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GOA & ITS MUSIC

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EXCURSUS I

THE TRADITIONS OF KONKANI SONG

Since this book was first written (1963), one of us has had the opportunity of traversing the terrain where Konkani is spoken — a stretch of about 500 miles — from Vijaydurg to Cape Comorin. Here survive forms of Konkani Song extinct in Goa or modified there by European music. We are thus able to study the development of Konkani Song from the sixteenth century to our own day. Few displaced communities elsewhere in India have preserved, in a similar fashion, forms of music now obsolete or transformed in their habitat; the only other example known to us are the songs of the Oriyas established in the lands of the Andhras.

Two factors account for this fortunate state of events: (a) the emigrations of the Hindus from Goa of the sixteenth century for fear of the Inquisition, and from that of the eighteenth century of Christians terrified of famines and Maratha depredations; (b) the culturally heterogeneous character of the newly occupied lands. While the emigrants were of Aryan speech and culture, the lands they migrated to were Dravidian. The Indian way of life and its tolerance of pluralism encouraged them to preserve their individuality, and, as most of their energies were spent in the effort of preservation, there was little desire to innovate. The old forms therefore persisted, more or less in the state in which they had been carried away from their homeland.

A study of these traditions makes it clear beyond doubt that Konkani Song passed through three phases : first, that of monophonous song as existing before, the impact of European plainchant and polyphony ; second, as transformed by the new forms, but with imperfect assimilation ; third, as further modified by the newer forms of opera and dance music. The first is found in its pure state among the Hindus in Kerala and to some extent among those in the Kanaras, the second among the Christians in the latter regions, and the third in Goa.

Of the songs extinct or transformed in Goa are the *Pugrhis* (or *Pugrhas*, as they are known in Kerala), of which there is a large number ; their melodies and metre are found in Goan Kunnbi songs, in *fells* and in some *dulpods* ; the diffusion of their tunes and rhythm leads us to believe that they constitute the basic stratum of Konkani Song. Another form obsolete in Goa is the *God-dde*, which is nothing else but a folk *Ramayana* in Fugrhi style, sung all night in thirteen sessions at the foot of sacred trees to the beat of drums.

A Goan variant of this *Ramayana* is still sung in Vel-lli (Velim) in Saxtty, but is disappearing. It survived the Christianization of Saxtty by being disguised as a *fell* to be sung during the Carnival. Related to the *Goddde* are Hindu sacred songs, art and folk. These are not easily distinguished, and the dates of their numbers are uncertain ; but some are at least as old as the eighteenth century. This tradition of religious song had a fresh outburst in the last years of the nineteenth century in the work of Kerala's greatest poetess and song-composer, Amulakka Shennai. A modern representative of this tradition is the poet R. C. Sharma (1898-). Also found in Kerala are a few boat songs. It is difficult to say whether they are innovations or represent a type (to our knowledge) extinct in Goa. The only clear innovation, to our knowledge, is the *Xobhane* or Wedding Song, which treats of subjects like the ten incarnations of Vishnu and the deeds of Krishna ; a *xobhane* author is Shrinivasa Prabhu, a nineteenth century poet of South Kanara.

From the impact of European music more new forms evolved. Those preserved by the Christians of the Kanaras, thus confirming the types, antiquity, are the sacred Christian songs, art and folk, and the Fell. But most of the new forms subsequent to the eighteenth century (not much known to the North Kanara Christians of the older generation) are found in Goa : the Dulpod, the Deknni, the Teatr song, Popular Art Song, the Mando - Dulpod, and, last, the Mando, culmination of the whole Konkani tradition. From 1962 there have been festivals of the Mando, where all types of Goan Song are sung. One hopes that there will soon be a Pan-Konkan Song festival, where one will be able to savour a tradition that extends over five hundred miles and over ten centuries.

EXCURSUS III

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF GOAN SONG

I SOURCES

- 1 Manuscript
- 2 Printed
 - a Books
 - b Journals and loose publications

II STUDIES

I SOURCES

1 Manuscript

- 1893 *AB* Avertino Barreto of *Rai* (15 February 1893) in the possession of José Filipe Hilário Barreto of Morhgoum.
- last decade *AN* António Noronha, owned by Vitor Noronha of 19th century Devotti, Lotlli.
- 1932 *ANGJ* António Nicolau Gomes (& Jesuina) of *Lotlli* (1 January 1932), in our possession.
- 1922 *ARG* António Rosário Gomes of *Lotlli* (9 September 1922), in our possession.
- 1905 *ASMM* Augusto Santana Militão Moniz of *Rai* (13 December 1905) lent to us by Sebastião Moniz.
- 1st quarter *CB* Caetaninho Baracho of *Morghoum*, owned by 20th century António Miranda of Morhgoum.
- 1919 *CFC* C. F. Carvalho (9 September 1919) lent to us by Irineu Costa of Kurhtori.

- 1924 *CFF* Caetano Francisco Faleiro *of Kurhtori* (1 Agosto 1924).
- ? *CRF* Clotildes Rodrigues Ferreira *of Barhdes* (?)
- 1932 *FRC* Francisco Rosário Colaço *of Kurhtori* (1 January 1932)
- 1st quarter *FXV* Francisco Xavier Vaz *of Kurhtori*, lent to us by
20th century
the compiler, now dead.
- ? *JAMC* José António Manuel da Costa
- 1894 *JMCC* Jacinto Maria Constâncio Cota (15 May 1894), owned
by Vítor Noronha *of Devotti, Lotlli*.
- ? *JVCM* José Vicente Constâncio Dos Milagres Menezes *of Rai*.
- 1929 *LFMC* Luís Filipe Manuel Costa *of Kurhtori* (1914, 1924, 1929),
— 1914
owned by Aleixo & José Costa, *of Ponnji*.
- ? *METNC* Maria E. T. Noronha e Costa *of Kurhtori*.
- ? *MFM* Maria Figueiredo e Mesquita *of Lotlli*.
- 1889 – 1893 *MGC* Manual Godinho Colaço *of Morhgoum* (1 October 1889 ;
— 1893)
lent to us by Prazeres Pinto *of Morhgoum*.
- 1955 *MMA* Micael Martins *of Ol-Illi* vol. I on Art Song (1955),
in our possession.
- PBCMC* Pedro Bernardo Carlito Manuel Costa *of Kurhtori* in the
possession of the owner.
- 1st half *PBFN* Pascoal Francisco Barbosa Noronha *of Morhgoum*.
20th century
- 1933 *PCRA* Paulo Caetano do Rosário Abreu *of Kurhtori* in the possession
of owner of *PBCMC*.
- 1954 *RR* Rangel-Ribeiro *of Barhdes*.
- 1954 *SCCD* Semeão Costa & Caetano Diniz *of Kurhtori* (1954)
- 1890 *VARMD* Vicente Anunciação do Rosário Maria Diniz
— 1892
of Kurhtori
(1890, 1892), owned by José Diniz *of Morhgoum*.
- ? *VM* Vicentinho Menezes *of Rai*, in our possession.
- ? *VPGF* Vicente Paulo Gracias Flor *of Lotlli*, owned by the compiler.

2nd quarter WC Walberga Costa of Kurhtori, owned by the compiler.
20th century

2 Printed

a Books

(Authors' names spelt as in authors' time ; the Lusitanized versions of Konkani place-names are retained)

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1859 Miguel Vicente D'Abreu *Cantigas pias ou orações em verso da Virgem Maria Nossa Senhora e de Senhora Sant' Anna em lingua concani Portugueza e latina*, Nova Goa : Imprensa Nacional.

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fama internacional”, *Ibid.*, cols. 3-4. “A poesia na Índia portuguesa — temas infinitos, mas que pertencem ao drama corrente da vida”, *Ibid.*, colr. 6-7.

Lambert Mascarenhas “The Konkani ‘Teatro’”, *Goan Tribune*, 10 January 1960, pp. 5 & 12.

José Pereira “A literatura e a música de Goa”, *A Vida*, Margão (Goa), 7 September 1960, pp. 1 & 4. (Printed, censored and withdrawn from publication).

Maria Santos & Jesuino Noronha (Introduction by António Mascarenhas) *Poesias do povo goês*, Lisbon: Centro Cultural Goês, February 1960.

1961 Alfred Braganza “The Love Theme in Konkani Folksongs.”, *Goan Tribune*, 19 March 1961.

Lúcio Rodrigues “Konkani Folksongs of Goa, Durpod: The Song of Joy”, *Folklore*, Calcutta, March-April 1961, pp. 114-127; May June 1961, pp. 178-182.

1962 Kamal Vagh “Konkni lokgitem” (in Marathi) Sarojini-Babar (ed.), *Balraj*, Poona: Maharashtra Rajya Loksahitya Samiti, pp. 57-68.

Antsher Lobo “The Konkani Heritage of Music”, “*The Illustrated Weekly of India* (Goa issue), 18 February 1962, pp. 54-55.

Micael Martins “O folclore de Goa”, *Luta*, Panjim (Goa), 3 February 1962.

José Pereira “The Folk Song (Goan Song)”, *The Illustrated Weekly of India*, num. cit., pp. 63 & 65. “A literatura e a música de Goa”, *A Vida*, 18 & 19 September 1962.

José Pereira “Arnaldo de Menezes, 16 June 1863 – 17, December 1917, The Poet-Musician of Goa,” *Ibid.*, 1, 2, 8, 15 & 16 June 1963.

“The Mando — Art Song and Genuinely Goan,” *Ibid.*, 30 August 1963.

Lucio Rodrigues “The Dakni — ‘The Song of the Dancing Girl’,” *Folklore*, Vol. 4-11 (November 1963), pp. 361-8

Vasudev Kamti-vag “Amcha nattkanchi parampaxa,” *Navem Goim*, Margao 15 April 1963, pp. 3 5 & 7.

1964 Gopal Krishna Bhobe *Asa ahe mazha Gomantak*
(in Marathi), Bombay : Mauz Printing press, Ch. 9 ("Sangit anni sadhna"),
pp. 111-122.

Baki B. Borkar "Lokanlo nattyaved," *Navem Goim*,
1 December 1964, pp. 4, 5, 6 & 15 (reprinted from a number of *Parjetso avaz*).

Vasudha Mane *Govyantil dhalo. Uteavagitanchem ek sankalan*
(in Marathi), Bombay : Makarand Sahitya.

Prabhakar Shridhar Neurekar "Konknni lokgitantle Mama-
-Mami", *Dainik Maratha* (in Marathi), 6 September 1964

1965 Felicio Cardoso "Konknni sorospo", *Sot*, Margao, 3 July 1965.
"Manddeaucho Utsov", *Ibid.*, 13 August 1965.

Other Articles by Antsher Lobo

1. In *Goan World*, Bombay, c. 1941.
2. In a review which did not go beyond a few numbers on the influence of Rajasthani music on the folk music on the folk music of the area of Sat-tar (Satari), Goa, c 1947.
3. In *O Herald*, Panjim, c. 1949.
4. In *Anglo-Lusitano*, Bombay, c. 1952.
5. Paper presented to the Ministry of Defence on western Influences on Goa, 1955.
6. In Golden Jubilee number of the Goan Institute, Byculla, Bombay (ed. Philip Furtado).

This information was given to us by Mr. Lobo himself. We have not been able to make it more precise or verify it.

NOTES

(*The spellings of the names of Portuguese authors have been modernized*) but not the quotations and titles of their books.

INTRODUCTION

1. " Parece agora razão darmos uma breve notícia da cidade, e Ilha de Goa, por ser a principal praça de armas desta espiritual Conquista, o centro desta circumferência, o coração deste vastíssimo corpo, donde a cada passo veremos sair os Ministros do Evangelho, uns para o Norte, outros para o Sul, a desterrar com a claríssima luz do Fé as escuras trevas da idolatria ; a lavar nas aguas do santo Baptismo inumeraveis povos, muito diferentes nas linguas, e muito diversos nos costumes ; a sujeitar ao suave jugo da Igreja Romana Reis e Principes poderosos ; a levantar no mais remontado paganismo templos do verdadeiro culto e religião ; e a fundar a Jesu crucificado um novo e dilatado Imperio ". Francisco de Sousa, S. J., *Oriente conquistado a Jesus Cristo pelos padres da Companhia de Jesus da provincia de Goa* (2nd edition, Bombay 1881), Primeira Parte, conquista 1, divisão 1, num. 16, p. 12.

2. Fall of Constantinople 1453. Capture of Goa 1510.

3. As Gilberto Freyre says, Goa is a " harmonisação da Europa latina com os trópicos ". *Aventura e Rotina* (Lisbon : Livros da Brasil Ltda, 1953), p. 12. And on p. 28 he declares : " Goa não é subeuropeia : acrescenta a Europa ao Oriente ".

4. See chapter II, section I, below.

5. As, for instance, the devotions to St. Anne, a popular saint in the Middle Ages. The Mystery Plays or " Image " Passion Plays are the *passos* of Holy Week. See also chapter I, note 42, below.

6. As, for example, the motet, the most important form of mediaeval composition, which was very popular in the Counter-Reformation age, but suffered an eclipse in Europe in the nineteenth century. A favourite instru-

ment of the Renaissance musicians, the viol, maintained its popularity in Goa apparently till the end of the nineteenth century.

7. See chapter VIII below.
8. See chapter VI below.
9. See Excursus V, Bibliography of Goan Song, below.
10. Some of the libraries in Europe are as follows :

<i>Lisbon</i>	(a) Biblioteca Nacional.
	(b) Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo.
	(c) Biblioteca de Ajuda.
<i>Evora</i>	Biblioteca Pública.
<i>Braga</i>	Biblioteca Pública.
<i>Rome</i>	(a) Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu.
	(b) Vatican Library.
	(c) Biblioteca Nazional e Vittorio Emmanuele.
<i>London</i>	(a) Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies.
	(b) British Museum Library.
	(c) India Office Library.
	(d) Library of the Baptist Missionary Society.
<i>Prague</i>	Knihovna Narodniho Musea (Library of the National Museum).
<i>Vienna</i>	Oesterreichische National Bibliothek.

11. Found mostly in the Central Library, Ponnji, and in various private collections in Goa.
12. Francisco João da Costa (or "Gip"), *Jacob e Dulce* (2nd ed.), Nova-Goa (Ponnji): Typographia da "Casa Luso-Franceza", 1907.
13. The name of our informants are found in Excursus IV, below.
14. GOANNESS OF THE MANDO "Mandós, em que tanto abunda a nossa terra, e que constituem a música de predilecto encanto da sociedade goa-

neza". Maria Aninha da Silva Coelho, leaflet of *Mandos*, Morhgoum 1890, introductory page. "Konkani poetry, especially in the form of the *Mando*, has been so far the only extensively successful vehicle for the spontaneous overflow of our powerful feelings. . . . No poetry can so surely set the heartstrings of a Goan a-quiver. . . as the poetry of a *Mando*". Armando Menezes, "A Peep at our Parnassus", *The Goan World*, December 1930, p. 28. "... the *mando* became . . . the most intense expression of the personality of the individual and the character of the race. . . On the silken string of the rhythm of the *Mando* are strung, like coloured beads, our national traditions. . ." Francisco Correia-Afonso, "Our National Dance", *The Goan World*, num. cit., pp. 13-14. One of the founders of the study of the Mando, Floriano Barreto, says of it: "A alma da terra *mater* ahi estua e reflecte-se." *Livro posthumo* (Nova Goa: Caza Luso-Franceza, 1906), "O culto da música," p. 138.

15. For the "Konkani Composite" of melancholy and star fixation see chapter VII.

16. The war on Konkani is well described by the language's first historian, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara in his *O ensaio historico da lingua concani*, which is one of the two prefaces to his *Grammatica da lingua concani composta pelo padre Thomaz Estevão e ascrescentada por outros padres da Companhia de Jesus*. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1857.

CHAPTER I

1. "Goa is all that land that lies between the Western Ghats and the Arabian sea, between 14 degrees, 53' and 15 degrees, 48' Lat. North; and 73 degrees, 45,' and 74 degrees 34' Long. East of Greenwich". C. F. Saldanha, S. J., *A Short History of Goa* (Bombay: Anglo-Lusitano, 1952), Introduction, P. 1.
2. Frei Paulo da Trindade compares the city of Goa to a tapestry: "Nesta ilha está situada a formosíssima cidade de Goa, a qual e tão fresca e aprazível a vista por estar toda entresachada de arvoredo, que parece um pano de armar". *Conquista espiritual do Oriente* (ed. Felix Lopes O. F. M., Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Ultramarinos, 1962), ch. 17, p. 89.
3. This is how a Goan jungle in the Ghats struck a Portuguese writer of the eighteenth century: "tudo cheyo de Arvores tam grossas, tam unidas, e tam antigas, que parece se conservam desde o principio do Mundo naquele sitio... He regado este vale de copiozas aguas... O que faz as arvores tam humidas, que nam pega nellas o fogo, e o terreno tam visozo, que produz por toda a parte silvas, rotas, huma especie de canas, a que chamam na India *Bambus*... que embaçando-se nas arvores, fazem huma horrorosa, e impenetravel brenha. Entre as mais arvores, que ali produziu a Natureza ha umas, a que chamam commumente naquele Pays arvores dos Banianes... Tem estas a propriedade de lançar grandes ramos, que declinando para a terra, criam nella raizes, que produzem outras arvores, cujos ramos chegando ao cham deitam outras raizes; de maneira, que multiplicando-se formam huma especie de muralha, que com grande difficuldade se pode desfazer, e he arvore destas, que so elle forma hum bosque". José Freire Monterroyo Mascarenhas, *Epanaphora Indica*, parte 4 (Lisbon 1748), no. 141, pp. 79 - 80.

4. Walter A. Fairservis, Jr., "The Harappan Civilization — New Evidence and More Theory", *American Museum Novitates*, New York, 17 November 1961, p. 17.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 26-7.
6. See K. de B. Codrington's for the coming *The Study of Indian Art*, ch. 4. Varanasi (Benares) : The Chowkhamba Vidya Bhawan.
7. Irawati Karve, "The Cultural Process India", *Man*, October 1951, article 232, p. 135.
8. Some examples are the Nagas of ancient India, and the Gujars, Marathas, Sikhs and Orissans of the modern. *Ibid.*, pp. 137-138.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 138.
10. R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, "The Civilization of a Sub-Continent", in S. Piggott (ed.), *The Dawn of Civilization* (London : Thames and Hudson, 1962), p. 252.
11. Niharranjan Ray, *Maurya and Sunga Art* (University of Calcutta, 1945), chapter II, pp. 8-10.
12. Fairservis, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.
13. The Foral of Afonso Mexia, published by Cunha Rivara in the *Arquivo portuguez oriental*, Ponnji, fasc. V (1865), parte 1, n. 58, pp. 118-133.
14. Saldanha, *op. cit.*, ch. 2, pp. 9-10, attributes the Goan's social spirit and local individualism to the Gaumponn.
15. Mortimer Wheeler, *op. et loc. cit.*
16. Fairservis, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-14.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 18 and 20.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
19. Mortimer Wheeler, *op. et loc. cit.*
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*

23. **PERIODS OF GOAN HISTORY.** The division of Goan history into periods is based on the suggestions of Dr. George Mark Moraes, who, in a personal discussion with us, recommended the following scheme of epochs :

- (a) Pre-Ashoka
- (b) Maurya
- (c) Chalukya
- (d) Kadamba
- (e) Yadava
- (f) Bahmani
- (g) Vijayanagara
- (h) Bijapur
- (i) Portuguese Goa

The events of the last period, he said, could be best classified according to who the adversaries of the Portuguese were at a given time. Thus in the years between 1510 and 1650, the main enemies were the Bijapur dynasts; from 1650 to 1739 the Marathas; from the latter date to 1800 Hyder Ali, Tippu Sultan, the Nizam and the Marathas; and from 1800 to 1947 the British.

For other schemes of Goan history see Frederico Dinis de Aiala, *Goa antiga e moderna* (Lisbon, 1889) p. 30; J. A. Saldanha, "The Origins and Growth of Konkani", *The Mangalore Magazine*, Vol. 2-8 (Christmas 1902), p. 236; and also João Manuel Pacheco de Figueiredo, "Goa Preportuguesa", *Studia*, Lisbon, no. 12 (July 1963), pp. 139-259 and nos. 13-14 (January-July 1964), pp. 105-225. This latter work is so far perhaps the fullest treatment of Goan history before the Portuguese conquest.

24. Jagdish Chandra Jain, *Life in Ancient India as Depicte in the Jain Canons* (Bombay: New Book Company, 1947), ch. 4, p. 299.

25. Xennai Goimbab (Varde Valaulikar), *Valipat-tanatso Sod*. Bombay: Gomantak Press, 1962.

26. The material for this and the following section (as well as for some of the previous and latter ones) is taken from the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan's *History and Culture of the Indian People (HCIP)* — Vol. I, *The Vedic Age* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1951); vol. II, *The Age of Imperial Unity* (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1951); vol. III, *The Classical Age* (Idem, 1954); vol. IV, *The Age of Imperial Kanauj* (Id., 1955); vol. V, *The struggle for Empire* (Id., 1957); vol. VI, *The Delhi Sultanaete* (Id., 1960); vols. IX & X, *British Paramounty and Indian Renaissance* (Id., 1963 & 1965) — especially from vols. IV and V. The editors are: R. C. Majumdar & A. D. Pusalker, of vols. I-V; R. C. Majumdar, A. D. Pusalker & A. K. Majumdar, of vol. VI; and R. C. Majumdar, A. D. Majumdar, & D. K. Ghose, of vols. IX & X.
27. See George Mark Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula. A History of Ancient and Mediaval Karnataka*. Bombay: B. X. Furtado & Sons, 1931.
28. The Jain Canons, fixed by Devardhigani around the sixth century A.D., say that the Konkan was non-Aryan, as for example Jinadasagani, *Uttaradhyayana Curni* (Rutlam 1933), p. 115, quoted by Jagdish Chandra Jain, *op. cit.*, pp. 299-300.
29. "... esta gente trabalhadora, pacífica, e verdadeira na sua simplicidade como nenhuma outra em terras de Goa... estes homens... tem a coragem rara no paiz de dizer a verdade em quaesquer circunstâncias... São os mais fortes, e ao mesmo tempo os mais doces manducares..." Antonio Emílio d'Almeida Azevedo, *As comunidades de Goa* (Lisbon 1890), cap. I, pp. 18-19.
30. Xennai Goimbab, *Gomanto panixat* (Bombay: Gomantak Press, 1933), 1 *kadd*, 4 *arannyak*, p. 35.
31. See: *The Delhi Sultanate (HCIP vol. VI)*, ch. XII.
32. G.M. Moraes, "A Forgotten Chapter in the History of the Konkan", *Bharat Kaumudi* (Studies in Indology in Honour of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, Allahabad 1945), pt. 1, pp. 441-475.
33. See Jorge Dias, *Os elementos fundamentais da cultura portuguesa*, Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1960.
34. Battle of Diu: 3 February 1509.

35. The notions of *consecrational* or *sacral* and *secular* Christendoms are elaborated by Charles Journet in *The Church of the Word Incarnate* (translation by A.H.C. Downes of *L'Église du Verbe incarné*) (London and New York: Sheed and Ward, 1955), ch. VI, sees. III and IV, pp. 214-324.

36. "Ex his jam apertum et perspicuum est: unam Archiepiscopi Goan, Metropolitanam jurisdictionem majori terrarum regionumque tractu protendi, ac longius latiusque patere, quam omnium Patriarcharum ac Episcoporum simul sumptorum totius Europae." Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, O.C.D., *India orientalis christiana* (Rome 1794), p. 38, see also introduction note I.

37. Maurice Collis, *The Land of the Great Image* (London: Faber and Faber, 1953), III, 1, p. 25, and *The Grand Peregrination* (Idem, 1949) ch. 1, p. 12.

38. "Goa was at that period a city with an estimated population of two hundred and twenty five thousand, which would rank it with London and Antwerp as one of the largest cities of that time." Boies Penrose, *Goa—Queen of the East* (Lisbon, 1960), p. 55. "Le sue fabbriche sono bellissime, alte, nobili, fatte al modo d'Europa, solo piu frequenti di finestre... Li convente de' Regolari sono singolarmente maestosi, tanto che sto in dubbio se in Europa si possino trovare de piu belli." F. Vincenzo Maria di S. Caterina da Siena *II viaggio alle Indie Orientali* (Rome 1672), lib. 5, cap. 4, p. 424.

39. "... todas as noites infallivelmente as horas destinadas a este sancto exercicio toda a cidade de Goa parecia hum côro da música..." Francisco de Sousa, *op. cit.*, conquista I, div. II, num. 19, p. 74.

40. "Alli dorme, apezar do marquez de Pombal, no seu leito de prata, e na terra que tanto amou, o maior conquistador do Oriente." Tomás Ribeiro, *Jornadas, Segunda parte, Entre Palmeiras* (2nd ed. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1932), XXXVIII, p. 198.

41. Paul Claudel, "Saint François Xavier," in *Corona benignitatis anni Dei* (Paris: Nouvell Revue Française, 1915), IV, 6, pp. 178-181. "L'immense Asie tout entière est cernée par ce petit homme." p. 180.

42. The most important of these importers of culture was perhaps the Dutchman Gaspar Barzeu (died 1553). Of him Felipe Neri Xavier says that he "instituiu uma *Procissão de disciplinantes*, que reunidos em todas as sextas-feiras na referida Igreja depois de diferentes praticas estabelecidas. se

disciplinavam. Em seguida estatuiu as *Pregações, Representações de Passos de Christo — e Procissões nas sextas-feiras da Quaresma — As encomendações nocturnas em alta voz, das Almas do Purgatorio, e dos que andavam em peccado mortal, (chamadas Devotas) — os Mestres da Capella — As missas cantadas a canto de órgão— as Procissões de meninos com capellas de flores etc. etc. — Tal he a fonte donde dimanaram diversos actos religiosos que ainda hoje se observam nas Igrejas deste Estado, e nas das Missões.*” *Resumo histórico da maravilhosa vida de S. Francisco Xavier* (2nd edition Nova Goa : Imprensa Nacional, 1861), footnote n. 131, pp. 122-123.

43. See C. R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan 1549-1650*, Berkeley. Los Angeles : University of California Press ; London : Cambridge University Press, 1951.

44. “ Asian influences are readily discernible in old Portuguese art... Portuguese influences in Asian art were relatively less important ”. C.R. Boxer. “ The Portuguese in the East ”, in H.V. Livermore. *Portugal and Brazil. An Introduction* (Oxford : The Clarendon Press, 1953), IX, p. 243.

45. Mário Tavares Chicó, “ Aspects of the Religious Art of Portuguese India. Architecture and Gilt Woodwork ”. *Marg*, Bombay, vol. VIII-1 (Dec. 1954), p. 20 (translation of Chicó’s article published in the *Boletim Geral do Ultramar*, December 1951).

46. Or in Vieira’s phrase on Holland, the “ frio e alagado inferno ” *Sermão pelo bom successo das armas de Portugal*, sect. III, end.

47. “ The legitimate heritage of the baroque period must not be the absolutizing of what is human in church State, but the awareness of the absolute character of the divine ; it must be a celebration not of present triumphalism, but of eternal triumph ”. Hermann Tschle, “ Baroque Christianity : Root of Triumphalism ”, *Concilium*, Hilversum, vol. VII-I (Sept. 1965), p. 76.

48. Chicó *op. cit.*, pp. 20-24.

49. The church of Nossa Senhora da Divina Providência (S. Caetano) in Velha Goa, 1656-1661.

50. “ ...scolo Bramante, Michelangelo e Bernini seppero esprimere la trionfante universalita della Chiesa Romana ”. Antodio Muñoz, *S. Pietro in Vaticano* (Rome : Libreria Mantegazza, no date (1924 ?)), p. 24.

51. The width of St. Paul's nave is 41 feet, while that of Espirito Santo (S. Francisco de Assis) in Velha Goa is a little over 54 feet. Of course, St Paul's has aisles, which the Espirito Santo has not.

52. **THE GOAN ORATORIANS.** On José Vaz, S. G. Perera, S. J., says: "Joseph ... the model of a priest, the greatest product of the Catholic Faith in the East". *Life of the Venerable Father Joseph Vaz, Apostle of Ceylon* (2nd ed. Galle: Loyola House, 1953), ch. I, p. 2. "Two priests stand out preeminent in the history of the Catholic faith in this island; one as the Founder of the modern church, the other as its architect and builder. The former is the Venerable Father Joseph Vaz, the Apostle of Ceylon; the latter his disciple, companion and eventually his successor, Father Jacome Gonçalves". *Ibid.*, *Life of Father Jacome Goncalvez* (Madura: De Nobili Press, 1942), Foreword, p. I. Both these books have extensive bibliographies. See also *Ibid.*, *Historical Sketches (Ceylon Church History)*, Jaffna, St. Joseph's Catholic Press, 1938.

53. *Ibid.*, pp. 118-129.

54. Francisco de Sousa, *op. cit.*, conq. 4, div. 1, n n. 106-108, pp. 398-402.

55. "Peregrinou Xavier em corpo e alma por immensos mares e remotissimas Provincias: desceu em forma de Peregrino do céu a terra: e ate o seu corpo já morto e sem alma andou peregrinando de Sanchoão a Malaca, de Malaca a Goa, de uma sepultura em outra, mudando tumulos e ataúdes, cubiculos, salas e capellas. E porque ainda se suspeita que ha de peregrinar mais ao longe, (o que Deus não permitta por sua Divina Misericordia) jaz ao presente em um tumulto interior de rodas para se poder tirar mais facilmente do mausoleu de prata no Oriente. Mas eu espero em seu milagroso patrocínio que se lhe hão de servir as rodas para se mover com maior promptidão e velocidade ao socorro da India, porque pedem remédio mui apressado tão lastimosas ruínas". *Ibid.*, conq. 4, div. 2, n. 4, p. 415.

56. See, for instance, the sonnets of Bocage (1765-1805) in his period of expatriation (1788-1790).

57. “Durante o reinado deste príncipe (D. João V), as entranhas da América pareciam converter-se em ouro, e a terra brotar diamantes para enriquecerem o tesouro português”. Alexandre Herculano, *Panorama* (1843), p. 189, quoted by José de Oliveira Boleo in “A incorporação das ‘Novas Conquistas’ no Estado da Índia”, *Studia*, no. 8 (July 1961), pp. 336-337.

58. Chicó, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

59. Jacinto Caetano de Barreto Miranda, *Quadros históricos de Goa*, terceira caderneta, 1864, quadro 25, p. 82: “sobre cujas ruínas ergueu-se jucunda a homérica figura do marquez de Pombal.”

60. See C. R. Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), chapter II, pp. 69-75.

61. **CUNHA RIVARA'S JUDGEMENT OF THE CONJURAÇÃO.** “Os autores do primeiro (sistema) fundando-se na legitimidade do poder dominante, querem salvar do labeo de traidores e rebeldes a conterraneos seus, parecendo-lhes que aquelle labeo reflectira de algum modo sobre elles proprios, não se lembrando que o crime, ou erro de alguns não infama um povo inteiro. Os auctores do segundo, partindo da legitimidade da resistencia a occupação do paiz por uma raça estrangeira, acham gloriosa e heroica a tentativa de rebellião, posto que mallograda, esquecendo-se de que não he heroicidade nenhuma em tropeçar de illusão em illusão, em não saber proporcionar os meios aos fins, em desconhecer que quando muito sorrisse a fortuna no primeiro momento a phantasiada republica goana, ou a invasão do Tipú, quer só, quer associado aos Francezes, já então mui decaidos na India, não tardaria muito tempo a reacção dos Portuguezes, empenhados assim n'uma lucha da vida ou de morte; e se estes não podessem restituir-se do perdido, lá estava a Inglaterra, ardendo em desejos de alargar os seus dominios indianos, que não deixaria perder o lance para se apoderar do tão apetecido porto de Goa”. *A conjuração de 1787 em Goa* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1875), cap. X, p. 117.

62. **PORTUGUESE INTEGRATIONIST COLONIALISM.** “ a Indya e mais terras ultramarinas de cuyo governo se trata neste conselho, não são distinctas nem separadas deste Reyno nem ainda lhe pertencem por modo de união, mas são membros do mesmo Reino, como he o do Algarve e qual-quer das provincias de Alentejo e Entre Douro e Minho, porque se gover-não com as mesmas leis e magistrados e gosão dos mesmos privilegios que os do mesmo Reino e assy tao portuguez he o que nasce e vive em Goa ou no Brasil on em Angola, como o que vive e nasce em Lisboa...” From the “ Relação sobre a precedência que se deve dar ao Conselho da India entre os mais Conselhos e Tribunais do Reino ”, published by Francisco Mendes da Luz from a MS. of around 1606 in *Garcia de Orta*, vol. III, no. 1 (1955), p. 569.

63. “ droves of apparently sheep-like natives, submitting with the same docility to being fleeced without attempting to turn and bite their shearers ”. Arnold J. Toynbee, *The Present-Day Experiment in Western Civilization* (London : Oxford University Press, 1962), I, p. 12.

64. “ disse outr’ora da India portugueza o jesuita padre Manoel Godinho :

Se foi gigante é já pigmeu ;
Se foi império, pereceo ;
Se foi vasto, está limitado
Se foi muito, não é já nada ”.

Miguel Vicente de Abreu, *O governo do Vice-Rei Conde do Rio Pardo no Estado da India Portugueza desde 1816 ate 1821* (Nova Goa : Imprensa Nacional, 1869), p. 195.

65. Instituted by Gregory XV on 6 January 1622.

66. Cunha Rivara wrote *Brados a favor das comunidades das aldeias do Estado da India* (Nova Goa : Imprensa Nacional, 1870), and Filipe Neri Xavier, the *Defensa dos direitos das gão-carias, gão-cares e dos seus privilegios, contra a proposta da sua dissolução, e divisão das suas terras* (Nova Goa : Imprensa Nacional, 1856).

67. The first telegraphic line in Goa (Belgaum-Goa) was set up in November 1857.
68. The contract for the railway in Goa was signed in 1881, and its first line inaugurated in October 1882.
69. The Liceu was founded on 9 November 1854.
70. The Biblioteca Pública (now the Central Library) or rather, the Instituto Vasco da Gama of which the Biblioteca formed a part, was founded by Tomás Ribeiro on 22 November 1871 on the 373rd anniversary of the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope. The name of the Instituto was changed after 1961 to Instituto Menezes Braganza.
71. The first journal published in Goa was the *Gazeta de Goa* (first issue. 22 December 1821). The editor was the unfortunate Captain Luis Prates.
72. See chapter V, p.
73. The use of Western clothes must have been very rare among the Indians of Goa before 1736; on 14 April that year, the Inquisition forbade them the use of the *dhoti*. By the mid-nineteenth century Christian men had grown used to wearing Western style dress in church, and have today adopted it generally. Most women, however, still wear Indian costumes, though many Christians have taken to dresses. For the dress among Christians around 1846 see Filipe Neri Xavier, *Gabinete litterario das Fontainhas* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, no. 1, 1846), pp. 100-106.
74. "As eleições tem causado na India portugueza... mais mal que quantas pragas houve no Egypto". Miguel Vicente de Abreu *op. cit.*, p. 66.
75. **ELECTIONS AND THE GOAN BRAHMINS.** The unwarlike Brahmins of Goa found the non-violent form of strife — the elections — much to their liking. Of them Frederico de Aiala says: "Estas duas forças sociaes, a imprensa e o clero, tem na villa de Margão, centro do brah-

manismo politico, a *Athenas na sabedoria e Paris na civilisação*, um baluarte irreductivel, com as baterias de chicanas assestadas contra Ribandar, o antigo solar dos fidalgos. Um busto de Bernardo Peres da Silva, o *Washington de Goa*, uma especie de orago politico, relembra-lhes o seu programma patriotico : abaixo os portuguezes ". *op. cit.*, p. 38.

76. See *ibid.*, pp. 65-66 for a description of Garcês's death.

77. This mando is the *Luizinh moje Luizinh*. There is another mando (little known) on this event, the *Divarhykaranim ekttaim keleaim Soreachim bunyanvam*.

78. Recorded in publications like José Inácio de Loliola's *As petas geneologico-históricas do Sr. J. B. Catão de Costa*, 01-11 ; (Orlim), no date (it is a reply to a book published in 1873).

79. *Vasco Guedi uspita fondondo*

Morghoum kon-num ragtachim konddo

Chorus of the 2nd verse of the mando

Niti nam fori Gonyantum Justis nam Saiba Saxttintum.

80. For a bibliography of the risings of Satari see the *Boletim do Governo*, Ponnji 1852, pp. 71, 76, 100 and 250. Frederico de Aiala, a great admirer of the *rannos*, has a picturesque description of their robbing methods in *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.

81 *Kuxtoba*

Miraxi Indietso

Terroru Gointso

Conflit povatso

Inimig bottatso!

from the *deknni* which begins with these lines.

82. The mando on this revolt is *Soglea sonsara foboro Pakleam' geunum-yetai munna vapore*.
83. See Gomes da Costa's *A revolta de Goa e a campanha de 1895/1896*, edited by his son Carlos Gomes da Costa, Lisbon 1939.
84. J. B. Amâncio Gracias, "Ingleses em Goa", *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama*, Ponnji, no. 22 (1934), pp. 1-60, no. 23 (1934), pp. 1-29 and no. 24 (1934), pp. 1-22.
85. Arthur Bryant, *The Story of England, I, The Makers of the Realm* (London: Collins, 1953), ch. 10, p. 270.
86. See Constâncio Roque da Costa, *O tratado anglo-portuguez de 26 de Dezembro* (Morhgoum: Typographia do "Ulamar", 1879), and Frederico de Aiala, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
87. "These places on earth have been impregnated with man's intelligence and toil. It is through history that the union of Nature and man is accomplished. As a result Nature radiates with signs and significance, which makes her beauty blossom forth". Jacques Maritain, *Creative Intuition in Art and Poetry* (London: Harvill Press 1953), ch. 1, p. 9.
88. "Goa parece tê-los amaciado nas árvores quase litúrgicamente católicas que se tornaram tanto na India portuguesa como no Brasil e na Africa lusitana. Coqueiros e igrejas católicas parecem hoje completar-se na composição de paisagens genuinamente luso-tropicais". Gilberto Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 291.
89. "A villa de Margão abraça este monte, em cujo topo está a Virgem Sancta, como a cobril-a com o manto da sua *piidade*". Tomás Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, II, p. 21.

90. *Siason tujem sorgari*
Santissima Trindadicha mazari
Tunvem ason kelam dograri
Amam papiam fatiri.

v. 10 of Barreto's hymn, *Papianchi xeratinni*.

From the edition (on a sheet) of J. V. Barreto Miranda, Morhgonm, 1901 (orthography modified).

91. Floriano Barreto, *op. cit.*, pp. 136 and 230. See chapter III, note 33, below.
92. Some of these poets are Nascimento Mendonça, Paulino Dias, Mariano Gracias and Floriano Barreto. See Joseph Furtado, *Principais poetas goanos*, Bastorá : Tip. Rangel, 1927, and Ethel M. Pope, *India in Portuguese Literature*, Bastorá : Tip. Rangel, 1937.
93. See Introduction, note 16.
94. Filipe Neri Xavier, 17 March 1801 — 26 May 1875.
95. Jacinto Caetano de Barreto Miranda, 1 January 1842 — 10 July 1879.
96. Miguel de Abreu, 1827-1884.
97. Casimiro de Nazaré, 1830-1928. Some other scholars of the time were Frederico Diniz de Aiala, José António Ismael Gracias (1857-1919), João Baptista Amâncio Gracias (1872-1950) Júlio Francisco António Adeodato Barreto (1905-1937) and Francisco Luís Gomes (1829-1869).
98. See article by João Agostinho Fernandes (1871-1947), the chief of the Teatr writers, on his own work in *Ave Maria* (Bombay), 28 November 1942, where he outlines the Teatr's early history. See also Xennai Gõimbab, *Yeulkar adyakxalem ulaup* (Bombay : Gomantak Press, 1945), pp. 20-22.
99. See P. V. de Souza, *The Goan Abroad. A Graphic Record of the Early Goan Emigration into British India*, Bombay : Goa Times Press 1942.
100. *British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance*, part 1 (HCIP, vol. IX), ch. XIX, pp. 591-602.

101. *Ibid.*, p. xxvii.
102. *Ibid.*, ch. XXVIII, pp. 828-837.
103. "Foreign conquerors have treated the natives with violence, and often with great cruelty, but none has treated them with so much scorn as we; none have stigmatized the whole people as unworthy of trust, as incapable of honesty, and as fit to be employed only when we cannot do without them. It seems to be not only ungenerous, but impolitic, to debase the character of a people fallen under our dominion..."

The consequence, therefore, of the conquest of India by the British arms would be in place of raising, to debase the whole people. There is perhaps no example of any conquest in which the Natives have been so completely excluded from all share of the government of their country as in British India". Thomas Munro (Minutes) to the Governor-General, 12 November 1818, quoted from Gleig, *Life of Sir Thomas Munro*, pp. 269-270, by Edward Thompson and G. T. Garratt, *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India* (London: Macmillan, 1934), p. 657.

104. Toynbee, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

(To be continued).