

# **AGRARIAN INDIA**

## **PROBLEMS AND PERSPECTIVES**

**(Felicitation Volume in Honour of Dr. K.K.N. Kurup)**

Edited by  
**Dr. E.K.G. Nambiar**



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## SECTION II

# "NO TAXATION WITHOUT CESSATION OF RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION! AGRARIAN PROTESTS AGAINST THE COLONIAL RELIGIOUS POLICY IN GOA, 1559-1583"

PRATIMA KAMAT

Portugal was the first European country to establish its colonial presence in India and the last to leave its shores. Spurred on by the desire to possess the strategic and wealthy entrepot of Goa and at the same time challenge the commercial and military status of the Adilshah of Bijapur, the Portuguese Governor, Afonso de Albuquerque, captured Goa in 1510. It remained Portuguese up to 1961, though with varying territorial boundaries<sup>1</sup>. Motivated by the ideologies of *reconquista* and Counter-Reformation, and armed with Papal Bulls and the decrees of the *Padroado Real*,<sup>2</sup> the *Estado da India* (the Portuguese State of India) soon established itself as a "commercial and maritime empire cast in a military and ecclesiastical mould"<sup>3</sup>.

### The Cross v. The Axe<sup>4</sup>...

Portuguese navigators had ventured into the south Atlantic and the Indian oceans in search of "Christians and spices" and having set a firm foot on the west coast of India, Christianisation and acculturation (to be understood within an eurocentric, colonial framework) served as the dominant themes of Portuguese imperialism. Goa, which had experienced the rule of Hindu and Muslim kings alike, was now subjected to the tutelage of an European Christian monarch who aimed at "so uniting the two powers, spiritual and temporal, that the one should never be exercised without the other"<sup>5</sup>. Soon religious persecution became the order of the day. Initially, on account of certain

historical religio-politico-commercial reasons, it was the Muslims of Goa who bore the burnt of the attack. In later years, Hindus were hounded in pursuit of a policy of fanatical evangelisation especially after the introduction of the 'rigour of mercy' in 1541.

The spectre and the staff were wedded in the *Padroado Real* and Papal Bulls which accorded to the king of Portugal the right to conquer the eastern half of the world for Christ. Thus, in adherence to the dictum, *cujus regio, illius religio*, the sword and the cross moved hand in hand, swiftly possessing themselves of the properties and souls of the local people. The Portuguese believed that their 'Seaborne empire' was a product of divine dispensation with God working for them (*gesta Dei per lusitanos*)<sup>6</sup>. Although much has been written on this subject, with special reference to the conversion -by-conviction-or-by-coercion debate of Heras Priolkar- D'Costa,<sup>7</sup> a critical and balanced treatment of the interaction between the European rulers and their Indian subjects is still a desideratum.

In the rest of the 16th century, the state worked hand-in-hand with the Church in the evangelisation of Goa. Although initially the Portuguese presence in Goa was more christocentric than ethnocentric, as the zeal for proselytism spread and the Goa Inquisition was set up in 1560, the race to win souls for Christ also meant acquiring converts to the Lusitanian way of life since local habits and customs were deplored as being 'pagan'. Konkani literature was burnt by the Portuguese on grounds that it contained the percepts of idolatry. Converts were prohibited from having any social intercourse with the Hindus outside the pale of unavoidable business dealings. In the wake of evangelisation, local Christians were forced to give up their traditional way of life and adopt Portuguese names, habits and manners. Significantly, a convert was baptised in the European attire, signalling his/her conversion to not only Christianity but also the European lifestyle.

Under Viceroy Constancio de Braganca, anti-Hindu legislation was introduced with fresh vigour in 1559 and in the following year

the Goa Inquisition was established. The two Provincial councils of 1567 and 1575 not only codified the existing draconian measures which favoured evangelisation, but prescribed similar instruments of proselytism for the future. On the one hand, Hindus were legally prevented from conducting their religious and social life openly and on the other, converts were liberally showered with benefits and privileges meant to wean them away from the Hindu fold<sup>8</sup>.

These were chiefly of two types, coercive (which denied non-Christians the right to live and work in a religiously tolerant atmosphere in their own homeland) and favouristic (inducements to wean non-Christians away from their natal religions in favour of Roman Catholicism). The first set included those laws which banned or destroyed symbols of the Hindu faith as practices that ran counter to the 'natural law'<sup>9</sup>. It also consisted of decrees which prevented Hindus and Muslims from carrying out conversions to their religions and punished those who criticised converts and stopped their co-religionists from embracing Christianity<sup>10</sup>. While staunch Hindus were expelled from Goa and their property confiscated, others were compelled to attend catechumenal sermons and the Sunday mass<sup>11</sup>. Measures dismissing Hindus from public offices, refusing them their traditional *gaonkari* rights and depriving them of inheriting family property left intestate were also enforced. Besides this, humiliating restrictions like the denial of the use of a horse or a palanquin, were also imposed on the Hindus<sup>12</sup>.

The second category consisted of decrees which offered temptations to converts like an initial fifteen years' exemption from the payment of the land tax, preference in the auction of orchards, palmgroves and ricefields, favourable inheritance laws, especially to women, an easy access to public offices and entitlement to some of the privileges enjoyed by the Portuguese<sup>13</sup>. Thus, the Lord's Prayer, "Our Father", supplicates God to "Lead us not into temptation", in Goa missionaries strewed the path of the Goans with temptations galore.

The Goa Inquisition brought in its wake a fresh wave of religious disabilities for the Hindus. They were forced to convert or be damned to a life of harassments or emigration. The Archbishop of Evora has testified to the sadistic and materialistic activities of this Holy Office in the following words: "If everywhere the Inquisition was an infamous court, the infamy however base, however vile, however corrupt and determined by worldly interests, it was never more so than the Inquisition of Goa, by irony of fate called the Holy Office". Such coercive proselytising policies ran counter to the tenets of Christianity; yet they were very religiously adhered to for the next two and a half centuries<sup>14</sup>.

The Jesuits have been accused of having done "their worst using every form of bribery, threat and torture to effect a conversion"<sup>15</sup>. Although Fr. Heras refutes the theory of forced conversions, there are clerical accounts which reveal that the instruments of conversion used by the priests and the reasons for accepting baptism by the people were generally not those of conviction. The rapid and extensive conversions were achieved "Some by fear of physical force; others from moral cowardice; many because they could not overcome the love for the country of their birth from which they would otherwise be expelled; not a few to avoid the loss of their properties and interests; some with their eyes on lucrative jobs and almost none from convictions<sup>16</sup> Food, *pao* and *mas* (bread and meat, that is pork and beef), were used as important instruments of conversion, dubbing the Goan Christianity as a *mis-mas* (mass-meat) and a beef-bread faith.

#### .....Or the Axed cross?

The battle for religious hegemony was fought through symbols. Although direct violent resistance was occasional in nature, the Hindus had not been bowed into submission. Instead, the Portuguese brand of Lusitanised evangelisation, advanced through coercive methods, invited a Hindu response of "everyday resistance" and "avoidance protests" even when they had ostensibly succumbed to the pres-

sures of proselytism, by accepting baptism or emigrating. How was this achieved?

The diaspora culture is characterised by a periodic return to the roots, to their Gods in Goa ("*devak aylla*"). Gods, it is said did not protect the Goans, rather the people saved their deities by shifting the idols to safer locales across the rivers. Incidentally, the transportation of the deity on logs of wood tied together or on canoes tied up in a similar fashion (*sangodd*) is even today celebrated by Hindus and Catholics alike (with the latter associating the festival of *sangodd* with St. John and St. Peter). Soon the profits earned by the Hindu elite through their collaboration with the Portuguese were poured into the reconstruction of the temples outside the reach of the missionaries, in the Antruz *mahal* (the present-day Ponda taluka) in particular. The Portuguese found their Christian Goa encircled by an arc of resurrected temples towards the construction of which they had indirectly contributed!

The temples were thus not only a constant reminder to the Portuguese of the ultimate failure of their policy of evangelisation and the triumph of Hinduism, but their vibrant presence right across the river enabled the faithful and encouraged the converts to continue with their resistance to the Lusitanian Cross, the resistance of syncretism as it were. Missionaries refer to such resistance as "the devil at work". This was like a second triumph of the axe (or a reconquista?), both in its economic and religious connotations. If centuries ago, the GSBs had established their economic hegemony over Goa through the colonisation of the *khazan* lands, now with renewed grit and determination, in the face of an aggressive proselytising European colonial presence, they seem to have 'captured' the two symbols of the Portuguese colonialism, the sea and the cross. Dispossessed of the lands that they had developed, the GSBs assumed a controlling position in the coastal trade and further 'axed' the cross with the continuance of Sanskritic practices amongst the converts and the triumphant dotting of the Portuguese borders with temples.

The flight of the deities was thus more of a tactical retreat, to lie low for a while and recoup exhausted energies and financial resources, and then strike back. In the 19th-20th centuries, some of these deities made a triumphant come-back to their original sites or in the localities from where they had been uprooted. This response of thwarting the efforts of the missionaries through a relocation of the temples and the accompanying synceretic culture, is celebrated in the *Konkanakhyana*, the 18th century Marathi text.

### **To emigrate or rebel, that was the question:**

The policy of religious persecution discussed above led to the emigration of Hindus, the 'flight' of their deities<sup>17</sup> and also direct resistance offered by them, through non-payment of taxes (Chorao-Colla-Cuncoim, 1559-1583) and use of violence (Cortalim, 1564, Cuncoim, 1583). Let us now take a look at the direct resistance, either through violent means or through non-payment of taxes, offered by the Goans to the Portuguese regime.

### **Mhall Pai-a Collaborator-turned-Conspirator:**

One of the earliest known attempt at overthrowing the Portuguese rule from the islands of Goa was plotted, ironically, by a Goan collaborator of Afonso de Albuquerque, Mhall Pai Vernekar. Mhall Pai, the rich and powerful sardessai of Verna, had sought the assistance of the European "*topikars*", probably through the agency of the Vijayanagar admiral Timaji, to rid his homeland of the menace posed by the Muslim *naites* who harassed the local Hindu population. The latter, after being expelled from the ports of Honavar and Bhatkal, had settled in Ela. Here they enjoyed the support of the Adilshah whom they served in the construction of the dockyard.

Mhall Pai after a quarter of century of Portuguese discriminatory rule, entered into secret negotiations with the Adilshah in a bid to secure the deliverance of his country people. However, his involvement in the 1534-35 attacks of Bijapur on Goa, were discovered by the Portuguese, forcing Mhall Pai to flee to Cochin.

## The Protests of Chorao and Colla...

Threatened with forced conversions in the wake of the 1559 decrees, several Hindus of Chorao, especially the *Brahmins*, fled to Adilshahi lands, forcing the Jesuit priests "to look after the reaping, gathering and storing up of the rice harvest..."<sup>18</sup> The exodus consisted of agriculturists, shopkeepers and artisans, especially goldsmiths. Those who remained behind closed their shops, refused to perform agricultural operations and destroyed standing crops by flooding fields. These economically injurious protests of civil disobedience and exodus made the islands of Gôa, in the words of the next Viceroy, Francisco Coutinho, "much depopulated, the villages therein deserted and fields overflown with water of the rivers..."<sup>19</sup>. Similarly, in the early 1570s, the villagers of Colla in Salcete, refused to pay taxes in protest against the persecutory policies of Viceroy Constancio Braganca. The missionary records of 1564 refer to the murder of Christian visitors by the villagers of Cortalim in protest against the attempt made by the local priest to baptise an ailing *Brahmin* who was on his death-bed<sup>20</sup>.

### .....and those of cuncolim:

The further elaboration and fanatical implementation of the instruments of proselytism by the Provincial Councils of 1567 and 1573 made the alien rule increasingly intolerant towards the Hindus, resulting in frequent protests by villagers. The villages of Cuncolim, Assolna, Ambelim, Velim and Veroda, in particular, were in a state of unrest from 1575 to 1583, religious persecution being the *casus bellis*.

In 1567, the captain of the fort of Rachol, Diogo Rondrigues or Diogo Fernandes, had incinerated the chief temple of Loutolim<sup>21</sup>. The appeal of the *Gaonkars* for justice was granted and Rodrigues was ordered to rebuild the temple. Instead, with the support of the Archbishop and the Jesuit Provincial, the latter obtained permission to demolish all temples in Salcette. Rodrigues and his comrades-in-

cassocks' razed about 280 temples<sup>22</sup>. This was accompanied, in 1573, with severe curbs on their *gaonkari* rights. They were not allowed to meet to pass resolutions in the absence of their Christian co-gaonkars. Further they could attend the meetings of the village community only when their presence was needed to make up the *quarum* and not otherwise<sup>23</sup>.

Thus persecuted, the Hindus of Salcette fled south to "the leader of rebellions"<sup>24</sup>, Cuncolim and the neighbouring village to start life afresh. However the menacing shadow of proselytism soon lengthened to engulf this region. Instead of providing the local people with relief after the devastation wrought by Diogo Rodrigues, the second Provincial Council further intensified the conversion campaign of the Jesuites who had been granted Salcette as their mission-field. The *cunkollekars*, known for their martial spirit, refused to accept the new decrees and blazed a path of revolt for the next eight years by refusing to pay taxes to the government as well as to the fort of Rachol. It is believed that they had consulted an oracle and the deity, determined to avenge the repeated insults which the Jesuit clergy and its cohorts, the Portuguese soldiery, had heaped upon it, ordered the faithful to boycott the payment of taxes<sup>25</sup>. This cry of no taxation without cessation of religious persecution was soon taken up by neighbouring villages.

What followed was the murder of the tyrannical Collector of Revenues, Estevao Rodrigues. Estevao Rodrigues exorted taxes from the people and this further hardened the resolve of the villagers to oppose their rulers. In Cuncolim and Assolna the villagers refused to budge from their earlier stand of refusing to pay the taxes. When Estevao Rodrigues started harassing them for the prompt payment of the same he and his companions were put to death at Assolna<sup>26</sup>. This boycott of taxes was followed by the launch of a fresh offensive against the Portuguese. The police-posts were attacked and the fort of Rachol was threatened. The Government replied by brandishing the sword which killed the leader of the *revoltees* and put fear into the hearts of

the people<sup>27</sup>. The Government also stationed some 200 soldiers in this region to protect the local Christians. Superior force prevailed and the uprising was soon crushed and peace restored. This was the time of a Bijapur invasion of Salcete when the Muslim troops laid waste some churches and put several Christians to death.

Almost as soon as the Portuguese concluded peace, fresh trouble brewed up in Cuncolim and its four neighbours. The villagers, frustrated by the failure of the Adilshahi arms to liberate them, once again took matters in their own hands. In 1583, a messenger carrying letters from Cochin to Goa entered Cuncolim, enroute to the city of Goa. The villagers, suspecting that the despatches were anti-Hindu in content forcibly took them from the courier after beating him up<sup>28</sup>. In retaliation the Viceroy ordered a two-pronged attack on them. He sent a flotilla of boats under the command of the Captain-Major of the Malabar Coast, Gil Eanes Mascarenhas who was backed up by a land force from Rachol under Captain Gomes Eanes de Figureido.

The flotilla sailed up the river sal to Cuncolim and Assolna in the dead of the night. The captain-major disembarked and "burnt and set ablaze everything that he found before him"<sup>29</sup>. The dwelling of the people and their temples were soon reduced to ashes and rubble. The army Chaplain Manuel Teixeira, along with the Vicars of Orlim and Colva, Frs. Antonio Francisco and Pedro Berno, participated in this devastation by setting fire to a number of Hindu shrines, including the main temples of Cuncolim. In spite of these heavy odds, the pertinacious villagers returned and rebuilt their homes and their shrines.

However on hearing of this restoration, Mascarenhas once again marched against these villagers and uprooted their buildings, burnt the standing crops, cut down coconut palms and damaged orchards. Domingo, a fourteen years old Cuncollekar studying at the Rachol seminary guided the priests to the newly-constructed temples which were immediately razed. The temples at Karadegue was set ablaze along with those of Shantikaridevi or Shri Shantadurga<sup>30</sup> and that of

**Shri Mahadev.** An ant-hill, which was the object of reverence of the local people, was also swept away. Next the Jesuit priests killed a cow at the square of the village and violated the sanctity of a nearby holy tank by immersing its intestines into it<sup>31</sup>. Cowed down by these violent reprisals the *gaonkars* pledged their perpetual loyalty to the Portuguese crown. The Viceroy also gave them an audience and gifted them with tunics made of brocade. Peace thus came to the region but not religious security. The threat of the erection of a church in their village and the consequent evangelization of its inhabitants continued to plague the villagers. In July, 1583, fearing that the worst had come true, they reacted violently.

Since these five villages had eluded them, the Jesuits of Salcette under the leadership of Fr. Rudolf Aquaviva, the Rector of the Holy Cross Church at Verna, decided to visit Cuncolim to convince the obdurate villagers about the virtues of Christianity. Fr. Aquaviva led a delegation of fifty men which included Fr. Aranha, an architect of churches, Fr. Rotridgues, a collector of revenues of destroyed temples, Jao da Silva, his clerk Paulo da Costa, a procurator of the new converts, Fr. Pacheco, Fr. Berno and some new Christians from Orlim.

On the morning of 15-7-1583 the party reached Cuncolim amidst heavy downpours. Here in order to escape from the rains they built a makeshift shelter and awaited the Hindu leaders of the village with whom they intended to hold parleys. The villagers were inflamed by the sight of the priests measuring the ground near their temple, and by the appearance of a crude cross at the site of the makeshift shelter of the delegation which was looked upon with dead as the precursor of a church. Further incited by the anti-Portuguese cries of the village sorcerer urging them "To come forward to defend the honour of their temples", the *ganokars* fell upon the priests and their companions and killed most of them in a most brutal manner<sup>32</sup>.

The chief actors of this gruesome massacre of Cuncolim sought refuge in the Bijapur lands. The Portuguese Viceroy, incensed by this outrage, sent troops to crush this popular outburst. Once again

destruction, pillage, flight of the people into the jungles and across the frontier became the order of the day. The authorities were especially interested in capturing Aga Naik and Ram Garo whom they had identified as the chief perpetrators of the killings. The Portuguese invited the leaders of the villages for parleys at the fort of the Assolna after guaranteeing them a safe return passage through the agency of the Adilshahi envoy. However, as soon as the sixteen *gaonkars* entered the fort, the gates were closed and they were butchered. Only Kallu alias Kalgu escaped by jumping into the river and swimming to safety<sup>33</sup>. The remaining *gaonkars* were killed in the Bijapuri territory by hired assassins. Thus was terminated the revolt of Cuncolim.

In spite of this, the martial spirit of the Cuncollekars may be said to have triumphed for even today Shantadurga, the principal deity of Cuncolim which was shifted to next door village of Fatorpa, is worshipped by Hindus and Catholics alike, in spite of the periodic clerical bans on the latter's faith. She is said to continue to guide her followers in their dreams after her flight from Cuncolim<sup>34</sup>.

The treatment given to this rebellion has generally been lopsided in nature. The July, 1583 massacre of the 'Martyrs of Cuncolim' is considered the pivot of the uprising, ignoring the 1575-1583 protests through non-payment of taxes. This is a misconception on two counts; Firstly, it must be remembered that although these villages, especially that of Cuncolim were in a state of unrest from 1575 to 1583, it was in 1575 that the campaign for the non-payment of taxes was launched by the villagers. This is the main part of the rebellion for it was this time that the villagers protesting against the continuance of the Portuguese policy of religious persecution, embarked upon a path of violent civil disobedience.

The gruesome incident of July, 1583, was the result of the pent up anti-missionary feelings of the villagers at the sight of the priests surveying the land for the purpose of construction a church in the vicinity of their temple. Secondly, a majority of the historians have

hailed the massacred priests as the "Martyrs of Cuncolim" while the equally brutal and treacherous 'martyrdom' of the *gaonkars* of Cuncolim who were treacherously massacred at Rachol is unrecognised. Then again, while the five European Jesuits are venerated today as the "Martyrs of Cuncolim" (a chapel is dedicated to them at Cuncolim), the Goan members of the entourage who accompanied them in death remain anonymous and unacknowledged.

The fertility of the soil, coupled with its location on a trade route, had made Cuncolim rich. The popularity of the local Hindu temple had further contributed to the prosperity of the local economy, centred around the *bazaar* or the village market. It has been suggested that the local village elite which controlled the temple economy and the *bazaar* was, therefore, averse to the replacement of the temple by a church and instigated the villagers to murder the missionaries. A case of "colonial exploitation of the native exploitations"<sup>35</sup>, increased feudalisation and commodity relations, had not entirely divested the Goan village of its self-sufficient barter character. Hence, the prosperity of the temple-based *bazaar* economy was bound to be shared, though not on equal basis, by all concerned. Therefore, the revolt appears to have been more a case of popular resort to violence, in the name of religion, but in defence of vested economic interests.

### Notes and References

1. By 1543 the Portuguese had annexed Bardez in the north and Salcette in the south completing the 16th century acquisitions of the 'Old conquests' (*Velhas Conquistas*): Ilhas, Bardez and Salcette. Between 1763 and 1788 the Portuguese succeeded in acquiring Pernem, Bicholim, Sattari, Ponda, Sanguem, Quepem and Canacona which were termed as the 'New Conquests' (*Novas Conquistas*). Goa remained under the Portuguese rule with these political boundaries till 19-12-1961, when it was liberated and integrated with the Indian Union as Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu. V.T. Gune, *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu* (Panaji: Gazetteer Department, 1979), vol.1 pp. 183-6.

2. *Pardroado Real*, or the Crown Patronage of the church, was a set of privileges granted by the Holy See to the King of Portugal to preach Christianity and to name the personnel for this purpose, in all the lands in the East "discovered or yet to be discovered" by them. The right of Patronage could not be revoked by the Vatican without the prior consent of the monarch of Portugal.
3. C.R. Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Seaborne Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), pp.57-58.
4. Here the axe (or the *parasu*, wielded by Parasuram who is considered to be the mythological creator of Goa) refers to the process of 'Parasuisation' which symbolises the colonisation of land, especially the reclaimed coastal *khazans*, and the Sanskritisation of the Goan culture that was a consequence to the migration of *brahmins* to this territory. It therefore stands for Brahmanical Hinduism.
5. Diogo de Couto, *Da Asia, Decada VI parte primeria* (Lisbon: Na Regia Officina Typografica, 1781), *livro* 4, chap. vii, p.322.
6. T.R. de Souza, "The Voiceless in Goan Historiography", in John Correia-Afonso (ed.), *Indo-Portuguese History: Sources and Problems* (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1981), P. 115.
7. Henry Heras, "The Conversion Policy of the Jesuits in India" (Bombay, 1935), Anthony da Costa, *The Christianisation of the Goa Islands*, A.K. Priolkar, *The Goa Inquisition*, (Bombay: A.K. Priolkar, 1961).
8. The decrees of 1559 sanctioned the demolition of Hindu temples and idols, prohibited the fashioning of such images from any material, banned the celebration of Hindu feasts either publicly or privately, prohibited cremation and exiled Hindu priests. J. Wicki (ed.), *Documenta Indica [=DI]*, (Rome: Apud Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1958), vol. IV, p. 258. Also see, J.H. da Cunha Rivara, *Arquivo Portugues Oriental [=APO]* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1865), *fasc.* V, pt. i, p. 382. Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum, government of Goa [=DAAM], *Livros das Mancoes do Reino [=MR]*, Panaji, Goa, v. 14, ff. 183-183r; DAAM, *Provisoes a favor da Cristandade*, in particular, ff. 2-6, 34-37, 47r-48 73r-74r, 126r-127, 128r-132r; DAAM, *Provisoes dos Vice-Reis*, V. 3, ff. 33-34; P.S.S. Pissurlencar (ed.), *Assentos do Conselho do Estado [=ACE]* (Bastora, 1953), vol. II, pp. 160-1.

9. The first set included those laws that razed temples, destroyed idols and other Hindu religious symbols, prevented the Hindus from performing their birth, thread, marriage and funeral rites and ceremonies and celebrating their festivals, banished their priests, forbade their religious books and baptised orphans (read: fatherless children), abandoned or otherwise and took over their share of he property. APO, *fasc. V*, pt. ii, p. 613; *fasc. VI*, p. 965; *fasc. IV*, p. 69; *fasc. V*, pt. i, p. 385; *fasc. IV*, p. 16.
10. APO, *fasc. IV*, pp. 11-12.
11. APO, *fasc. V*, pt. ii, p. 612; *fasc. iv*, p. 10.
12. APO, *fasc. V*, pt. iii; p. 989; *fasc. V*, pt. ii, p. 891; *fasc. VI, suppl. ii*, pp. 6-9; *fasc. V*, pt. ii, pp. 522, 899, 910.
13. Inducements like an initial fifteen years' exemption from the payment of the land tax (*dizimos*), preference in the auction of orchards, palmgroves and ricefields, favourable inheritance laws, especially to women, an easy access to public offices and entitlement to some of the privileges enjoyed by the Portuguese. *Ibid.*, pp. 733, 786; pt. ii, pp. 965, 976; *fasc. V*, pt. i, pp. 381, 392, 410; pt. iii, p. 1572; *fasc. V*, pt. i, p. 319.
14. T.B. Cunha, *Goas's Freedom Struggle* (Bombay: Dr. T.B. Cunha Memorial committee, 1961), p. 12.
15. Boies Penrose, *Sea-Fights in the East Indies in the years 1602-1639* (Massachussettes, 1931), p. 14.
16. Antonio de Noronha, *Os Hindus de Goa e a Republica Portuguesa* (Nova Goa; Imprensa Nacional, 1922), p. 51.
17. Paul Axelord and Michelle A. Fuerch, "The Flight of the Deities: Hindu Resistance in Portuguese Goa", *Modern Asian Studies*, 30, 2 (1996), pp. 387-421.
18. DI, vol. V, p. 195.
19. APO, *fasc. V*, pt. ii, p.488.
20. DI, vol. VI, p. 617.
21. A.K. Priolkar, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
22. Francisco de Souza, *Oriente Conquistado a Jesu Christo pelos Padres da Companhia da Provinca de Goa [= OC]* (Lisbon : Na Oficina de

Valentim da Costa Deshlandes, 1710), pt. II, pp. 75-80. Also see Antonio de Noronha, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-26. The epithet on his tombstone describes Diogo Rodrigues as one "who demolished the pagodas of these lands".

23. APO, *fasc. V.*, pt. ii, p. 891.
24. Diogo do Couto described the people of Cuncolim as being "always as the leaders in the uprisings and the chief, and further, the worst of the inhabitants of Salcette", Diogo do Couto, *op. cit.*, *Decada X*, pp. 383-5.
25. Sebastini Gonsalves, "Historic; Relatio de Martyribus Salsetanis", December, 1609, DI, vol. XII, p. 976.
26. OC, pt. II, p. 98. Fr. Valignano, the Organiser of the Jesuit missions in the East, had written on 8-12- 1583, that "... these villagers not only did not wish to pay the taxes from many years but also had killed some Portuguese officials and soldiers..." DI, vol. XII, p. 921. These facts are corroborated by Diogo do Couto, *op. cit.*, *Decada X*, p. 384.
27. OC, pt. II, p. 99.
28. OC, pt. II, p. 186; Also *vide*, DI, vol. XII, p. 976. This incident and the subsequent Portuguese attacks on the villagers in not mentioned by Diogo do Couto who wrote that it was just the 1675 non-payment of taxes which provoked a Portuguese attack on the five villages. He further stated that this act of disobedience was so firmly crushed that for years the villagers remained "very broken", *Da Asia Decada X*, p.384.
29. "... *queimou e abrasou tudo a achou diante*," DI, vol. XII, p. 977; also *vide*, OC, pt. II, p. 186.
30. S. Gonsalves, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 395. Also *vide* DI, vol. XII, p. 977.
31. *Ibid.*
32. Oc, pt. II, pp. 188-196.
33. Diogo do Couto tells us that Gil Eanes himself initiated the massacre by killing Aga Naik. Francisco de Souza, however absolves the captain of direct participation in this act of treachery by stating that it was after he had left for his chambers that the carnage had commenced, albeit at his behest.

34. R.S. Newman, "The Umbrellas of Cunfolim: A Study of Goan Identity", *Proceedings of the Eighth International Symposium on Asian Studies* 1986, (Hong Kong, 1987), vol. 4, pp. 1105-1117, and R.s. Newman, "Goddesses of Dreams: Homeland of Gold, Imagining Goa", Paper presented to the NEAA 32nd Annual Meeting, Bridgewater State College, 1992.
35. T.R. de Souza, "Colonial Exploitation of Native Exploitation: the Case of Cunfolim", B.S. Shastry (ed.), *Socio-Economic Aspects of Portuguese Colonialism in Goa, 19th and 20th Centuries* (Belgaum: Yarbai Offset Printers, 1991), pp. 154-164.