Western music. There is an intermediary stage, when only the melodic model is fixed, allowing for improvisation within it, as in the *ragas* of classical Indian music. On the other hand, folk music knows no conscious subjection to a terminology⁽²⁴⁾, and its composers, in consequence, are not bothered about fixed expression. Their work has thus no protection from change.

Hence, art song and folk song are, in their production, mainly differentiated by reference to something extrinsic, a fixed norm and fixed symbolic expression. If our knowledge of any of these characteristics is defective, we cannot be sure if any given song is art or folk,⁽²⁵⁾

2. *THE MANNER OF CAUSATION*. In respect of the moment of creation, there is no difference between folk song and art song. The state of creative activity is undifferentiated in both, since the evolution from the preliminary inspiration or embryonic idea to the finished work is the same.

3. *THE NECESSARY CONDITION OF CAUSATION*. This problem is less important here than in the preservation of song. All kinds of song generally need an emotional situation that can be set to music, of which more in Chapter VII. In folk song the expression which this situation receives is generally determined by the presence of an unformulated tradition, and in art song by a consciously defined system.

V. PRESERVATION OF SONG

The same threefold consideration is valid here also.

1. *THE CAUSES AND THEIR NATURE*. The causes of the preservation are the performer, and to a great extent the listener. These causes are described by the same categories of social stratification, literacy and professional character. About social stratification, the classes which create the song are generally responsible for its preservation as well; if it is accepted by other classes, they become responsible too. It may happen that if a song of one class is taken over by another it will be sung in the idiom of that class; thus the songs of other classes sung by the Brahmins of Goa are liable to sound Brahmin in idiom.

Concerning literacy, those who are educated work towards fixing the transmission of song, so that diversification and change are made difficult; the unlettered are not particular about either fixed expression or change, except in rare cases. Professional status is significant in both the performer and the listener. In art music, the performer, like the composer, is trained in a set terminology, learns cultivated techniques of rendition, and acquires a professional status in his specialist's interpretation of the composer's work.

The body of his music, and thus all art music, tends to become esoteric and separated from the interests of the large mass of people. For the rendition of folk song the traditional performer has not been prepared by any rigid training, and learns no terminology or technique.⁽²⁶⁾ If he specializes at all, he does not do so in conformity to any aesthetic discipline, but only by repeatedly performing musical pieces for non-musical reasons, mainly functional ones.⁽²⁷⁾ Shamans, for instance, specialize because of the religious importance of their songs.

Often, however, certain individuals in traditions of folk singing are recognized as superior performers.⁽²⁸⁾ But as a rule, the large body of the people are the real singers, and have no professional status. In other words, the degree of participation that distinguishes art song from folk song is determined by the quality of training and specialization on the part of the performer. The moment the control of the trained and technically specialized virtuoso is relaxed, a song that was an art song becomes subject to general participation and tends to become a folk song⁽²⁹⁾: thus some songs by Schubert became folk songs in Austria and Southern Germany.⁽³⁰⁾

Listeners can also be specialized, and are in many art traditions, particularly in the Western European: they constitute its body of critics. The specialized trio of composer, performer and listener thus results in a closed esoteric group, protecting a body of art music compositions from the erosion of change.

2. *THE MODE OF TRANSMISSION AND ITS CHARACTERISTICS.* In the case of art song, transmission is dependent on invariable symbolic expression. Yet it must not be forgotten that the most elaborate system of notation cannot convey all that the composer wishes to. In the strictest interpretation of a piece of art music a performer can always shade the raw colour of the music expressed in the notes into nuances which were probably

never in the composer's mind. All the same, to the extent to which musical thought can be symbolized in individual compositions, art music is hostile to change.⁽³¹⁾

No magical quality intrinsic to art song does this, but rather the will of the individuals⁽³²⁾ for whose appreciation it is composed, and who believe that alteration deforms. Arising out of respect for the aesthetic value of the work of art and for the individual musical piece, this resistance to change is a sophisticated attitude. A product of intellectual reflexion, it is thus foreign to the "folk" mentality described above.

Folk song, on the other hand, is constantly putting forth variants. A piece of folk music is "open to all the gusts of casual influence, subject to forgetful recollection to individual, or local, or epochal preferences in mode and rhythm, to wilful invention or derangement, to accidents of marriage with continually altered verbal pattern that impose their own necessities upon melodic statement, and all these operative without any counterbalancing overt external control".⁽³³⁾ Nevertheless, there is a "persistence with which folk song preserves some inner, essential core of identity in spite of continual change. This tenacity is demonstrable on both the verbal and the musical side, but it seems more miraculous on the musical. A narrative theme, after all, may be stated in any number of ways, the plot being independent of the choice of words. But the identity of a tune seems on its face to be inherent in the particular notes that express it, along with the modality and temporal features contributing to the quality of those notes... we can only marvel at the inner urgency with which folk tunes maintain their essential selfhood in the face of such overwhelming odds. The only analogy that seems adequate is that of biology, where we find the same infinite variety among the individuals of a species, similar occasional radical mutations, but, over all, an imperious insistence upon self-perpetuation in generic types. We are indeed almost driven to invoke some principle or organic vitality to account for this amazing power of survival."⁽³⁴⁾

We can only conclude that the individual song, like any individual work of art, invokes respect for what it is from its appreciators, thus eliciting a desire for its integral perpetuation. One type of appreciators (the formally trained performers and their listeners) are in consequence led to enshrine its fragile beauty in the inalterable bronze of fixed symbols, thus securing it from vulgarity's irreverent and ravaging fingers. When the desire for perpetuation

has to fall back upon the memory unaided by established signs or any kind of intellectual articulation, the defence against outside attacks is weaker. The microbe of change infects a song's tissue, leaves it debilitated, and sometimes even destroys it. (³⁵)

A further clarification of the nature of folk song can be obtained by examining the qualities that stem from or are related to its basic characteristics of stability-instability. These are collectivity, anonymity, variation, selection, continuity and antiquity.

Collective character (³⁶) is essential to folk song, not always in the sense that it is the artistic expression of the spirit of a people, or because it must enter into their life, or even as being sociologically linked with it. The psalms of the Jews and the chanted poems of Homer fulfil these requirements, but are never thought of as folk songs. It is however necessary in the sense that each individual folk song (in addition to having these characteristics) is further open to collective modification by the members of the community (³⁷) in whose idiom it is expressed. Any song that is preserved unmodified in one milieu but is collectively modified in another is in that sense also a folk song.

Anonymity is only another way of describing collective character (³⁸), since the value of the individual piece is not by reflexion made to rebound on the composer. Appreciation of the piece is indeed given but only in a basic sense; not in all the modalities willed by the composer (which, in art music, are capable of being expressed through invariable signs). The way being left open for constant grafting and re-grafting, and with composer's modalities eliminated, it seems to matter little who he was or what he was called.

In the same way *variation* and *selection* are other forms of designating collective character. A folk tune must be open to a process of "communal recreation". (³⁹) The same tune buoyed above this process in one milieu is an art tune, while if in another it is simultaneously or afterwards drawn into it is a folk tune, as in the case of Schubert's songs mentioned above. It is the community that selects the modifications and forms (from a great number of possibles) in which the pieces are to survive.

Antiquity is often taken to be a distinguishing feature of folk song, probably because the reflexive appreciation that makes art music possible is logically and often chronologically subsequent to the uncritical appreciation that

goes with folk song. But we must differentiate between individual creations and the style in which they are composed ; for while a style may be very old, songs composed in it may often be comparatively recent. (40) In the same way an individual piece may be old in origin, but its style can have changed to such an extent that there is little evidence of its age left. (41) Consequently, a folk song is in essence independent of "style" or characteristic qualities, which is not the case with art song.

3. *THE NECESSARY CONDITIONS OF CAUSATION* are the existence of a vocal technique for rendering the songs and the *possibility* of instrumental accompaniment. A folk song is meant above all to be sung. Singing predominates in folk music, and while many folk cultures have little or no instrumental accompaniment, its possibility can never be ruled out. Indeed, it has infiltrated several folk cultures without doing too great a violence to the original melodies.

But there is bound to be an interaction between instrument and voice. Instrumental style is not the same as the vocal, and the vocal cannot fully go the way of the instrumental. The amount of instrumental music tends to increase with the complexity of the culture and instrumental technique to coincide with polyphony: hence, the presence of instruments sets folk music in the direction of art music.

Yet there is a difference in the vocal technique too. The performers of art song are trained in the use of expressive modulations of the voice, often adopting a "singing tone"; those of folk song are not so trained. Any devices (if they exist) are not obvious, most of folk style singing being matter-of-fact. Folk singers do not also have professional standards of "pure" intonation, because they have little knowledge of instrumental music with its fixed and standard pitches. Their intonation is not necessarily worse than that of art singers, but often more flexible. Fluctuations in pitch are often used for expression and ornamentation. Elaborate ornamentation is an integral feature not only of many folk styles, but also of high art traditions like the Indian classical. Often, as in Goa, it constitutes much of the authentic manner of singing, which (due to variations in musical taste) is disappearing faster than the melodies themselves. Luckily for us, we were able to record many of the examples of Goan Song from informants versed in the authentic style, not a few of whom had learnt the songs from the composers themselves.

VI. INTERACTION OF TRADITIONS

On coming into existence, traditions of art and folk song begin to affect one another. When modifications of preexisting specimens of song or indeed of whole song traditions do not ensue from it, entirely new songs or bodies of songs emerge. This influence can be distinguished into four kinds, the first of which is that of one art tradition on another. An example, in our days, is the pull of Western music on the classical heritage in India. In Goa, the developed Mando came under the spell of European plain-song, polyphony, opera, symphony and several of its popular song types.

The second type of influence is that of art on folk music (⁴²), which often leads species of folk song to vary their scales, and brings in harmony too, as in several types of European and Goan Folk Song. Seeing cultivated musicians use them, folk performers (like those of Goa) often learn to play instruments like the violin. In turn, these instruments put folk music on the road to art music, not only because instrumentalists are apt to have a more developed terminology than the vocalists, but also because instruments can have an effect on the scales of vocal melodies and stimulate the development of harmonic and polyphonic forms. Such forms also arise when musical instruments are used for accompanying the voice.

The third type is the influence of folk music on art music, (⁴³) Plain-song, in its later phases, made use of some kinds of European folk song like the French; and men like Beethoven and Brahms, in the palmy of Western classical music, were often inspired by the songs of the peasants in their part of the world. As we have so often said, Goan Folk Song evolved into the Mando — which may indeed be described as an effect of the cross influences of art and folk music. While the sap of Goan Folk Song was itself maturing in its multiple branches, the irradiation of Western European art music mellowed it, eliciting its finest bloom, the Mando.

The fourth type is the influence of one folk tradition on another (⁴⁴), as Kanarese and Maratha folk song on the Konkani, or vice versa. The process of taking over results in mere unvaried repetition, disorganization, or improvement. These four types of influence show a song tradition evolving in time, and are therefore best examined in the following chapter, devoted to the history of Goan Song.

There is another factor related to this influence of one folk tradition on another — the persistence or weakness of the examples of one in the area of another, as compared with the same persistence or weakness of each in its own habitat. In the area of its origin a folk tradition is strongest when media of transmission (not controlled by methods of intellectual reflexion or fixed signs of expression) leave it alone. Standardization is characteristic of such media, and the modern press and radio are examples of standardized techniques of transmission. While they make folk song known, they freeze its vitality and stunt its powers of development.

Outside its area of origin, folk song is subject to these same forces. When the impact of these forces is not prohibitively strong, the persistence of home tunes abroad is still not uniform. In some cases the area of transplantation acts as a refrigerator and preserves things that come to be forgotten in the land of its origin. An example is Konkani Song in Kerala and the Kanaras; forms current there are obsolete in Goa. (⁴⁵) At other times it functions as a kind of incinerator, as in Latin America, which has retained very few Old Spanish and Portuguese songs. (⁴⁶) And at still other times it works as a transformer, or both preserver and transformer, as in the United States, where obsolete British forms have been kept alive alongside newly created types. (⁴⁷) Lastly, there is the impact that a folk song tradition, at a given time, has on the material of an earlier period, but that is less easy to analyse.

VII. A DEFINITION OF ART SONG AND FOLK SONG

If what we have said above is true, then a definition of these types of song can only be a recapitulation. *Art song, then, is any song determined chiefly in its creation, but also in its preservation, by some kind of intellectual reflexion.*

This state of mind demands that the song be expressed through invariable signs, like writing or mnemonic formulas. To the extent to which it is so expressed it allows no deviation in rendition, and when possible tends to limit the range of the deviation itself. *Folk song is a song marked in its creation by the absence of an intellectual reflexion and in its preservation by*

the non-existence of all overt restriction. (⁴⁸) Both the deviation in the modalities and the preservation of the basic identity are left to the collective memory alone.

Between folk and art song there is an intermediate variety (⁴⁹), *popular song*. With art song, it shares professional origin in creation and also expression and transmission through invariable signs. On the other hand, like folk song, it is acquired orally and is consequently open to collective re-creation. A further distinctive element, its general superficiality, aesthetic and emotional, almost makes it a class by itself. It does not usually become a permanent part of any art song tradition, as it is looked down upon by serious composers. As to the "folk", it only touches the surface of their consciousness, does not stimulate production, and ends by losing savour. It seldom gives rise to variation or original modalities. Thus, strictly speaking, it is only a kind of art song intended to have wider currency than the more professional variety and also to leave no lasting effect. (⁵⁰)

VIII. GOAN ART SONG AND FOLK SONG

Of all the varieties of Goan Song, only the Mando (⁵¹), Popular Art Song, Sacred Song and the Teatr Song can properly be called art songs. All of them are perpetuated through the written text, manuscript or printed. They are also transmitted orally. The Dulpod, the Deknni and the Fell Song have often been written down; almost all the others have been handed down only orally, and are subject to no rule of invariability. Of these, Popular Art Song and the Teatr Song are popular art songs in the sense described. No type of Goan Song is art song in the strictest sense, that is a song composed by professionals for professionals to sing, a type exemplified in Modern Western European classical music and not, for instance, in the many hymnological traditions of the churches. Goan art songs are composed by a professional musicians (⁵²) for amateur singers; the cultural milieu of Goa did not make it easy for songs in Konkani to have trained interpreters. Many of the authors of the sacred songs, whose work was transmitted mainly through writing, were church choirmasters (*mestres capela*), all trained musicians, at least in the rudiments of musical theory. They were as a rule

familiar with a considerable number of religious works (masses and motets) of European classical music, particularly of the Renaissance and Baroque periods. Some of these church musicians also composed *mandos*.

Yet there was never a highly developed critical consciousness, either in the case of the Mando or Sacred Song. No books were written on it during the period of its florescence and not much of its music was published. This was due to the severe handicaps which the poet-musicians of the Konkani tradition had to suffer. Musical types were not found in any printing presses in Goa before 1886 ⁽⁵³⁾, which is why no original score of the old sacred music had come down to us. ⁽⁵⁴⁾ All that we know of hymn music is through oral transmission and manuscripts. ⁽⁵⁵⁾ The government discouraged works in Konkani ⁽⁵⁶⁾, and the europeanized upper classes disdained everything indigenous. ⁽⁵⁷⁾ This tended to restrict Goan Art Song to the village. Here, on the one hand, its pieces were composed by musicians and interpreted (often) by singers who had the best training they could get ; and on the other, were sometimes taken over by the " folk " and slowly sucked into the quicksands of oral transformation. ⁽⁵⁸⁾ It is certain than if these songs were not written or taken down from persons who knew the composers well (and were considered by them to be good interpreters of their work) they would have fast been metamorphosed into folk songs. ⁽⁵⁹⁾ The Mando and Sacred Song, while thus being genuine art song types, hover perilously on the shadowy borders of folk song — model examples of how art song is produced and survives in an unfavourable environment. As we have so often repeated, the Mando is the sublimation of the whole of Goan song into an art form. How true this is, and to what extent, is the subject of our next chapters : however, we have got through the most arduous and complex part of our subject.


CHAPTER V

THE HISTORY OF GOAN SONG

**utinam extarent illa carmina!*

CICERO, Brutus XIX, 75

INTRODUCTION

 ut from our woods, in the rarefied air of the hills, we can contemplate the brook of Goan Song, as it wells out of the Indian cultural mountain. Only one among the myriads gushing from the lush bouldered surfaces of its mighty bulk, there is probably none on it more pure or melodious. Soon it swells into a stream, flowing through our jungle between the twin banks of music and language.

Following its course, we find ourselves on firmer ground when standing on the bank of language. On the other side, the line between water and land is blurred, and the eddies of the stream are lost in the ooze of marsh.

In all civilizations language has more easily lent itself to symbolization than music; indeed many cultures (such as the Indian) have written the musical score in the letters of the alphabet. The development of specifically musical symbols in India was not favoured by the fact that the sounds which the improvising musician conjured up within his melodic models (or *ragas*) were too complex to be noted down. As for the *ragas* themselves, literary notation sufficed.

(*) Would that those songs had survived!

We shall probably never know how music sounded in India in any age other than our own; in fact, it is difficult to tell what the very *ragas* of ancient times exactly were. Indian poetic creation, on the other hand, besides being a plenteous cornucopia, preserves the same flavour in its fruits (for those with any sensitivity) as on the day when the rich sap in them matured.

Myriads of wild flowers of Indian Song have perished on our mountain, including those growing by the Konkani stream. The little historical or documentary evidence we possess of these folk songs chiefly dates from the nineteenth century ⁽¹⁾; of the art songs, we know only of those which germinated after Goa had become culturally Latin. All the material we have got to work on are the types listed in Chapter III. We have to do what best we can to rearrange them in a historical sequence; this we can only do if we assess them in the light of general notions, and of those found valid for other song traditions. These are the musical (examined in the previous chapter), the linguistic and the literary. We shall begin with the latter two.

I. THE RISE OF KONKANI

Three facts make it possible for us to find out when Konkani Song arose. First, the development of Sanskrit into Konkani and the other modern Aryan languages of India through the local Prakrits. Second, the link between Konkani and its sister Marathi, and between Gujarati and Hindi, Marathi's northern neighbours. Third, the entry of the upper castes, mainly the Sarasvat Brahmins, into the Konkan.

1. *THE EVOLUTION OF SANSKRIT INTO KONKANI.* This can be briefly summarized. ⁽²⁾ An Aryan language that was either Sanskrit, or which soon developed into it, entered India about the middle of the second millenium B.C. It was far from uniform ⁽³⁾, and its spread through the vast Indo-Gangetic plain gave rise to clearly differentiated variants, which shortly before the time of the Buddha, or about 600 B. C., grew into separate languages known as the Prakrits. Among the most important were Sauraseni, the chief language of Central India, and Maharastri, that of Deccan and Konkan. Elements of change, noticeable in the Prakrits around A. D. 500, precipitated new linguistic substances known as the Apabhramas about the

ninth century, which were fully crystallized by the tenth. Yet the chemical process was by no means ended. There was a fresh precipitation about the end of the tenth century, and the new compounds, the modern Aryan languages of India (of which Konkani is one) came to solidify by the fourteenth.

The mighty shadow of Sanskrit falls across these three millenia. This most richly orchestrated of Aryan languages has controlled the development of the tongues that grew from it (or rather, sprouted in its shadow) to a greater extent than any known literary speech its own affiliated vernaculars. A gigantic banyan tree, it had scarcely grown to maturity when it began to reach fiercely for the earth with its roots, to draw up the fecundity of the Indian soil for itself alone. Nothing else could thrive under it, and its dense foliage shut out the sunlight from the saplings below. One of these was Konkani, and to know how it came to be what it is, one has to cast a glance at the tree towering over it.

Sanskrit itself had three phases of evolution. After entering India, it developed as a spoken language for over a thousand years in the northwest and part of Central India. It was then standardized by the " three sages ", Panini, Katyayana and Patanjali. (4) The fixing of this norm coincided with the rise of the Prakrits, which took Sanskrit's place as literary language for at least three hundred years. As a living medium, it was to make way for them ever afterwards, though it continued to be spoken among upper class circles almost to the time of the Muslim invasions. (5)

One cannot describe the history of Sanskrit better than by an image dear to the traditional artists and poets of India —that of the dance. Rhythmic bodily motion can be suave and elegant (*lasya*) or violent and furious (*tandava*). Gentle in the early ages of its history, the momentum of the dance of Sanskrit on the stage of India began to grow as the Prakrit challenge intensified. Possessed then of a destructive fury, the indestructible speech rose to its full mountainous stature. As the poet Bhavabhuti says of the dancing goddess of death, Kali (6), Sanskrit made the Indian earth real from the concussion of her rising and falling feet. Her dance movements inflamed the serpents on her innumerable arms; the sparks of poison sputtering from their mouths coalesced into a conflagration over her moving form. The gesticulating members of this live blaze blasted the hills from their bases and swept the stars from the sky.

The *lasya* and *tandava* are also singularly apt to describe the aesthetic

character of this tongue compounded of heavy rhythm and poisonous fire. The "language of the gods" (7) easily excels all Aryan tongues in the range of sound orchestration. Others from among them may possess, to a more evolved degree than Sanskrit, one particular sound quality. Classical Greek, for instance, has a matchless musical plasticity, and Latin is a unique amalgam of power and euphony. None of their sound combinations can bring out with comparable effectiveness the flickering colour of buds (8) and the ominous gloom of the jungle (9), the rustle of the evening breeze among the leaves (10) and the clanging of elephant bells. (11) Nothing in them approaches Sanskrit's inebriated sense of colour, ranging from fiery hues to necromantic shades. (12) It is not difficult to see how it happened that this imperious Circe all but turned so many of the languages enamoured of her beauties into swine.

Understandably, then, this tongue, instilled with the softness of petals and the resonance of bronze, capable of flights of poetic glory and of the pitiless logical penetration of metaphysical ultimates (13), drew the higher culture of traditional India into its own moulds, sucking from the younger languages of its own filiation all cultural sap but that which infrustrably gushed in their veins first through song and later through religious devotion. Thus, two languages resisted this deadly drain, Pali, the vehicle of Buddhist scriptures and Maharastri, the all-India song medium. Infused with the grandeur of Buddhism, and lifted on its world wings, Pali managed to fly to lands relatively sheltered from Sanskrit's death ray. Maharastri survived by quite other means. Gifted more than other Indo-Aryan tongues with tuneful song-like sounds, its magic projected a charmed circle within which it was safe from the grand vampire. The banyan tree could not be uprooted; another could not grow under it; but Maharastri was a tender creeper whose tendrils felt their way up the massive trunk and branches to the sun. It was on this creeper that Konkani, the flower of Maharastri, blossomed.

To discover when this happened, one has to spot the relevant linguistic characteristics of Sanskrit and the Prakrits. Phonetically, Sanskrit fun-

damentally transformed the Indo-European vowel system, and also innovated in the consonantal, especially in respect of spirants and cerebrals. This was not a gradual evolution, but rather a violent deflection from the original Indo-Iranian speech. (14)

In point of morphology, the contact with the non-Sanskrit-speaking tribes forced the language to become simpler (15) and also more cerebral-sounding. By the time of Panini it had evolved a strict series of euphonic combinations known as *sandhi* or liason. (16). Raised thus to an abstract musical level, its sounds became more and more notes to be orchestrated, sometimes with overpowering effect, in mighty compounds. The stylization then advanced to a degree of elaboration perhaps unparalled in any language known. (17)

As we said earlier, the speech brought by the Aryan was by no means even. The spread of its speakers over the extended plains of the Indo-Gangetic Valley further splintered its fragile unity. Besides variations arising through extension in space (which gave origin to the northern, midland and eastern languages) (18) there were social inequalities, perennial germs of corrupt speech in the linguistic substance of each of these areas. (19) In the east the revolt of Jainism and Buddhism and the establishment of the capital of imperial power by the Mauryas also provided the Prakrits with their opportunity to acquire literary expression. (20) Pali, the hieratic language of Hinayana Buddhism, was in all probability based on the midland Sauraseni (21), and the sacred tongue of the Jains grew out of the southern Maharastri. Asoka's edicts were inscribed in the Prakrits only, and for seven centuries these languages were predominant in inscriptions. (22)

In literature Sanskrit — irresistible in its acquired refinement and seeming immobility — returned even sooner. (23) The new era was rung in by the rebels themselves. Asvagosa, the Buddhist poet, himself wrote one of the earliest cultivated epics, or *mahākavyas*, in the second century. The degree of sophistication and polish attained in this type of poetry — the highest realized by Indian genius (24) — had a disastrous effect on the Prakrits. Coming

under the spell of *kavya* style, their diaphanous substance was crushed under the heavy finery borrowed from a Sanskrit strong enough to bear it. The backs of the Prakrit steeds broke when burdened with the massive gold canopy and bells of the royal elephant of Aryandom. That the melodious Maharastri — sparkling though it often was with a filigree artificiality — managed to shoulder some of this ponderous opulence was uniquely due to the resilience of its song-quality. The cosmetic of sophistication, far from concealing the marks of age in the Prakrits, rather high-lighted them with a lurid glamour. While these prematurely old women were desperately trying to look young, their healthier and plainer daughters came of age and took their place. Sauraseni Apabhramsa stepped into the shoes of Sauraseni Prakrit and Maharastri Apabhramsa into those of Maharastri Prakrit. Between them was the Nagara Apabhramsa, the language spoken in Gujarat and Rajasthan.

The transformation of Sanskrit into the Apabhramsas is phonetically so great that it is difficult to recognize the similarity of even derived words. However, in this span of time, it did not cease to be a living tongue of some sort. Spoken Sanskrit at this period was not the standard language of Panini, but a semi-literary patois riddled with incorrect forms. ⁽²⁵⁾ There must have been a constant flow of *tatsama* words (or Sanskrit borrowings without phonetic change) into the growing modern Indian language, because their phonetic similarity to the Apabhramsas is often far greater than to Sanskrit.

However, in many other respects, the modern languages are even further from Sanskrit than their immediate antecedents. One important factor in this change were the the double and even triple consonants of the Old Indo-Aryan language (Sanskrit) as for instance the cluster *rm* in the word *karma* (meaning "work", "transmigration", etc.). Middle Indo-Aryan (the Prakrits) assimilated these consonants: in our word, *r* is assimilated to the *m* giving us *kamma*. Then, New Indo-Aryan, (like Hindi, Marathi, and Konkani) lost one of these assimilated consonants; in compensation, the preceeding vowel was lengthened, so that *kamma* became *kam*. This is one of the characteristic New Indo-Aryan phonetic changes which occurred around the eleventh century. ⁽²⁶⁾

In time, the Apabhramsas mellowed into literary media. As before with the Prakrits, they were converted into fanatical devotees of the Sanskrit Juggernaut, whose bronze wheels rolled over their bones. The drug of *kavya* poetry made them soon decrepit, and it was not long before they dropped into their graves. Their buxom daughters, the modern Indo-Aryan languages moved into their vacant places. While even their moderate imbibing of the narcotic did the girls no end of harm, their looks and health were preserved by the sound peasant fare to which they had been earlier accustomed. The homely *bhakti* of the village was the pabulum of their literatures, examples of which most of these languages could show by the fourteenth century.

Konkani, like Punjabi and Delhi Hindi, was not among these fortunate ones.⁽²⁷⁾ Marathi, on the other hand, was already quite respectable in literary society by the twelfth century. Some of its earliest texts, however, could well be Konkani ones. The inscription at the foot of the mammoth Jain statue at Sravana Belgola⁽²⁸⁾ of 1116-1117 has a word (*karaviyalem*) where both the Marathi causative suffix *-vi* and the Konkani one *-ya* are used. There is also a poem cited in a thirteenth century encyclopedia, King Somesvara III's *Manasollasa* which has a word given as *sivaka* in the error-ridden manuscript on which the only available edition is based.⁽²⁹⁾ This makes little sense in Marathi, ancient or modern, but does so as the Konkani termination — *aka* in *sivaka* (to Siva). The rest of the sentence could read equally well as Marathi or Konkani.

On the basis of this and other evidence⁽³⁰⁾ read differently, it is concluded that Marathi was spoken in the tenth century. As Konkani shows the earlier stage of development of the two languages, it must have been in use at least by the beginning of that period. This date is thus at once that of the rise of Konkani and (assuming that song is as old as language) of Konkani folk song. The first example of it that has come down to us is found, oddly enough, in a Marathi poet of the thirteenth century, Namdev, who was born around 1270 and died about 1350.⁽³¹⁾

2. *KONKANI AND THE NORTHERN ARYAN LANGUAGES.* What Sanskrit was to the Prakrits, Marathi in a smaller way was to become to Konkani, as we saw in Chapter II. As significant is the fact that some of the earliest Prakrit poems have been preserved by Sanskrit writers as the one that the earliest indisputably Konkani poem has been by Maratha Namdev. To the two factors that helped the modern Indian languages to break away from the tyranny of the classical language, song and devotion, a third was added in Namdev's day — the slow Muslim destruction of Hindu sovereignty, so much of whose glory was draped in the rich robes of Sanskrit. Of these song-quality alone is intrinsic to a language. The fact that the midland Prakrit Sauraseni was so near to Sanskrit and was not as song-quality as Maharastri stifled its literary growth. For in the Indian cultural situation of the times a language could free itself from the tyrannous grip of a dominant literary medium only by melodiously coiling out of it.

This is precisely what happened in the case of Konkani in relation to Marathi, as we discussed in Chapter II. Today, Konkani alone is the true heir of the song quality of Maharastri, lost in Marathi, because for the progressive primitivization of its speakers through their relentless war with the Muslims. (32) The green shelter of the Konkani and its lovelier human environment helped to preserve the looks, or, better still, the voice, which Konkani had got from their mother; while the voice of her sister Marathi was rendered raucous by the harsh winds on her now eroded hills.

Though the coarsening of Marathi — emphasized later by its heavy Sanskritization — did not come about all at once, *bhakti*, which had affected Maharashtra quite early, did nothing to stop the landslide of its language into cacophony. Early Marathi poems have more of the song quality than later ones, and in Namdev devotion and melodiousness are well balanced. Indeed, several of his poems echo the lilt of the later Konkani *deknnis* and *dulpods*.

One of the heroes of the Bhakti movement was Krishna, the dark erotic god who seduced the cowherds' wives. Once when some of them were

bathing in a pool, the boy Krishna took the garments they had left on the bank and carried them to the top of a tree. When the girls came to ask for their clothes, they were forced to reveal their nakedness to the crowing god among the branches. In one of his poems, Namdev makes five cowgirls plead with the mischievous boy, each in her own language — Marathi, Kanarese, Mussalmani (a type of Urdu), Gujarati and Konkani.⁽³³⁾ The euphony of song, the preoccupation with love and the religious devotion in this poem are elements which, in one combination or another, Konkani Song was ever afterwards to retain.

Konkani's similarities with Marathi run through literature and song into grammar and phonetics, the last two factors being due to the two languages' common origin. But some of the grammatical elements which differentiate them and establish Konkani as a separate tongue, like the postpositions *-ka* and *-aka* of the dative, are forms which it shares with Central Indian languages like Hindi. These and other factors lead one to conclude that Konkani derives from a kind of Sauraseni modified by Maharastri (or vice-versa) owing to the fact that it was the tongue of emigrants from the Sauraseni country — in other words, of the Sarasvat Brahmins and their Tsad-ddi warriors.⁽³⁴⁾

3. *THE ENTRY OF THE BRAHMINS AND TSAD-DDIS.* ⁽³⁵⁾ It seems that the trek of these northerners to the Konkan was (from the Punjab) through Central India and Gujarat. They were well settled in the Konkan in the ninth century. The lands they had to pass through spoke Sauraseni Prakrit and Apabhramsa, Nagara Apabhramsa, and Maharastri Prakrit and Apabhramsa. Familiarity with other people's languages made them linguists — a quality that today's Konkani have by no means lost. When they descended on the Konkan, they found that natives were still using a non-Aryan tongue. The immigrants established themselves; their mixture of tongues, native and acquired, matured into Konkani, and was adopted by the Konkan's aborigines. An important factor in the formation of Konkani was the influx of Sanskrit words into it — here again, the responsibility resting with the Sarasvats. As Brahmins, they had to know Sanskrit; they had also passed

from the northern through the midland regions — once its main habitat and afterwards that of a Prakrit very near it (Sauraseni). Their route lay through Gujarat too, where many people were accustomed to using Sanskrit phrases mixed with Apabhramsa words. ⁽³⁶⁾ All this undoubtedly helped to keep a steady stream of Sanskrit words flowing into Konkani, there to be Prakritized in a fashion different from that of Apabhramsa; and this is surely the explanation for the richness of Konkani in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Indeed, the language was called simply the “Brahmin’s language” ⁽³⁷⁾, or a living, “child’s Sanskrit” ⁽³⁸⁾, so to speak. But the blood of Maharastri would tell, and melody must have throbbed in the veins of Konkani from its very birth. If, as we have reason to believe, this musical infant saw the light around the tenth century, Konkani Song has had no less than ten full centuries of history.

II. MONOPHONOUS SONG

Eight of these centuries are scarcely documented. The evidence of the nineteenth and twentieth belongs to a polyphonus period, though it certainly comprises transmission from earlier ages. We have a twofold task here, to find out which of our types represent the earliest phase of Konkani Song, presumably indigenous, and which can be imputed to the activity of non-indigenous causes.

1. *THE EARLIEST KONKANI SONGS.* Now is when the general notions we mentioned earlier in this chapter have to act as a sieve to help us grade our types according to their historical density. Capitulated from the previous chapter they are broadly the following ten. Under each head are two opposed categories, the first member possessing a probable anteriority in relation to the second.

i. *Sociological stratum.* Songs belonging to earlier and to latter sociological strata.

ii. *Basic Human Needs.* Songs which answer to such needs and accompany crucial actions in people's lives, and those which do not.

iii. *Function.* Songs which are functional and those which are not.

iv. *Structure.* Songs of unorganized and organized structure.

v. *Forms.* Songs of simple and of complex forms.

vi. *Rhythm.* Songs with free and with organized rhythm.

vii. *Scales.* Songs with simpler scales (like the "gapped" and the pentatonic) and those in the octave scale.

viii. *Melodic movement.* Songs with and without evenness of melodic movement.

ix. *Monophony and Polyphony.* Monophonous and Polyphonous songs.

x. *Instrumental Accompaniment.* Songs sung without or with instruments.

These criteria, which indicate anteriority only as probable when taken singly, establish it with greater certainty cumulatively, that is, as more of them are combined. The types of Goan Song which answer positively to these tests in the cumulative sense — and which can be called the basic types of Konkani Song — are the following. *Fugrhis*, all the Kunnbi songs (including the Zagor and Kunnbi nuptial songs), dirges, work songs, street vendors, cries, story songs, nuptial songs of the Sudras and Brahmins, *duvallos*, lullabies and child and childrens' songs. We can presume these (or others in their place or with their function) to have existed in Konkani Song's formative stage. We shall now apply the above criteria singly and examine their relevance to this basic list.

i. *Sociological Stratum.* Kunnbi songs belong to one of the earliest known levels of Konkani society, and are thus probably prior to the songs of the castes who entered the region later. (³⁹)

ii. *Basic Human Needs.* Most song types of the basic list answer to such needs and accompany important actions in a man's life. (⁴⁰) The early

period of Konkani Folk Song must have had its pregnancy songs (*Duvallos*), some kind of songs to lull a child to sleep (*Palnnam*) and to sing when doing things to a child, like bathing it (Child Songs). Children have always sung at games (Children's Songs) (⁴¹) and the family at marriage ceremonies (Nuptial Songs). The death of relatives cannot have gone unlamented (Dirges). It is usual for men to sing at their work (Work Songs). Street vendors are so habituated to calling attention to their wares in most part of the world by chanting, that it is judicious to suppose the custom to be very old (Street Vendors' Cries). All peoples' love stories, especially when sung in whole or in part (Story Songs). The desire to live a story by acting it is equally widespread (Zagor, Fell and Teatr). Lastly, there is the urge to communicate with the supernatural, which can never have been totally devoid of musical expression (Sacred Song).

iii. *Function*. This test applies to the above Song types; all are functional.

iv. *Structure*. Only three of our types have unorganized structure — the Dirge, Street Vendor' Cries and some kinds of work Songs.

v. *Form*. All these songs are simple in form, when they have it.

vi. *Rhythm*. Free rhythm is exemplified in nearly all types, though some Story and Nuptial Songs are in measured rhythm. Concerning Christian religious art songs of the monophonous period, nothing has lasted to our days save in so far as it was absorbed into polyphonous Sacred Song. Of religious folk songs, the Furhi, Launnim and Zoti are pre-polyphonous.

vii. *Scales*. Simple scales are found in several *Fugrhis*, Kunbi and Story Songs, and are thus a probable indication of their anteriority.

viii. *Melody Movement*. Evenness of melodic movement is also found in most of the types analysed.

ix. *Monophony and Polyphony*. All the basic songs are monophonous except some Kunbi songs and the *Palnnem*. Surely antedating the infiltration of polyphony, these types subsequently fell victims to its magic.

x. *Instrumental Accompaniment.* Most of those song types are free from musical accompaniment or seem to be appreciable without it.

2. *FOLK, CLASSICAL AND LITERARY INFLUENCES.* It now remains to be seen how many of Goan Song types of the monophonous period can be set down to non-Konkani influences. These are of three kinds: folk songs, classical music and high literature. Even when Konkani was emerging from the local Apabhramsa, the influx of the three elements on its song evolution must have been ample, but must definitely have been well under way during the Kadamba period. The action of folk song is most important, specifically that of the Kanarese and Maratha traditions. It is not easy to say if any of Goan Song types expanded from Kanarese songs. Maratha folk is less enigmatic. Both Marathi and Konkani being Aryan languages, it is easier for either of them to borrow from the other than from the Dravidian Kanarese. The types which at first sight strike one as being possible Maratha borrowings are the Banvarh, Dhalo, Zoti, Fugrhi, Ovi and Launnim. The last three are found in the Maratha country, but may have been borrowed from the Konkani, especially the Fugrhi and the Ovi; the remaining three are perhaps indigenous Konkani products. These types are mostly found in the "New Conquests" which received a stronger dose of the hilly culture than the more Latin "Old Conquests". (42)

It is difficult to assess how much Indian classical music affected Goan Song. (No monophonous art song type is known to us in the Goan tradition.) Undivided before the fifteenth century, the classical music of old India broke up afterwards into the Carnatic and Hindustani schools. The work of these schools must have been known to the Goan musicians if only through their temple dancers. These have long been renowned for their proficiency in Indian classical music, and one presumes that they acquired it early in Konkani's history. It is otherwise known that the temple dancers of other parts of India, like the Deccan, modified the development of local folk dances. (43) The Deknui, among whose heroines these dancers occupy pride of place, may have been formed under the spell of their melodies.

Our last important factor is the play of non-Konkani literature on Konkani Song. We know how Marathi affected the growth of a Konkani literature, while at the same time some of its zealots tried to root out the language. In process of time also the three factors together helped Konkani Song to evolve art song types. While the seeds must undoubtedly have been sown in the monophonous stage, the blossoming occurred only after the advent of polyphony.

III. POLYPHONOUS SONG

The irruption of Latin culture into Goa was a kind of cataclysm. The world of the Roman cupolas overshadowed that of the pyramidical temple-towers of the City of Victory and of the onion domes of tyrannical Bijapur. Latin superseded the proud "language of the gods". Superior to Sanskrit in many ways, this supreme language of selfpossession and gravity could at once project the illusion of invincibility of empire and fulfil the role of oracle of infallible dogma. While the inroads of Persian curtailed Sanskrit's domain in northern India, Latin could appropriate no more than a fraction of its proud rival's peninsular realm. In the same territory, the sibilant music of Portuguese silenced the brassy but exciting cacophony of Marathi. The undulating melodies of the *ragas* were inundated by grand periods of plainsong.

However, this cultural supercession was nothing but an apparent one, because what really happened was that the old substance was only denuded of its former modalities and invested with new and equally congenial ones. One result was the rise of modern Konkani culture, outlined in chapter II. Under different forms, this irruption was only an intensification of the three-pronged thrust of non-Konkani trends into the body of Goan Song. First of all, a new popular song tradition was implanted, the Latin European—in its Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, French and British forms. Second, the rays of a new classical musical tradition (the Western European) began to play on the body of Konkani Song in different colours, first those of the motet

and then of the opera. The high literature of Latin Europe also had a hand in moulding its form, especially Latin liturgical poetry and Portuguese and other European sacred oratory.

Needless to say, all that was brought into Goa from Europe came streaked with Lusitanian colour. When the Portuguese arrived in India, the memory of the expulsion of their own Islamic rulers was still fresh. Moorish handiwork was in evidence everywhere in the Iberian countryside and Arab melodies were widely sung. Cultural products reached Goa late from Portugal, often after they had ceased to be fashionable in the metropolis. However, as the Moorish influence was to be a lasting one in Spanish and Portuguese music, the songs of those lands blown into Goa were bound to be charged with Moorish radioactivity.

While they liked the Moorish tunes, the Spaniards and Portuguese could not bear the Moors who created them; the energy that their revenge excited led them to conquer parts of Africa, the whole of the southern, and a large chunk of the northern New World. Soon ships groaning with loads of African slaves were on their way to the Americas. Not long afterwards, Iberian territories were swarming with colonies of these black Sons of Rhythm. Song and dance types, sometimes based on those learnt from the Europeans shot up like crazy tropical blooms on this fertile soil. Some of their bouquets were reshipped to Europe, where they were glazed with the balsam elegance of Baroque and Rococo courts; borne thence to Goa, to acquire a patina of Indian finesse and melancholy. Brazil was the nursery of these types for Portugal, examples of which are the *Modinha* (⁴⁴), the *Lundum* (⁴⁵) and the *Fado* (⁴⁶), all once popular among Goan. From Spanish territories came the *Tango* (⁴⁷) and the *Fandango* (⁴⁸), which may also have been sung in Goa as they were in Portugal — even among the peasantry. (⁴⁹)

Up to our days the African in America has been the creator of songs over which the European has raved. But alongside this heady stuff was the sober classical tradition of Europe. In those days polyphony had for some time ousted plainchant. Polyphonous forms were mostly based on the motet

until the eighteenth century in Portugal, when the Italian opera took over, and there stood its ground for nearly two hundred years (⁵⁰). Opera may have been imported into Goa not long after, but it caught on only in the mid-nineteenth century, which was probably when singing teachers began teaching it to girls. (⁵¹) No less strong was Latin literary inspiration, which gripped Konkani in its "middle period", that is at a time when the other Indian literatures were going through an intermediary phase in their history. While under its deft hands Konkani was being shaped into a sensitive literary medium, Punjabi, the tongue of another unfortunate people, was putting forth its first poetic buds.

Goans Song was galvanized by these three influences, though not all at once. Its new Baroque architects pulled the old Konkani building to pieces, but took care to fit the former blocks into the new structure. Polyphony was to modify the old forms, possibly the children's songs, the Palnnam and the Brahmin Nuptial Chants. Later, the Deknni, based on earlier songs of free form, received its present polyphonic shape. Popular theatre (Teatr), dependent on the Fugrhi and Talgarhi dances, also came to adopt harmony and take on a non-religious cast, further getting itself associated with Christian festivals like Carnival and Christmas. Christian ideas were given expression in a new kind of Sacred Art Song and Folk Song, many of whose examples made use of polyphony. The *dulpods* in their present form also probably came to light in this age; their style, however, makes one believe that they are based on similar types of an earlier time.

Songs, high music and literature thus set Goan Folk Song on the road to art song, as was mentioned in another context in chapter IV. (⁵²) Besides Sacred Art Song, there were Popular Song, Teatr songs and the Mando. All through the unfolding of Goan Song we notice a phenomenon which can properly be called *suffusion*. One type of song affects another, often so intimately that their characteristics seem to fuse, or rather the peculiar quality of one is *suffused* through the body of the other. The Kunnbi Songs work through the Fell and the Dulpod: the Nuptial Song varieties, the Dirge and the subtle Ovi percolate into Sacred Song. From these blossomed the Mando-

The most important of them, as an immediate antecedant of the Mando, is probably the Ovi or Vers. It originated as we said, from the ovi metre, which imperceptibly grew into the Mando measure, as was observed in Chapter II. Though the rhythm had changed, the name *ovi* remained. An edict of the Inquisition of 1736 forbade Christians from singing *ovis* at their weddings, which shows that they were popular in the early eighteenth century. (53)

Whether the same type of song was a vehicle for ideas other than those revolving round the marriage ceremony, we do not know. In the early nineteenth century people were accustomed to thank someone for a favour in Vers form, and also to reply to insults (54), and perhaps even to let off political steam. We do know that satiric songs were sung in 1766 at the marriage of a certain Costa (who was supposed to be a mestizo) teasing him about his partly Negro origin. (55) These songs cannot have been in the Mando verse — at least not as we know it today, because the Mando is essentially a dance song. Now, if as José Inácio de Loyola (1834-1902) so categorically says (56), the dance was not introduced among the Konkani population before 1837, the sung satiric verses before that date cannot have been dance songs. The examples published in Miguel Vicente de Abreu's *Ramalhinho* from 1866 to 1870 (the first edition of any kind of non-religious numbers of Goan Song) are mostly *ovis* and *dulpods* with a great diversity of subjects. All this together leads us to suppose that the Ovi, before the first half of the nineteenth century, occupied the same place in Goan Song as the Mando after it.

We have thus a clear *terminus a quo* for the Mando. Joaquim Amâncio Gracias, born in 1857, says that there were no mandos in the period of the proclamation of the Constitutional Monarchy (1821-22) or of the time when the Prefect Bernardo Peres da Silva was deposed (1835). (57) He is of the opinion that the Mando arose only after the journals *Ultramar* and *Índia Portuguesa* had been founded, the first in 1859 and the second in 1861. (58) Loyola and Gracias both agree in that the date is roughly after 1847, which Joaquim Bernardino da Costa claims to have been the year when one of his brothers first taught dancing to the Goans. (59)

This would make it possible for people to express their feelings — conveyed so far through the Vers — in a song form which had a dance rhythm as well. We have evidence that at least two *mandos* belong to this period, that is round about 1850. They are the *Itul'mog kon-n kitea' upkarlo* and the *Empregadu zauchako*.⁽⁶⁰⁾ There is a clear mention of the Mando dance in the latter, where a man speaks of himself dancing with his prospective bride.⁽⁶¹⁾ Though this does not by itself show that there were no others dancing couples, Felipe Neri Xavier, writing about the same time (1846), says quite clearly that it was a non-couple dance.⁽⁶²⁾ Later, in the last years of the nineteenth century, the form of the Mando was different, what is known as the *longways* — pairs of men and women dancing in parallel lines. As Gracias believes, the greater political freedom which the Goans had begun to enjoy in the second half of the nineteenth century and also their increased literacy may have given the Mando the needed stimulus.⁽⁶³⁾

Soon the new song form took to politics, and the first examples of this type available to us are those of the Divarhi elections of 1854, during which the captain Joaquim Pereira Garcês was murdered.⁽⁶⁴⁾ From then on, the stream of political *mandos* is continuous. The events that seem to have excited the strongest passions are the revolt of Kuxttoba in 1869⁽⁶⁵⁾, the Abkary Act of 1879⁽⁶⁶⁾, the Morhgoum elections of 1890⁽⁶⁷⁾, and the founding of the Portuguese Republic in 1910.⁽⁶⁸⁾ However, as the overwhelming majority of the *mandos* are non-political, it makes them difficult to be dated. From what we have been able to gather it seems that the outstanding ones were created during the period comprising twenty years on each side of 1900, which indeed is the classical period of the Mando.

A craze for the dance caught the youth of Goa in its grip. Newer and newer forms were avidly learnt. A book was published in Goa in 1868, teaching the Contredance, the Lancers, Caledonians and two new Marches — the *Príncipe e Princesa Real*.⁽⁶⁹⁾ Among the others dances the Goans picked up were the Polka, the Schottische, the Quadrille, the Pas-de-Quatre⁽⁷⁰⁾, the Waltz and perhaps the Minuet. It must have been around this time that

the Mando assumed its final longways form, with its parallel lines of male and female dancers. Brahmins, Tsad-ddis and others abandoned themselves to this new passion. Even so the Mando could not but evolve in accordance with Brahmin taste, as the members of this caste composed most of its numbers. Its restrained and delicate movements owed not a little to their women's costume, the *torhop baz*. Closely wrapped round the thighs, this dress makes it difficult for a woman's legs to be in jumpy and angular positions. The earliest Mando dance session which we have a record of is one which the Governor António Sérgio de Sousa attended — sometime between 1877 and 1878, his term of office. At that splendid occasion the main singers seem to have been no other than Milagres da Silva and Arnaldo de Menezes, then a boy of 14 or 15. In him the "flower of Maharastri", after ten centuries of mellowing, had begun to distil its finest perfume.

(To be continued).