

**FRANCISCANS
IN
GOA**

Thesis submitted to the

GOA UNIVERSITY

for the award of degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY

by

SHARON JACQUELINE D'CRUZ

**RESEARCH FELLOW,
Department of History,
Goa University.**

Under the Guidance of

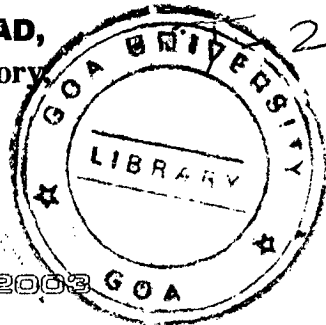
DR. N. SHYAM BHAT

**READER AND HEAD,
Department of History,
Goa University,
Taleigao Plateau,
Goa - 403 206.**

954.799

JAC / Fra

260




10TH FEBRUARY 2003

DECLARATION

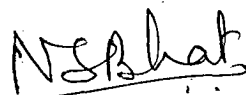
I hereby declare that this Ph.D. Thesis entitled "Franciscans in Goa", submitted to Goa University forms an independent work carried out by me in the Department of History, Goa University under the supervision of Dr. N. Shyam Bhat, Reader and Head, Department of History, Goa University, and this thesis has not previously formed the basis for award of any Degree, Diploma, Associateship, Fellowship or other similar titles.

Place: Taleigao Plateau, Goa.
Date: 10th February 2003



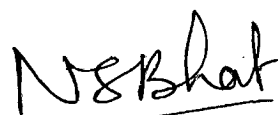
SHARON JACQUELINE D'CRUZ
Research Fellow

Countersigned by:

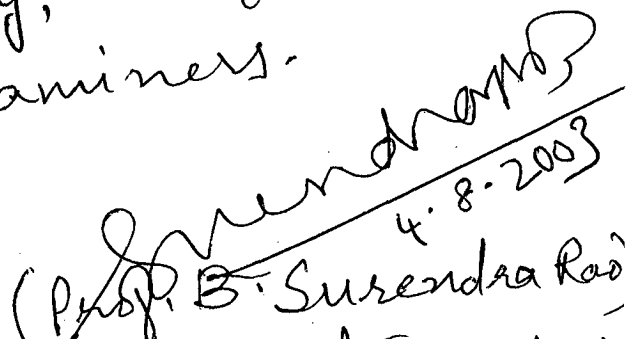

(Dr. N. Shyam Bhat)
Research Guide,
Reader and Head,
Department of History,
Goa University, Goa 403 206.



Final hard bound
copy, certified by the
Examiners.


4/8/03
(N. Shyam Bhat)
Research Guide.

ii

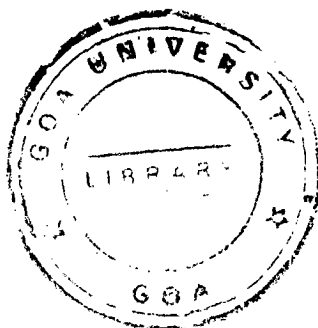

4.8.2003
External Examiner

CERTIFICATE

I certify that this thesis entitled "Franciscans in Goa", submitted by Sharon Jacqueline D'Cruz for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History, Goa University, is a record of research work done by her during the period from 1998 to 2003 when she worked under my guidance. The thesis has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma, associateship or fellowship to Sharon Jacqueline D'Cruz.

I affirm that this thesis submitted by Sharon Jacqueline D'Cruz represents the independent research work carried out by her under my supervision.

*Place : Taleigao Plateau, Goa.
Date : 10th February, 2003.*



N. S. Bhat
(Dr. N. Shyam Bhat)
Research Guide,
Reader and Head,
Department of History,
Goa University, Goa 403 206.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I have received considerable help from several individuals and institutions during the course of this research work. My sincere thanks goes to all of them.

First and foremost, I express my deep gratitude to my Research Guide, Dr. N. Shyam Bhat, Reader and Head, Department of History, Goa University, for his valuable guidance, constructive suggestions and encouragement in the course of this research work.

I am indebted to the members of the Faculty Research Committee, namely Professor V. Shivkumar, former Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, Goa University and Dr. Pius Malekandathil, Reader in History, Goa University and the subject expert on the Faculty Research Committee, for their valuable suggestions. I thank Professor K. M. Mathew, former Head of the Department of History, Goa University, and the Faculty of the Department of History, particularly Dr. Pratima Kamat for their help and cooperation.

I am grateful to Fr.(Dr.) Charles Borges, former Director of Xavier Centre of Historical Research, (XCHR), Goa; Fr.(Dr.) Delio Mendonca, Director, XCHR; Dr. Cajetan Coelho, Administrator, XCHR; Professor Daniel D'Souza, former Head of the Department of History, St. Xavier's College, Mapusa, Goa; Ms. Maria do Ceu Barreto, Lecturer in Portuguese, Goa University and Dr. Xavier Martins, Lecturer in History, Government College, Pernem, for their suggestions and support.

I must acknowledge the cooperation received from the authorities of the various archives and libraries due to which I was able to gather the source material for this thesis. My thanks are due to the Director and staff of the Goa State Archives; the Director and the staff of XCHR, Goa; the Chancellor of the

Paço Patriarcal, Panjim; the Director and staff of the Dharmaram Pontifical Institute, Bangalore; the Director of St. Anthony's Frairy, Koramangalam, Bangalore; the Director and staff of the Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, Mumbai; the authorities of the Rachol Seminary Library, Goa; the Curator and staff of Central Library, Panjim, Goa; the Librarian of the Athaide Library, Mapusa and the Librarian and staff of the Goa University Library.

I thank Dr.(Fr.) Theodore Pereira, Alverno Frairy, Monte de Guirim and Dr.(Fr.) Simon Rico Fernandes for permitting me to go through their personal collections. I also thank Fr. Roy Pereira and Fr. Jerry Lobo for helping me with the sources.

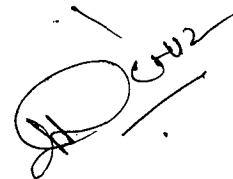
I express my gratitude to Dr.(Fr.) Antanasio Gomes, OCD and Msgr. Carmo da Silva for helping me to translate the Latin documents.

I thank my colleagues, Shri P. Morakar and Ms. B. C. Pilli for helping me to prepare the maps. I thank Mr. Agostinho Rodrigues for typing out the thesis with a lot of patience.

Finally, I will be failing in my duty if I do not acknowledge the unfailing support and love which I received from my parents and my brother who have been with me throughout my study.

Place : Taleigao Plateau, Goa

Date : 10th February, 2003.



SHARON JACQUELINE D'CRUZ

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFH	<i>Archivum Franciscanum Historicum</i>
AHU	<i>Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon.</i>
AIA	<i>Archivo Ibero Americano.</i>
Anais	<i>Anais Franciscanos em Bardez by F. X. Costa.</i>
Anuario	<i>Anuario de Arquidiocese de Goa, 1955.</i>
ANTT	<i>Arquivos Nacionais Torre do Tombo.</i>
APO	<i>Archivo Portuguez Oriental.</i>
ARF	<i>Annual Reports of the Franciscans.</i>
BEAF	<i>Boletim Ecclesiastico do Arquidiocese De Goa.</i>
BFUP	<i>Boletim da Fimoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa, Lisbon.</i>
BIVG	<i>Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Goma.</i>
BL	<i>Bibliotheca Lusitana by Barbosa Machado.</i>
Bol. Gov.	<i>Boletim do Governo do Estado da India.</i>
Bol. Off.	<i>Boletim Official.</i>
Bosq.	<i>Bosquejo das Comunidades de Bardez, Salcete e Ilhas de Goa, by F. N. Xavier.</i>
Bull. Patr.	<i>Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum In Ecclesus Africai, Asiae Atque Oceaniae.</i>
CEO	<i>Conquista Espiritual do Oriente.</i>
CIHMPEC	<i>Congresso Internacional de Historia Missionação Portuguese e Encontro de Culturas, Braga, 1993.</i>
CL	<i>Chapter List of the Franciscans In India.</i>
Dec.	<i>Decadas da Asia.</i>
DHMP	<i>Documentação para a Historia dos Missoes do Padroado Portugues.</i>
DI	<i>Documenta Indica.</i>
DRI	<i>Documentos Remetidos no India.</i>
DUP	<i>Documentação do Ultramarino Portugues.</i>
EHGLC	<i>Ensaio Historico da Grammatica no Lingua Canarim.</i>
FO	<i>Franciscanos no Oriente.</i>
HAG	<i>Historical Archives of Goa.</i>
HC	<i>Hierarchia Catholica.</i>
HMP	<i>Historia do Missoes do Padroado by Antonio de Silva Rego.</i>
IVG	<i>Instituto de Vasco da Gama.</i>
JBHS	<i>Journal of the Bombay Historical Society.</i>
MF	<i>Missoes Franciscanos.</i>
ML	<i>Mitras Lusitanas.</i>
NZM	<i>Neue Zeitfchrift Fur Missionswissenschaft.</i>
OP	<i>Oriente Portugues.</i>
VP	<i>Visitais Pastoralis.</i>
XCHR	<i>Xavier Centre for Historical Research.</i>

LIST OF MAPS

- I. PARISHES IN THE PROVINCE OF BARDEZ (1542-1582)
- II. PARISHES IN THE PROVINCE OF BARDEZ (1583-1622)
- III. PARISHES IN THE PROVINCE OF BARDEZ (1622-1657)
- IV. PARISHES IN THE PROVINCE OF BARDEZ (1657-1700)

GLOSSARY

<i>Aforamento</i>	lease of land.
<i>Aldeia</i>	village.
<i>Amas Desperos</i>	desperate souls.
<i>Alvara</i>	a decree issued by either the king, the Viceroy or the Governor that is valid for one year without confirmation.
<i>Amartes de La Croix</i>	bearers of the cross.
<i>Annua de Goa</i>	an annual report sent from Goa.
<i>Armadas</i>	a fleet of warships.
<i>Arroba</i>	a unit of weight that is equal to thirty two lbs. or fourteen and a half kilograms.
<i>Ashrafis</i>	a silver coin of half a rupee.
<i>Bairro</i>	a ward within a village.
<i>Balagatins</i>	the inhabitants of Goa who traded with the ghats.
<i>Bandeira</i>	a ceremonial banner.
<i>Baptismos Collectivo / Baptismo Geral</i>	a baptism ceremony where several catechumens were baptised at a time.
<i>Barra de Goa</i>	the bar of Goa where the ships anchored.
<i>Bispo Residencial</i>	a bishop who was sent to live in the diocese.
<i>Bispo de Anel</i>	ring bishops.
<i>Bom Documentos</i>	a term relating to the good documents or those that are favourable to the order.
<i>Bracas</i>	a unit of measurement.
<i>Bramanes</i>	brahmins.
<i>Branços</i>	white Portuguese men.
<i>Cafre</i>	negros or black slaves
<i>Camareiro</i>	a representative of the Council.
<i>Capitão Geral</i>	the Chief Captain of a fleet.
<i>Canarins</i>	the native Christians of Goa.
<i>Candis</i>	equal to twenty <i>maos</i>
<i>Camara Geral</i>	Municipal Council.
<i>Castiço</i>	Portuguese born in India.
<i>Chronique Scandaleuse</i>	a chronicle of scandals.
<i>Carreira da India</i>	a round voyage from Portugal to Goa and back .
<i>Coulam</i>	a ship.
<i>Cotonias</i>	a cloth of silk and cotton.
<i>Clero Indigena</i>	the local secular clergy.
<i>Culto Gentio</i>	the local Hindu cult.
<i>Capuchos</i>	another term for the <i>recollects</i> .
<i>Carta Regia</i>	a Royal Provision to be implemented permanently.
<i>Cofre</i>	a treasury box
<i>Collegio dos Orfaos</i>	an orphanage where orphans were taught.
<i>Casas dos Cathecumenos</i>	the houses where non-Christians were instructed before they were baptised.

<i>Comunidade Aldeana</i>	Village Community.
<i>Cristãos da Terra</i>	local Christians.
<i>Carta do Doação</i>	a donation decree.
<i>Cruzados</i>	a Portuguese gold coin equal to four hundred <i>reis</i> .
<i>Confraria</i>	a body for overseeing the religious cult.
<i>Conquista Espiritual</i>	a Spiritual Conquest.
<i>Cidade de Goa</i>	the City of Goa.
<i>Congrua</i>	religious stipends for the clerics.
<i>Cottubana</i>	land on permanent lease.
<i>Corjas</i>	a quantity of twenty items.
<i>Domestici Fidei</i>	the local faith
<i>Dizimos</i>	a title that is equal to one tenth.
<i>Diabos</i>	devilish cult.
<i>Deformati</i>	the reformed frairs condemned the Observants as the deformed ones.
<i>Estado da Índia</i>	the Portuguese State in the East.
<i>Escrivão</i>	scribe.
<i>Ermida</i>	hermitage.
<i>Expansão da Fé</i>	the spread of the faith.
<i>Fazenda</i>	Treasury.
<i>Foral</i>	register of land rights.
<i>Foro</i>	quit rent.
<i>Feitorias</i>	factories or trading outposts.
<i>Fortalezas</i>	fortresses.
<i>Fabrica</i>	an administrative body in charge of the church properties.
<i>Frades da Missa</i>	the frairs who were allowed to say the mass.
<i>Fidalgos</i>	Portuguese noblemen.
<i>Fardos</i>	equal to twenty five to thirty <i>corjas</i> . One <i>corja</i> is equal to twenty pieces.
<i>Gale Bastardas</i>	a galley that is big enough.
<i>Guvous</i>	gurus or Hindu religious teachers.
<i>Ganho</i>	profit or gain.
<i>Gaoncar</i>	descendant of the original member of a village community.
<i>Gentilidade</i>	the way of life of the local Hindu people.
<i>Igreja Real</i>	the Royal Church.
<i>Infeis</i>	infedils or non-Christians.
<i>Idalção</i>	the ruler of Bijapur.
<i>Imprimatur</i>	a certification that the book has been passed for publication.
<i>Imperio Ultramarino</i>	the overseas Empire.
<i>Indios</i>	the local people.
<i>Joguis</i>	Hindu ascetic.
<i>Juiz</i>	judge.
<i>Jus Patronatus</i>	the patron.
<i>Junta das Missoes</i>	the house that was in charge of the missions to the East.
<i>Jonos</i>	a share in the annual profits of the village.

<i>Kajis</i>	the Muslim religious teacher.
<i>Khandis</i>	a measure that is equal to twenty <i>maunds</i> .
<i>Limpa Geracao</i>	the descendants of the clean races.
<i>Lingua da Terra</i>	the local language.
<i>Letras Apostolicas</i>	the apostolic letters.
<i>Livro das Catehcumenos</i>	the register of those offering themselves for baptisms.
<i>Lingua Maratha</i>	the language spoken in the areas adjoining the Portuguese possessions in Goa.
<i>Lingua Brahmana</i>	the language of the brahmins.
<i>Meninos de Terra</i>	young local boys.
<i>Mosterinho</i>	a monastery.
<i>Maon</i>	a measure for solids equal to thirty two <i>arrates</i> .
<i>Mesa</i>	board.
<i>Mestiços</i>	the mixed blood.
<i>Maos</i>	a measure equal to a hand.
<i>Moradores</i>	a temporary resident in Goa who has no ownership rights.
<i>Nem</i>	an unanimous decision of the Village Council.
<i>Naturais Gentios</i>	the Hindu inhabitants of Goa.
<i>Nobres</i>	nobles.
<i>Nuntius</i>	a representative of the Pope.
<i>Orcamento</i>	a budget statement.
<i>Orfaos Naturais</i>	the local orphans
<i>Ordinarios</i>	annual grant in cash or in kind.
<i>Ouvidor Geral</i>	judge.
<i>Palmar</i>	a palm orchard.
<i>Pardao</i>	a gold coin equal to three hundred and sixty <i>reis</i> .
<i>Provisão</i>	a legal provision.
<i>Panos</i>	sails.
<i>Pai dos Cristaões</i>	Father of Christians.
<i>Procurador</i>	a legal person in charge of the financial and domestic matters.
<i>Paulistas</i>	the Jesuits priests.
<i>Pureza da Sangue</i>	the purity of blood.
<i>Pipas</i>	barrels.
<i>Quarteis</i>	payments made by the Crown in four installments.
<i>Retiro</i>	a house of Recollection.
<i>Regimento</i>	a standing Order.
<i>Regula</i>	the Rule of St. Francis of Assisi.
<i>Relação</i>	Court of appeal.
<i>Reis Vizinhos</i>	rulers like the Marathas, <i>Bonsulo</i> , <i>Idalção</i> etc. who ruled the areas that were contiguous to the Portuguese dominion.
<i>Reis</i>	lowest denomination of currency in Goa.
<i>Renda</i>	revenue or farmed taxes.
<i>Soldados dos Armados</i>	armed soldiers.
<i>Saracens</i>	a term for the infidels.
<i>Sindico</i>	an union or an organization.

<i>Terra Firme</i>	the hinterland in the Portuguese possession.
<i>Terras De Infeis</i>	the lands that lay beyond the Portuguese dominions.
<i>Tenca</i>	pension.
<i>Tangas Brancas</i>	equal to one hundred and fifty <i>reis</i> in Bardez.
<i>Tombo dos Bens Foreiros</i>	records of the properties that were leased out.
<i>Tanador Mor</i>	a local revenue and judicial chief.
<i>Usque os Indios</i>	till the Indies.
<i>Vias das Sucessoes</i>	Letters of Succession of the Viceroy or Governors.
<i>Vedor de Fazenda</i>	Revenue Officer.
<i>Vangods</i>	a settlement of the original clans of a land.
<i>Vedor das Obras</i>	officer in charge of the works in Portuguese Goa.
<i>Xerafins (xs)</i>	a silver coin equal to five <i>tangas</i> or three hundred <i>reis</i> .

CONTENTS

TITLE	PAGE NO.
DECLARATION	ii – ii
CERTIFICATE	iii – iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iv – v
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	vi – vi
LIST OF MAPS	vii – vii
GLOSSARY	viii – xi
CONTENTS	xii – xii
CHAPTER I : Introduction	01 – 37
CHAPTER II : The Establishment of the Franciscan Mission in Goa (1517-1542)	38 – 78
CHAPTER III : The Extension of the Goa Mission (1543-1582)	79 – 151
CHAPTER IV : Towards Stabilization (1583-1622)	152 – 236
CHAPTER V : The Progress of the Mission (1622-1657)	237 – 317
CHAPTER VI : The Stagnation of the Mission (1657-1700)	318 – 385
CHAPTER VII : The Decline of the Mission (1700-1766)	386 – 458
CHAPTER VIII : The Expulsion of the Order (1766-1835)	459 – 504
CHAPTER IX : Conclusion	505 – 518
MAPS FROM 1 TO IV	519 – 522
APPENDICES FROM I TO	523 – 533
BIBLIOGRAPHY	534 – 545

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

One of the spectacular features of the Age of Expansion was the evangelical campaign undertaken by the Religious Orders. The expeditions of the Portuguese to the East were an effect of a Crusade, curiosity, commerce, conversion, conquest and colonisation.¹ Missionary activities were undertaken by the Mendicant Orders since the thirteenth century. In course of time, the Order that had originated in Umbria, Central Italy, spread its mission to different parts of the world. The Franciscan friars, who had an institutionalized setup and vast experience, came to be associated with the Kings of Portugal and Spain. In the sixteenth century, the latter were in search of agents to spread the Christian faith *usque os Indios*. The Order gradually assumed a pseudo-religious character and played an important role in shipping the Gospel overseas.²

THE SETTING: In the early sixteenth century, Portugal was a small nation state in the Iberian Peninsula. The Portuguese monarchs spearheaded the Geographical Expansions into the unchartered seas. What had begun as a struggle against the *moors* culminated into an impulsionary stir that lured the Portuguese to come and establish an ephemera of Latin Christianity in the new lands.

The borders of the Portuguese seaborne Empire were difficult to delimit because there was no Empire in the customary sense of the term. The sixteenth century definition of the Portuguese exploits was not a geographically defined space but a chain of *fortalezas* and *feitorias* along the Indian Ocean and in the adjacent areas from the Cape of Good Hope till Japan. This vast commercial network consisted of bits and pieces of land thousands of miles away from each other. Of these, only a few were in the actual possession of the Portuguese Crown.³

Within this geographical entity called the *Estado da India*, Goa assumed prime importance. In 1530, it was officially declared as the capital of the Portuguese seaborne Empire. The area of study is limited to the Islands of Goa consisting of Vamsi, Choraõ, Divar, Jua and Tissuari. The frairs who came on the Portuguese ships served as chaplains to the sailors. After their arrival in Goa, they decided to raise a Frairy. In 1543, Bardez and Salcete came under the effective control of the Portuguese. In 1555, the authorities divided Goa into small missionary zones and placed Bardez under the exclusive control of the Franciscans. From then onwards, the Observant frairs worked in Bardez where they founded twenty-four Parishes. They also had a Frairy and a College in the City of Goa. From 1567 onwards, the Recollect frairs settled down in Daugim, Monte de Guirim, Pilar and Rachol.

CHRONOLOGY: The study is limited to the activities of the frairs in Goa. Hence, an attempt is made to study the sequence of events that are related to the origin, establishment, extension, stabilization, progress, stagnation, decline and expulsion of the Order from Goa. The frairs established themselves in the City of Goa in 1517 and remained there till the Religious Orders were expelled from Goa in 1835.

THE DRAMATIS PERSONAE: The missionary activities in Goa were carried out by the missionaries. These did not constitute a homogenous group. They could be classified into two groups, the seculars and regulars. The seculars lived on their own or in groups. They used their own stipends, and were not bound by monastic rules. The regulars were attached to monastic communities called Religious Orders. They had their own rules called the Statutes and their own Superiors who were elected at the Chapters. The religious were entrusted with *omnimoda* powers to pioneer the work of evangelization in Goa.

The religious who came to Goa in the sixteenth century were not hierarchically organized. They were directly under their Patron. Within a short time they raised a Custody and later had their own Province. The Order consisted of European frairs who despised the secular clerics and were reluctant to share the sacerdotal status with them.⁴ It was only after the Council of

Trent (1563-64) that the Portuguese spoke in terms of the admission of the locals into the Order. This resulted in internecine rivalries that became evident in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

For the Portuguese the non Christians outside Europe included the *mouros*, *gentios*, heathens and Jews.⁵ Their aim was to split the local groups and to form new groups. They further intended to convert them so that they fitted into the new groups.

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY: Many scholars have studied the history of Christianity in Goa from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. Since, this study is limited to the Franciscans in Goa, it is important to mention the works that deal with the history of the Franciscan Order both in India and in different parts of the world.

The Franciscan Order originated in Umbria, Central Italy, in the early thirteenth century. The early history of the Order is studied by E. Guirney Salter, Iriate Lazaro de Aspurz, Arnaldo Fortini, Raphael M. Huber, Herbert Holzafel, Alexandre Masseron, Marion A. Habig, John Moorman, Engelbert Omer etc.⁶ They deal with the life of the founder and the developments within the Order till 1517, when the Pope Sixtus V issued two Bulls that put an end to the divisions within the Order and unified them.⁷ The attempts made by the frairs to change the *Regula* and the subsequent divisions between the Observants, Conventuals, Zealots, Spirituals etc. is studied by Nimmo Duncan and Raphael M. Huber.⁸ They

also mention the Papal Bulls and the official correspondence with Rome. Paul Sabatier, A. G. Little and Marion Habig provide a list of the sources that are available for the study of the early history of the Order.⁹ These works provide the chronological and historical framework for the study.

In the next century, the frairs came to be associated with the Papacy and helped him in the Crusades. Besides some of the above mentioned authors, Marcellino de Civezza, Luciano Petech and Leonhard P. Lemmens have studied the triumphant march of the frairs. Gradually, the frairs became the pampered children of the Papacy and began to serve the Kings of Europe. Since this topic is limited to a former Portuguese colony, it is important to mention the authors who have worked on the Franciscans who spearheaded the Portuguese mission in the *Estado da India*. Frei Meersman Achilles, a Dutch American, wrote several books and articles relating to the Franciscans in India, their Provincials, Bishops, Auxiliary Bishops, Commissaries General etc. Besides his *magnum opus* on the Franciscan missionaries in India, he has written on their mission in Burma, Chaul, Poona, Canara coast, Madurai, Coromandel coast, Fishery coasts, Ava, Pegu, Junk, Ceylon, Kedah, Mergui, Myapore, Sumatra, Indonesia, Bombay et cetera.¹⁰ He tapped both original and secondary sources to complete his work. However, he was consciously selective of the documents and did not mention those that criticized the frairs. In order to encourage the scholars to take up the topic, he provided a

summary and published a number of documents related to the Franciscans from the *Monções do Reino*.¹¹ Other scholars have also dealt with their mission in different parts of the *Estado da India*.¹²

The triumphant march of Christianity under the Portuguese was basically a Western enterprise. The religious *conquistadores* worked as the *amantes de la croix* or soldiers of Christ who wanted to dry up the sea of paganism in the *vasto imperio ultramarino*. After 1542, Christianity in Goa assumed a militant and expansionist nature. The Jesuits tried to introduce the principle of *cujus regio eius religio* and helped the Portuguese Monarchs to spread Christianity in the *Estado*. The early Portuguese historians followed a lusocentric approach. As such, they were interested in the motives, actions and successes of both the *conquistadores* and of the religious. João de Barros, Diego do Couto, Afonso de Albuquerque, Gaspar Correa etc.¹³ agreed that the frairs were pioneers of the mission in the Portuguese *Estado*.¹⁴

The chronicles of the frairs who belonged to the Order constitute an important source. These frairs had worked in the mission stations for several years and held important positions. Though they made use of documents, records and other primary sources, they had their own biases and presented an unbalanced view that made their work suspect. They tried to propagate the work that was undertaken by the frairs and praised the edifying

and the miraculous because they were loyal to the Portuguese secular and religious authorities.¹⁵

The most important chronicler was Frei Paulo da Trindade who wrote a number of booklets on Theology and Canon Laws. Frei Leonhard Lemmens, found a copy of his *Conquista Espirtual do Oriente* in the Vatican Library. Between 1962 to 1967, Frei Felix Lopes published it in three volumes that dealt with the Franciscans in Goa, their activities in Bassein, Salcete and Quilon and the Eastern parts of South India, Ceylon and the Far East respectively. He was well qualified and had an access to documents, chronicles and other works that he used to complete his work. He was also familiar with the socio-cultural and religious life of the local people. However, his work was not a standard, authoritative history as it was an *apologia* or a defense of his Order against the criticisms and ridicules of the other Religious Orders who accused his friars of being undisciplined, monastic and engrossed in the routine activities of their Parishes and Frairies. The work abounded in heroic, miraculous and extraordinary feats of the friars who worked in the mission as he was interested in the glorious achievements of the friars and the challenges that they overcame in the mission. His work was a classical missionary account that was written by a chronicler of the seventeenth century.¹⁶

Another chronicler was Frei Jacinto de Deus whose work is indispensable for the study of the origin and activities of

the Madre de Deus frairs. Though the work suffered from falsity, ignorance, malice, errors and perversity, it is widely used by the Franciscan historians to study the Recollects. Frei Franciscus Gonzaga left invaluable details on the origin and progress of the Order in Goa. Though his book contained several errors, it is an important source because he made use of several contemporary documents. Frei Manuel de Monforte completed his chronicle in Lisbon. The book contains a record the lives of the pioneers like Frei Juan de Albuquerque, Frei Vincente de Lagos and Frei Antonio do Porto. Frei Clemente de Santa Eyria wrote on the São Thome Province in Goa. His original work was found in the Library at Ajuda and was later transcribed by Antonio da Silva Rego. It is relevant for the study of the early developments and the threats to the Order in Goa. Frei Fernao de Soledade (1682 to 1736), wrote on the Franciscans in the *Estado da India*. Frei Miguel da Purificação also wrote about the Franciscan mission in general.¹⁷ All the chronicles that were completed in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were written in a similar style. This was because the chroniclers generally borrowed from the each other. As the chroniclers belonged to the Order, they were always appreciative of the frairs and condemned the locals of being *gentios* who worshipped the *diabos*. The Jesuit Chroniclers like Francisco de Souza, Sebastião Goncalves, Alessandro Valignano etc. were critical of the frairs and made irrelevant conjectures about them. Nevertheless, they provided

details on the number of converts, conversion policies *et al.* The chroniclers generally make an unconscious attempt to link the desire to *fazer christandade* to the *grande guerra de obra spiritual de Portuguese*. They condemned the *muyer indigena* and spoke about the efforts of the tumultuous friars to save the *almas desperos*, all because of *gesta dei per lusitanos*.¹⁸

Such an approach was criticised by the Third World historians who speak in terms of a radical shift in historiography of the Church in the context on its new liberated status and the challenges that face the converts. In studying the origin, growth, development, consolidation, stagnation and decline of the Order, it becomes imperative to place it within the broader historical context. The historians like Ian Clark, Francis Clark, Alden Daril Mathias Mundadan, M. D. David, L. P. Thomaz and T. R. de Souza and researchers like Ines G. Zupanov, S. Imanuel David, Martin Brecht *et al* favour the reconstruction of Church history and the redefinition of the frontiers of research to do away with the predominance of the Latin orthodoxy.¹⁹

SOURCES : This work is not a pioneering attempt in the field. Missionary historians have worked on the rise and progress of different Religious Orders in Goa. In this work, an attempt is made to tap the melange sources in the Historical Archives, Goa, Central Library, Panaji, Xavier Center for Historical Research, Porvorim, Heras Institute of Ancient Indian History and Culture,

Mumbai, Capuchin Library, Monte de Guirim, Paco Patriarcal, Goa, Library of the St. Anthony's Frairy, Bangalore, Dharmaram Pontifical Library, Vidhyajyoti, Bangalore, Ataide Library, Mapusa, and Rachol Seminary, Margao.

The *bom documentos* of the Franciscan Order in the Roman Archives have been transcribed by Luca M. R. Waddingo, A. Chappini, Panzoni and Streit, while those relating to Christianity in general are anodated by L. M. Jordao and Iosephus Wicki.²⁰ In Portugal, the documents pertaining to the Indian Province disappeared when the Archives of the Order in Lisbon were destroyed. The General Archives was destroyed during the uprisings of the nineteenth century. The documents pertaining to the Order were sent from Goa during the tenure of Archbishop Dom Francisco de Assunção e Britto but, they never reached Lisbon and the Archbishop was punished by Pope Pius VI.²¹ The documents relating to the frairs in Goa were transcribed by Antonio da Silva Rego who was a moving spirit behind the publication of the historical material on the doomed Portuguese seaborne Empire. The documents that were ignored by him were published by Georg Schurhammer who was the *primus inter pares* till his death in 1971.²²

The material in the Spanish Archives was published by Felix Lopes. He transcribed the lists of the frairs in Goa from the *Arquivo do Convent Franciscan de Pastrami, Espanha*, the

documents and the Statutes of the Order. Some Statutes are also found in the Central Library, Panaji.²³

In the Historical Archives, Goa, there are several manuscripts that are relevant for our study.²⁴ The *Monções do Reino* contain four hundred and fifty six manuscript volumes that cover the period from 1560 to 1914. They include the reports sent by the Provincials of the Orders, individual frairs or by the temporal heads to Portugal. Though many of these documents are extended by unnecessary details like a brief history of the achievements of the frairs or brief descriptions of the pioneers of the Order, they are invaluable because they enable us to study the nature and progress of the mission. Sixty two manuscript volumes were published in Lisbon and many others were published by J. H. da Cunha Rivara, A. B. Braganca Pereira and P. S. S. Pissurlencar.²⁵ Those pertaining to the Franciscan Order have been published by Fr. Achilles Meersman. The series of twenty two documents entitled *Reis Visinhos* include the correspondence between the authorities in Goa and the neighbouring Indian rulers like the Marathas between 1619-1842. Six of these books are indexed by the *Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos*. They are useful for understanding the encounters between the Marathas and the frairs. The *Assentos do Conselho do Estado* are records of the minutes of the Council of State in Goa. They help us to trace the role of the frairs in the policy making and decision taking processes of the State between 1618 to 1750. The *Assentos do*

Conselho da Fazenda consist of fifty-nine volumes (1613 to 1789). They help us to study the assets and proceeds of the Order. The *Livros dos Receitas e despesas, pensoes* and *contas dos missoes* are useful in this study. The *Tombo das Rendas das Aldeias* and the *Forais de Bardez* enable us to understand the role of the villagers in the growth of the mission. The temple lands that were handed over to the Religious Orders are stated in the *Forais antigos de Bardez* and *Aforamentos perpetuos dos Conventos extintos*.

The records entitled *Papeis dos Conventos* contain two hundred and thirty seven documents (1560-1893), while those entitled *Papeis dos Conventos Extinctos* contain one hundred and seventy seven documents for the period between (1560 to 1885). They are useful to study the Convents of Nossa Senhora do Cabo, São Francisco, Madre de Deus, Sao Boaventura and Nossa Senhora do Pilar. The three books on the laws and provisions in favour of Christianity (1513 to 1843) are useful to study the conversion policies. The assets that were handed over by the Religious Orders to the State are mentioned in the *Inventario Geral da Provincia de São Thomé* and other *Inventarios*.²⁶

There are collections of manuscripts in the Paço Patriarchal that are useful to study the missions in Bardez towards the end of the eighteenth century.

The primary sources that are available in a manuscript form can be supplemented by the manuscripts are published by different scholars. The financial statements, for instance, have been published by F. N. Xavier, Dr. P. S. S. Pissurlencar and Jean Aubin.²⁷

One source that has been used extensively in this thesis is the documents that are published by J. H. da Cunha Rivara. He served as the Secretary General to the Government of Portugal in India for twenty years. He had a strong anti-Portuguese attitude that is reflected in his work that primarily deals with the removal of the frairs from Bardez.²⁸

The Franciscan frairs not only devoted themselves to evangelization, conversions and baptisms, but also to Church building activities. The Churches became symbols of the faith of a Parish. The archeological vestiges in the Churches in the Bardez Province have been recorded by Ricardo Micheal Telles. As the Secretary of the Permanent Commission for Archaeology and the Correspondent of the Association of the Socio-geographical Society, Lisbon, he has published several articles in the *OP* and *Voz*.²⁹

The frairs were the agents of the Kings of Portugal in the *Conquista Espiritual*. The frairs who constituted the two Provinces in Goa have been studied by Frei Achilles Meersman. The biographical details of the early frairs have been provided by Felix Lopes and the chroniclers of the Order. The occasional attempts

made by the frairs to adapt to the new conditions can be studied from the Statutes, which also help us to study the developments within the Order.³⁰ Msgr. F. X. Gomes Catão has also written extensively on the Franciscans. However, most of his works are still in a manuscript form.³¹

The secondary works provide the intellectual rationale or methodical blueprint for this work. The hagiographic approach that was predominant in Europe did not find much ground in the microcosm regional studies. Historians and scholars like Stephen Neill, George Schurhammer, Antonio da Silva Rego, George Moraes, Joseph Thekedath, Mathias Mundadan, Anthony D'Costa, Carlos Merces de Melo, A. B. da Braganza Pereira, M. D'Sa et cetera provide interesting details for the study.³² Most of these works are true to the facts and attempt at a limited analysis of the same. As such, they do not seem to be romanticized texts that have a bias against or in favour of some individuals, groups, institutions or ideologies. One cannot deny the facts that they dealt with the achievements of the foreign missionaries and the role of the Colonial State in supporting and promoting the missions. However, such an approach was inevitable as most of the correspondence and information about the Eastern missions was furnished by the missionaries or their temporal allies.

CHAPTERISATION: The source material enables us to compile a comprehensive history of the Franciscans in Goa from their rise till their expulsion in 1835 in a chronological and sociological sequence. This is done in the following nine chapters:

The Introductory Chapter deals with the geographical and chronological parameters of the study, the published sources available for the study, the historiographical bent of these works, the nature and scope of the study and the history of the Order from the earliest times till 1517 when the frairs established themselves in Goa.

The Second Chapter deals with the attempts made by the Observants to institutionalise themselves into a Frairy. This covers the period between 1517 to 1542. It deals with the transition from the relatively modest projects of the frairs to the ambitious complexities of their activities. It also deals with their endeavors to Christianize the Islands of Goa and the adjoining areas.

Chapter Three is devoted to the arrival of the Society of Jesus and its aftermath on Goa. The division of the *Velhas Conquistas* into exclusive mission zones, the General Baptisms, the Church building activities and the attempts of the Recollects to stabilize their mission till 1582 forms the content of this Chapter.

The attempts to stabilize and consolidate the mission by erecting a Custody, attempting to introduce the Second Order and

by framing Statutes forms the subject matter of the Fourth Chapter that covers the period between 1583 to 1622.

Having strengthened themselves in structural and human terms, the frairs tried to spread the mission. The criticisms leveled by the other religious prompted the frairs to work harder and to send the reports about their activities to Lisbon. The Fifth Chapter analyses the progress of the mission into the outlying areas despite severe challenges from the Marathas and other native reactions. This continued till 1657, when the features of stagnation began to set in.

Chapter Six concentrates on the stagnant nature of the mission especially in Bardez where the missionaries began to face several criticisms. Despite this, the frairs continued to work in the mission. This is evident from the baptism records and from the Church building activities.

Chapter Seven deals with the slow but steady decline of the mission that culminated in the replacement of the frairs by the native clergy in 1766. Here, an attempt is made to analyse the role of the *Camara de Bardez* and the authorities to replace the frairs.

The Eighth Chapter deals with the attempts made by the frairs to maintain their hold over the five Parishes, which belonged to the Order. These attempts continued till 1835 when the Religious Orders were expelled from Goa.

Chapter Nine serves as a Conclusion. It deals with the history of the Franciscan Order in Goa with special reference to the revival of the militant zeal of the Crusades and the institutionalization of the frairs as a prime, isolated group that coordinated with the other Orders to spread the mission in Goa. A number of unifying themes are pinpointed to provide coherence to the above Chapters. It ends with an estimate of the legacy of the frairs in Goa.

NATURE AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY : A characteristic feature of the sixteenth century was the outbreak of a religious Revolution in Portugal. The Religious Orders cooperated with the Pope and the Kings for the spread of the Christian faith. Goa was a miniscule that was soon developed as an *exemplae* of the Portuguese presence in the Seaborne Empire. Within one century, the *expansão da fê* reached an apogee. This was evident from the clerical organization, extension of the powers of the frairs, attempts at progress, efforts towards systematization, growth of Parishes, increasing number of converts etc. The success of the entire process was attributed to the Religious Orders that worked in Goa at different points of the time. However, the entire process that related to the evolution of a Christian heritage in Goa can be traced by studying the Franciscan Order because the frairs were the first to come and the last to leave.

The process of reform and division that afflicted the Order in Europe was also evident in Goa. The frairs were organised into two Provinces, the São Thomê Province of the Observants and the Madre de Deus Province of the Recollects. While the former had one Frairy, one College, twenty four Parishes and two Hospices, the latter had its Frairy at Daugim and Houses of Recollection at Pilar, Rachol and Cabo respectively.

The frairs came to the mission field to preach. Their aim was semi-religious and their approach was legalistic. It was based on the enactments of the Council of Trent and the obligations entrusted to them by the *Padroado*. The frairs were responsible to the Holy See, the King of Portugal and to their authorities in Rome. In many cases, the frairs tried to surpass one authority or another and this resulted in disorders and disputes that are evident in the second half of the seventeenth century. The material available in the form of complaints of the interested and prejudiced parties is sufficient to prepare a *chronique scandaleuse* of the Order.

It is not uncommon for the historians of the post-colonial period to blame individuals and institutions of conscious faults that they committed while trying to stabilize the Province. The close cooperation between the Church and the State is believed to be detrimental to religion because it made the missionary and the mission dependent or even subservient to the State. This was unavoidable in the historical context in which the enterprise

functioned. There were instances when those who were against monastic traditions went against the frairs and their mission. The *Placet Regium* was a direct indication that the Patron interfered in ecclesiastical matters. There were certain other cases wherein the frairs protested and even lobbied against certain officials and others wherein the latter attempted to thwart the mission. The mission was theoretical construct that was based on a Western structure. Hence, only detailed empirical research can explain the alleged religious aggression that was a part and parcel of the missionary movement that developed around this time. For this, it is essential to distinguish between the *sacerdotum* Church and the *imperium* Church.³³

The conversion of the *fine mundi* involved different concepts namely, theology, faith, dedication of the missionaries, heroic deeds on the sea *et al.* However, in this entire process, the pioneering phase is the most important. Subsequently, the mission extended, progressed and declined. The entire process can be seen as a struggle of a missionary who came with the Western power and was an agent of the Imperial powers and the convert who adopted Christianity and later diversified it to suit the regional or the new conditions. As such, the latter adopted an apocalyptic spirit. The main problem to reconstruct the history of the latter is the lack of documents that deal with the *indios*. Such an attempt requires hermetic principles. A contextual

interpretation is also important to study the spread of Christianity in the new social milieu.

Every Order is an institution that has its own individuality, hierarchy and aim. However, once it established itself in a new land, the local Christians were influenced by the identity of the Order. Nevertheless, on the intellectual plane the moving spirit behind all the Orders that came to India was *Lusitanismo* or the Vision of Portugal. The Orders that came to India were moving symbols of the *Republica Christiana* that brought about a shift from one phase representing *o regresso á evangelizacao pacifica* to *o explosao missionaria*. As such the missionaries tried to use the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church and adapt them to suit the interests of their Patron to fulfill the supra task of converting the *pagãos dos campos* that was the ultimate *obra spiritual de Portugal*. The theologians see this as a success of the missionary, a hagiographic view focuses on the influence of the founder saints while a simple approach focuses on the phases of struggle, growth, reforms and vicissitudes of the Order.³⁴

There are periodic efforts to rewrite the history of the Church. While the earlier historians tried to present the subject matter as a series of events arranged chronologically in a well ordered set, the later scholars tried to introduce the principle of dynamism. Instead of limiting themselves to a narrow chronology or to documentary facts, they latter started passing judgements on the historical events. Irrespective of the approaches, both the

studies indicated that Christianity as a religion and the Franciscan Order as its agent embodied certain structures, ideas and relationships that have to be studied with relative accuracy taking into consideration the origins, developments, characteristic patterns et cetera.³⁵ This demands a shift from the existing historiographical trends and the avoidance of a possible transcendence of modern views. Epistemology i.e. how people in different times and places recognised themselves as a part of a common group will find an expression in such a work. While documents provide the substance, a historical analysis will enable us to understand the matrix on which the historical facts can be placed. It is not uncommon for historians to concentrate on the surface, beginning with the growth of the mission, establishment of Churches, conversion etc. These are seen as the heroic deeds of a State sponsored enterprise. As such, the entire mission is seen as an intensive conversion activity of a missionary, who was encompassed within the anvils of a colonial structure. The extensive study of a broad convert group and their complex links with the missionary are thus ignored. Conversion in such cases, is seen as an apostrophe that was embedded into the indigenous setup without resistance on the part of the convert.

Conversion was carried out within a system and it would never be successful without a devised technique of alliance building that gave strength, stability and security to the religious organization. Bonds of citizenry, clientage, collaboration and

affiliation went a long way in creating a local elite social group that collaborated with the missionaries and helped to further their mission. The nature of such links provides an understanding into the relationships between the conscious givers and unconscious receivers.

Franciscanism was a movement that stabilized itself in certain parts of India. Since Goa is selected as a microcosm for study and Bardez was an important area therein, the latter can be used as a pedantic term to describe an ethnically different setup that evolved subsequently. Though a holistic and diachronic study is inevitable, an attempt is made to delimit both the territorial and chronological frameworks within which the missionaries worked.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND:

ORIGIN OF THE ORDER : Giovanni was born to in Umbria, Central Italy in 1182. In 1207, he decided to become Gods *trabadour* and conceptualized the establishment of an apostolic Order. The Order acquired its *forma vitae* at a hut in Rivo Torto with the help of Inocent III. Francisco now called Francis of Assisi owed allegiance to the Pope and took the vows of *lattissima poverta, splendissima Castila e sancta obediencia*. The followers were called the Penitents of Assisi or the *Frairs Minor*.³⁶

The Lateran Councils favoured an evangelical enterprise to restore Europe to a state of grace. Hence, the poor Mendicants of

Assisi decided to shoulder the task of spreading the Gospel into the world. In fact, the missionary enterprise became the *raison d'être* of this Order. Francis himself went to Tunis and Accursio in the early thirteenth century. The frairs went to Morocco, Syria and Egypt where they founded fifteen Frairies. The frairs documented their objectives in the *Regula* of 1221. It was approved by Pope Honorius III in 1223.³⁷

REFORMS AND DIVISION : After the death of Francis of Assisi, the Zealots or Spirituals began to emphasize on the Rule with special emphasis on communal and personal poverty while the Moderates were in favour of preaching and study. The dissensions continued till 1233, when the *Regulata Bullata* was introduced. This formed the canonical basis of the Franciscan Order.³⁸ Such a solution was only tentative and for nearly three hundred years, the frairs tried to institutionalize and embody the aspirations of their founder or set up that was apt to the socio-religious conditions of the day.

PLUS EXEMPLO QUAM VERBO : The frairs concentrated on the *domestici fidei* and ventured into South East Asia. The Mongol invader Chengiz Khan had made Europe unsafe for Christianity. In such a situation, the Religious Orders that had hitherto assisted the Pope in an evangelical Crusade now decided to launch a military Crusade against the *saracens*. The religious provided the Popes with an effective army of spiritual warriors. Over the next fifty years, the Christian forces drove the *moors* away from

the Peninsula and checked the Mongol advance.³⁹ In 1245, Frei John of Piano de Carpine was the Papal Legate in the Court of the Great Khan at Karakorum, Central Mongolia. Frei Lourenço de Portugal served as the Papal Legate in the Middle East and handled the diplomatic relations with the Tartars on behalf of the See. Pope Innocent IV formed a missionary society called the *Societatis Peregrinantium Pro Christi* that consisted of Dominican and Franciscan friars.⁴⁰ Towards the end of the century, the Order boasted of zealous friars like Frei Joao de Monte Corvino who was a legate of Pope Nicolao IV in the Court of the Great Khan at Khanbalik in Peking. Clemente V helped him to establish the Archdiocese of Peking. Frei João de Monte Corvino was consecrated as the first Archbishop of Peking and the Patriarch of the Mongol Empire by seven Franciscan friars.⁴¹ In 1338, Frei João de Marignolli was sent on a mission to the Great Khan. He went to Peking, China and India. In India, he founded a Latin Church in Quilon and was honoured by the St. Thomas Christians.⁴² Blessed Odoric de Pardenone was sent to China in 1316. In the same year, four friars from the Convent of Tabris, Italy went to Omruz, Coromandel and Thana. There, they were killed by the locals. In 1328, Frei João de Cora de Soltane was sent to the Kingdom of the Khan. Other Franciscans like Frei Bernardone de Cardio, Frei Pedro de San Germaniano and Frei Othen were sent to the city of Morocco where they were tortured.

They became the first martyrs of the Order.⁴³ Hence, the frairs of the Seraphic Order had a record in the mission field.

Apart from serving in the mission, the frairs also occupied Episcopal positions and formed the backbone of the Church hierarchy. They provided the Church with a *corps* of well instructed agents who were dedicated to the Pope. In the fourteenth century, they preached the Crusades in North and Central Italy. They also helped the Kings of Europe to assert their religious sovereignty.⁴⁴

ATTEMPTS AT REFORM : The fifteenth century was characterized by an attempt to merge the *status evangelicus* with the vigorous way of life. The *Exiit qui Seminatus* of Innocent III dated 1279, brought about a reconciliation of the two.

Those who believed in following the Rule *ad litteram... sine glossa* were called Spirituals. They lived a monastic life in small monasteries that were located far away from the villages. The Community frairs were those who moved away from the principles of the founder and joined the militant Church.⁴⁵ Pope Clemente V had to issue the *Exiit de Paradiso* to save the unity between the *Zelanti* and Conventuals.⁴⁶

Between 1378 and 1417, the Pope was dismissed and Robert of Geneva was elected as the head of the Avignon Papacy. This was called the period of the Great Schism. France, Scotland, Spain, Naples and South Germany supported the Avignon Popes

while the rest of Europe supported the Roman Popes. The frairs functioned within a sacerdotal organization and enjoyed a quasi-parochial status that was buttressed by Papal privileges. In the fifteenth century, the Observants gained the upper hand over the Reformed Orders and the Pope tried to unite the Order at the General Chapter at Rome.⁴⁷

CARRYING THE GOSPEL : The fifteenth century marked the triumphant progress of the Regular Observants. From 1400, the missionaries were sent to different areas from Lapland to Congo and from Azores to China. By 1417, the Observants were permitted to establish the Houses for the *Observanti* in England, Spain, Germany and Hungary. Their missionary fervour was encouraged by Pope Eugene IV who occupied the See in 1446. Three Italian frairs, Frei João de Capistrino, Frei James de March and Frei Alberto de Sarteano served as the legate of Eugene IV, the Papal Ambassador to Greece, India and Ethiopia and the Apostolic Commissary in *patribus Orientalibus* respectively. Frei Francis Sagar and Frei João de Calabria went to the borders of Abyssinia. Between 1454 and 1457, Frei Louis de Bologna was given special permission to leave for Ethiopia.⁴⁸

Pope Eugene IV gave the Observants considerable autonomy. The frairs were welcomed in both Spain and Portugal. Pope Calixtus III and later Pope Sixtus IV also supported them. The experience of the frairs in the mission field and their close

alliance with the Reformation Popes went a long way in making them the prospective candidates for the new mission that would be undertaken by Portugal.

THE PIONEERS OF THE MISSION TO INDIA : With Portugal, the history of missions entered a new Era. The Iberian Peninsula, which had hitherto been a battlefield now, became the locus for the growth of a new Nation State. The court atmosphere in Portugal was the *locus classicus* for the revival of the *reconquista* spirituality. Individuals families, groups and institutions volunteered to take up the leadership of the *Conquista Espiritual*.

The Militant Orders in Portugal like those of Avis, Santhiago and of Christ flourished in Portugal. Infante Dom Henrique lifted the banner of Expansion as the Head of the Order of Christ. Dom João followed the tradition and received the Bull *Respublica Christiana* from Pope Martinho V. Portugal experienced a revival of the old spirit of the Crusades. The Sé of Centa was raised to a Cathedral and missionaries were to the newly acquired lands. The King, Dom Diego served as the Administrator of the Order of Christ. Dom Manuel was educated by Dom Diego Silva e Menezes, the brother of two Spiritual Franciscans Frei Santa Beatriz da Silva e Beato and Frei Amador da Silva. Such an association between the frairs and the Kings led Jaime Cortesão to believe that even the inspiration of the maritime expansion and the interest that pushed Portugal towards the unknown lands came from the

Franciscans. They infused a new ardour of proselytisation into the Catholic Church.⁴⁹

How did the Franciscans get associated with the voyages of rediscovery? This is a question that is often raised but rarely answered by the historians. However, as a background to the Order that flourished in Goa for nearly more than three centuries, it is indispensable to study its association with those who were concerned with this politico-economic Crusade. The Pope was favourable to the Kings of Portugal. In 1455, Pope Calixtus III bestowed the *omnimodem jurisdictionem ordinarium* on the Grand Prior of the Order of Christ over the Portuguese missions *in terris et locis usque ad Indos acquisitus et acquivendis*. It was confirmed by Pope Sixtus IV who was a defender of Christendom. The frairs became the pampered children of the Holy See. They were favoured for assignments and appointed as emissaries, papal chaplains, penitentiaries and Preachers.⁵⁰ In Portugal, a Province was raised in 1368 and the frairs had Houses in Leão and Galizia. In 1487, the King João I, sent the frairs to Ethiopia, Sindh and Jerusalem.⁵¹ In the fifteenth century, Frei João de Guadalupe established a Congregation of Sancta Evangelho that consisted of the Observants. Pope Alexander VI helped them to go to the Islands of Madeira. In 1501, Alexander VI issued the *Statuta Alexandrina* that was the longest Statute of the Observants. In 1502, he suppressed all the Reformed Orders and placed them under the Head of the Observants.⁵² Two years later, Pope Julius

It issued the in *Militantis Ecclesiae* that conferred several privileges on the friars. Between 1512 to 1517, the friars were employed and sent on diplomatic missions to the Eastern lands. On account of their success during the Apostolic Age, the Order was called the *Ordo Praedicatorum* and the century was called the Golden Age of Franciscan Preaching. In Portugal, they raised the *Custodie da Piedade* and were placed under the Vicar General of the Observants. The friars owed allegiance to the Orders of Santhiago and of Christ and claimed the legitimacy of the *Regra Serafica*. Hence, they were favoured by both the Kings and the Papacy during the period of Expansion. In fact, the support of the latter was not needed because the Monarchs of Portugal were the *jus patronatus* of the missions in the East.⁵³

POR MARES NUNCA DANTES NAVEGADOS: The organisation of the missions remained Papal in nature but the missionary activities assumed a national characters as the Royal Vicariate of Portugal had the right to sent missionaries to the East. Having their roots in Italy, the friars who lived in Portugal had a long association with the Papacy and the Christian Kings of Europe. They endeavoured to make Europe safe for Christendom and had worked in Guinea, Mongolia, Peking, Omruz, Persian Gulf, China and South India.⁵⁴

In 1500, the first group of Franciscans arrived in India on the fleet of Pedro Alvares Cabral. The friars were well versed in the

doctrine, pledged to discipline and formerly held position of responsibilities. They had permission to establish a residence in Cochin and any other places that was chosen by them.⁵⁵ *En route* to his destination, Cabral anchored at Anjedive where the frairs preached twenty three souls including Gaspar da Gama. From here, they proceeded to Calicut and occupied the houses on the shore with the permission of the Zamorin. The Muslim merchants were threatened by their presence and incited the inhabitants to fight against them. In the insurrections that followed, three frairs and fifty men were killed in Calicut. The frairs who escaped ventured further. Frei Cruz worked among the Nestorians in Cochin while Frei Salvador proceeded to Cannanore and converted the King. Frei Simão de Guimares worked in Malabar. Frei Coimbra accompanied Cabral to Portugal in January 1501. He did not return to India but requested the King to send missionaries to found the mission there.⁵⁶ This indicated that the frairs had undertaken the enterprise with interest and were suitably rewarded for the same.

The frairs who came to India were generally of the Portuguese decent. They were selected by the Provincial and sent by the King for three years. They were unorganized and were responsible to the Portuguese civil authorities in Goa. The Popes continued to bestow privileges on the Kings to spearhead the mission and the frairs were their agents.⁵⁷

In 1503, the King sent a *regimento* to Dom Francisco de Almeida to establish a House for the frairs in Ceylon. In 1505, Francisco came to India as the first Viceroy alongwith the Franciscan frairs. Having reached Cochin, they raised a Church dedicated to São Bartholomeu. The frairs who came aboard these vessels worked as chaplains and catered to the spiritual needs to those onboard. Apart from the frairs, seculars, Dominicans and Trinitarians were also sent. Dom Manuel permitted them to build Frairies in Negapatnam and Cannanore.⁵⁸

In 1506, the King send seven Franciscans alongwith Nuno Tristão da Cunha and gave them the permission to found a mission in Socotra. The Island was conquered and handed to Frei Antonio do Louro so that he could cater to the spiritual needs of those who lived there. Frei Louro was determined to work in India. In the meanwhile, some frairs landed at Goa with Afonso de Albuquerque. There was a reference to Frei Francisco de Rocha who was present on 25th November 1510, when Goa was seized from the Adil Shah of Bijapur. Albuquerque send Frei Louis do Salvador with two servants, one linguist and his nephew on a friendship mission to Vijaynagar. Frei Rocha was made the first parish priest of Goa on 22nd December 1510 and was given the right to conduct the marriages of the *soldados*. After the conquest of Goa, Frei Paulo de Coimbra, the Superior of the Franciscans said the first thanksgiving mass at the Church of St. Catherine of Alexandria. Frei João de Alemão, a German confessor and

confidant of Albuquerque was appointed as the first *Provedor* of the Royal Hospital.⁵⁹

After completing his task in Goa, Albuquerque decided to go to Malacca. Frei Louro who had the Royal Orders to travel to Goa, followed him alongwith Afonso de Noronha. However, on the way, they were shipwrecked. Many died and nearly thirty occupants were trailed along the coast of Cambay. Here, they were arrested and taken to Sultan Muhamad Shah I who held them on a ransom. The King permitted two men, Diego Correia and Francisco Pereira de Borredo to go to Goa and collect the ransom. However, as they did not return, Frei Louro applied to the Royal Court to allow him to go to Goa to collect the ransom. He received the permission, pledged his hood and chord with the Sultan and left for Goa. He reached Goa on 19th October 1511, collected the ransom and left in the company of Gonçalo Homem. He paid the ransom to Manzar Khan II and released the prisoners. In March 1512, the frairs returned to Goa.⁶⁰

The frairs helped Albuquerque to consolidate the Portuguese power in the East. When he captured Malacca, he was assisted by eight Chaplains, the majority of whom were Franciscans. In the absence of a residence in Goa, they occupied some temporary quarters in an old mosque. Their activities were limited to the Portuguese soldiers and some Christians who lived in garrison towns around the forts. In 1512, Albuquerque came back in the company of Franciscans and Dominicans.⁶¹

Frei Louro returned to Portugal in the fall of 1512. He requested Albuquerque to construct a monastery for the frairs in Goa or to write to the King and to the Superiors of the Order to help him in this regard so that the former could return with the other brothers to Goa. Frei Louro went to Portugal to get permission to found a Frairy because he wanted to make Goa a base for radiating the mission into the *Estado da India*.⁶²

As Albuquerque was busy with other admonitions, Frei Louro had to go a long way to realize his dream of founding a permanent canonical settlement in Goa.⁶³

The frairs can rightly be called pioneers of the mission in Goa because they founded a mission and helped Albuquerque to lay the foundations of a strong centre for the Portuguese Seaborne Empire.

Notes and References :

- ¹ Stephen Neill, *A History of Christianity in India (the beginnings to 1707 A.D.)*, 1984, p.1.
- ² Charles Borges, 'Shipping the Gospel', *Journal of Maritime Archeology*, Vol. I, p. 45.
- ³ For the details regarding the motives behind the Portuguese expansion overseas, one may refer to Christopher Bell, *Portugal and the quest for the Indies*, 1974; C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese seaborne empire*, 1969, pp. 1-5; W. G. L. Randles, 'Notes on the Genesis of discoveries', in *STVDIA* Vol. 5(1960), p.21; Luiz Filipe Thomaz, 'Estrutura politica e administrativa do Estado da India no seculo', *Actas do Seminario Internacional do Historia Indo-Portuguesa*, Vol. II, p. 515; Richard Goietz, 'From territorial boundaries to an inner frontier: the first century of the Estado da India', *STVDIA* No. 53 (1994), pp. 93-4.
- ⁴ C. R.Boxer, *The Church and Iberian Expansion (1440 – 1770)*, 1978, pp. 1-5.

- ⁵ Maria Augusta Lima Cruz, 'Notes on Portuguese relations with Vijaynagar (1500-05)', in Sanjay Subrahmanyum (ed), *Sinners and Saints: the successors of Vasco da Gama*, 1998, p. 13.
- ⁶ E. Gurney Salter (trans), *The legend of St. Francis by the Three companions*, 1905; Iriate Lazaro de Aspuz, *Franciscan History: the three Orders of St. Francis of Assisi*, translated from Spanish by Patricia Ross, 1983; Arnaldo Fortini, *Francis of Assisi*, translated from *Nova Vit de San Francisco* by Helen Moak, 1981; Raphael M. Huber, *A documented History of the Franciscan Order*, 1944; Herbert Holzafel, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, translated by Antonio Tibesar and Gervase Brinkmann, 1948; Alexandre Masseron and Marion A. Habig (ed), *The Franciscans: St Francis of Assisi and his three Orders*, 1959; John Moorman, *The History of the Franciscan Order from its origins to the year 1517*, 1968; Englebert Omer, *St. Francis of Assisi: A Bibliography*, 1965.
- ⁷ *Bull. Patr.*
- ⁸ Nimmo Duncan, *Reform and division in the Medieval Franciscan Order (1226-1538)*, 1987; Raphael M. Huber, *Op. cit.*, 1944.
- ⁹ Paul Sabatier, *Estude des sources no vie da Sant François d'Assie*, 1894, translated by F.C. Burkett, *A study of the sources of the life of St. Francis in St. Francis: Essays in commemoration*, 1926; Marion Habig (ed.), *Omnibus of the sources of the life of St. Francis of Assisi*, 1973; A. G. Little, *A Guide to Franciscan Studies*, 1920; Marcellino de Civezza, *Historie Universalle des mission Franciscanes d'apres de traduit de missions*, 1899, in four parts; Marcellino de Civezza, *Storia Universale delle Mission Franciscanae*, (1300-1500), 1757-1895, Vol. VI.; Luciano Petech, *L'Franciscani nell Asia Central e Orientale nel XII e XIV seculo*, 1979; Leonhard P. Lemmens, *Die Herden missionem de Spatmittelalters (1219-1919)*, 1999.
- ¹⁰ Achilles Meersman, *The Ancient Franciscan Provinces in India (1500-1835)*, 1971; The other works that are published by Meersman are 'The Provincials of the Ancient Franciscan Provinces in India', Extract of *AFH*, Vol. 60(1967); 'The First Latin Bishops of the Portuguese period in India', in *NZM*, Vol. 20(1964); 'Franciscan Bishop's in India and Pakistan', in *AFH*, Vol. 72(1979); 'Early Auxillary Bishops of Goa', in *NZM*, Vol.25(1969); 'The Institution of the Commissaries General for the Portuguese Franciscans in the East', Extractum of *AFH*, Vol. 59(1966); 'Documents pertaining to the return of the Franciscans to Burma in the Archdiocesan Archives of Madras and Mylapore', *AFH*, Vol. LXV(1973); 'The Franciscans in and around Chaul and Poona after the surrender of Chaul to the Marathas', *IES*, Vol. III (1964); 'Catholic beginnings on the Canara Coast', *IES* Vol. I (1962); 'Documents pertaining to the Franciscans in the Madurai Missions and the Coromandel Coast in India (1790-1830)', in *AFH*, Vol. LXVII (1974); 'The fishery coasts under the Portuguese patronage during the years 1759-1838', *ICHR*, Vol. XI, No. 3, (1977); 'The Franciscans in the Ancient Kingdoms of Ava and Pegu', in *AFH* Vol. XXXI (1938); 'The Franciscans in Junk, Ceylon, Kedah and Mergui', in *AFH*, Vol. LVI (1963); 'The Franciscans of the Mother of God Province in Sumatra', in *Franciscan Studies*, 1944; *The Franciscans in the Indonesian Achipelago (1300-1775)*, 1967; *The Franciscans in Bombay*, 1957; E. R. Hambye, in the 'In Memoriam on Fr. Meersman', states that he had twelve books and thirty articles to his credit, *Indica*, Vol. 20, No. 5 (1983), p. 48. His works have helped to disprove many accusations that the Observants were interested in spreading Christianity than in recording the progress and opposition to their work. J. H. da Cunha Rivara, *Brados a favor das comunidades das Aldeias do Estado da India*, 1890, p. 83.
- ¹¹ Meersman Achilles, 'The Goa Archives and the history of the Franciscans in India', *Indica*, Vol. I(1964); His other works are *Annual Reports of the Portuguese Franciscans in India (1713-1833)*, 1972; 'Some eighteenth century statistics of the Archdiocese of Goa and of the Diocese of Cochin', *ICHR*, Vol. I, No. 2, 1968; 'A list of Franciscans in India in the year 1810', *AFH*, Vol. 54 (1961); 'Personnel of the Indian Province of São Thomé in the year 1770', *AFH*, Vol. 63 (1970).
- ¹² Felix F.Lopes, 'A evangelização de Ceilão desde 1552 - 1602', *STVDIA*, Vols. 20-2 (1967) and *MF*; A. M. Manuel Taveira, 'Franciscanos na Japão (1583 to 1603)', *Itinerarium*, Vol. VIII,(1962), pp.37-8; Gervasis Mulakava, 'Portuguese missionaries in Cochin till 1558', *STVDIA*, No. 49 (1989).
- ¹³ João de Barros, *Decadas da Asia: de feitos que os Portugueses fizeram no descobrimento e conquista dos mares e terras do Oriente*, Vols. I-VIII, Lisbon, 1777-8; Diogo de Couto, *Decada*, in 15 Volumes, Lisboa, 1778-88; Afonso de Albuquerque, *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque*, Vols 1-VII, Lisboa, 1884-1935; Gaspar Correa, *Lendas da India*, Tomos I-IV, Lisboa, 1858-66.
- ¹⁴ Gilbert Freyre, *Aventura e Rotina*, Lisbon, 1952, p.192.
- ¹⁵ Mathias Mundadan, *Church and missionary works on Indo Portuguese history*. John Correia Afonso(ed.), *Indo-Portuguese History: sources and problems*, 1981.p. 5.
- ¹⁶ For details regarding the works of Paulo da Trindade refer to Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*, 1957, pp. 232-3; *ML*, Vol. I, p. 256 gives a few biographical details on Trindade; *Annales*, Vol. XXVI, p. 17, Vol. XXVII, pp. 449 and 131; *CEO* Vol. I, pp. 59, 71, 51 and 48; Achilles Meersman, *Op.Cit.*, 1937, Appdx. III, pp. 230-35; Miguel da Purificação, *Relacao Defensiva*, Vol. V, pp. 61 and 19; Marcellino de Civezza, *Op. cit.*, 1899, pp. 131-32; *Streit Bibliotheca Missionum*, 1934, Vol. V, pp.128-227; *Assentos*, Vol. III, pp. 129 and 150; Paul Sbaralea, *Op. cit.* Vol. III, p. 315; John Correia Afonso, *Op. Cit.*, 1981, pp. 9-13; G. Schurhamer, *St. Francis Xavier and his times: India(1941-45)*, 1977, Vol. II, pp. 629-30; *BL* provides a list of his works, Vol. III, p. 526. Other works are found in *IVG*, Goa, their titles are transcribed by Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*, 1957, p. 232-3. The copy of Trindades work was found in the Vatican Library, *Cod. Lat.* No. 7746. It was perhaps salvaged when the Franciscan Generalate was sacked during the Roman risings; *DI*, Vol. II, p. 22; *CEO* Vol. I, pp. 264-5; Achilles Meersman has published a review of this book in *Op. cit. AFH*, Vol. 56(1963), p. 480; *Op. cit.* Vol. 58 (1965), p. 564; *Op. cit.* Vol. 62 (1969), p. 413; and *Op. Cit.*, 1971, pp. 236 and 270-72. The criticisms against the frairs were leveled by the Jesuit historians like Giovanni Pletro Maffei, *Historicum Indicarum*, 1747, Book 12.

- ¹⁷ Frei Jacinto de Deus, *Vergel de plantas e flores da Provincia da Madre de Deus dos Capuchos reformados da India Oriental*, 1690; Franciscus Gonzaga, *De Origine Seraphicae religionis Franciscanae eius que progressious*, 1587; Manoel de Monforte, *Chronica da Provincia da Piedade Primeira Capucha de toda a ordem e regula observancia do nosso seraphico Padre São Francisco*, 1751; Fernando de Soledade, *Historia Serafica Chronologica Sao Francisco da Provincia de Portugal*, Lisbon, 1705-21; Clemente de Santa Eyria, *Noticia do que Obravão os frades de São Francisco, filho da Provincia do Apostolo São Thome no servico de Deos e da sua Magestade que Deos guarde depois que pacarão a esta India Oriental*. The last work is transcribed in *DHMP* Vol. XII: Manoel da Esperanca *Historia Serafica dos Frates de San Francesco na Provincia*; Miguel da Purificacao *Relacao Defensiva dos filhos da India e da Provincia do Apostolo Sao Thome*, 1640.
- ¹⁸ Francisco de Souza, *Oriente Conquistado a Jesus Christo pelos padres da Companhia de Jesus a Provincia de Goa*, 1881; Sebastiao Goncalves, *Primeira parte da Historia dos Religiosos da Companhia de Jesus*, 1957-62; Alessandro Valignano, *Historia del Principio progressa de la Compania de Jesus em la Indias Oriental*, Roma, 1524-6.
- ¹⁹ For details on such perspectives one may refer to T. R. de Souza, *The Catholic Church in India*, 1987; T. R. de Souza and Charles J. Borges (ed.), *Jesuits in India in historical perspective*, XCHR, 1992; T. R. de Souza, (ed.), *Discoveries, Expansion and Asian Cultures*, 1994; His other works are 'Spiritual Conquest of the East: a critique of Church History of Portuguese Asia (sixteenth to seventeenth century)', in *ICHR*, Vol. XIX (1985), pp. 100 onwards; 'Diversas formas de Christo em Asia, in *Separata del Concilium*, n° 246 (1993), 'The Afro Asian Church in the Portuguese Estado da India', *ICHR*, Vol. XXI, No. 2(1987), p.93; 'Christianization of Goa and Cultural conflicts; 'The Christian missions and the aftermath of discoveries', Alden Duril, *The making of an enterprise (the Society of Jesus in Portugal, its empire and beyond) 1540-1750*, 1996; A. M. Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India*, Vol. 1, 1984; M. D. David, *Asia and Christianity*, 1985; Francis X. Clark, *An introduction to the Catholic Church of Asia*, 1987; Ian D. L. Clark, 'Church History or History of the Church', in *ICHR*, Vol. VIII, No. 2 (1974); S. Imanuel David, 'History of Christianity in India: changing perspectives', in *ICHR*, Vol. XIX, No. 1 (1986); Felipe F.R Thomaz 'Descobrimientos e evangelizacao da cruzada a missao Pacifica' in *CIHMPEC*, Vol. I, p.67; Ines. G. Zuspanov 'The Prophetic and the Miraculous in Portuguese Asia' in Sanjay Subrahmanya (ed.) *Op. cit.*, 1998; Martin Brecht 'The materials, sources and methods of ecclesiastical history', 1975; Francois Houtart and Genevieve Lemerciner 'Genesis and Institutionalization of the Indian Catholicism', 1981.
- ²⁰ *Annales, Tomos I-XXV*; Streit *Op. cit.* 1934; J.H Sbarela, *Bullarum Franciscanum*; *Bull. Patr.*; *DI*.
- ²¹ These details are drawn from the Introductory Chapter of Achilles Meersman, *Op. cit.*, 1971.
- ²² C. R. Boxer, 'In honorium on Antonio da Silva Rego', *Indica*, Vol. 24, No. 2(1987), p.187; His interview is published in *Itinerario*, Vol. VII(1983), p. 19; *DHMP* Vol. V; G. Schurhammer, *Op.cit.*, 1977, Vol. II (India. 1541-45); G. Schurhammer, 'Carta inedita sobre a fundacao do Convento de São Francisco de Assisi', in *BIVG*, Vol. 74 (1957).
- ²³ *MF*; *FO*.
- ²⁴ For guidance to the Goa Archives refer to V. T. Gune. *A guide to the Collections of records from the Goa Archives*, Panaji; P. S. S. Pissurlencar, *Roteiro dos Arquivos da India Portuguesa* and V. T. Gune, Source material from the Goa Archives, in John Correa Afonso (ed.), *Op. Cit.*, 1981, pp. 19-33.
- ²⁵ *APO*; *Assentos*.
- ²⁶ *BFUP*. and *Assentos*; These sources are found in HAG. Ms. 8022 (1815-34); 8006 (1783-1828); 665 (1771-1818); 9505 (1809-35); 9514-15 (1835-42); 7587-88 (1647); 7628-30 (1836-42) and 2653 (1757-1847). The *Inventarios* are found in HAG. Mss. 823, 2750, 2799 and 2470-73.
- ²⁷ *Bosq.*; P. S. S. Pissurlencar, *Tombo das Rendas que sua Majestade tem nas terras de Salcete Bardez, e nesta Ylha de Goa*, *BIVG*, Vol. 62 (1945) and Vol. 66 (1950); Antonio do Abreu, 'Orçamento do Estado da India (1574)' This is published by Jean Aubin in *STVDIA*, Vol. 4 (1959), pp.169-278; Miguel da Purificacão, *Op. Cit.*
- ²⁸ *EHGLC*; *Bol. do Gov.* (1856), p. 495; George Moraes 'In Honorium 'CIHMPEC, p. 651.
- ²⁹ *OP* is a Journal of the *Commissario Archaeologica da India Portuguesa*. The old Series were published by Imprensa Nacional, Nova Goa(1904 to 1920) and the new Series were published in Bastora (1930 to 1940), while *Voz* is a bulletin of the Archdiocese of Goa and Daman. It was a weekly publication of the *Patriacial das Indias Orientais*.
- ³⁰ Achilles Meersman, 'Statutes of the Franciscan Province of St. Thomas the Apostle in India (1686-97)', *STVDIA*, Vols. 13-14 (1964); *MF*; In the Rare Book Section of the IVG, there are manuscripts of the Statutes bearing Ms. nos. 29, M-10 (a) and 10 (b).
- ³¹ F. X. Gomes Catão, *Ferguesia de Pilerne: no tricentenario da fundação da sua igreja (1658-1758)*, 1958; His other works are 'Aldeia de Assagao (Goa), Subsídios para sua historia', *STVDIA*, Vol. 40(1978); 'Igreja de Moira', *BEAG*, Ser.III, Ano. XXVI (1967). In the XCHR there are several manuscripts in the F. X. Gomes Catao Collection. Two of these namely, *Igrejas de Bardez: noticia historica da sua fundação e relação completa dos seus vigarios*, Mss. 279 and *Legados Pios que oneram os bens sitados nos Conselhos das Ilhas das Bardes, Salcete e Marmugao do distrito de Goa*, are useful to us.
- ³² Stephen Neil, *Op. cit.*, 1984; and *A History of Christian Missions*, a Pelican History of the Church, 1964; George Schurhammer *Op. cit.*, 1977; *HMP*; George Moraes, *A History of Christianity in India (from early times to St.Francis Xavier (52-1542 A.D.)*, 1964; A.M. Mundadan, *Op. cit.*, 1984; Anthony D'Costa, *The Christianization of the Goa Islands(1510-1567)*, 1965; Carlos Mercês de Melo, *The Recruitment and formation of the native clergy in India (16th-19th centuries) a historico-canonical study*, 1955; A. B. da

- Braganza Pereira, 'Historia Religiosa da Goa', *Separata da OP*, 1935; M. D'sa, *History of the Catholic Church in India (52-1662 A.D.)*, Vol. I, 1910.
- ³³ Roland A. Ven, *Spontaneous Expansion of the Church*, 1971.
- ³⁴ C. R Boxer *Op. cit.*, *Itinerário*, Vol. VII, No. 2(1983), p. 16; Luiz Felipe Thomaz, *Op. cit.*, *CIHMPEC*, Vol I,p. 67; In 1972, Jacques le Goff organised a *Colloque on La naissance e le developement des Orders Mendicantes*; Jose Mattaso, 'Raises de missionacao Portuguesa' in *CIHMPEC*, Vol. I.
- ³⁵ D. L. Ian Clark, *Op. cit.* in *ICHR*, Vol. VIII, No. 2(1974), pp. 91-93.
- ³⁶ For the early life of Francis of Assisi one may refer to Englebert Omer, *Op. cit.*, 1965; E. Guirney Salter, *Op. cit.*, 1905; Iriarte Lazaro de Aspurz, *Op. cit.*, 1983. In the Frairy of St. Francis in Goa, there are several paintings that depict the main events in the life of the saint. There is also a wooden statue of the Saint below which are inscribed the three Vows of the Order. Ricardo Telles, *Os Franciscanos no Oriente e seus Conventos*, 1922, pp. 12-4.
- ³⁷ Englebert Omer, *Op.Cit.*, 1965; the details on the *Regula* are available in *Annales*; M. James, 'The Papacy and the early Franciscans' in *Franciscan Studies*, Vol.36(1976), pp. 248-52; Paul V. Risley, 'Francis of Assisi: its political and social history (1175-1225)', in *Franciscan Studies*, Vol. 34(1974), pp. 248-52 and 393.
- ³⁸ M. Weber, *The theory of social and economic organization*, 1987, pp. 4-32 and 358-73; A. G. Little, *Op. cit.*, 1920, pp. 43-5; Nimmo Duncan, *Op. cit.*, 1987.
- ³⁹ M. James, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 248-52; Giolano Golubovich, *Bibliografica della terra Santa e dell OrieneI*, 1928, Vol. I, pp. 108 and 128-9, Vol. II, p. 169; Louis Goitschalk, Louis Mackinney, C. Pritchard, E. Eart and Co., *History of mankind: the foundations of the modern world (1300-1775)*, 1969, Vol 4(I); John Moorman, *Op. cit.*, 1968, p.170; Gratien de Paris, *Historie de la fondation et de evolution de l'orde des freres mineurs XII siecle*, 1982, p.1517; A.Lopez, 'Confessores de la familia Real de Castile e confessores de la familia Aragon', in *AIA*, Vol. XXXI (1929), pp. 72-5; John Moorman, *Op.cit.*, 1968, p. 170.
- ⁴⁰ Marion Habig, 'Marignolli and the decline of medieval missions to China', in *Franciscan Studies*, Vol. 5(1945), p. 21; *Marcopolos predecessors in the Catholic World*, Vol. 5(1934); Christopher Dawson, *The Mongol mission: Narratives and letters of the Franciscan missionaries in Mongolia and China in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries*, 1955, pp.54-5; Antonio Montes Moreira, 'Discurso Inaugral', in *CIHMPEC*, Vol.I, p. 49; L.M. Zaleski, *The Martyrs of India*, 1913.
- ⁴¹ Though seven Bishops were deputed, only three arrived in China and two went to Peking. They included Frei Nicholas de Banzia, Frie Andreuceio de Assisi and Frei Ulricus de Sigfasdorf. These details are available in A. G. Little, *Jean de Mont Corvin, Premier Eveque de Khanbaliq (1247-1326)*, 1924, p.36; Stephen Neill, *Op. Cit.*, 1984, pp. 126-7; Golubovich, *Op. Cit.*, 1928, Vol. III, pp. 294 and 197; Thomas Luo Yu, 'The Avignon Popes and Montecorvino', in *Acts of the International Workshop on Monte de Corvino(1294-1994)*, pp.149-50; Christopher Dawson, *Op. Cit.*, 1955, p. 224; Wyngaert Vanden(ed.), *Sinica Franciscana*, Vol. I, p.340; J.H Sbarela *Op. cit.*, Vol. V, p.37; I de Rachewitz, *Papal envoys to the Great Khan*, 1971.
- ⁴² Christopher Dawson, *Op. Cit.* p.224; Georg Schurhammer, *The Malabar Church and Rome during the early Portuguese period and before*, 1934, pp.8-42.
- ⁴³ Before his death, Blessed Pardenone dictated an account of his voyage to Frei Guglelmo di Sologna who wrote *The travels of Frei Odoric*, Luo Yu, *Op.cit.*, p. 150; Zaleski, *Op.cit.*, p. 14. On the walls of the Frairy of St. Francis, Goa there are paintings of the Franciscans who were martyred from the coasts of Monomotapa till Japan F. X. Vaz, 'Galeria dos Matyres Franciscanos no Convento de Sao Francisco de Assiz em Goa' *OP*, Vol. VII(1910), p.22; and Vol. X(1912), p. 147. A similar work is found in Ricardo Telles, *Op. cit.*, 1922; These frairs included Frei Thomas de Tolentino, Frei Jacome de Padua, Frei Pedro de Senis and Brother Demetrius a lay brother; John Moorman, *Op. Cit.*, 1968, pp. 193-4.; Marion Habig, *The journeys often*, pp.102-117.
- ⁴⁴ Norman Housley, *The Italian Crusades: The Papal-Avignon Alliance and the Crusades against Christian lay powers (1254-1343)*, 1982, p.117; John Moorman, *Op. Cit.*, 1968, p. 430; In the same frairy there are eight paintings of the Franciscan Saint Kings. For details refer to Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, 1922, pp.1 and 22-23, *O Heraldo* (29-9-1921); Jean Richards, *La Papaute et les missions d' Oriente au moyen age*, 1977.
- ⁴⁵ Nummo Duncan, *Op. Cit.*, pp.103 onwards, Manuel do Monforte, *Op. cit.*, 1696, pp. 120-3, 27, 52-5 and 282-3. They formed Provinces like Arrabida, Antonio, Piedade etc; Paul Sabatier, *Op. cit.*, 1926, Vol. V, pp.80-6.
- ⁴⁶ *Bullarium Franciscanum*.
- ⁴⁷ John Moorman, *Op. Cit.*, p. 384; Nimmo Duncan, *Op. Cit.*, p.89; *Analecta Minorum*, Vol. IX, p. 514.
- ⁴⁸ J. A. de Kok, 'The Frairs Minor in European society', in Dom Peter (ed) *Franciscans and Srilanka*, 1983, p.46; *Bullarium Franciscanum*, Vol. V, p.208; John Moorman, *Op. Cit.*, p. 576; *Bull. Patr.*, Vol. I, pp.35 and 47.
- ⁴⁹ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Career and legend of Vasco da Gama*, 1997, p. 25; Luis Felipe Thomaz, *Op. Cit.*, *CIHMPEC*, Vol. I, p. 118; D.S. W. Duffie and George Winnus, *Foundation of the Portuguese Empire(1415-1580)*, 1977; Fernando da Soledade, *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 481-2; Manoel de Monforte, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 154-56; Appolinario da Conceicao, *Claustro Franciscano*, 1845, pp.6-8, *HMP* Vol. I, pp. 154-56; Jaime Cortesão, *A Expedicao de Pedro Alvares Cabral e o descobrimento do Brazil*, 1922, pp. 26-28.
- ⁵⁰ *Bull Patr.*, Vol. I, pp. 26-28; Ludwig Pastor, *History of the Popes: from the close of the middle Ages, 1848.*

- ⁵¹ Barros, *Dec. I*, p. 5.
- ⁵² John Moorman, *Op. Cit.*, p.576.
- ⁵³ Achilles Meersman, *Op.cit.*, *Journal of the Sindh Historical Society*, Vol. IV (1940), p.1; Marie Elle, *Historie des instituts religieux et missionnaires*, 1930, p. 97; Antonio da Silva Rego, *Le Patronage Portugalis de l' Oriente*, MCMLVII, p. 43.
- ⁵⁴ Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*, *Journal of the Sindh Historical Society*, Vol. VI(1940), p.1.
- ⁵⁵ *DHMP* Vol. V, pp.395-96; Fernão de Soledade, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 489; *HMP* Vol. I, pp. 153-61 and 246-72; *MF*, p.171; Fortunato Almeida, *Historia da Igreja em Portugal*, 1915, Vol. III, p. 93; *DHMP*. Vol.I, pp. 45 and 88; They included Frei Henrique de Coimbra, the Guardian, Frei Maffei, an organist, Frei Pedro Neto, a chorist of the Holy Orders, Frei João de Vítoria, a lay brother, Frei Francisco da Cruz, Frei Luis de Salvador and Frei Simão de Guimares, preachers and Frei Maseo de Guimares, a preacher and organist; Jaime Cortesão, *Op. cit.*,p.273; Jacinto de Deos *Op. cit.*; Lucas Waddingus, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. XV, pp.212-23.
- ⁵⁶ Jaime Cortesao, *Op. cit.*,1922,p.274; Faria y Sousa *Asia Portuguesa*, 1941-47, Vol.I,p.67; On the walls of the gallery of Martyrs in the Frairy of St. Francis, Goa, there are paintings of the first religious who came in 1500 from Portugal in the ship of Pedro Alvares Cabral, *Anais*,p. 3; F.X. Vaz, *Op. Cit.*, *OP*, Vol. VII (1910), p.24; Ricardo Telles,*OpCit.*, 1922, p. 31-3; Barros, *Dec. II*, p.23; Vol. I, p.266; Afonso de Albuquerque, Vol. II, p. 341; Braz de Albuquerque, *Commentarios do Grande Afonso de Albuquerque*, 1922, *Parte II*, pp. 44-49; *CEO*, Vol. III,p. 60; *Bol.do Gov.*, No. 62(1872),pp.264-65; William Brook Greenlee, *Voyages of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India*, MCMXXXVIII,p.53; Jacinto de Deos,*Op.cit.*, pp.4 and 11.
- ⁵⁷ These Bulls are available in the *Bull. Patr.* A brief contents of these Bulls are found in Charles Martial de Witte, 'Les lettres Papales concernant expansion Portuguese au XVI^e secle', in *NZM*, Vol. 41(1985), pp. 41-68; *DI*. Vol.I,p.18; Harry Johnston, *The Pioneers in India*, 1993, p.200.
- ⁵⁸ *Regimentos de Dom Francisco de Almeida*,p.17; Fernão de Soledade, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. IV, p.3; J. Petrus Maffei *Historiarum Indicarum*,1747, p.1 ; *CEO* Vol. II, p.361; Bras de Albuquerque *Op. cit.*, Vol.I, p.48; Gaspar Correa, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, pp.683-84.
- ⁵⁹ *DHMP* Vol. I, pp. 69-70; Vol. II, p. 74; Vol. I, pp. 118 and 176-8; *HMP* Vol. I, p. 178; *Anais*. p. 4; F. N. Xavier, *Resumo historico da maravilhosa vida, conversoes e milagres de San Francisco Xavier*, 1865, pp.37-38; Every year the feast was celebrated with greatest solemnity by the Franciscan frairs who were in charge of this place. This was done in the presence of all the regular and secular clergy and the Viceroy who donned red habit of the brotherhood of the Saint; Dennis Klougen de Cottineau, *A Historical sketch of the City of Goa*, Delhi, 1995, pp.8-9 and 34; *DHMP*, Vol. I, pp.81-82,166-7 and 136; G. Schurhammer, *Op. cit.*, *BIVG*. No. 50(1971), pp. 40-41.
- ⁶⁰ Gaspar Correa, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 200-3; *DHMP*, Vol. I, p. 53; Barros, *Dec. II*, pp. 172-74; *DHMP*, Vol. I, pp.134; *HMP* Vol. I, pp. 247-8.
- ⁶¹ Achilles Meersman, *Op. cit.* Vol. 56(1963), p. 40; Amaro Pinto Lobo, *Memoria Historico da Archidiocese de Goa (1533-1933)*, 1933, p. 22; *DHMP* Vol. I, p. 168.
- ⁶² *DHMP* Vol. I, pp.145-8, 175-7, 93 and 339; Vol. II, p. 133; Vol. VI, p. 468; Vol. V, p. 323; Gaspar Correa, Vol. II, pp. 459 and 537.
- ⁶³ *HMP* Vol. I, p.249; *DHMP* Vol. I, p. 350-51, and Vol. II, p. 133.

CHAPTER II

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FRANCISCAN MISSION IN GOA (1517-1542)

CHAPTER II

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FRANCISCAN MISSION IN GOA (1517-1542)

The Spiritual Conquest of the East was the mission that was entrusted to the earliest Religious Order that came to Goa. The term mission never had a fixed meaning. In 1517, the frairs who worked in an unorganized group institutionalized themselves into a Frairy. From then onwards, they could be called missionaries who carried on the mission of catering to the spiritual needs of the Christians who lived in the *Ilhas de Goa*.

FREI ANTONIO DO LOURO AND THE FOUNDING OF THE FRANCISCAN FRAIRY IN GOA: The mission largely depended upon the efforts of individual frairs because the *Padroado* authorities did not interfere with the institutionalization of the same. The frairs were given the choice to select a mission field and to cultivate it. However, that mission field had to be favoured by the *Padroado*. Frei Antonio do Louro was in charge of the frairs who worked in Goa. He strove hard to organize the frairs. As early as 1513, he had voiced his desire to Afonso de Albuquerque to build a monastery for the frairs in Goa.¹

In 1517, Frei Louro returned to Goa with Fernão de Alcáçova, *Vedor da Fazenda* and eight frairs of the Piedade

Province.² Frei Louro was given extensive powers by the authorities in Portugal to establish a mission in Goa. However, he could not execute this task without the permission of the local authorities. He approached the Governor, Lopo Soares de Albergaria and gave him some papers that confirmed his mission. The Governor had been instructed to allot some land to the frairs within the walls of the City of Goa.³

The Governor faced a practical difficulty. The City was small and already had a Church *and* an Oratory. Therefore, he requested the frairs to take up a big place outside the City that was much more suitable. This was located close to a tank that was named after Timoya.⁴

Frei Louro was not happy because he wanted to remain within the City so that he could administer the sacraments of baptism and matrimony to the Christians who lived there. Therefore, he requested the Governor to give them a small house within the City that could accommodate at least eight frairs.⁵ It must be noted that the City of Goa was within the jurisdiction of the *Padroado* and Frei Louro felt that he would be safe there.

Though the Governor was personally against this, he knew that it was dangerous to go against the frairs because they were his agents. He ceded to their demands and advised the Captain Dom Goterre de Monroy to satisfy the frair. The latter assured him

that he would give them a place in the City. Frei Louro was so happy with this decision that he wrote to the King that the frairs were favoured by him.⁶ Till that time, the frairs were requested to occupy the houses that belonged to João Machado, a *tanadar* who was killed at Ponda. The frairs occupied them as a *residencia temporaria*. Before the rains, they built a Chapel, three side alters and raised a bell suspended on two pillars. They also built a sacristy and the cells at the side of the garden. They developed the area that surrounded the garden and conducted all the sacraments there. Though they had settled down, they still lived as *soltos* or unorganized groups.⁷

In 1518, five frairs were sent to Goa. Since there was no place to accommodate them, Frei Louro requested the King to provide them with a Frairy. The request was not fulfilled till 4th November 1518 because the Governor did not have sufficient money. Frei Louro complained about this to the King and requested him to send a certain amount of money for the construction of the Frairy.⁸ He informed the King about the prospects of raising the money within the City of Goa and requested him to gift them with the Sapthanatha temple in the Island of Divar so that the stones could be used as a quarry for the foundation of the Frairy.⁹

The Governor, Diego Lopes de Sequeira favoured the frairs. He allotted them some land and money from the Royal Treasury to enable them to meet the expenses of the Frairy. The land had formerly accommodated the houses of the native unmarried women. Though, the plan of the Frairy was formally sanctioned in 1518, the cornerstone was laid only on 2nd February 1520. During the intervening period, the frairs procured some funds and gave the contracts. In his letter dated 27th October 1520, Frei Louro reported to the King that the Chapels and the Frairy were raised at a minimum cost. The vault was used because wood was expensive and difficult to procure. Frei Louro intended to make the Frairy the best in the whole of the Province of Portugal excluding Lisbon.¹⁰

In 1524, the Frairy was almost completed with the help of the *Capitao-mor* and King Dom Manuel. Frei Louro was appointed as the first *Imeritus Comisarius Indiae et Gardianus huius Conventus Seraphici Patris Nostri Francisci in hac civitate de Goa*.¹¹

ROYAL ALMS: Before dealing with the financial aspects of the Franciscan mission in Goa, it is important to place the missionaries and their activities within the general ecclesiastical context. In keeping with the *Padroado* obligations, the King was nominated as the *de jure* patron of all the missions and missionaries in the East. He had to fulfill this by making regular provisions and meeting the requirements of the Frairies and the

religious in the form of money, books or articles that were needed for the spread of the faith. The Kings of the Aviz dynasty Dom Manuel I and Dom João III accepted their position and fulfilled their responsibilities.

One such consignment was sent on 5th January 1518. Frei Louro received a set of books that were needed for the theological formation of the frairs from Pero de Quaresma, the Factor of Cochin. The list indicated the formation of the clergy was strictly canonical and the King was responsible for supplying everything that the frairs needed to keep themselves acquainted with the liturgy. As a Patron of the religious establishments in the East, Dom Manuel undertook the responsibility of constructing the Frairy in Goa at the cost of his Treasury. The frairs requested the King to sanction additional grants like an altar screen for the main altar and ten for the side altars, the permission to use the stones of the temple of Divar and other monetary grants.¹²

The King sanctioned money to meet the expenses of the Frairy. However, on account of practical difficulties, the money was not received in time. To meet the expenses, the frairs procured loans from the local inhabitants. In a letter of 30th August 1519, Frei Louro stated that Duarte Pereira, Pero Cerveira and João Lobrato lent one hundred, one hundred and twenty and one hundred and fifty gold *pardaos* respectively for the work of the

Frairy. The money was used for purchasing wood from the *terra firme* and for making payments for the houses and the land that was acquired for the Frairy. The agreement was signed by Frei Louro in the fortress of Goa and the obligation to repay the expenses was undertaken by the King. By 20th April 1520. The King repaid the money. In his letter, the Governor Diego Lopes de Sequeira informed the King that Francisco Cornivel repaid Joao Lobrato, Pero Cerveira and Duarte Pereira.¹³

The frairs had recently moved into the City of Goa. Hence, they had no alternate source of income because a few Christians and converts lived there. The King was the sole financier of the missions to the East and his grants were called *escolas*. These were sent to the Guardian of the Frairy, Governor or to the Factor who were the official recipients of these favours. In a letter of 27th November 1517, the Factor of Cannanore stated that his Treasurer gave Frei Louro forty six *pardaos* to buy what was needed for the Franciscan Frairy in Goa. On 25th August 1518, the Governor Diego Lopes de Sequeira received a mandate from Francisco Cornivel to buy twelve *pipas* of wine, one *pipa* of vinegar and one fourth *pipa* of oil for the frairs. On 29th September 1519, Frei Louro, wrote to Francisco Cornivel that the items had been delivered to their House. On 3rd November 1519, Frei Pero de Alenquer, the Vicar stated that he had received one *pipa* of red

wine from the Factor. In another letter of 25th November 1519, Antonio Coresma reported that he received nineteen *cruzados*. In a similar letter dated 5th October 1519, the Guardian acknowledged the receipt of twelve *pipas* of red wine. Alfonso Velho, the Vicar of the City received one fourth *pipa* of red wine for the masses. The basic necessities of the frairs were also met by the King. Frei Pero de Alenquer stated that he had received forty, twenty, twelve and forty *cotonias* for the tunics and vestments of the frairs on four separate occasions. Besides this, the King also provided for the decoration and ornamentation of the Frairy. In 1520, Frei Louro wrote to the King that he had received goods worth eighty *pardaos*. This included an altar screen for the *Confraria de Nossa Senhora da Conceição*.¹⁴ Between 1521 and 1525, the Royal grants were temporarily stopped because of administrative misfailings.

After 1525, the alms included the articles that were needed to complete the work inside the Frairy. In 1525, Frei Pero received more than twenty five *arrates* of velvet for the pictures. On 12th September 1527, Frei Francisco received six mattresses from Portugal for the Infirmary. The King sent hard cash to make purchases. On 27th November 1526, Afonso Meixa, the Captain and Treasurer ordered Miguel do Valle, the Factor of the City of Goa to give five thousand four hundred *reis* to the Franciscan

frairs to buy three *pipas* of wine and rice. In February 1527, the Guardian received seventy two *arrates* of copper to make *caldrons*.¹⁵

Between 1526 and 1527, the frairs carried out the construction work in the Frairy with the help of the *casados* and the converts. In 1526, the Royal Tax Collector of the City João Biscainho prepared a list of the work that had to be completed. The *Pedreiro*, João Fernandes had bought some things that were worth four hundred and thirty five *pardaos* to construct a buttress, modify the cells, bolt the side arcs, tar the skylight in the kitchen, shut the window that was in the dormitory of the last cell and to undo the arch near the door of Santa Catarina. The estimated cost was thirty *pardãos*. On 20th March 1527, the Guardian of St. Francis and the Factor of the City made an agreement with Sebastião Pires, the inhabitant of Goa to clean the Church and the tank and to clear the garden. The cost was estimated to be twenty one *pardãos* and three *tangas*. The Guardian, Frei Francisco Tomayo stated that he had completed the work in time. He also wrote to the Factor that Sebastião Pires had completed the Chapel in the main Frairy, repaired the tank, completed the construction of the new tank and cleared the debris in the orchard for which he was paid thirty *pardaos* in *tangas*.¹⁶

The frairs collected a lot of money by performing religious services. On 17th December 1528, Frei Afonso Soeiro stated that Marlin Gracea, a *casado* and inhabitant of Goa had complained about a frair who had not fulfilled the obligations for which he had paid. The King gave them forty one *pardãos*, seven hundred *tangas* and thirteen *reis*. The frairs had used this to buy some things.¹⁷ The Frairy was completed with the help of the King but the initiative was undertaken by the frairs.

SUCSESSES AND FAILURES: The success and failure of the missionaries represented the vicissitudes of the mission. Though the Franciscan Order was established in the City of Goa, the missionaries had to face several problems due to which they failed in their mission. Since the mission was controlled, financed and executed from the West, their success and failure depended upon the ability and willingness of the Portuguese and the Roman authorities to support the mission.

One of the prime indices of success was conversion. Using this criterion, the frairs were quite successful in their mission to convert the non-believers to the Christian faith. On 4th November 1518, Frei Louro reported to the King that the frairs had baptized eight hundred souls.¹⁸

The frairs raised their voice against the social evils in Goa especially against the burning of widows and handled the mission

well. In a statement of 12th January 1522, the Bishop of Dume wrote to the King that the frairs were virtuous and of exemplary lives. Within the first eight years of their arrival, they were able to convert several locals and conduct a General Baptism. In 1526, a whole village in the Island of Tiswadi was converted. The frairs erected a hermitage so that the people could attend mass and receive the teachings in the Christian faith. The Portuguese frairs needed the support of the Christians in Goa. Hence, they raised the *Confraria of Nossa Senhora da Conceição*. They also had the support of the Portuguese officials in the City. In his report dated December 1527, Sebastião Pires wrote to the King that the Churches were well served and that the sacraments were well administered. Rico, a Government official stated that the presence of the Frairs of St. Francis was one of the good things in the country.¹⁹

The frairs were strong bulwarks to the Portuguese presence in Goa as they sheltered all those who came from Portugal and helped them to settle down there. Hence, the authorities favoured them. In his letter dated 25th September 1530, Vicente de Laguna praised the Franciscans for their teaching abilities and wrote to the King that each Frairy should be provided with Franciscan preachers for the name of God was abused and forgotten in Goa. It was opined that the preachers would remind the Portuguese

settlers in Goa about their political and religious obligations to Portugal. The Bishop of Cranganor also advised the King to send three or four preachers because it would benefit the souls of the people. He stated that Frei Rodrigo da Serpa and Frei Lourenço de Goes, the Commissaries of the Order at Goa, had converted several souls. The preachers boosted the morale of the Portuguese who were new to the place and had an unconscious desire to return back. Apart from catering to the spiritual needs of the Portuguese settlers and converting the local inhabitants, the frairs accompanied the Portuguese on expeditions. On 1st January 1531, Frei Antonio Padrão accompanied the Viceroy Nuno da Cunha on his left expedition to Diu. He was also present at the siege of Diu in 1538.²⁰

As members of the Portuguese ecclesiastical organization, the frairs were invited to solemnize the religious services that were conducted by the State. On 13th December 1521, Frei Fernando Vaqueiro was invited to preach for the mass that was held in memory of Dom Manuel. João de Albuquerque authorized them to hold a Chapter. Frei Pedro de Atouguia was invited for the *Auto da Fé* that was held in Goa in 1542. The Guardian took personal interest in the Goa mission. In 1539, Dom João de Castro praised him for being a good shepherd for the people in Goa. The authorities decided to entrust the Seminary of Santa Fé to the

frairs because their Frairy was continuously inhabited by virtuous and honest frairs who lived exemplary lives. They believed that the frairs were responsible enough to direct it because they underwent formation courses in their Frairies.²¹

The frairs were dedicated to the mission. However, the ultimate success of the Order depended upon the ability of the successors to carry on the mission of their predecessors. Frei Louro died before the completion of the Frairy of Goa but his successors completed the Church, sacristy, cells, cloister, kitchen, refectory, dormitory, infirmary and workshops. It was completed at the cost of sixty thousand gold *pardaos*. It had a tiled roof and an altarpiece from Portugal. According to the *Camara*, it was the best in the whole of the kingdom and was the first House of the religious in Goa.²²

The frairs were not always sincere and the Superiors complained about the frairs for staying beyond the usual term of office, non-adherence to the religious obligations and other excesses. The Guardian, Frei Lamego wrote to the King that there were only five *frades da missa*, three *coristas* and four *legios* in the Frairy in Goa. He requested the King to act against six frairs who had come with Frei Louro and had overstayed beyond the usual term. There were also complaints about their involvement in trade. In a letter of 25th September, the frairs were accused of neglecting

the converts.²³ As such, the frairs had a mixed record of success and failure in their mission in Goa.

AIDS TO CONVERSION: In the course of carrying out their mission in the *Estado da India*, the frairs encountered several challenges and worked out definite strategies to convert the local people in the areas that were under their spiritual control. The main aim of the missionaries was to protect the converts and they could not fulfill this aim without the support of the authorities.

The frairs secured help from the Governor, Diogo Lopes de Sequeira to complete the Frairy of St. Francis in Goa. Dom Duarte de Menezes guided the completion of the Frairy but, the frairs could not achieve much during his tenure, as he preferred to spend on the consolidation of the Empire. The Governor, Dom Vasco da Gama received five *frades de missa*, three clerics, four legios and two novices in Goa. The frairs realized that their success depended the secular authorities. Hence, they tried to gain their goodwill by cooperating with Governors and got involved in issues that were related to their succession.²⁴

The frairs took a lot of interest in the heathens even after they were converted as there was a possibility that they would revert back to heathenism. To avoid this, the frairs made several suggestions that were summarised in a letter of 4th December 1517. Frei Louro requested to the King to forbid the poor

mendicants or *yogis* from entering the Island because they brought bulls, flowers used in worship and other relics of the temples with them. He stated that these people of God had their temples in the mainland and worshipped idols and statues that were enemies of the Cross. The converts attended the feasts that the *gentios* celebrated every year. According to Louro this had to be stopped. He requested the King not to favour idoltry, to destroy the temples in the Islands and to raise Churches in their place. He also advised the King not to allow the non-Christians to live in the Islands and to possess land. The King was instructed to avoid contacts between the Hindu and the newly converted people by establishing a separate quarter for the new converts and by promulgating an Order by which the new converts were to be instructed in the Christian faith. He believed that the ordinary run of converts were nominal Christians who were not strong in their faith. The *gentios* were against the frairs. A frair wanted to work among the *gentios* but they told him not to speak to them as they did not want to be converted. To avoid an interaction between the converts and *gentios*, Frei Louro requested the King to permit him to bring the newly converted men and women in the Frairy so that they could be instructed in the faith. The frairs volunteered to instruct the converts but it was left up to the converted men and women to encourage the new converts to attend such instructions.

To avoid any clash in the mission, the interference by the Vicars, secular fathers or anybody else had to be completely ruled out. Frei Louro requested the King to instruct the Captain of the Fortress in this regard. Frei Louro suggested that the King should provide a *bairro* exclusively for the Christians. This would enable the friars to work without any hindrance. Frei Louro assured the King that he could convert several *gentios* if he distributed rice and alms to them.²⁵ Frei Louro suggested an individual or personal approach to convert the dominant classes. This method was evident from the case of Crisna, the chief supporter of paganism in the Islands of Goa. Frei Louro had spoken to him and he had come close to Christ. However, he refused to be converted until he saw His Majesty in Portugal. The King took him to Portugal and Crisna promised him that he would return to Goa and get baptised alongwith his family. The King promised to give him important offices in Goa for life. However, on his arrival to Goa, he refused to change his faith and the authorities dismissed him from the post of the *tanadar-mor* of the district and the official interpreter to the Governor. These offices were given to another Brahmin named Loku, who had accepted the new religion.²⁶

Conversions were based on *a priori* methods. Only one provision in the Decree dated 30th June 1541 referred to the destruction of temples in the City of Goa. The Governor and the

Vedor da Fazenda held a meeting with the *gauncars* at which they decided to sanction four hundred and sixty eight *pardaos* per anum for the *Ermidas* of São Thiago, Benastarim, Nossa Senhora de Divar, Nossa Senhora de Conceição, Panjim, Nossa Senhora de Guadalupe, São João , Nossa Senhora da Luz, Madre de Deus, Daugim, Santa Luiza and São Lourenco from the proceeds of the temple lands. The Chaplains there were obliged to say masses on Sundays and to spread of the *culto Christo*. The frairs were interested in the local Christians and requested the Bishops to look after them. This was evident from a letter of Frei Antonio Padrão. In 1532, Frei Vaqueiro the first Latin Bishop in Goa went around to administer the sacrament of confirmation and to instruct the people. Frei Louro convinced the King that he had built the Frairy at Goa to carry out the *lauvor de Senhor Deus* by conducting divine services and other ceremonies. He also promised to baptize the people and to educate the women and children in the Christian doctrine.²⁷ The frairs were able to fulfil most of these obligations.

TOWARDS THE GROWTH OF A HIERARCHY: In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese expeditions to the East were accompanied by chaplains who catered to the spiritual needs of those on board. By virtue of his *Padroado* obligations, the King of Portugal had the exclusive right to send the missionaries to the

East. The Franciscans who came along with the sailors generally belonged to the Province of Portugal and owed allegiance to the Cismontana or Ultramontana families.

The frairs tried their best to work for the spread of the faith. but, the early efforts of the frairs can hardly be called a mission as the frairs did not have a well structured canonical organization or a planned programme of action. The frairs functioned as *soltos* or small unorganized groups.

When Frei Louro returned to India in 1517, his missionary aim was clearly defined. He wanted to continue with the missionary work and found a Frairy in Goa and requested the King and the Governor to allow him to carry out his plan. He was appointed as a Guardian and placed in charge of the frairs who came with him. In a letter of 4th November 1518, he used the title of *Commissario*.²⁸

When the Goa mission was founded, the frairs were trying to initiate some reforms in Europe. Many frairs tried to observe an austere life and attempted to obey the *Regulata per se*. The ongoing differences between the frairs resulted in a crisis within the Order that continued till 29th May 1517 when Pope Leo X introduced the *Ite vos vivem vacam*. According to this, the Reformed Congregations were instructed to renounce their distinctive titles and dress codes. The *Omnipotens Deus* of 12th

June 1517, decreed that the Observants would be given a preference over the Conventuals. Hence, the frairs who came to Goa were called the *Frair Minor* or the Observants though they belonged to the Piedade Province.²⁹

The construction of a Frairy in Goa was the first step towards the formation of a fraternity. The Rule specified that such a setup had to Frairy had to be founded in one fixed place and had to consist of twelve frairs who were governed by a Guardian. The Frairy was placed under the jurisdiction of the Mother Province in Portugal and the Minister General of the Order was its head. The Guardian of the Frairy in Goa represented the Province of Portugal as well as the *Padroado* in Goa. He was helped by the Vicar or the second in command of the Frairy.³⁰

The Goa mission was placed under an Apostolic Commissary. Pope Alexander VI by *Cium sicut Majestas* of 26th March 1500 authorized the King to nominate one and send him to the *Estado da India* as it was extensive and the Archbishop of Funchal found it difficult to administer Goa from there. To solve this problem, power was decentralized and placed in the hands of the Auxiliary Bishops. These were the first Latin Bishops of the Portuguese period in India. However, they did not possess any episcopal jurisdiction and in most cases their services were temporarily transferred to India.. Because of the nature of their

appointments and duties, they were called Ring Bishops or *Bispos de Anel*. In a letter of 12th January 1522, Dom Duarte Nunes, the Bishop of Dume wrote to the King that their task was to consecrate the holy oil and to administer the sacrament of confirmation.³¹

In the sixteenth century, the authorities began to face the problem of shortages of the frairs. The Observants of the Portuguese Province did not want to go to India because of the eastern climate. It was paradoxical that while the hierarchy was evolving, nearly twenty religious had already died. In a letter of 4th November 1518, Frei Louro wrote to the King that there were only three frairs in Goa. In view of the above, the ecclesiastical authorities in Goa realized that they could hardly rely upon the recruits from the Mother Province and requested the authorities to permit them to ordain the frairs in Portugal. Pope Leo X had consented to this. On 12th January 1518, he issued the *Exponi Nobis* that permitted the *indios* and others to be ordained in Portugal with a special permission from Rome. The Order was promulgated in Goa.. Frei Louro informed the King that he had accepted five candidates into the Novitiate, out of which two had already made their profession and the other two were yet to do so. For the proper theological formation of the novices, he fore planned of a Centre of Studies in India for which he had already received a consignment of books. The plan began to materialize. In 1519,

the Franciscans established a Frairy and began to admit candidates who were presented to them. Dom Duarte Nunes ordained four frairs in Goa. Frei Andre de Torquemada arrived as the First Franciscan Titular Bishop in India with the title of *Bispo de Duvno*. The Superiors did not approve of the admission of locals into the Order but the Guardian faced a practical problem. In a letter of 27th October 1520, Frei Louro complained that he needed at least twenty frairs. However, the number of frairs in Goa was comparatively higher. This was evident from the letter of the Guardian who stated that there were sixteen frairs in India of which fourteen were in Goa.

By 1527, the problem of shortages became worse because there was no Ring Bishop in Goa after 1524. In a letter of 1st December 1527, the Commissary Frei Goncalo de Lamego wrote to the King that there was no Bishop to ordain the frairs who were trained in India. He further informed him that there were only three clerics and fourteen frairs in the Frairy of Goa. Since the last few years only one or two frairs had arrived in each ship. Two of Frei Louros companions were dead and the other six frairs had returned to Portugal. Though the number of frairs in the House was not sufficient to handle the routine apostolic works, the divine services were held with great pomp as in Portugal.. The Vicars and Commissaries were sent to Goa for three years and inspite of the

favourable conditions, the frairs looked westwards and longed to return to Portugal. The authorities were strongly against the ordination of the frairs in Goa. In 1531, the Superior of the Observants sent an ordinance prohibiting the admission of novices in Goa. He promised to send the religious for the Apostolate from Portugal. However, till 1532 not a single frair was sent to India. In a letter of 8th November 1532, Frei Rodrigo da Serpa complained to the King that hardly any frairs arrived from the kingdom.³²

At the request of the frairs the Titular Bishop, Frei Andre de Torquemada ordained four priests and one cleric at the Frairy in Goa. The Vicar General who was against Frei Andre declared that a Titular Bishop had no right to confer the Holy Orders in Goa. Frei Andre anticipated trouble and defended himself by stating that the frairs and the cleric João Roiz were presented to him by the frairs as being virtuous, fully instructed and ready for ordination. Accordingly, Andre conceded to their appeal only because it was impossible for them to go to Portugal and there was no other Catholic Bishop in India who could ordain them. The Acting Head of the Frairy had showed him the Bull of Innocent X by which the Franciscans were given special privileges to ordain their frairs with any Bishop. However, the Vicar General refused to pay any heed to this and ordered an inquiry. His allegation was that, the frairs were not fit for ordinations. However, Frei Andre defended

himself by stating that even the cleric had carried dismissorials. The Ordinances issued by the Bishop Dom Duarte included the testimonies of four individuals including those who were called upon to decide the cases. However, the Vicar appealed to the King and argued that the Bishop had no right to ordain Portuguese candidates in Goa as this needed a special permission from Rome.³³

In Goa, a Guardian was appointed in charge of the Frairy,. After the death of Frei Antonio do Louro, Frei Pero de Alenquer was promoted to the post. During his tenure, Pope Adrian V drew up the Bull *Omnimoda* in favour of Charles V and gave him apostolic powers in the mission lands. The mission in general was placed under the direct control of the Council of the Indies that had the right to appoint and send the frairs to the mission. The Superiors had to forfeit their right in this matter. Frei Alenquer expired before completing his tenure. He was succeeded by Frei Francisco Tomayo. Since his appointment was made on an emergency, there was no reference to him. Within ten months, he was replaced by Frei Goncalo de Lamego who signed as the Guardian and Commissary in December 1527.³⁴ By then, frairs had already founded missions in Pegu, Bombay, Bassein, Salcette, Karanja, Chaul and in the other neighbouring areas.

The difference between the Guardian and Commissary in Goa was very narrow. Leo X made a reference to Small and Big Frairies. The former consisted of twelve frairs who were placed under a Vicar or a Superior. A group of Frairies was placed under a Commissary. This was the first step before the foundation of an independent Province. Frei Lamego was succeeded by Frei Antonio Padrão as the Commissary. He went to Portugal and returned to India but on the way he was killed in Ceylon. He was succeeded by Frei Rodrigo da Serpa. During his incumbency, the question of admitting Indians into the Order became worse. As a Commissary, he tried to solve the problem of the shortage of frairs by admitting the *mesticos* into the Order. Frei Serpa deliberately took up this issue because he found their prohibition scandalous. He wrote to the King that there were only twenty frairs, there were many honourable Portuguese, and Goan men whose sons wished to serve God and were not very different from the Portuguese who took the habit in Portugal. In fact, they were much more suitable as they loved the habit and wanted to live in India. They rarely thought of going back to Portugal as they were closer to their fellow countrymen. They had deep roots in India and would easily convert their maternal relatives to the faith.³⁵

The last Titular Bishop to occupy the See was the Bishop of Aureopolis, in *Patribus infidelium*, Frei Fernando Vaqueiro, *Bispo*

Auarense. He had served as an Auxiliary or Coadjutor to Cardinal Dom Henriques. From here his services were transferred to India by the *Padroado* for three years. In the absence of an official residence for the Bishops, he lived in the Frairy. He was received into the City of Goa by the Governor. He died in Omruz where he was buried in the altar of the main Church. During his tenure in Goa, he worked for the conversion of the non-Christians and administered the sacraments to the new converts. He also ordained many novices in Goa.³⁶

In 1534, an attempt was made to make Goa a separate Bishopric. Dom João III directed his nephew Dom Martinho to negotiate with the authorities in Rome. Dom Martinho secured a Consistory from Pope Clemente VII entitled *Hode Santissimus*, which provided for the erection of a new Diocese in Goa. On 27th April 1532, João III proposed Frei Francisco de Melo as the first but his death brought all the subsequent developments to a standstill. It must be noted that Bishops were appointed and sent to Goa from Portugal. Such developments did not affect the hierarchy in the Frairy. By 1537, the conditions in Rome began to improve. The King presented Frei João de Albuquerque as a candidate to occupy the new Bishopric to the Pope. Frei João, a Piedade frair, had served as a confessor of *Infante* Dom Jaime and King João III. Although he was elected as the *Bispo Residencial*, the

letter that approved his appointment came from Pope Paulo III on 11th April 1537. This delay was because the latter was not very much in favour of appointing the members of the Religious Orders as Bishops. Pope Paulo III had instructed Cardinal Santiquatro to request the King not to present frairs for such appointments. The Portuguese plenipotentiary, Pedro de Souza de Tavora assured the Pope that the appointment was made only because they could not find a secular priest who was willing to go to the East. In fact, the frairs were closely associated with the *Padroado* and served as their allies. The Pope had no other alternative but to accept Frei Albuquerque as the Bishop. On 13th January 1538, he was consecrated by the Bishop of São Thomé by Didacus Ortez de Vithegas, the Bishop of Lamego and the Archbishop of Funchal in Lisbon. Frei Vicente de Lagos was appointed as his Coadjutor. In September 1539, the Bishop came to Goa but he was not given a public reception till the next year because he was sick and there were rumors regarding an attack on the Portuguese by the Rumes Turks of Egypt. On 25 March 1539, he was officially proclaimed as the Bishop of the Diocese of Goa by Clemente VII. Thereafter, he inaugurated the Cathedral and instituted a Chapter. The Council of the City of Goa referred to his zeal and solitude for the poor Christians. After completing his tenure, he refused to consider a

second term as he was dissatisfied with the behaviour of his countrymen.³⁷

In 1539, Frei Paulo de Santarem arrived from Portugal as the new Guardian for the Frairy. He was nominated by Dom João de Castro and occupied this position till the time when the Commissariat of São Thomé was stable enough to be raised to a Custody. The proposal to erect a Custody was an indication of the progress of the Order. A Custody is defined as a Congregation of Frairies that are united among them but are interdependent. Such a Custody is raised when a Commissariat was able to assume the responsibility for its formation and policies. A petition was forwarded to the authorities to get the permission to erect a separate Custody for the members of the Piedade Province in Goa. This demand was backed by the experiences of those missionaries who had returned to Portugal.³⁸

On 14th June 1541, John Mattei of Calvi, the National Commissary was appointed as the Minister General of the Order. At the request of the King Dom João III, he visited the Provinces, attended the Chapters and got himself acquainted with the problems and prospects of the Order. In India, he got in touch with Frei Pero de Atouguia who had arrived in Goa on 6th May 1542. The Royal representative, Frei Silvestre advised the King about the necessity of raising a Custody. He instructed the King

to elect a common Superior and a Congregation of twelve frairs. The Custody was to be called Santo Evangelho. Based on this, the Pope passed a decree by which the Custody of São Thome was erected. It had its own seal bearing an inscription : *Sigilium Custodiae Sancti Thomae Provinciae Portugaliae*. Frei Pero de Atouguia was selected as the *Custodio* as stated in a letter of 5th January 1543. This was an important development in the history of the Franciscan Order in Goa. From now onwards, there was an organic change in the relations between the Province in Portugal and the Custody in Goa. The latter was given considerable autonomy in the mission. The Custodial Chapters were held every three years at which the frairs met to legislate upon and resolve various matters pertaining to the mission. The Definitors were authorised to reshuffle the frairs in the different Houses within the Custody. The growth of the Franciscan Order coincided with the growth of the Christian population. On 20th September 1542, the Papal Nuncio Francis Xavier wrote that Goa was a City that was wholly inhabited by Christians “a sight really worth to be seen”. There was a monastery with many Franciscan frairs, a splendid Sé with many Canons and other Churches.³⁹

THE SEMINARY OF SANTA FÉ: In the forties of the sixteenth century, the authorities decided to establish of a Seminary in Goa. The shortage of frairs in the Mother Province haunted the

authorities both in Goa and in Lisbon. The distance between Portugal and Goa as well as other problems like climate, constant outbreaks of epidemics, political disturbances etc. deterred the frairs from sailing across the seas and from entering the mission lands. In the face of such problems, suggestions were made to educate and form the frairs in Goa.

On 24th April 1541, the Confraternity of Santa Fé was established by Afonso de Albuquerque. The Confraternity decided to establish an institution to educate the Christian boys in the East, teach them good manners, ordain them as *clero indigena* and to send them to preach in the distant lands. It was also decided to train them as linguists and interpreters. In the beginning, this institution functioned close to the Church of Nossa Senhora da Luz and was allotted the revenues of the temples that were destroyed.⁴⁰

However, within a short time, the site was found unfit and it was decided to shift it to the Rua dos Cavalhos. The task was allotted to the Superintendent of Nossa Senhora da Luz. Miguel Vaz, the Vicar General and the members of the Confraternity approached the Commissary, Frei Paulo de Santarem and requested him to take charge of it. The Guardian, Frei Antonio do Casal and the other frairs supported this. On 14th December 1541, the Patron of the Confraternity, Miguel Vaz and five others

informed the King about its foundation and sent him a copy of the Statutes. The Statutes specified that the *Confraria* wanted to give it to the Franciscans because they had a Frairy in which the religious were in continuous residence, there were frairs who could look after the Custody and the ministry, they were well acquainted with the area and with the people and were virtuous, honest and well trained in the doctrine. They also had all the facilities that were needed to train the priests. The plan was proposed to Frei Paulo de Coimbra, the Commissary who agreed to help them and stated that it was a part of their duty. They intended to have two classes, one for reading, writing and Christian doctrine and the other for Latin.⁴¹

On 16th November, the frairs took over the Seminary with the permission of Frei Paulo de Coimbra and began to teach the *moços*. In addition to this, they were authorised to construct, administer and direct the new House. They taught the boys for a number of months. Martin Afonso de Melo acknowledged all their help and wrote to the King that Frei Paulo da Santarem had always helped in the establishment of the House. The converts had contributed four thousand *cruzados* for the Seminary. It had revenue that was sufficient to look after a hundred students.⁴²

In 1542, Frei Pero de Atouguia was elected as the first Custos of the Franciscans in India. He informed the King that the

Franciscans wanted to establish a Frairy in Goa. The Vicar General tried his best to persuade the frairs to continue to administer the Seminary. However, the new Custos was not in favour of this because they themselves needed the staff. All their pleadings went in vain much to the disappointment of Miguel Vaz. Cosme Anes suggested that the Seminary should be handed over to Francis Xavier. He held a discussion with the Captain of the City Dom Gracia de Castro at which he voiced his opinion. However, Castro was not convinced and thought of handing it over to the Dominicans. He wrote to the King that the latter had yielded much fruit because of their preaching. He also lamented about the bad treatment he received from the Custos Frei Atouguia. Finally, by the end of 1542, the Confraternity handed the Seminary to the Jesuits. Francis Xavier appointed Paulo Camerino to look after the boys.⁴³

INTERFERENCE IN POLITICS: The Franciscans in Goa owed their allegiance to the Mother Province in Portugal. Since they were recruited by the *Padroado* authorities, they were responsible to the King of Portugal. Hence, it was not exceptional for them to interfere in local politics, a matter that was clearly out of their mission.

In the twenties of the sixteenth century, a problem came up regarding the appointment of the Governors Pero de Mascarehnas

and Lopo Vaz de Sampaio. On 21st February 1526, the Governor, Henrique de Menezes died in Cranganore. The King sent a letter by which he appointed Pero de Mascarhenas as his successor. However, Mascarhenas could not join his office immediately because he was still serving in Malacca. In the meanwhile, the Portuguese nobles in Goa nominated Lopo Vaz de Sampaio as the Governor and Sampaio assumed his office immediately. By that time, a new edict was sent from Portugal. This changed the procedure of appointing a new Governor. Since the old letter was invalid, the authorities in Goa had to wait for fresh instructions. Pero de Mascarhenas was not allowed to take charge and Sampaio continued as the Acting Governor. Sampaio was supported by the *Vedor da Fazenda*, Afonso Meixa and many frairs like Frei Antonio do Padrão who reported to the King that Sampaio was good and well experienced. In other words, Sampaio was recognized as the *de facto* Governor of Goa and Cochin.⁴⁴

As the opinion was divided into two factions, the case was debated upon. Finally, it was decided to submit it for arbitration. Sampaio was threatened by anonymous letters and forced to return to Portugal. He was to be substituted by Pero de Mascarhenas who had come to Goa. As soon as he disembarked from the ship, he was opposed by Afonso Meixa. However, he entered Goa and convinced the nobles that he was the *de jure*

Governor. After a few days, the nobles were convinced that Mascarenhas was the legitimate Governor. They approached the Franciscan Guardian and persuaded him to request the people not to oppose Mascarenhas. The Guardian promised to do so. On the following Sunday when the Church was full of people he openly spoke in favour of the new Governor.⁴⁵

The Vicar General took up the case. The former Governor Sampaio believed that the Franciscan Guardian supported Mascarenhas. In his sermon, the latter had preached that Sampaio was not the actual Governor. He summoned the Vicar General and advised him that by virtue of holding the office he should affix the Edicts of Excommunication on the City doors against those who spoke in favour of Mascarenhas. The Guardian publicly declared that the Vicar General had forbidden interference in political matters. However, the Vicar General defended himself by stating that he had never taken such a partisan stand in favour of Mascarenhas. On 1st December 1527, Frei Gonçalo Lamego, the Guardian confessed that he had supported Mascarenhas because of the nobles. As a result of this, the divisions were further accentuated. On the same night, the letters were put up on the door of the Frairy. After Mascarenhas arrived in Goa, he received an Order to return. He took shelter at Cranganor where the Captain, Dom Simão de Menezes treated him with great care. A

few days later, he was accepted as the Governor and entrusted with the keys of the fortress. This was taken as an insult by the *fidalgos*. In Goa, the discussions continued. One frair Frei João supported the cause of Sampaio and asked the Vicar General to excommunicate all those who followed Mascarhenas.⁴⁶

It was now proposed to submit the case for arbitration. An equal number of judges were to be proposed by the two candidates. In addition to this, the *fidalgos* were allowed to nominate their own judges. Since the opinion was divided, a new judge was called to decide the case. In the session that was held in the Franciscan Frairy in Goa, the decision was given in favour of the Franciscans and the new Governor. The frairs were so overjoyed by the decision that they conveyed the decision from the Court in session to the fort where Meixa resided by signs. In a letter, the Commissary Frei Gonçalo de Lamego excused himself for the tribulations and requested the King to pacify them and to advice them suitably.⁴⁷

Another incident took place in September 1524, when the Governor Dom Vasco da Gama arrived in Goa. He knew that anyone who brought women in the ship would be punished. However, when his ship had docked at Mozambique, three women came on board. On his arrival, Dom da Gama decided to punish them publicly to avoid such relapses. When he took this decision, the Franciscans and the *Misericordia* requested him to forgive the

poor women with a raised Cross. But, Dom Gama ordered the Crucifixes to be taken away and warned the Franciscans that they should not repeat the act lest they were wrongly understood by the people.⁴⁸

In this manner, the frairs made themselves unpopular by interfering with things that were beyond their mission. However, some frairs did not like such a behaviour. When Frei Fernando Vaqueiro came to Goa as the Bishop, the moral behaviour of the Portuguese in Goa were so bad that he requested the authorities to send him anywhere but not to Goa.⁴⁹ However, things went from bad to worse and the relations between the frairs and the secular authorities were only alliances of convenience.

AGAINST THE OTHER RELIGIOUS ORDERS: The religious who came to Goa were not a homogenous group. They were divided into two groups, the religious and the seculars. The relation between the two was never cordial. The frairs were disliked by the seculars because the latter were threatened by their simple life and evangelical fervour. They also resented the priviledges that were granted to them by the Popes and Kings of Portugal. These misunderstandings assumed such severe proportions that a frair was subjected to a severe treatment by the seculars.⁵⁰

In a letter of 15th February 1519, Dom Duarte Nunes requested Antonio Carneiro to give him a hand over the secular clergy because they hindered their evangelical work. Frei Louro complained that the Franciscans had already converted eight hundred Hindus and that the number would have been greater, if it was not for the seculars who opposed frairs. The latter not only placed obstacles in their way but also frustrated their desire to serve God. Such conflicts surfaced mainly because of the difficulties in procuring alms. Since the Royal grants were not sent regularly, the Franciscans and seculars were forced to depend on the alms of the faithfully. The frairs were afraid that the seculars would mulct their mass stipends. The conflict culminated into jealousies. On one occasion, the frairs went to the extent of obstructing the extension to the belfry of the Cathedral at Goa. In a letter dated 27th October 1520, Frei Louro complained that it had occupied half of the City. The problem was not lopsided. The seculars also had problems with the frairs. In fact, when the Frairy had reached a certain height, the inhabitants of the neighbouring Houses had complained that their privacy, light and air was blocked by the new walls. The frairs succeeded in patching up the windows of the neighbouring houses on grounds that they overlooked their monastery. When the bell tower of the Cathedral

was complete, the Franciscans complained that the toll of the bells disturbed them. In spite of such bickerings, the Frairy was completed and the frairs shifted into their new House. The seculars now complained that the frairs were a threat to their income. As a result of these conflicts, the temporal authorities were not favourably inclined towards the religious. In a letter of 23rd December 1542, the Governor Martim Afonso de Souza did not speak very highly of the frairs. In 1531, the inhabitants of the City of Goa asked King Joao III for four bells and adornments for the Cathedral. The King agreed but the frairs were against this and they had to be content with only one bell.⁵¹

When the Diocese was erected in Goa, there were nearly a thousand Catholics there. In June 1541, Fernando Rodrigues de Castelo Branco stated that the City of Goa had many Churches including the Cathedral, Nossa Senhora da Luz, Nossa Senhora do Rosario and the Frairy of St. Francis. Though the frairs handled the responsibility of looking after the converts, the temporal authorities were not always in favour of them because of their jealousies and involvement in non-religious issues. Martim Afonso de Sousa wrote to the King that the frairs did not want to control the Seminary of Santa Fé because of their enmity with the seculars who built the bell tower of the Cathedral of Goa. On 23rd December 1542, he complained about the frairs to the King.⁵²

The conflicts between the regulars and the seculars were temporarily solved because of the shortage of priests. The friars complained that they were interested in extending the religion of Christ in India, but they were hindered from this because they had to recite psalms, conduct funerals and perform ceremonies both in the day and at night. They did not have sufficient time to move about, give instructions and to convert the local Hindus. The Franciscan Bishop tried to bring about a reconciliation with the other Orders. This was evident from a letter dated 4th March 1541, in which Francis Xavier wrote to Fathers Claude Jay and Diego Lainez that "there is a Bishop in India ... the good man has a great share of zeal, goodness and simplicity".⁵³

In 1542, a body of new men came to India. They were neither religious nor seculars as they were bound by rigid rules of obedience and loyalty to the Pope by the Bull *Regimini Militantes Ecclesiae*. They formed the kernel of religious militia. Francis Xavier, the Papal Nuncio reached Goa on 6th May 1542. Till then, the Franciscans Order was the only Order to whom the King had entrusted the Spiritual Conquest of the East and the friars had raised eleven Convents, three Colleges and eight missionary centres in the area that extended from East Africa to Singapore and to the sea of China. This implies that by the time Francis

Xavier actually landed in Goa, conversions had already begun and the Jesuits continued what the Franciscans had begun. Hence, the Franciscans sowed the seeds of evangelization in the East.⁵⁴

Notes and References :

¹ *DHMP* Vol. I, p. 174; Afonso de Albuquerque, Vol. III, pp. 246-8.

² Gaspar Correa, Vol. II, p. 537; M. J. Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 33; *HMP* Vol. I, p. 249; *DHMP* Vol. II, p. 350-53.

³ Gaspar Correa, Vol. II, p. 537; *Bol. do Gov.*, no. 62 (1972), pp. 264-5.

- ⁴ HMP Vol. I, p. 250; Gaspar Correa, Vol.II,p. 538.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁶ Gaspar Correa, Vol.II , p. 538; HMP Vol. I, pp. 249-50 and 354.
- ⁷ Gaspar Correa, Vol.II , p. 538; CEO Vol. I, Cap . 22, p. 127, ff. 3.
- ⁸ DHMP Vol. I, pp. 354-55.
- ⁹ DI, Vol. IV,p. 206; DHMP Vol.I,p.354; A. B. Bragança Pereira, *Op. cit.,OP*, Vol. I(1935), p. 144; A. B. de Bragança Pereira, 'Templos levantados em Goa por Afonso de Albuquerque', *OP*, Vol. 23(1939), pp.134-35.
- ¹⁰ Ramusio, *Primo volume delle navigatione et viaggi*, 1550, p. 196.; G. Schurhammer, *Op. cit.*,BIVG , Vol. 74 (1957), pp. 56,59 and 66.
- ¹¹ The Manueline style was characterized by sailors ropes, a Greek Cross, a Crown and an armillary sphere. It had a trefoil opening that is made of a different stone. The two mouldings that run right around the trefoil arched doorway formed a depression in between. This is filled with carved square flowers. Above was a decoration that was a continuation of the mouldings. This ended at the Crown that has a Greek cross enclosing the Portuguese national symbol. On either sides were armillary spheres. This indicated the close relation between the Crown and the Cross. Judília Nunes, *The Monuments in Old Goa*, 1979,p. 67; DHMP Vol. V, p.463; Vol.II, pp.36-37; DHMP Vol. I, p. 203;Vol IV, p. 436; CEO Vol. I, Cap . 19, pp. 102-03; Gabriel Saldanha., *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 34; DHMP Vol. I, p. 355.
- ¹² This consignment included a *Degredo Exemplaries*, *Sexto Clemetinas de vitae de Crista* in Latin and another in Portuguese in four volumes, a *Pontifical Ricardo* in two volumes, a *Sacramentaes*, three *Evangelhos*, four *Fos Sanctorum a Vitae Patrum*, a big *Demingall de Canto*, a *Saterio de Canto*, three *antifonarios*, three *Opius Auryo de Verytate*, five *Satteyros*, a *transito de Sao Jeronimo*, two *sermones Cristy*, ten *Roman missaes*, two *Postilas*, three *Espelhos de Consciencia*, two big *missaes*, one breviary, a big *Ordenaria* in four volumes, three *Sumas de São Thomas*, two *racionães*, one *Sermones Rubert and de Trinitate de São Agostinho*, thirty four works in Latin, two *brevaries a Soprimentos Caronicarum*, one of Agostinho, one *Opusquelo de San Agostiny*, one *civel super sententias*, two *Capitularios*, six *Angelicas*, one *Especulum Minorum*, one *Catolicam Portista*, twenty works in the language, seven catechisms, one hundred and fifty cartilhas and four *Bosquos Deleitosos*; DHMP Vol. I, pp. 336-39; The details relating to the publication of these works are provided by HMP Vol. I, pp. 257-59; CEO Vol. I, Cap . 22, pp. 127-8; DHMP Vol. V, p. 463; G. Schurhamer, *Op. Cit.*, BIVG.Vol.74(1954),p. 65; DHMP Vol. I, p. 354.
- ¹³ HMP Vol. I, p. 252; DHMP Vol. I, pp. 368-70.
- ¹⁴ DHMP Vol. I, pp. 412, 346-7, 392-3, 383, 389,396 and 426;G. Schurhamer, *Op. Cit.*, BIVG. Vol.74(1957),p.65.
- ¹⁵ DHMP Vol. II, pp. 74,106, 96-97 and 199.
- ¹⁶ DHMP Vol. II, pp. 90-92 , 105 and 102-03; HMP Vol. I, p. 254.
- ¹⁷ DHMP Vol. II, pp. 172-73 and 99.
- ¹⁸ DHMP Vol. I, p. 351.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*; DHMP Vol. I, pp.244-48;J. N. Fonseca, *A Historical and Archeological Sketch of the City of Goa*, 1986, p. 63; DHMP Vol. II, pp. 136-8; G. Schurhamer, *Op. Cit.*, BIVG.Vol.74(1957),p. 65; DHMP Vol. II, pp. 136-38, and 199-200.
- ²⁰ DHMP Vol. II, pp. 191-98; Vol. III, pp.4-5; DI. Vol. I,Appdx. 2,pp. 771-790; Meersman Achilles, *Op. cit.*,1957, p. 117; J.P Maffei *Op. cit.*p.295.
- ²¹ Gaspar Correa, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II,p. 730; Barros, *Dec III*, p. 180; Afonso de Albuquerque,Vol. III, p.33; DHMP Vol. III,p. 10; *Estatutos da Confraria de Conversão á fé*. DI, Vol. I, pp. 771-90 and 796, CEO Vol. I, Cap . 52, p. 266.
- ²² DHMP Vol. II, pp. 90-92 and 102-03; G. Schurhamer , *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 163.
- ²³ DHMP Vol. II, pp. 132-35, 113-4 and 192.
- ²⁴ DHMP Vol. II, pp. 132-35; Barros, *Dec IV*, p.157.
- ²⁵ DHMP Vol. I, p. 351-4.
- ²⁶ Afonso de Albuquerque, Vol. V, p. 233; P. S. S. Pissurlencar, *Agentes de Diplomacia Portugues na India*, 1952, Vol. I, pp. 1-21 and 57; DHMP Vol. I, p. 354;Vol. II, p. 196; G. Schurhamer, *Op. Cit.*, BIVG Vol.74(1957), p. 66; DI Vol. I, pp. 66-70 and 325-7; DHMP Vol. IV, p. 560; APO, Vol. V, p. 460 and 161-74; DHMP Vol. II, pp. 296-98; APO Vol. V, pp. 161-174; DI Vol. I, pp. 326-28.

- ²⁷ Henry Heras, *The Conversion policy of the Jesuits in India*, 1933, p.8; The disposal of the temple lands is dealt by Anthony D'Costa 'The Demolition of the temples in the Islands of Goa and the disposal of temple lands' *NZM*. Vol.18(1962); *DHMP* Vol. II, p. 300; *CEO* Vol. I, *Cap* 40, p. 212; *DHMP* Vol. II, pp.299-302, *APO*, Vol. V, pp. 161-173; *DHMP* Vol. I, pp. 189-190; G.Schurhamer, *Op. Cit.*, *BIVG*, Vol. 74(1957), pp. 61-62.
- ²⁸ *DI* Vol. I, p.18; G. Schuhamer, *Op. Cit.*, 1977, Vol.II, p. 628-29; *CEO* Vol. I, *Cap* 39, p. 207; *DHMP* Vol. I, p. 355.
- ²⁹ Nimmo Duncan, *Op. Cit.*, p. 638 and 640; John Moorman, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 583-4.
- ³⁰ Holzafel, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 371 and 344; Golubovich, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 670; Dutch Franciscan Provincialate, 1994, Vol. I, p. xix; *DHMP* Vol. I, pp. 383, 389 and 392; Achilles Meersman, *The Ancient Franciscan Provinces in India (1500-1835)* (hereafter *AFPI*), 1971, p. 57.
- ³¹ *Bull. Patr.* Vol. I, pp.59 and 100; Achilles Meersman, 'Origin of the Latin Hierarchy in India', in *Clergy Missionary Supplement*, Vol. V(1960), p. 74; Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*, *NZM*, Vol. 20(1964), p.179; Meersman Achilles, *Op. cit.*, *NZM*, Vol.25 (1969); *DHMP* Vol. I, pp. 443-5.
- ³² *HMP* Vol. I, pp. 255-56; *DHMP* Vol. I, pp.350-52; *Bull. Patr.* Vol. I, p.121; G. Schurhamer, *Op. Cit.*, *BIVG*, Vol. 74(1957), p. 62; *DHMP* Vol. I, p. 336-38; *CEO* Vol. I, *Cap* 61, p. 314; *DHMP* Vol. II, pp. 118-24; G. Schuhamer, *Op. Cit.*, *BIVG*, Vol. 74(1957), p. 64; *DHMP* Vol. II, pp. 348 and 133; *HMP* Vol. I, p. 265; Gaspar Correa, Vol. IV, p. 669; *DI*, Vol. I, p. 31; Stephen Neill, *Op. Cit.*, 1984, p. 123; *DHMP* Vol. II, pp. 256-61 and 213-15.
- ³³ *DHMP* Vol. I, pp. 436-42, 443-57 and 460-63.
- ³⁴ *DHMP* Vol. I, pp.436-63 and 172-73; Vol. II, pp. 99, 172-3 and 132-35; Gaspar Correa, Vol. II, pp. 133-34 and 155-56.
- ³⁵ Holzafel, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, *Cap* 3, p. 371; Golubovich, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 669 and Vol. I p. 456; Dutch Franciscan Provincialate, *Op. Cit.*, p. xix; He accompanied the Governor to Ceylon, Queroz, *Op. Cit.*, p. 316, *SRD* Vol. II, pp. 189-90; Gaspar Correa, Vol. III, p. 396; Barros., *Dec* IV, p. 437; *DHMP* Vol. III, pp. 213-5; *CEO* Vol. I *Cap* 19, p.104; Achilles Meersman, 'The question of admitting the Indians to the Franciscan Order', *NZM* Vol. 13 (1957), pp. 11-12.
- ³⁶ *DHMP* Vol. II, pp. 235-37; Sebastiao Goncalvez, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 191; Diego do Couto, *Dec* IV, p. 224; *DUP* Vol. I, pp. 28 and 94; *CEO* Vol. I, *Cap* 18, pp. 93-94; *HC* Vol. III, p. 138; Jacinto de Deos, *Op. Cit.*, 1690, p.21; Amaro Lobo Pinto, *Memoria Historico Ecclesiastica da Arquidiocese de Goa* 1933, pp.28; Barros, *Dec* V, pp.67-123; *DHMP* Vol. II, pp.236-237; A. B. Braganza Pereira, *Op. Cit.*, *Separata de OP*(1935), Vol. I, p. 64.
- ³⁷ *Bull. Patr.* Vol. I, pp.140 and 148; *Corpo Diplomatico* Vol.II, pp.361 and 376; Diogo do Couto, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. V, p.229; *Bull. Patr.*, Vol. I, pp. 148 and 140; *Corpo Diplomatico.*, Vol.II, p. 376; Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*, *AFH*, Vol.72(1979), pp.140-1; *DHMP* Vol. II, pp.243-46; *Bull. Patr.*, Vol. I, p. 278; *HC* Vol. III, p. 204; *DHMP* Vol. III, pp. 262-65; Diego do Couto, *Op. Cit.*, *Dec* V, pp.229 and 274-76; *MF*, p.175; *DHMP* Vol. II, pp. 247-48 and 262-64; *DHMP* Vol. III, p. 565; Gaspar Correa, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 10; Diogo do Couto, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. V, p.229; *DI* Vol. VII, p.442; A. B. de Braganza Pereira, *Op. Cit.*, *Seperata de OP*(1935), Vol. I, p. 55.
- ³⁸ *DHMP* Vol. II, pp. 325-26; *DI*, Vol. I, p.786.
- ³⁹ Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, 1922, p.11; Dutch Franciscan Provincialate, *Op. Cit.*, p. xix; Miguel de Purificação, *Op. Cit.*, p.2; Gabriel Saldanha *Op. Cit.*, Vol.I, p.78; Fernando de Soledade, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p.98 ; *HMP* Vol. I, p.264; *DHMP* Vol. II, p.362-63; *MF*, pp.177 and 167; *DHMP* Vol.III, p. 6.
- ⁴⁰ *DHMP* Vol. II, p. 299; *DI*, Vol. I, pp. 777-85; *DI*, Vol. I, p. 52; *CEO* Vol. I, *Cap* 52, pp. 266-69; *HMP* Vol. I, pp. 279-86; *DHMP* Vol. II, p.293.
- ⁴¹ *DI*, Vol. I, p. 796; *DHMP* Vol. III, p.2-3; *DI*, Vol. I, pp.771-90; *CEO* Vol. I, *Cap* 52, pp. 268-9; *DHMP* Vol. II, p. 327; Gaspar Correa, Vol. IV, p.290; *DHMP* Vol. II, pp. 306-08; *DI*, Vol. I, pp. 771-90; *HMP* Vol. I, p. 285.
- ⁴² *DHMP* Vol. II, pp.327-28; Vol. III, pp. 16-17; Gaspar Correa, Vol. IV p.290; *DHMP* Vol. III, pp.2-3; *DI*, Vol. I, pp. 792-97.
- ⁴³ *DHMP* Vol. II, pp. 326-32; Gaspar Correa, Vol. IV, p. 406; *DHMP* Vol. II, p. 309-10; Manuel Aragao Teixeira, *Descricao Geral e historia das Moedas cunhadas em nome dos Reis, Regentes e Governadores de India*, 1964, p. 849; Queroz, *Op. Cit.*, p. 1139.
- ⁴⁴ Gaspar Correa, Vol.IV, p.406; Barros, *Dec* II, pp. 107 and 157; *HMP* Vol. I, p. 266; *DHMP* Vol. II, pp. 191-8.
- ⁴⁵ Gaspar Correa, Vol. II, p. 134; *HMP* Vol. I, p. 268; *DHMP* Vol. II, p. 136.
- ⁴⁶ Gaspar Correa, Vol. III, pp. 134, 156 and 103; *HMP* Vol. I, p. 267.
- ⁴⁷ *DUP*, Vol. I, p. 495; *DHMP* Vol. II, pp. 132-5; G. M. Moraes, *Op. Cit.*, 1964, pp.242-3; *CEO* Vol. I, *Cap* 63, p. 324.

-
- ⁴⁸ Barros, *Dec. III*, pp. 369-70; Gaspar Correa, *Vol. II*, p. 820.
- ⁴⁹ A. B. Braganza Pereira, *Op. Cit., Seperata de OP.* (1935), *Vol. I*, p. 55; Amaro Pinto Lobo, *Op. Cit.*, 1933, p. 28.
- ⁵⁰ *HMP Vol. I*, p. 160; Gaspar Correa, *Vol. II*, pp. 930-34.
- ⁵¹ *DHMP Vol. I*, p. 377-79 and 354-55; G. Schuhamer, *Op. Cit., BIVG*, *Vol. 74* (1957), pp. 60 and 74; *DHMP Vol. II*, p. 309-10; Gaspar Correa, *Vol. II*, p. 538 and *Vol. IV*, p. 669; Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, *Vol. II*, pp. 33 and 347; *DHMP Vol. II*, pp. 270-90; *DI*, *Vol. I*, p. 143; *DHMP Vol. II*, pp. 309-10; *APO Vol. I*, pp. 13-14.
- ⁵² P.L. Kierkels, *Apostolic Delegation to the East Indies (1884-1934)*, pp. 9-10; *DI*, *Vol. I*, pp. 2-5; *DHMP Vol. II*, pp. 309-10.
- ⁵³ Francisco de Sousa, *Op. Cit.*, Part II, p. x; G. Schuhamer, *Op. Cit.*, 1977, *Vol. I*, pp. 119-122.
- ⁵⁴ Stephen Neill, *Op. cit.*, 1964, p. 148; *HMP Vol. I*, p. 272; Amorim Pessoa, *Op. Cit.*, *Vol. III*, Part 1, pp. 237-8; Henry Heras, *Op. Cit.*, 1933, p. 14; J. N. Fonseca, *Op. Cit.*, 1986, p. 63; Henry Coleridge, *The letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier*, 1997, p. 47. "All that has been done for forty years in the East Indies on behalf of the -sick, the non Christians, the catechumens and the converts rested on the shoulders of the Franciscans" Franciscus Gonzaga *Op. Cit.*, p. 12.

CHAPTER III

THE EXTENSION OF THE GOA MISSION (1543-1582)

CHAPTER III

THE EXTENSION OF THE GOA MISSION (1543-1582)

On 4th May 1542, the sun had set and darkness had set in when the *coulam* of Francis Xavier entered the *barra de Goa*. The mission had progressed but the leaders were not as active as the Jesuits. As a strong arm of the Counter Reformation, the Jesuits had come to Goa with royal blessings and a religious mandate. The King Dom João III wanted brave men who could cross the immensity of India and get supporters for the Empire while Pope Paul III was bent upon introducing militant Christianity. The Society was a reactionary Order whose power in the mission field was formally acknowledged by the Pope and the King. This intense militant spirituality had a great impact on Goa.¹

RELATIONS WITH THE OTHER ORDERS: The Papal Nuncio and the head of the Jesuits in Goa, Francis Xavier, expressed his satisfaction over the work that was undertaken by the frairs. In the fifth month of his arrival to Goa, he wrote to the Society that Goa was a fine looking City that was entirely in the hands of the Christians. However, he was not impressed by the monastic Order as he felt that the latter was bent upon observing claustral discipline and on establishing itself in Goa.

He complained that although they worked for thirty-five years in Goa, the frairs converted a few people.²

The religious who worked in the Goa mission were a part of the Bishopric and Francis Xavier knew that he had to get acquainted with the religious authorities there. On 12 May 1542, he visited Frei João de Albuquerque and informed him that he was sent to India by Pope Paul III to help the Portuguese who were already there, to instruct the new converts and to work for the conversion of the infidels. He also showed him the Papal Briefs and Royal letters. Xavier made it clear that he was surrendering them to the Bishop who was the shepherd of the Christian flock in Goa so that the latter was assured that the Nuncio would not misuse his power. The Bishop was so overwhelmed by his humility that he embraced him, returned the documents to him and stated that Francis could make use of the faculty that he received from the King and the Pope. On his visit to the Franciscan Frairy, Francis met one of the two frairs who had left Portugal with him. The other, Frei João de Villa Conde had remained in Socotra.³ In this manner, Francis Xavier was able to develop friendly relations with those who worked in the Goa mission.

The King looked after the missionaries through his representatives. In the Instructions of 5th March 1546, the King directed the Vicar General to help the Jesuits and the Franciscans of the Piedade Province who were virtuous and lived a good life. The frairs

and the Jesuits preached on Sundays and on special occasions. They also instructed the inhabitants of the City of Goa on the faith and administered the sacraments of baptism and confession.⁴ This indicated that soon after their arrival, the Jesuits did not launch a massive conversion drive. This would have brought an activist Order into a direct conflict with the contemplative frairs. Instead, they realized that a close collaboration was unavoidable and beneficial because they worked in the same territorial area. The Jesuits were not the only ones to benefit from the hospitality of the frairs. When the Dominicans arrived in 1548, they had no proper residence. The frairs received them cordially in their Frairy and invited them to teach Theology in their Frairy. On 13th December 1548, Pe. Gaspar Barzeus stated that the Jesuits visited the Governor, Bishop, Dominicans and the Franciscans where they were treated well.⁵

However, as the mission progressed, jealousies were bound to occur among the religious because the Pope and the King entrusted excessive priviledges to certain Orders. The politico-religious connection between the Jesuits on one hand and the Pope and the King on the other also resulted in a rivalry that was less than godly. Royal grants that were hitherto entrusted to the secular authorities were now sent to the Jesuits.⁶ It must be noted that the Jesuits maintained close relations with the Pope and the King. The frairs knew this and used them as a medium to voice their difficulties to

Rome and Portugal. This was evident from a letter of 12th January 1549, in which Francis Xavier wrote to the Pope that the whole of India had one Bishop who was anxious to get acquainted with him. In another letter of 2nd February 1549, he appealed to the King on behalf of Frei Antonio do Casal who wanted to return to Portugal after two years of service.⁷

The Religious Orders never had cordial relations with the secular clergy. This was because the seculars felt that the regulars lived a retired life in their Frairies. But, this was not always true. In a letter of 30th December 1549, Cosme Anes made it clear that the frairs served inside and outside the Frairies. They lived a contemplative life, but also preached and to baptised.⁸

Francis Xavier wanted to avoid conflicts with the Franciscans and Dominicans mainly because the first two were in Goa since its Conquest. He believed that it was important for him to work under the direction of the frairs. On 20th December 1551, Frei Barzeus stated that the Jesuits should not preach outside the Sé so that they did not come into a conflict with the other religious. In the fifth Instruction to Frei Bardeus, Francis Xavier advised the latter that the best way to avoid scandals in Goa was to be humble and unbiased in his dealings with the frairs. In a similar set of Instructions, he wrote to Frei Antonio de Heredia from Cochin that he had to strive to make himself loved by the frairs and the inhabitants. Francis Xavier

instructed Fr. Barzeus, not to quarrel with the Franciscans and Dominicans and not to say anything against them from the pulpit as it could cause a scandal. Instead, he advised him to cultivate friendly relations with the frairs by visiting them periodically and by going to preach in their Parishes whenever it was required.⁹ The people were closer to the frairs than to the Jesuits whom they despised as newcomers. In a letter of 14th November 1559, Brother Luis Frois wrote that the Franciscans and Dominicans had gone long way in preaching the evangelical message and in baptising many *gentios* in the Islands of Goa. Daugim, a part of Carambolim, Goadelupe, Morcondim, Moula, a great part of Agardim, Goa Velha and the whole of Chorão and Divar had been cleant off the *culto gentio*. The frairs destroyed their temples and within ten months, they baptized twenty five thousand souls. In Daugim, thirty brahmins along with their families were converted. Since they were the local Monarchs of the land, many others had followed their example. In a letter of 10th December 1560, Luis Frois acknowledged the fact that the frairs had assisted the Jesuits in the harvest of souls in the villages and Islands around Goa. A similar observation was made by A. de Quadros. In his letter of 18th January 1563, he stated that seventy thousand Christians were converted in the areas around Goa since the last six years because of the efforts of the Jesuits and those who had been motivated to imitate them. This raises doubts as to whether Tiswadi

was Christianized only by the Dominicans in the first half of the sixteenth century. On the contrary, it proves that the frairs were among the other religious who were active in the evangelisation of Carambolim and Ribandar till 1555.¹⁰

On 3rd September 1572, the Augustinians came to Goa. Since, they did not have their own House, the Franciscans invited them to live at their Frairy. The Augustinians reported that they were not well received by the other religious who were jealous of them. The frairs were the only ones who offered them their hospitality and they stayed with them for three months. Frei Antonio da Paixão helped them to buy a piece of land called San Antonio and some small houses in the Rua do Outerio. The Augustinians were so grateful that they stated that their gratitude for the frairs would never die.¹¹

In this manner, the frairs maintained cordial relationships with the Religious Orders that came from Europe at different points of time. They not only gave them shelter but also helped them to stabilize themselves in Goa.

THE ROYAL CHURCH: The Padroado obligations prompted the Kings of Portugal to look after the maintenance of the missions and missionaries in the East. In the Period of Expansion, the King adhered to this responsibility and contributed towards the same. Hence, such contributions were called Royal alms. During the Viceroyalty of Dom Affonço de Noronha small fortresses were constructed in Bardez. The

fortresses formed an important aspect of the Portuguese defence system over newly acquired Provinces. They were equipped with a garrison and with good cannons. These fortresses were located at strategic points. After the cessation of Bardez, the Portuguese built one fortress opposite to the Island of Goa called it Aguada. Opposite to it was the Castle of Nossa Senhora do Cabo. Two miles within the channel above the Island of Bardez was a castle called Reis Magos and near it was a monastery. The Portuguese presence was limited to the coastal towns where the factories were established and to the forts where the garrisons were kept. The Chaplain catered to the spiritual needs of the Portuguese soldiers stationed there. In course of time, the Chaplain attempted to convert those who lived around the fortress. Hence, the earliest reference to a Christian community in Bardez is found in this garrison town that was located along the coast. In 1550, the Custos João Noé crossed the River Mandovi, entered the Province of Bardez and put up a temporary altar at Verem where he offered the first mass in Bardez. He later founded an *Ermida dos Santos Reys Magos* in front of the *barra de Goa*, at a place called Maravagaru.¹²

In 1555, the Viceroy, Dom Pedro de Mascarenhas officially entrusted Bardez to the Franciscans. In the same year, João Noé constructed an *Ermida* and a College for the *meninos da terra*. The edifice did not develop into a full fledged Church till 12th November 1559, for Luis Frois referred to it as a *Mosterinho de São Francisco*.

The structure was called an *Igreja Real* as it was financed by the *Fazenda Publica*. The frairs also used the alms that they had collected from their benefactors.¹³ The King, Dom João III was interested in the Christianization of Bardez. He instructed the frairs to take all the local, orphan boys till the age of fourteen and to teach them the holy faith and good manners. He directed the Viceroy to give them the necessary help in the form of the revenue of the temples. By 1567, nearly three hundred temples in Bardez were destroyed and the revenue of one temple was sanctioned to the frairs. This indicated that the local cult was destroyed and the proceeds were used for the maintenance of the new cult.¹⁴

The Viceroys, who disembarked at the *barra de Goa*, did not have an official residence. They stayed at Reis Magos for three to four days after which they were taken to the City with usual solemnity. The Viceroys who died in the City of Goa were also brought here in the *gale bastardas* that were covered with the *panos negros*. The body was buried in the Church in the presence of several *fidalgos*. After the official funeral, the *vias das sucessoes* that were kept at Reis Magos were opened and the name of the succeeding Governor was read out. The commemorative slabs of seven Viceroys and Governors are found in the Church. After the death of the Viceroy Luis da Ataide, his will was opened and he was dressed in the habit of St. Francis. The funeral was attended by the Chapter of the Cathedral, members of the

Religious Orders, brethren of the *Misericordia*, *fidalgos*, *cavaleiros*, and officers of the Treasury and of Justice. The services were conducted in the Church of Reis Magos and the body was buried in the Chapel. Nearly twenty five Viceroy's stayed here between 1571 and 1779. After this, they were accommodated in Bom Jesus. The Viceroy's who received their appointments in Goa also spend the night at the Franciscan College in Bardez till the official ceremony was complete.¹⁵

Many non-religious authorities who left on the expeditions outside Goa lived in the Church of Reis Magos. In a letter of 26th December 1558, Antonio da Costa referred to Dom Constantino de Braganza who stayed at the *Mosterio de São Francisco na evocação da Reis Magos* till his departure. Pe. Marcos Prancudo and Brother Andre Fernandez arrived at the *barra* at night. In 1564, the Governor, Francisco Baretto visited Reis Magos when the novenas were going on and instructed the Viceroy to give four thousand *pardaos* for the expenses of the House.¹⁶

Reis Magos had a *casa* for the Governor, Rectory for the frairs, Church, school for the Catechumens and a Seminary or *Collegio* for the orphans. In a document of 31st August 1580, there was a reference to the services that were conducted in the Church. The frairs recited masses, administered the sacraments and converted the locals who lived near the *Mosterios*.¹⁷

ATTEMPTS AT DIVIDING THE MISSION FIELD - THE BARDEZ PROVINCE: Tissuari consisted of thirty villages that were located on the bank of the *barra de Goa* and were limited by the Passo de Banastarim. It had a residence of the Archbishop and four monasteries that were occupied by the Religious Orders. In 1543, the Portuguese had acquired the adjacent mainlands of Bardez and Salcete. With this, the political and religious responsibilities of the Portuguese increased. In November 1545, the Vicar General wrote to Dom João III that he had to defend the *terras firmes* that the *Idalcão* had ceded to him. Bardez was located on the northern side of the Island of Goa. It was fifteen miles long and forty five miles broad. It occupied a strategic position as Linschoten stated: "... land of Bardez, which is highland under which land the *Portingales e Anker* safety out of all danger ... the land of Bardez is also under *Portingall* subjection and is full of villages inhabited with people that are of *firme* land lying about it called *canariins*. The frairs of the São Thomé Province had already entered the area and founded some isolated residences in the fortress there. Frei Luis Salvador visited Bardez when it was under the *Idalcão*. In a letter of 8th March 1546, the Governor Dom João de Castro had requested the King to Christianize Bardez. Within two years, the christian faith had considerably progressed, for Rui Barbudo, the *Pai dos Christãos* reported to the King that there were several Christians there. In another letter, the King stated that

everything in the *Estado* was grand and that the Holy faith had spread in Bardez and Salcete.¹⁸ In 1549, the Viceroy victoriously entered Bardez and Salcete. After this, serious efforts were made to Christianize the newly acquired lands and to consolidate the Portuguese power there. In 1551, the Viceroy Dom Afonso de Noronha permitted the frairs to make incursions into Bardez, occupy the fort of Reis Magos and convert a few locals. Bardez was a dangerous mission zone and the authorities requested the frairs to spread the faith so that the converts would help them to defend the land. One such request was made by Jeronimo P.A. Camara Manuel, who stated that the faith be spread in the *terra firmes* that was handed over to the Portuguese by the *Idalcão*. Within two years, the frairs succeeded in fulfilling their responsibility. In a letter of 12th January 1553, Frei Gaspar de Barzeus briefed Ignatius of Loyola thus " In this Island of Goa, there is an Island at two leagues and other surrounding Islands that are a part of the *terra firme* of the Adil Shah and in that there are several Christians. There is a Court of the Governor, the Viceory, the Bishops and the prelates who rule the Church because this is a metropolis and in this Island there is a monastery of the Franciscans".¹⁹ In a letter of 20th March 1554, the King stated that he had sent Pero Mascarenhas a member of his Council as the Viceroy because he had great confidence in him and knew that he would do something for His service. The Viceroy had a lot of confidence in the

frairs. He requested them to take charge of the Churches in the neighbourhood of Goa including those of St. John de Baptist, Carambolim and Nossa Senhora de Ajuda, Ribandar. At this time, four Religious Orders were working in Goa.²⁰

In 1555, the authorities decided to divide the mission field in Goa between the Religious Orders. There is no single document to explain this. Some scholars believe that mission was divided to ensure the proper and speedy evangelization of the *terras de infeis*. Yet, others contend that Bardez was a border Province that was still susceptible to invasions from the Bijapuri rulers from whom it was captured. Hence, the Portuguese decided to leave it to the frairs upon whom they could depend. The authorities had greater confidence in the frairs because they were of a Portuguese origin and they would never collaborate with the local rulers against the Portuguese. Instead, they would defend it for them because they were a part of the colonial enterprise. This was clear from a letter of Miguel Vaz who suggested to the King that idolatry had to be destroyed in Bardez and Salcete to defend the lands that the *Idalcão* had ceded to him. It is opined that, the mission was divided to ensure the well being and safety of the converts who lived in Goa. The religious who worked in Goa belonged to different Religious Orders. Some had come recently while others had worked there since the early sixteenth century. Each of them had their own aims, and ideologies. Hence, it was difficult for

them to cooperate with each other. The mission was divided to avoid the conflicts between them. The scholars also believe that the mortality caused by the famine of 1543 prompted them to take this step, as the religious were dependent on the alms of the inhabitants of the City. Irrespective of the reason, it is a fact that the Viceroy, Dom Pedro Mascarenhas divided the whole enclave except the City of Goa among the three Religious Orders. This was confirmed in a letter of 6th December 1555. The Preachers (Dominicans) were given fifteen villages in Ilhas. The rest of Ilhas, Divar, Chorao and the Province of Salcete were allotted to the Paulistas (Jesuits). Bardez was entrusted to the Franciscans. Each of these areas developed as an exclusive missionary zone that was placed under the exclusive control of the respective Religious Orders.²¹

From then onwards, Bardez became a sole preserve of the Franciscans who worked there till their expulsion in 1835. Unlike the Jesuits who were rich, ambitious and accuminous, the Franciscans taught the people of Bardez to be open, simple or *alegre, divertido, festeiro e frascario*. It is opined that, Bardez still carries the imprint of the missionary methods that were used by the frairs. The Custos, Frei João Noé accepted the mission and celebrated a mass in Verem.²²

CHURCH BUILDING: After the cessation of Bardez to the Franciscans, the frairs began to convert the locals. Within a short period, of time they destroyed nearly three hundred temples, five in each village and

raised Churches and Crosses on their ruins.²³ The construction of Churches was an important index of their success in the mission because it indicated that the Christian community was large enough to be organized into a Parish or a settlement of Christians. The Churches were completed under the guidance of individual Rectors who were appointed in charge of a Parish for a fixed period of time. It is interesting to note that the Churches were completed using Royal alms, yields of the former temple lands and the contributions of the *gaoncars*.

In 1555, the frairs converted several *gentios* in the *terra firme*. These lived in the garrison town of Reis Magos that was located close to the *barra de Goa* near their fortress. They raised a Church that was dedicated to Reis Magos on a hill called Maravagaru. This Church was built on the ruins of a temple that was dedicated to Betal in which the *naturais* and *gentios* performed their ceremonies. This was evident from the vestiges that are still found there.²⁴

The frairs shouldered an apostolic mission and began to move from place to place. They preached, converted, baptized and organized the local converts into small Christian communities called Parishes. Each Parish consisted of a number of villages and had one Church to cater to the spiritual needs of the converts. Reis Magos was the center of their activities in Bardez. From there, the frairs proceeded towards the hinterland and entered Candolim. In 1560, they raised a Church

there and dedicated to Nossa Senhora da Esperanca. It catered to the converts of Corda, Solpem, Pilerne and Calangute. Candolim was easily converted, as it was inhabited by brahmins of the Atri gotra. Frei Pedro de Belem used the alms of the faithful to buy the courtyard to the temple of Deuchi Ameychi for the Church.²⁵

In 1560, the frairs moved further and converted several *gentios* to Christianity. The Christian population was large enough to enable the frairs to raise another Parish and Church at Nagoa. It was completed in 1577 and served as a nucleus for the villages of Parra, Anjuna, Assagao, Siolim, Oxel and Saligao. It was financed by the *Comunidade* of the village and was entitled to the income of the former temple lands including those of Vetal and Ravalnath. The Church was dedicated to Santissima Trindade.²⁶

The frairs did not go beyond Candolim and Nagoa because they found it difficult to convert the *gentios* there. Instead, they proceeded along the lower bank and converted many people in the villages of Penha da Franca, Serula and Soccoro. In 1565, they constructed a Church in Serula that was located along the tributary of the River Mandovi. This village was important, as it was the head of the body of nine villages (*Comunidade Aldeana*) in Bardez called the *Camara Geral*. Hence, it was called *Sirura*. The Church was dedicated to San Salvador as it was completed during the tenure of Frei Francisco do Salvador, at the cost of the local *gauncars*. It is interesting to note

that on the feast day of Nossa Senhora do Salvador, the whole Eastern side of Bardez was blessed as an indication that Christianity in the North East of Goa had progressed from here. The Church had a cloister, cells and a small Chapel.²⁷

After the Churches were completed, the reports were sent to Portugal so that they could be registered there. The Churches of Reis Magos, Candolim, Serula and Nagoa were entitled to a Royal grant as specified in the *Orcamento* of 1574 and in the *Regimento* of 1576. All these Churches were constructed along the banks of the River Mandovi. A characteristic feature of the last few decades of the sixteenth century, was the proliferation of the Christian faith into the hinterland. When the frairs converted the people along the coast, the *gentios* who wanted to escape conversions began to move towards the *terra firme*. The *Custos* and the parish priests were appointed for a short period of time, after which they were transferred. The new personnel generally came with the zeal and determination to extend the mission into the adjoining villages. The frairs generally targeted the areas that were close to their centre, those in which the people accepted them, those that were strategic and those which had a garrison. In 1568, they moved towards the extreme North and constructed a Church that was meant for the Christian communities of four villages, namely Marna, Oxel, Chapora and Vari. Hence, it was constructed at a central point on a hill belonging to the *Comunidade*

de Assagao. However, the site was found unsuitable and it was later decided to shift it to Gaunçavaddo. At the site of the Old Church, there is an inscription: "Here existed the old Church founded by the Franciscans in 1568".²⁸

The frairs carried their mission into the villages that were contiguous to those that already had a Church. They were able to fulfill this with the help of the local converts and the *gaoncars*. It is argued that the destruction of the pagan antiquities in Bardez left the *gentios* in a religious vacuum. They found it difficult to live in a Parish. Many migrated with their images but others found it difficult to break away from the land of their birth. Hence, they were forced to accept the new faith. In 1551, the Jesuits reported that the Fathers who worked in Goa could maintain themselves with the alms of the local people who were highly esteemed and devout. Around 1569, a Church was built in Nerul and dedicated to Nossa Senhora dos Remedios. The village was agriculturally productive and inhabited by *gente fidalgos*. The temple of Shantadurga that existed here was destroyed and the image was shifted to Mandrem. The Church had the Arms of the First Order that indicated that it was an important Parish. The frairs had generally raised Parishes in villages that were productive and self sufficient.²⁹ Though the Church of São Thome, Aldona was constructed in 1569, it did not figure in the *Orçamento* of 1574, because it was not entitled to receive an annual grant from

Portugal. As such, it was not recognized as a separate Rectorate. The Church was located in Coimbavaddo, Aldona that was also an important village. The Church was financed by the village community and by the converts. Though the majority of the Churches were financed by the locals, individual donors often took the initiative of constructing Rectories. One such person was Baltasar de Sa, a priest from Betim. He constructed a Hospice at Valverde and entrusted it to the frairs alongwith some revenue. In 1779, this source yielded three hundred xs.³⁰

In this manner, the frairs succeeded in extending the mission into the areas that were recently incorporated into the *Estado*. They were able to stabilize the mission with the help of the local converts.

THE MADRE DE DEUS FRAIRY-THE RECOLLECT FRAIRS: The Franciscan Order was a monastic Order but the *minorites* could not be called hermits because they were dedicated to the Apostolate. In the sixteenth century, the War of Independence in Portugal came to an end and the Observants and Conventuals there organized themselves into the Province of Portugal. However, in 1517 they tried to form separate Provinces. In Europe, the Conventuals founded Convents in the cities and in the country side while the Observants had their own Provinces like the Province of San Antonio (1568), Piedade (Vila Vicosas), Arrabida, Algarves et cetera. As the number of Conventuals increased, they also tried to form the Capuchin Province of Piedade.

Their Convents were called the Houses of Seclusion or Recollection as they represented their contemplative life. However, in Goa these frairs played an important role in deepening the *domestici fidei* of those who lived in the proximity of the Frairies and many left their Frairies to participate in the apostolic life of the Church. They were called *Capuchos* in Spain and Portugal and the *Zacolante* in Italy because they wore a long black cotton robe, with large cowls and a white girdle.³¹

The Recollects came to Goa in the early years of the Portuguese Conquests. In 1541, they raised an *Ermida* dedicated to Madre de Deus at Daugim. This village was entirely converted and organized into a Parish called St. Joseph. The *Comunidade de Neura* had contributed a certain amount for the repair of the *Ermida* and by 1543, it was a popular place of worship. In 1547, there was a reference to an attempt made by the Recollects to form a second Custody. Frei Antonio do Porto, Frei João de Goa and Frei Domingos drafted a petition in which they requested the King and the Pope to allow the Recollects to form their own Custody. However, neither the King nor the Pope was in favour of them. This was clear from a letter of 15th December 1549, in which Fr. Belchior Rodrigues wrote to Fr. Simão Rodrigues that the Recollects did not get the permission from the General and the frairs who formed the *Confraria de Piedade*. Hence, they were subjected to the Observants in Goa.³²

The Recollects worked as a part of the Order. In 1559, Dom Gaspar de Leão Pereira, a native of Algarve was sent as the first Archbishop of Goa. He left Lisbon for Goa on 15th April 1560. In her letter, the Queen stated that his presence would yield considerable fruit. The Archbishop was more inclined towards a life of prayer and solitude. Hence, he founded a *Casa do Recolectado dos Franciscanos Reformados* at his own expense and named it Madre de Deus. It was meant to cater to the frairs who wanted to live an austere life of prayer and penance. The Archbishop sent an appeal to Rome and requested the Pope to permit them to form their own Custody. But, the petition was rejected. Since the Archbishop occupied an important position, he decided to pursue the demand personally. He sent his *Camareiro*, Francisco Vaz to Portugal with letters to Dom Henrique, Regent and to the Provincial of the Piedade Province. He requested the latter to send a group of frairs to look after the *retiro*. The Provincial of the Piedade Province refused to help him because the mission was supported by Portugal and the Archbishop had little power in a *Padroado* area.³³ Therefore, the *Camareiro* approached the Provincial of the Arrabida Province with the same request. The latter agreed to help him and sent four frairs. Three died on the sea and only one named Frei Pedro de Magdalena landed at Goa in 1565. But, he did not get support from the São Thomé frairs. Frei Magdalena proceeded to Omruz, founded a Frairy and tried to spread the mission there. He came back to Goa

and approached the Archbishop. Since, the Recollects numbered less than twelve, the proposal was placed before the Custos of São Thomé, Frei João de Ceita. He agreed to help them out and sent some frairs from his Custody. The Archbishop provided them with a Convent where they could conduct the services as prescribed by the Statutes of the *Reformadas da Provincia do San Antonio*.³⁴

The site that was chosen for the monastery was located at Daugim, that was contiguous to the City of Goa. The Archbishop decided to build a House that was capable of accommodating forty frairs. It was opined that the *retiro* was located at a distance from the City because the area had good bastions and redoubts and was only four leagues away from the City. It was strategically located at a site, which an invader may have used to penetrate into or attack the City. The frairs stated that the site was chosen according to the General Rule of the Order that gave importance to isolation, contemplation and prayer. The Statutes that were followed there were similar to the Arabida Province in Portugal. In a letter of 13th November 1560, Pe. L. Frois, referred to a Recollect brother who taught the doctrine to the Christians. He lived in the house of a *tanadar*, converted the *gentios* around his house and organised a baptism in the Church of the City of Goa at which nearly a hundred people were baptised. In a letter of 17th December 1563, there was a reference to nearly four hundred Christians and two brothers in the Church called Madre de Deus. In

another letter of 26th November 1565, Fr. Sebastiao Goncalves wrote to Lourenco Meiva that among the other Churches, were those of Madre de Deus, Daugim and Reis Magos.³⁵ This indicated that the *Ermidas* served as Parish Churches where the sacraments were conducted. The House was completed before the Frairy and inaugurated on 31st October 1569. It was placed under the President, Guardian, Superior of the Chapter, a novice who wore the garb for six months and two novices who prepared for their vows. Besides these, there were also the religious who had been sent from Arrabida by Dom João III. The inaugural ceremony was similar to that in Lisbon. In January 1570, the Custos and frairs of São Thome celebrated a Custodial Chapter at which Frei Fernando do Paz was elected as the Guardian of the Madre de Deus frairs. The other members of the House were selected and placed under Frei Francisco de Cetuval, the Superior. However, the Frairy was under the jurisdiction of the same Custody.³⁶

In 1573, the Archbishop resigned from the See and retired to Daugim. In 1576, the Pope, Gregory XIII instructed Frei Gaspar to resume his position as the head of the Archdiocese. During his stay at the Frairy, Frei Gaspar helped the clerics and the people to venerate Our Lady and founded the *Confraria de Madre de Deus*. On 15th August 1576, the Archbishop died and was laid to rest in the main chancel of the Church of Madre de Deus, Daugim. Frei Antonio

became the next Guardian but he had neither the capacity nor the determination to carry on the Recollect movement. Hence, after 1576, the *Capuchos* remained in the same position till 1622.³⁷

CONVERSIONS: In 1542, two significant developments took place. The Observants of São Thomé were raised to a Custody and Francis Xavier came to Goa with the shock troops of the *Padroado*. It is believed that the Portuguese missionary activity that was slack and tolerant did not get rolling till then. The personality of the Jesuit Nuncio, the support of pious colonial officials and the rigid backing from the post Counter Reformation proceedings intensified the mission in Goa. The earlier monastic Orders had definite religious convictions but the Jesuits were totally different from them. After the Counter Reformation, the religious sought to wipe out the heathens. Christianity assumed a separate identity and there was a conscious desire to create uniformity in the lifestyle and beliefs of the converts. Roman Catholicism was not limited to the Church, but to collective religiosity. As such, a Catholic was seen to be different from the heathens and pagans and this difference resulted in an intolerance towards the *gentios*. The religious who hitherto emphasized on the willingness of the *gentios* to become Christians, now began to shower benefits on those who were willing to get converted and discriminated against or even reattributed those who were unwilling to change their faith. This psychological force was used to convert them. The new

zeal made the new Militant Orders accuse the Franciscans of burying the dead, chanting requiem masses and of neglecting conversions.³⁸

The seeds of conversion were sown by the frairs much before the arrival of the Jesuits. There was a reference to several Christians in Goa. A village called Daugim was entirely converted. It was stated that the *gentios* were so overwhelmed by the new faith that they pulled down a temple and asked the frairs to build a Church. Apart from this, there was no reference for a mass conversion during this period. The King periodically instructed the Vicar General to convert the local people and the latter sent regular reports to the King asking him for his help. In his letter of Miguel Vaz, reminded the King about his duty to do away with idolatry in Bardez and Salcete. He requested the King to instruct the Governor to call the people in his presence and explain to them the error in which they lived. As the Patron of the *Padroado*, the King was obliged to help in the spread of Christianity in lands that were acquired by the Crown. The King was in favour of this but he strongly believed that this had to be pursued in a moderate manner. The King was interested in the political security of the land and wanted to create bulwarks for the Portuguese in the newly acquired lands. The Vicar General knew that a moderate approach would not yield the desired results. He wanted the King to intervene in this matter. In his letter of November 1545, he requested the King to remove all traces of idolatry from the adjoining areas of Bardez and

Salcete and to take steps to prevent Hindu worship there. The King was finally convinced of this. In his letter, he requested the Governor to abolish the vestiges of idolatry from Bardez and Salcete and to make efforts to convert the people in a gentle and kind manner. The concept of force was to be ruled out and the method that was adopted had to be such that the converts would not misunderstand it. The preachers were instructed to avoid disputes and to preach with zeal and prudence. The Archbishop was warned to follow only those means that were acceptable by the King.³⁹ It should be noted that such a careful policy had to be pursued because the two areas had been recently acquired by the Portuguese and there was constant fear of a revolt or an alliance of the locals with the *Idalcão*.

In pursuing the above, the frairs were instructed to give importance to evangelisation through the word of the mouth. Moreover, conversions had to be limited to the locals of a high social standing. In a letter of 1548, Francis Xavier requested the King to provide each fortified town with good preachers who would concentrate only on preaching. The capacity of the frairs in this regard was recognized by the Bishop, Frei João de Albuquerque. The ceremonies that were conducted in Portugal were also introduced in Bardez. In 1548, the Bishop baptized a Brahmin named Locu, his wife and grandson at St. Paul. He was renamed Lucas de Sa. The office of the *tanador-mor* was given to him as a reward. The Governor Gracia de Sa

was his godfather. After the baptism ceremony, there was a procession in which Locu and his family rode in front of the *fidalgos*. The baptism feast lasted for more than a week.⁴⁰

The conversions of the local native elite were not restricted only to Bardez, Salcete and the Islands of Goa. The Kings who lived in the Kingdoms that were outside the above mentioned areas were also converted. Frei Pero de Alenquer converted the Prince of Ceylon. In 1547, Tribuly Pondar, the father of the King of Cotta was baptized. The King of Tanor had friendly relations with the Portuguese. However, by 1531, the relations between the two became bad and Tanor was lost to the Portuguese. The King who was defeated was forced to be baptized. The Bishop, João de Albuquerque was taken from Goa to baptize him. The Bishop informed the King that the King of Tanor was recently converted as per the Christian norms. On 2nd October 1549, the latter came to Goa to receive the sacrament of Confirmation. In a letter of 2nd March 1551, the King expressed his pleasure over this and hoped that the other Kings realized the great error in which they lived. Frei João de Villa baptised the King of Cota. The King was educated in Goa where he lived like a Prince. He was renamed Dom João Parea Pandar after the King of Portugal Dom João III. The frairs baptized the nephew of the King of Kandy in the Frairy of St. Francis, Goa. The Viceroy, Dom Duarte Menezes was his godfather. The Prince was named after Dom João III. The Prince of

Ceitavaca Dom Felipe was baptized at the College of Reis Magos. He studied Arts and proceeded to Coimbra to continue his studies. Dom João of Kandy was ordained and allowed to sit among the Bishops. Dom Constantino, the Prince of Jafnapatão, his brothers and his cousins were also baptised. In most of the cases, the conversions of these Kings and Princes preceded the evangelization of the land. They were brought to Goa for instruction, baptisms and for the other sacraments because Goa was the Bishopric where the Bishop resided. Several *orfaos naturais, mocos brancos, nobres and fidalgos* also came to the College of Reis Magos to learn Latin and good manners. The College had priests, teachers and definitors who served God. The locals who studied there were brahmins of the *limpa geração*. The Bishop was often summoned to the College. The fairs also gave importance of Colleges where they could provide instructions to the local people. In November 1547, Dom João de Albuquerque wrote to the Governor Dom João de Castro that he should found a College in Baçaim and others in Chaul, Goa and Coulão.⁴¹

The Society of Jesus had its own individuality that was oriented towards motivating the frairs to carry forth the banner of the Counter Reformation. The King was bent upon undertaking such a venture especially in the newly conquered lands. In 1546, he instructed the Governor that the mainlands of Bardez and Salcete should be wiped out from the vestiges of idolatry. Although the frairs were infused with

the new spirit, they were not fanatical and pursued a policy of moderation while converting the people. In 1552, the Jesuits harassed the Hindus. The latter were forced to cut their hair, eat beef and to go against their customs and idolatries. The Dominicans and Franciscans objected to this. But, all the Religious Orders cooperated with each other when it came to certain issues like Sati. In 1555, the Governor Francisco Baretto passed a legislation that favoured widow burning. This was vehemently opposed by the Jesuits, Dominicans and Franciscans, as it was tantamount to a great offence against God. The protest was so effective that the State decided that no Hindu woman should be allowed to burn herself in Bardez, Salcete or in the Islands of Goa. In a letter of 20th December 1555, Pe. Baltazar Dias, Vice Provincial of the Jesuits stated that since twenty years this practice had been stopped. In 1556, the same Governor cancelled the law that gave religious freedom to the slaves. The three Orders insisted that the decree that gave freedom to convert slaves should be reintroduced, as it was a great incentive for conversions. They refused to agree with the Governor and decided to send a joint memorandum to the King requesting him to abolish the decree. But, to the annoyance of the Jesuits, the Dominicans and Franciscans refused to sign the memorandum. The Jesuits did not relent. They went forth with their demand and forced the King to cancel the decree. The Mendicant Orders refused to sign the memorandum because the King João IV

had warned them to be cautious while dealing with idolatry in Bardez and Salcete. He did not want them to exasperate the minds of the people because he believed in treating them with all imaginable mildness. He wanted the friars to show them their errors of paying homage to insensible images and idols instead of worshipping a true God.⁴² Such a negative approach towards the non-Christian practices was expected from a group of people who believed that they practiced a superior religion. However, this policy did not continue for long. Militant Protestantism threatened the Christian hegemony in Europe. The Church was forced to respond vigorously. The Catholic Church did so by enacting sweeping, purifying and centralizing reforms. The Council of Trent (1545-63) tried to improve the practices of the Church. The Jesuits believed that they could strengthen the beliefs of the non-Christians at home and convert the heathens beyond Europe to the true faith. Christianity and heathenism contradicted each other, but the former gained precedence over the latter largely because of the efforts of the missionaries. Between 1557 to 1606, Provincial Councils were held in Goa to discuss the methods to be adopted to spread the Christian faith. They decided that evangelization had to be more intense and this was often equated with forcible conversions. While the Jesuits supported this, the friars and the Viceroy tried their best to collaborate with the locals. In a letter of 14th November 1559, Luis Frois stated that the friars collaborated

with the poor people unlike the Jesuits who believed that it was important to exclude the *gentios* and brahmins from the services of the State. In a letter of 20th December 1559, Emanuel Nunes wrote to the Regent that the frairs were against the methods that were proposed by the Jesuits. In their sermons, they openly denounced the manner in which Christianization was carried out, because many native Hindus were forced to leave their homes. The Viceroy tried to solve these problems by calling a meeting of the Jesuits, Franciscans and Dominicans in which all of them agreed that the methods adopted by the Jesuits were reprehensible. The Jesuits defended themselves by stating that they did not mind what their men said because they loyally followed their conscience.⁴³ It must be noted that the so called forcible methods did not seem fanatical to the Jesuits who were armed with a Bull of militancy. But, the Mendicants were against this.

By 1559, the frairs became acquainted with the new policies. The Provincial Councils proposed that the local cult should be abolished, temples should be destroyed and Hindus customs should be prohibited. Their customs were prohibited by law. On 29th August 1566, a law prohibited the construction of temples in Bardez and Salcete. Another law stated that the Hindu temples, sanctuaries and images should be destroyed. On 27th July 1559, the *Alvara* of Dom Constancio de Braganca stringently imposed these rules. On 30th June 1560, he prohibited the widows from being burnt in the City of

Goa and in the districts of Bardez and Salcete. He decreed that anyone who helped her would be taken as a prisoner and that his land would be confiscated. No *jogi* was allowed to enter the Islands for fear that the neo converts would revert to their own religion. Though these laws were introduced, they were not implemented in Bardez. This was either because Bardez was largely inhabited by the *gentios* or because it was more susceptible to invasions. In fact, the number of non-Christians there that was so high that the Christians of Chorao did not marry their daughters to the converts of Bardez because they did not want them to live among the *gentios*. Similarly, the Hindu Brahmins of Chorão requested the Viceroy to allow them to cremate their dead in Bardez. This indicated that the anti-Hindu legislations were not stringently applied in Bardez. The total number of Christians in the Islands of Goa, Bardez and Salcete were fifty thousand and most of them were concentrated in the Islands of Divar and Chorão and in Salcete. This was evident from a letter of Luis Frois dated 1st December 1560, in which he expressed his happiness over the fruit that the Jesuits yielded in Salcete. He requested the frairs to make efforts to do away with idolatry in Bardez that was also under the *Estado*.⁴⁴

This trend changed with the introduction of the Holy Office of the Inquisition. It aimed at safeguarding the faith by avoiding heresy and idolatry. As a result, both the *gentios* and neophytes became the

targets of the Inquisition. Many non-Christians left their lands and began to settle down in adjoining areas that lay beyond the jurisdiction of the *Padroado*. This gave rise to the concept of mass migrations. Several friars like Frei Andre de Santa Maria served in the Inquisition. The First Provincial Council had already proposed that the new converts should be instructed on the Christian doctrine. Dom Sebastiao had suggested that the *gentios* who lived in each Parish had to be enlisted in a Roll. These had to be divided into small groups of hundred each. Every Sunday, they had to be instructed in the Christian doctrine for one hour. Later, they were sent to the Houses of the Dominicans, Franciscans and Jesuits. On 2nd April 1560, the Viceroy Dom Constancio de Braganza ordered that a large number of Brahmins whose names were included in the lists had to be thrown out of the Islands of Goa so that it was free from the *gentios*. However, those of Bardez and Salcete were permitted to live in their villages. In a letter of 12th December 1560, Luis Frois wrote to Fr. Marcos Prancudo, that there were several uncultivated areas in Bardez and Salcete, while all the people in Chorão and Divar were converted. Mass migrations had posed a challenge to the State though it had reduced the number of Hindus in the Provinces. Hence, the authorities decided not to apply the law to Bardez and Salcete. Both these Provinces were recently acquired and the Portuguese had not stabilized their power there. Moreover, the local people were needed to

cultivate the agricultural land because the mission was indirectly dependent on the land revenue. The frairs did not want to evoke the hostility of the Christian *gaoncars* there. Hence, in a letter of 3rd December 1561, Conde de Redondo, Dom Francisco Coutinho requested the migrant *gentios* from Bardez and Salcete to return. The Dominicans, Jesuits and Franciscans convened a meeting at which they went against the expulsion of those who opposed Christianity. The Franciscans supported some decrees that were against the anti human customs of the locals. On 10th July 1560, the Captain Jorge Goterres presented a decree that banned Sati to the *Escrivão* and instructed him to implement it in all the villages of Bardez. In May 1561, Goncalo Correa, the *Escrivão* of Bardez passed the Order of the Viceroy in the villages of Serula and Pomburpa. By June, it was notified in Candolim, Calangute, Nagoa and Saligão.⁴⁵ In this manner, some local customs were banned using the help of the local officers. But, other discriminatory policies were opposed.

By 1560, the dominant classes who were hitherto favoured by the Portuguese were targeted. In a letter of 10th December 1560, Luis Frois referred to thirty converted brahmins who lived in Goa. Daugim, a big part of Carambolim, Goadelupe, Moula, Agacaim, Goa Velha and the whole of Divar and Chorão were converted. The State no longer pursued the policy of non-interference with the brahmins. On 2nd April 1560, the *Alvara* of Viceroy Dom Constancio de Braganza

instructed the Viceroy to drive away the Hindu brahmins from the lands in the Kingdom. Between 1561 to 1564, the Captain, Noronha requested the Viceroy to drive the brahmins and *gentios* because they impeded the growth of Christianity. The Dominicans, Franciscans, Archbishop and the Jesuits supported this as the brahmins went to the Islands, Bardez and Salcete and lived there. In this manner, the Franciscans helped the authorities to carry out the task of conversion. Many of the brahmins were very popular, as they were ministers of the devil and masters of idolatry. They were superstitions and viewed Christianity with malice. Hence, the frairs were afraid that they would threaten them in Bardez. In 1562, a joint meeting of the Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, the Archbishop, Judges, Councilor, Treasurer etc. was convened by the Viceroy. All of them decided in favour of the expulsion of the brahmins. But the King and the Viceroy were against this because they were interested in the security of their land. Hence, they decided to adopt other measures. In a letter of 6th March 1563, the King instructed the Viceroy to request the Archbishop of Goa, Provincial of the Jesuits, Dominicans and Franciscans to prepare the Rolls of *gentios* but to exclude the brahmins of the Island and the farmers. On 27th November 1563, the *Ouvidor Geral* was given the responsibility of driving away the brahmins and *gentios* and of notifying all the brahmins whose names had appeared in the Rolls of the Archbishop. The three Religious Orders were also asked to help in

this task.⁴⁶ In this manner, the authorities tried to convert the brahmins without evoking their hostility.

Besides dealing with the brahmins, the authorities thought of destroying the vestiges of Hinduism. The Viceroy, Dom Pedro Mascarenhas divided the Goa mission and this hastened the evangelization of Bardez. During the tenure of Martim Afonso, a number of temples in the Islands were destroyed with the help of the Captains of Bardez and Salcete. Most of the people there were converted and the others migrated. In a letter of 11th December 1564, there was a reference to many people in the Frairy of Goa. On 4th January 1566, the Viceroy Dom Antão Noronha passed an *Alvara* by which he instructed the authorities not to allow the *gentios* to build new temples or to repair the old ones. This was repeated on 29th August 1566. The reason was explained by Fr. Gomes Vaz who stated that the presence of the temples made idolatry very obstinate in Bardez. The rites and ceremonies that were performed by the people of Bardez were prohibited. On 27th February 1567, the *Alvara* was extended to Bardez, and nearly three hundred temples were destroyed. In a letter of 12th December 1567, Gomes Vaz stated that there were no temples in Bardez, because the priests of St. Francis had razed out their memories and thereby weakened the devil and his friends. In their annual report, the Jesuits also testified to the same. Because of this, the devotees were forced to carry the images of their Gods and

deities to the areas that were outside the jurisdiction of the *Padroado*.⁴⁷

The frairs were directly associated with the Inquisition. In 1567, the first Auto da Fe was conducted. The ceremony began with a procession from the Palace of the Inquisition and ended at the Church of St. Francis, Goa. The First Provincial Council was attended by the Archbishop, Frei Dom Gaspar de Leão Pereira and the Superiors of the different Religious Orders. The Provincial Council had decided to convene a meeting. In the meanwhile, Frei Dom Gaspar had resigned from the See and was succeeded by the Archbishop Dom Jorge Themudo. However, before the meeting was held, he expired. The King requested the See to reinstate Frei Dom Gaspar as the Archbishop. He convened the meeting on 12th June 1575 and passed thirty three decrees. The most important decision of the Council related to the pagans living in the Parishes of the City. In their petition to the Viceroy, the religious requested him to permit them to instruct the *gentios*. Based on this, the Viceroy passed a law on 4th December 1567, according to which a separate Roll of the *gentios* was to be prepared in each Parish. Every Sunday evening, a group of fifty were to be sent to the Convents of St. Paul, St. Dominic or St. Francis to hear the instructions given by a priest for one hour. The frairs were requested to take on this responsibility with dedication. For this, the ecclesiastical ministers were paid a regular due that was to be

procured from the *dizimos* of Bardez and Salcete. It must be noted that these two Provinces were very rich. For instance, the temples that were destroyed in Bardez yielded revenue of ten to twelve thousand *pardaos*. The King was bent upon avoiding reconversions to the original faith. Hence, he forbade the Hindu festivals and idolatry in Bardez and Salcete because it attracted the neo converts and caused harm to Christianity. He also prohibited the *kajis*, *joguis* and *gouvous* from living in his dominion. They were ordered to leave within one month. The Viceroy, Noronha prohibited the building or repair of temples. The officials were instructed to help the frairs in this matter. On 27th February 1566, Pe. Baltasar Lopes, *Pai dos Cristaos* presented the law to the Captain Baltasar Lobo e Souza in the verandah of his house in Bardez. He handed it to him in the presence of the *escrivão*, *lingua de terra*, *merinho* and the *escrivão* of the *Camara Geral*. The notification was signed by the *Escrivão*, Mangana Sinay. The revenue of these temples was to be used for pious works. In a letter of 12th March 1569, the King Dom Sebastião disposed off the temple lands in Bardez and Salcete and donated the money for Christian worship and for the spiritual good of the inhabitants whose ancestors had donated them. In a letter of 23rd January 1569, Dom Sebastião had ordered the Viceroy to use the revenues of the temples to meet the expenses of the mission. But, this was not adequate for in a letter of 6th December 1575, it was stated that it was impossible to

sustain all the Christians in the lands.⁴⁸ In this manner, the King made efforts to carry out the mission as well as to finance it.

Discriminatory methods were adopted to punish those who refused to adopt the decisions of the State. The villagers of Bardez who had migrated outside their area were not to be paid their *jonos*. This was decreed by Dom João on 21st November 1573. Shortly after this, the sons of the Province of São Thome were able to convert the *infieis* by preaching the faith and constructing Churches wherever they were necessary. Most of the Christians were poor and sustained only on rice. By a letter of 1574, it was clear that there were three thousand Catholics.⁴⁹

The Second Provincial Council was held on 12th June 1575. Among the delegates were the Archbishop, Frei Dom Gaspar de Leão Pereira, Frei Francisco de Santarem, the Commissary and Frei Domingos de Jesus. The Council took several decisions regarding the Hindu orphans. In 1575, a Royal Order had requested the Fathers of St. Paul to instruct the Hindu orphans from Bardez and Salcete. Those who hid them either lost their properties or were sent to the galleys. In the College of Reis Magos, there were provisions to teach the orphans. In 1576, Dom João III was informed that the Hindus orphans were taught the Christian doctrine and good manners there. In a letter of 26th February 1575, the Governor Antonio Moniz Baretto wrote about the *orfãos das terras* in the Parishes. The King looked

after the well being of the converts. He passed an *Alvara* that prohibited the oppression of the poor Christians of Bardez, Salcete and the Islands and increased the sustenance grants that were given to them. The *juiz* was instructed to give them three *pardaos* and to help them whenever they needed his help. In a letter of 24th March 1576, the King requested the *juizes* to deal with the *infieis orfãos* who were brought from Bardez and Salcete and sent to the College of Reis Magos and of St. Paul respectively.⁵⁰

Such policies resulted in widespread conversions. In a letter of 20th October 1580, it was stated that Christianity had progressed into the new fields in Goa and in the adjacent lands. The frairs converted several *gentios* and orphans by tempting them with benefits. In his letter dated 14th November 1575, the Viceroy instructed the *Juizes dos Orfaos* to give the *ganho* to the local orphans. But, the *juizes* were not always responsible and honest. In a letter of 20th February 1581, there was a reference to the complaints that were voiced by the *gentios* of Bardez and Salcete that the *juizes* did not pay them the receipts from the Treasury. The King Dom Sebastião was also informed about the problems that the *juizes* created for the Christians.⁵¹

The authorities continued to issue the legislations against the construction of the temples because the yields of the temple lands were now diverted to the mission. In a letter of 28th March 1580, the Governor stated that the King had prohibited the construction of

temples and had supported conversions and Christianity. Dom Sebastião stated that anyone who stopped the work of conversion was to be seriously punished. No idols were permitted and the celebration of local feasts and other divine services were stopped in Bardez and Salcete. He believed that the *gentios* who practiced idolatry gave a bad example to the converts, who turned back to their old rites and developed a prejudice against conversions. However, despite the anti-Hindu legislations that were intended to protect the converts and keep the *gentios* at bay, the Portuguese officials and frairs continued their old policy of supporting their collaborators. As such, the individuals who backed the Portuguese were given benefits galore. On 3rd April 1582, the King insisted that the *gaoncaria* rights should be made known to the *gaoncars* through an *Alvara* and a *Foral*. By this time, we can state that most of the *gaoncars* from the Parishes had been converted, others had been lured by benefits while yet others who had refused to accept the new faith were forced to migrate. Since the villages were largely inhabited by the Christians, there were periodic references to the *gaoncars* and their role as financiers of the Churches. The locals who had joined the new cult began to keep away from *les autres*. Thus, a new citizenry that was formed was largely native in its roots but Christian in form. In the *Annua de Goa* of 1582, there was a reference to many Christians in the *terra firme* that was located one *tyro* and a hand from the River that divided it from the Christians in

the City of Goa. The latter did not communicate or marry their daughters there because there were many *gentios*.⁵²

All these changes, both in the religion and customs of the local people were achieved through a package of reforms that were systematically planned out at the Provincial Councils and successfully implemented by the Religious Orders. Since the Franciscans were given the charge of Bardez, they were responsible for the implementation of these decisions there.

CHALLENGES TO THE FAITH: The missionary movement in Goa was carried out as per the directions of the *Padroado* authorities that were based in Portugal and the Popes who had their seat in Rome. Hence, the faith and the methods that were used to spread the faith were alien to the locals. It was natural, that this would evoke a negative reaction among them. This aspect has not been reported and systematically dealt with in the contemporary documents as most of them had been completed by the missionaries themselves. In the absence of solid historical evidence, it is important for us to read in between the lines and unravel the strong opposition to the missionary interference. The religious encounters resulted in popular reactions that were sporadic and disconnected outbursts. Nevertheless, they indicated an ongoing resentment that existed among the locals.⁵³

In 1555, Bardez was assigned to the Franciscans. Within a short period of time, it developed as their exclusive missionary zone

and the locals slowly got accustomed to the frairs. In 1559, three Jesuits from Chorão infiltrated into Bardez on a peaceful errand. The local people heard that they had come to throw away the images of the *gentios*. The people immediately got together to defend the statue of Betal. One of the Jesuits who was an immature young student, entered a wayside shrine and threw away an image. This enraged the villagers who seized the native Christian and stood around him with drawn swords. However, the older Jesuit convinced them of the peaceful nature of their visit and avoided violence.⁵⁴ This incident indicated the relevance of the warnings given by the King in which he requested the frairs to proceed with moderation. It also indicated the common sense of the authorities to entrust the newly acquired area to a monastic Order that had laboured in the field since a long time.

The replacement of the symbols of the faith of the *gentios* with those of the Christians evoked a negative response from those who were powerful enough to stick to their old customs and religion. This occurred at a time when Church building activities had developed into an enterprise. After Dom Gaspar came to Goa, he held several Baptisms and converted the *gentios* who had learnt the Christian doctrine. In his letter of 1st December 1561, P. L. Frois, the Ex-Commissary of the *Societatis Lusitaniae* stated that the frairs had raised some crosses in Bardez to consolidate the Christian faith there. But, they had to face the wrath of the *gentios*. In another letter Fr.

Pero de Almeida gave the account of some brahmins in Bardez who beat up a frair and left him to die. The brahmins were afraid that he would destroy their idols. In a letter of 1561, Br. Cristovao Luis wrote to Pero Lopes that the brahmins desecrated a Cross that was erected by the frairs. The Christians of Chorao retaliated to this. At night, they entered the village and spend the night in the temples of the *gentios*. They carried off ten stone idols from a temple in Bardez and destroyed them. The accused were the brahmins of the Atri gotra.⁵⁵

The religious realized the importance of collaborating with the natives to ensure the success of their mission. It was common for them to convert the dominant groups to Christianity, so that they supported their cause. The old Church of Madre de Deus, Siuli (Siolim), was to be built on the ruins of the temple of Santeri on a hill that belonged to the *Comunidade de Assagao*. As the villagers were not powerful enough to defend the temple, carried away the image of Shri Devi Sateri Siolkarin to Morjim in Pernem. The frairs were not happy with the place and after thirty two years, they decided to shift the Church to Gaunca vaddo, where the three brothers Gonexa Gaunco, Fonde Gaunco and Zagra Gaunco lived. They were the *gaoncars* of the first *voto*. The frairs were aware that if they converted them before the local people, they would not retaliate. Hence, they converted them and raised a Church for the Christians of Anjuna, Assagao, Siolim and Oxel.⁵⁶

In many cases, political attacks and counter attacks coincided with such reactions, thereby giving them a religious colour. This was especially in the cases where the Christian religious structures were targeted. One such incident took place during the Governorship of Dom Diogo de Meneses. On 22nd October 1576, the Portuguese made peace with the *Idalcão* but the latter did not stop the attacks. As a result, the local people began to take refuge in Calicut. This resulted in counter attacks. In the course of these attacks, some ships belonging to the Zamorin took refuge in the Portuguese harbours. Many *mouros* entered Bardez and camped in the garden of the Church of Santissimo Trindade, Nagoa from where they tried to try to set fire to the Church. When they did not succeed, they climbed the roof and broke all the tiles. They also hacked the Cross that was in the courtyard in front of the main door of the Church. Many *gentio gaoncars* also helped the *mouros*. After they left, the frairs came back, took the help of the converts, raised another Cross and adorned it.⁵⁷ This partly explains why the Portuguese wanted to convert the locals in Bardez.

FINANCE - A STUDY OF THE INCOME AND EXPENDITURE: The assets, liabilities, income and expenditure of the frairs during this period indicated the role of the Kings of Portugal in financing the mission during this post Counter Reformation period. It also indicated the financial viability of the faithful to maintain the cult and the

position of the frairs after the breakup of the mission among the major Religious Orders.

The close alliance between the State and the frairs continued even in the worst times so much so that the State requested the frairs to comment upon the devaluation of the currency. In a statement of 19th September 1545, the Custos, Guardian and the *discretorium* of the Frairy in Goa declared that the poor converts should be provided with alms for their sustenance. The King provided for the maintenance of the Frairy and for the sustenance of the frairs and the converts. In one letter, Frei Antonio do Casal requested the King to send an altarpiece for the main altar, two altars for the transept and one for the Chapter hall of the Frairy in Goa. In a letter to Simão Rodrigues, Francis Xavier stated that the Bishop and the frairs were provided with wine from Portugal at the expense of the Public Treasury.

The frairs received Royal grants. But, as the convert community became stronger in their faith, they began to contribute towards the maintenance of the cult. The Bishop shouldered the responsibility of collecting the money and using it for the spread of the faith. In a letter of Frei Vincente de Lagos, it was clear that the Bishop divided the excess money and distributed it as alms. In addition to this, he pawned his own silver and to give alms to the converts. This led many people to believe that he had too much money. Some complained that

he got the money by fining the native Christians who did not go for mass on Sundays and on feast days, by fining pagan merchants if they displayed their wares before mass and by fining those who got married without the permission of the Portuguese. The first two accusations were false and the third was a bit exaggerated. In fact, the Bishop was well advanced in age and he knew that if he did not do this, many converts would leave the Christian religion. Hence, he did what he could to ensure that the happiness of the converts. Several reports testified that the service in the Cathedral were similar to a Royal Court. The money that was used for this was acquired from the taxes. In a letter of 1st August 1559, there was a reference to an attempt made by the Viceroy to throw away the books and *forais* of the *gentios* who lived in Bardez and Salcete.⁵⁸ This indicated how the tax money was without leaving any evidences and accounts.

The revenue statement for the year 1554 stated that the Bishop, Vicar General, sacristan, Vicars of Nossa Senhora da Luz and São João, Holy House of Mercy, Santa Fé and its College and the Religious Houses of the Franciscans figured in the list of expenses. In a list of revenues, it was clear that the Governors, Martin Afonso de Sousa, Dom João de Castro and Gracia de Sa procured a *foro* that was *equal* to forty eight thousands *pardaos* per annum. Bardez itself yielded twelve thousand *pardaos*. In Bardez, the revenue was procured from several sources: the custom houses and crossings yielded one

thousand *pardaos* per year, the *Orraquas mirabary* yielded four hundred *pardaos* per annum while the *gaoncars* of Bardez paid a *tença* of one thousand six hundred and seventy five *tangas brancas* per year. Hence, the Province of Bardez yielded a lot of revenue to the State most of which was used for the maintenance of the religion. In addition to this, money was sent from Portugal. The Franciscan Frairy in Goa itself received one hundred and thirty five *pardaos*. In the list of the expenses of the Churches, monasteries and the House of Mercy, it was clear that the monastery of St. Francis in the City of Goa received wine and oil from the King. A lot of money was spent on charity and other pious works. In 1553, the Governor Dom Martin Afonso gave three hundred *pardaos* from the revenue that was procured from Bardez and Salcete to the Hospital of Goa. In 1569, the proceeds of the temples that were destroyed were sanctioned to the College and for the conversion of the people who lived there.⁵⁹ The use of the revenue from the temple lands for the mission has been studied by Fr. Anthony D'Costa. There were several instances wherein the King and the Viceroy took decisions in favour of the above. In a letter of 1569, the King Dom Sebastiao permitted the frairs to use the proceeds of the temple lands to serve the spiritual good of the inhabitants of the land whose ancestors had donated them. This was supplemented by the Royal grants. In a letter of 1st August 1559, the Viceroy instructed the religious to use the proceeds of the Treasury to

convert the *gentios* of Bardez, Salcete and the Islands. Each of these areas had separate Treasuries and dividends for the local Christians. During this time, paddy fields that were worth a thousand *cruzados* were apportioned by the Church. The Franciscan Churches in Bardez received the dues from the temples. Most of them were built on the ruins of or in place of the temples. The donations that were hitherto made to the temples were now diverted to the Churches. Income was also procured from the taxes that were imposed on the temple lands. On 1st October 1567, the Viceroy Dom Antao Noronha passed a *Provisão* by which the proceeds of the temple lands in Bardez and Salcete were to be handed over to the parish priests. They yielded thirty thousand *pardaos* and six thousand *reis* to the Treasury. Six thousand *reis* were sanctioned for the *fabrica* of each of the Churches and to each Vicar, beneficiary and Curate respectively. One *pardao* was to be paid to the usher every month. Though the Churches were entitled to such revenues, they rarely received their dues because they were appropriated by the local coverts. The authorities often took steps to avoid this. On 27th March 1569, the income of the temple lands in Bardez and Salcete was transferred to the Churches. These inhabitants of Bardez were quite rich as Bardez had an agricultural surplus. In fact, Dom Antonio de Noronha referred to a document dated 21st March 1569, in which it was stated that the income from the lands and properties in Bardez had super abounded even after

paying the Prior, Vicars, priests and other ministers who lived in the Churches in Bardez. The surplus was used to buy some things for the *casados*, catechumens, and *fabrica* and for the converts. This was more clear from the budget statement that indicated that at a time when the ordinary expenses of the Archbishop had almost tripled, the Franciscans collected the usual six hundred *pardaos*. The additional proceeds had to be used to pay for the dresses of those who were recently converted and those who were going to be baptised. It must be noted that while the Churches symbolized a new religion, the white dress used at the baptism ceremony was identified with the acceptance of a new culture; namely, the Lussitanian culture. Therefore, many baptism ceremonies were delayed because the dresses were not sent in time. The proceeds of these lands were also to be used to pay the head of the Sé and the parish priests of Bardez and Salcete. The practice of supplementing the Royal grants with the revenue that was procured from the divine services and from the temple lands continued till the last quarter of the sixteenth century. The new Religious Orders were welcomed by the Portuguese. In 1548, the Agustinians arrived into the City of Goa. They were helped by the frairs who gave them shelter in the Terreiro de San Antonio. The noblemen and the inhabitants of the City were delighted and spent four hundred xs to offer thanksgiving masses in the Frairy. By then, the frairs converted a number of people. These neo-converts also

helped the frairs in the mission. This was evident from the *Tombo dos bens foreiros* that was kept in the Royal Treasury. In this, it was clear that the villagers of Candolim had donated a garden and palmgrove for the maintenance of a temple called Deuchi Ameychi. They now agreed to divert the same proceeds to enable the frairs to raise a Church and to maintain the cult. Besides this, the frairs procured their income from mass stipends. In a document of 31st August 1580, there was a reference to daily masses that were said in Frairy for the souls of the *soldados dos armados* and to the sacraments that were administered to the *christãos da terra* who lived in the vicinity of the Church. The King, Dom Henrique had issued *Carta de Doação* dated 30th August 1580, by which he transferred a *mulako* of the Vithala temple in Serula to the Church of Reis Magos, Verem for the benefit of the converts. In a letter of 1st October 1580, the King instructed the frairs to give two hundred *pardãos* to dress the new converts. This expense had to be met from the income of the temple lands of Bardez. This money was generally handled by the *Pai dos Christaos* and the *juizes dos orfaos* who were in charge of the orphans. In a letter of 20th February 1581, it was stated that the converts of Bardez and Salcete received several benefits from the latter.⁶⁰

Apart from the Frairy of St. Francis and the Church of Reis Magos that were Royal enterprises, the Churches that were founded in Bardez also received Royal grants after the frairs got the approval of

the *Padroado*. This was clear from the *Orcamento* of Antonio de Abreu. According to this, the Frairy of the City of Goa was entitled to receive wine, oil and vinegar from Portugal every year. This was worth six hundred thousand *reis*. The local Christians received three hundred and sixty *reis* per annum while the *Pai dos Cristaos* received four thousand, three hundred and thirty *reis* per annum. The frairs who living in the Church of Reis Magos were given four gold *pardaos* that was equal to four hundred and forty *reis*. The Churches in the City of Goa, Salcete, Bardez and in the Islands were entitled to eighty seven *comtos*, seventy two thousand and three hundred *reis*. The frairs got six thousand, three hundred *reis* from the Islands of Bardez and Salcete. This was procured from temple lands and spent on the Churches as per the Royal Ordinance. In Bardez, four Churches received Royal grants. The Church of Reis Magos received two hundred *pardaos* per annum, while the Churches of San Salvador, Symloa (Serula), Nossa Senhora da Esperanca, Camdouly and Trymdade, Nagoa received forty two thousand *reis* per year respectively. These four Churches had four *meirinhos* who served the Christians in the Churches. The frairs received nearly seventeen thousand, two hundred and eighty *reis* per year. In Goa, they administered another Church called São Bartolomeu for which they received forty two thousand *reis*. The four Churches spent one hundred and eighty six thousand *reis* per year.⁶¹ From this budget, it

was clear that the receipts of the four Churches were higher than the expenses. The frairs spent the additional revenue on the extension of the faith.

In 1576, the *Vedor da Fazenda*, Diego Velho, compiled a *Regimento* of the fortresses in Goa. In this, he stated that the expenses of the Parishes in Bardez were met by using the revenue that the *gentios* had hitherto allotted for their temples. The King had instructed the frairs to use it for their expenses. The Church of Reis Magos, Salvador, Trindade and Nossa Senhora da Esperança were permitted to spend the produce of the temples. This amounted to one hundred and ninety eight thousand, nine hundred and sixty *reis*. In Reis Magos, the receipts were equal to sixty thousand *reis* and the other three Parishes procured forty six thousand, three hundred and twenty *reis*. Certain Churches received more proceeds as compared to the others. The revenue depended on the productivity of the area, the amount of lands handed over to the frairs, the number of converts, the relations of the frairs with the converts and on the extent of the mission. This was evident from another income statement of 1576 that stated that the above mentioned Churches met their yearly expenses from the proceeds of the temples. This was equal to six thousand, four hundred *pardaos* in *tangas*. The surplus income was used to meet the expenses of the Churches in the City of Goa, Islands of Goa, Bardez and Salcete, to dress the new converts and to give alms to the

Christians. In a letter of 1st October 1580, it was stated that one thousand, two hundred *pardaos* were spent on the dress of the catechumens and more than seven hundred was spent on the Christians every year.⁶² As such, the proceeds of the temple lands and Royal grants were used to maintain the mission in Goa. The converts benefited from conversions because almost all the proceeds were allotted for their wellbeing.

GENERAL BAPTISMS: The frairs converted several *gentios*. But, conversion *per se* was not the ultimate aim of the frairs. Hence, it was specified that the catechumens who accepted the new faith had to be taken to the Houses of the Religious or to the Churches to be instructed in the Christian doctrine before they were baptized. In the first period, the number of converts were limited and it was possible to baptize them individually. But during this period, the instruments of Counter Reformation were used to bring about mass conversions within a given territory. The mission was extended to the adjoining areas where the frairs raised several Parishes. The Diocese and Archdiocese of Goa was very extensive and it was impossible for the Bishop, Archbishop or his representative to baptize the converts individually.

To counter these difficulties, the frairs performed General Baptisms. The catechumens from the different Parishes in Goa were brought to a certain place once a year and baptized. These were first

started by the Jesuits in 1557. In a letter of 1559, L. Frois stated that the *gentios and mouros* who wanted to change their faith were taken to the Colleges of the frairs or Dominicans where they were taught catechism till they received baptism. On Friday, the Masters taught them the Christian doctrine and confirmed that they were familiar with it. They were baptized by the Religious Superiors in the Cathedral and the Viceroy was appointed their godfather. From here, they were taken in a solemn procession, with the *palmas* in their hands as a symbol of their victory against the devil. Amidst great festivity, the *indianos* were received into the new faith *en massa*. Such a public ceremony was conducted in the presence of the Governor and other dignitaries as was stated in the letter of 14th January 1561. The converted *gentios* were given a new name and a new identity. This pomp and glamour encouraged many non converts to join the new faith. On 1st August 1557, Br. Christopher Luis referred to a ceremony that was held at the Franciscan Frairy in Goa at which two hundred and forty three *neofitos* from the Province of Bardez were received into the Church.⁶³ The services that were associated with the sacraments were conducted with the approval of the Superiors. The very fact that the frairs conducted the General Baptisms in the City of Goa with the assistance of the Bishop, indicated that they had the permission of the ecclesiastical authorities.

In the second half of the sixteenth century, the frairs proliferated into Bardez. Infused by the spirit of the Counter Reformation, they launched a massive drive for conversions. The policy of systematic and organized evangelization resulted in an increase in the number of neophytes and catechumens and it was impossible to take them in the City of Goa. Hence, the frairs began to organize the baptism ceremonies in Bardez. This was evident from the *noticia* of 14th November 1559, in which Luis Frois wrote to the Viceroy Dom Constancio de Braganza that except for the Brahmins and *gentios* who were the virtual owners of the land, the local catechumens from Bardez were taken two leagues away from the Island, to a place called Reis Magos. Here they were instructed in the Catholic religion and acquainted with the things of the faith. At times, they were persuaded to receive baptisms in the College, as it was difficult to go to the Islands. The locals preferred this as they could be close to their houses. In a letter of 1559, it was stated that the Franciscans solemnized the *baptismos collectivos* in Reis Magos while the Dominicans conducted them in Santa Barbara. In 1560, there was a further increase in the number of converts as Goa was raised to a status of Archdiocese. With the arrival of the Archbishop, who was a Franciscan, the frairs received a lot of help and favours to convert and baptise the *gentios* in the Island of Bardez. In many cases, the Superiors created problems for the frairs, as the former believed that

they had the sole right to baptise the *gentios*. In such cases, the frairs involved the secular arm. One such incident took place in Daugim. In a letter of 13th November 1560, there was a reference to a brother who had converted nearly a hundred people and wanted to baptise them in a Church in the City of Goa. But, the Custos stated that they could not be baptised there as they were too many who were waiting to receive the faith. After the mass, Fr. Francisco Roiz, and some priests refused to baptise them because they were not properly instructed. In the afternoon, the *tanadar* of the village of Madre de Deus, Daugim came to Daugim with the catechumens who were well dressed in blue and red. They assembled in there and waited for the frairs to conduct the ceremony as per the directions of the Viceroy. The brother communicated the message to the other priests and brothers who immediately went to Divar or the *Terra Santa* and conducted the baptisms. On 15th December 1560, a ceremony was held at the College of St. Paul, Goa where those who were converted by the Jesuits, Dominicans and Franciscans were baptised in the presence of the Bishop, Viceroy and the Coadjutor of the Patriarchy of Ethiopia.⁶⁴ This leads to conclude that baptisms were conducted only in certain areas.

On 10th September 1563, the General Baptisms were temporarily stopped because the Archbishop, Dom Gaspar had resigned from the See and his successor Archbishop Themudo had

died. Dom Gaspar reoccupied the See but it was doubtful whether he had the authority to conduct such a ceremony on his own. To clarify this, the Viceroy called a meeting of the Council. This was attended by the Archbishop and the representatives of the Religious Orders. The Council took a decision in favour of the General Baptisms. Dom Gaspar was determined to destroy paganism in Goa. It was believed that there was not a single day when he did not do anything to destroy the *diabos* and raise Christianity on the ruins of idolatry. He visited the cities and villages in the Archdiocese, instructed those who had received the faith and provided the frairs with number of facilities to conduct the General Baptism with *forças*. The *Letras Apostolicas* of Pope Paul V also authorised the frairs to conduct baptisms. The Archbishop used these letters to restart the practice. In 1563, a solemn baptism was held in the Frairy in the City of Goa where seven hundred people were baptised. The King, Dom Henrique supported the decision of the Pope. In a letter of 4th March 1563, the former wrote to the Archbishop about the *Letras Apostolicas*.⁶⁵

After 1563, General Baptisms were held in Bardez. Between 1563 to 1602, five ceremonies were conducted were conducted at the cost of the State. An *Alvara* of 25th January 1571 specified that the State Treasury would provide the catechumens with the clothes that were needed for the baptism ceremony. During the tenure of Antonio Moniz Baretto, a General Baptism was scheduled at Serula. The

Archbishop, Dom Gaspar ordered the clothes to be brought from Chaul and the Governor promised to provide dinner. The Archbishop came from Panelim but the Governor forgot to bring the dinner. When the latter came without the dinner, all the people were disappointed. The Rector, Frei João da Trindade saved the honour of the Governor by making the arrangements for dinner through his father who was a rich and important citizen in the City of Goa. This indicated that the secular and the religious authorities cooperated with each other to conduct such ceremonies. The baptisms were conducted by several priests and the ceremonies went on till late in the night.⁶⁶

THE EXTENSION OF THE HIERARCHY: A characteristic feature of this period was the progressive transformation of the Mission into a Church. The Church was the focal point as it catered to the spiritual needs of the small Christian communities called Parishes. The Order that had existed in a very rudimentary form was raised to the status of a Custody and Frei Pedro de Alenquer was appointed as the Custos. His appointment was confirmed in a letter of 1543 and sent to the King. The list of the Custos who succeeded him is stated by Paulo da Trindade and Ricardo Telles. On 19th September, Frei Alenquer returned to Portugal. Since the Custos was the head of the frairs in Goa, the Pope tried to bring him under his control. For instance, Frei Antonio do Casal, the Custos, was a *legate a latere* of the Pope.⁶⁷

The Frairy was under the Guardian. Frei Paulo de Santarem functioned as the Guardian and the last Commissary General of the Order in Goa. The Bishop, João de Albuquerque was a frair. He occupied an important position and all the religious who entered Goa had to seek his blessings. On his arrival, Francis Xavier visited the Bishop who lived in the Cathedral. He also visited Frei Santarem because he was well acquainted with the land and the people through years of experience.⁶⁸

In the second half of the sixteenth century, there was a shortage of frairs to handle the mission. Moreover, the ships were delayed and the authorities in Portugal were unable to recruit and send the frairs as and when required. Natural calamities aggravated the problem. The frairs in Goa were unable to handle the work. In 1543, there was a severe outbreak of cholera in Goa in which twelve to twenty people died everyday. There was only one Parish Church that was dedicated to St. Catherine. To solve the problem of burials it was decided to create two Parishes. This further increased their work. The Pope showered privileges on the sons of the Province and Pope Paulo III praised the sons of the Piedade Province. The Pope authorised the Archbishop to extend the service of some frairs and to ordain the young novices and *mesticos* to handle the mission. The earlier Rule had stated that the novices could be ordained only after completing their higher studies. After this, they were appointed as Preachers and

Rectors. At this time, young frairs were recruited and sent to Goa. But by 1546, the situation began to improve and six frairs were sent to Goa and placed under the Guardian Frei Antonio do Porto.⁶⁹

The Diocese of Goa was the largest in Christendom. It included thirteen Parishes and other Houses. The Bishop was old and sick. Hence, he had little time and energy to handle the work that was entrusted to him. Francis Xavier realized this and requested the King to give him a Coadjutor who would assist him in the apostolic ministry.⁷⁰ But, it was doubtful whether this request was fulfilled.

There was a difference between the frairs who worked in the *Estado da India*. Within the Piedade Province, there was a difference between those who worked in Bacaim and Ceylon respectively. In Goa, the *Capuchos* or Conventuals were different from the Observants. The frairs of the Piedade Province demanded an independent Custody. Frei Domingos who was returning from Portugal was requested to present an appeal to the King and to propose it to Rome. However, the Recollects did not succeed as the General of the Order refused to accept their demand. In 1548, the São Thomé Custody was raised, but the title was not used till a later date⁷¹ because of certain differences that took place among the frairs which will be dealt with in the subsequent Chapters.

In the Tridentine period, the Religious Orders had to conduct the services in the Churches. The quality of the mission and the

reputation of Portugal as a great missionary power depended on the Dominicans and Franciscans. Both were trained by the religious who were brought from Portugal. There was a reference to Frei Sebastiano de Vargas, a great scholar and preacher who instructed the preachers and frairs in the *Escoto* every day. When the Dominicans came to Goa, there were forty frairs. The Dominicans, Franciscans and Jesuits coordinated with one another. In his letter, the Bishop wrote to King João III that the frairs of the first two Orders were very virtuous and did what they could with their preaching. Later, the Jesuits became more proficient and got more attention. The demand for preachers was understood as importance was given to the *priori* methods to convert the locals. When Frei Antonio do Casal came to Goa, he requested the authorities to give him additional frairs and a couple of preachers. The faith formation of the frairs enabled them to teach by personal example and to use other methods. Frei Antonio do Casal believed that the frairs were the best to handle the mission. The authorities in Portugal could not do much to increase the number of frairs. This was because a large number of missionaries had to be sent to the different mission fields in different parts of the world. In a letter of 21st January 1549, the Custos complained that no frairs had been sent since the last four years. Besides the routine work of preaching and attending to the spiritual needs of the faithful, the frairs had to take part in solemn occasions like processions.⁷²

The extension of the services of the frairs depended on the personal contacts that the frairs maintained with the authorities. Frei Antonio do Casal, the Custos completed his term on 21st January 1549, but his term was extended by the General of the Order. The frair had personal contacts with the temporal authorities. The Governor, Dom João de Castro was dying to confess to him. This was also testified by a letter of Francis Xavier to Simão Rodrigues in which he stated the Frei Antonio do Casal served God and the King in this region for more than five years. The problem of shortage of frairs was directly linked to the ordination of the Indians into the Order. The Superiors of the Order were never in favour of the *mestiços* because they believed that they were not fit to perpetuate the mission. The frairs had already experienced several scandals and disorders in Cape Camorin and Cranganore that were caused by the *mestiços*. The fact that the frairs ordained the priests from the *casta de cristãos novos* was clear from a letter of 22nd December 1550. In spite of the legislations that were against such ordinations, the Bishop permitted this to solve the problems that affected the Diocese. The Diocese was extensive but the workers were few. The Bishop tried to solve this problem by ordaining the *mestiços* but this was not favoured by the authorities. In 1553, the Bishop died because he was tired of the worries and difficulties that he had to face. This may have been yet

another reason that prompted the authorities to divide the mission field during the tenure of Frei Antonio do Casal.⁷³

The Franciscan Order in Goa faced several challenges after the death of Bishop Albuquerque. The Bishop was a friar and he had yielded much fruit for the Order. Throughout this time, there were complaints about the decline in the number of the friars. The Portuguese friars who worked in Goa were waiting to go back. This was clear from a letter of 4th January 1555, in which B. Dias lamented that a group of friars with vast experience was waiting to leave the country. In another letter of 30th December 1549, Cosme Anes stated that ten or eleven friars were waiting to leave for Portugal. After this, the problem improved, as many were ordained in Goa. In 1556, the Patriarch of Ethiopia, Dom Nunes Barreto ordained thirty to forty friars in Goa. The friars also received a few *mestiços* and some former students of the Jesuit College into the Order.⁷⁴ But the local clergy were never allowed to occupy the higher positions in the Order. The Catholic mission had extended to different parts of the Estado and the number of converts and missionaries had increased. These two factors prompted the authorities to think in terms of raising an Archdiocese.

Between 1550 to 1551, Funchal ceased to be the Metropolitan See and Goa was attached to Lisbon. On 4th February 1558, Pope Paul IV issued the *Etsi Sancta et Immaculata* that detached Goa from

the ecclesiastical Province of Lisbon and raised it to an Archdiocese. Goa was made the *de jure* centre of Christianity in the *Estado da India*. As a result of this, there were changes in the Decrees that governed the Order. For instance, the Guardian was not allowed to spend more than three years in one Convent. He could not be deposed at any Chapter by a simple canonical process. In December 1560, Dom Gaspar de Leão Pereira came to Goa as the first Archbishop. He was a Franciscan who had hitherto served as the *Conego* of the Cathedral of Evora. As the Archbishop, he was not happy with the methods that were used to spread Christianity. He attended the First Provincial Council of 1567 and took several decisions for the benefit of the religious. Since he belonged to the Order, he took decisions in favour of his co-frairs and his Order. Hence, after his appointment, the number of frairs began to increase. In a letter of 12th December 1560, Luis Frois stated that twelve frairs arrived in Goa alongwith two priests, brothers and six Dominicans. These frairs handled the mission and were occasionally sent to attend to certain duties. In 1562, when the Patriarch Nunes Baretto died, the Franciscans sent a group of thirty frairs to attend the funeral. There was a constant demand for additional frairs as is evident in the statement of the Archbishop who expressed his desire to see them arrive by shiploads. To solve the problem, the frairs decided to train and ordain novices in Goa. The Custos, Frei Francisco de Chaves requested the King to send

priests who were literate so that they could teach the religious. Pope Pius V was not happy with the progress of Christianity. He had tried to solve the problem by allowing the descendants of the converts to be admitted into the Order. He was sure that the parentage of those who entered the Christian faith two generations back was not difficult to trace. The Portuguese gave importance to *pureza da sangue* to ensure that the priests were men of good example and reliable. After this Order, the Franciscans began to admit a few *mestiços*. On 23rd March 1657, the Pope issued the *Exponis Nobis* by which he permitted all the religious who were attached to the Mendicant Orders in the East Indies to hold the office of parish priests and to celebrate the sacraments without the permission of the Pope.⁷⁵

In 1567, the First Provincial Council tried to draw out the abuses and vices in the Church and to reform it. Moreover, it intended to plant virtues in the Catholics and to augment the religion and the faith. The frairs and the Archbishop played an important role in the deliberations. In 1567, four frairs were sent to Goa. The number of frairs who were sent to Goa varied depending on the situation in Portugal. For instance, in 1568 only six or seven frairs disembarked for India because of a pestilence that broke out in Lisbon. By 1577, the situation changed. King Philip II felt that it was essential to send a large number of missionaries from Portugal to India. Pope Gregory XII also decreed that the *mestiços* could not be

ordained. The authorities tried to bring the missionaries under their direct control. Hence, the King requested the Minister General Christophe de Chaffontaines to create an office of the Commissary General for India. The latter was to be selected by the King. The Pope and the King also tried to fill in the office of the Archbishop with their own candidate and requested Dom Gaspar to resume the office.⁷⁶

In 1572, Frei Luiz Vellozo arrived to Goa as the Custos. His successors, Frei Francisco de Santarem and Frei Simão de Nazareth received the habit at the Franciscan Frairy in Goa. The latter was given a Brief entitled *Christophorus a Capite Fortuim* that granted him an additional term of office. Such benefits were bestowed on the frairs to solve the problem of shortages. The frairs were trained by a Master of Theology who taught them Philosophy and examined them.⁷⁷ In 1580, the Crowns of Spain and Portugal were united under Felipe I. This continued till 1640 and was called the period of the Babylonian captivity. The immediate fallout of this was the rivalry between Spain and Portugal. The missionaries began to show disinterest in the mission and engaged in petty squabbles. In such a situation, it was difficult for the King to execute the *Padroado* obligations. To solve such problems the Pope issued the Brief entitled *Piis Votis* on 18th July 1581. This empowered the Minister General to direct the Custody of India and to control the frairs, professed, novices and other religious.⁷⁸

This began a new Chapter in the history of the missionaries who worked in the mission field.

THE RELATIONS WITH THE STATE: In 1542, the Jesuits arrived as close confidants of the Pope. Popularly called the shock troops of the *Padroado*, they took on the responsibility of extending the Royal mission into the distant lands. This does not mean that the frairs had neglected their mission. The latter had crossed the political contours of the *Padroado* and often sidelined their religious overtures to fulfil the duties of the State. The Kings of the Aviz dynasty, Dom João III, Dom Sebastião and Dom Henrique were supportive of the mission and the frairs tried their best to help them.

Around this time, the Captain of Goa, Dom João Pereira went on an expedition against the *Idalçao*. He was assisted by one thousand locals and seven hundred Portuguese. When the Captain reached Verna, Salcete, he found that the enemy had already camped there with two squadrons of four thousand five hundred men each and a hundred horses at each point. When he saw this, he did not lose hope but fought valiantly and killed more than eight hundred men including the cousin of Sotermão Aga. Only fifty Portuguese and a hundred local people were killed. This victory was attributed to Frei Antonio do Casal, Custos and Vicar of the Order who encouraged the soldiers with a Crucifix in his hand. He served as an informer of the State for in a letter of 1549, the frair informed the King about the

things that were taking place in his land. The Governor, Nuno da Cunha had been entrusted with the lands of Bardez and Salcete. However, the new lands were neglected because the Portuguese soldiers were sent to recapture Diu. In 1543, a Peace Treaty was signed between the *Idalçao* and the Governor, Martin Afonso de Sousa. The conflict did not end there as the *Idalçao* continued to threaten the lands. Bardez had forty eight villages, but eight among them had been incorporated with the others. The Portuguese were interested in Bardez because it had yielded revenue of three thousand, eight hundred and forty two *tangas braças*.⁷⁹

The close alliance between the secular authorities and the religious prompted the frairs to accompany the expeditions. Frei Paulo de Santarem accompanied the Viceroy, Dom João de Castro on an expedition to Diu. On the second expedition, he was accompanied by Frei Antonio do Casal. Following the conquest of Diu, they both made a triumphant entry into Goa. Some frairs like Frei Luis de Govea and Frei Estavam de Gois along with the local *padres* cared for the wounded passengers and the crew that landed in Goa after a rugged journey from Portugal. The frairs had a Frairy from where they tried to convert the *gentios*, thereby making the land safe for the Portuguese. The Frairy served as a Supply Frairy that provided frairs whenever they were required for the service of the State. On 2nd February 1559, Frei Belchoir de Lisboa accompanied the Viceroy, Dom Constantino de

Braganza on an expedition to Ceylon and was killed there. The frairs served as the personal confidants of the Portuguese authorities who were deputed to Goa. Frei Antonio do Casal was present when the Viceroy had breathed his last.⁸⁰ In 1559, the frairs heard about the death of Dom João III and conducted religious services in the Frairy of St. Francis. In the Frairy of Madre de Deus, masses were said for his soul for eight days. This indicates their loyalty to their Patron.⁸¹

Hence, by this time the frairs were directly associated with the *Padroado* hierarchy and succeeded in achieving what the latter could not achieve with the force of their arms. They founded a mission in Cananore, Diu, Daugim, Mylapore, Damaun and Thana. The mission progressed mainly because of the Counter Reformation spirit that was infused into the Goa mission by the Jesuits.

Notes and References :

- ¹ Gaspar Correa, Vol. IV, pp. 226-27; Diego do Couto, *Dec.* V, p.9; For details about the arrival of Francis Xavier refer to *DHMP* Vol. II, pp. 309-10; C. R. Boxer. *The Christian century in Japan(1599-1656)*, 1951, Book II, pp. 46 and 154; J. S. Cummins, *The Jesuit and the frair in the Spanish expansion to the East*, 1986, p. 72; T. R. de Souza, 'Spiritual conquest of the East: a critique of spiritual conquest of the Church History of Portuguese Asia (sixteenth to seventeenth century)', in *ICHR* Vol. XIX(1985); *Bull Patr.* Vol. I, p.146.
- ² Letter of Francis Xavier dated 20th September 1542, published in Henry James Coleridge, *Op.Cit.*, 1997, p. 115; Maurice Collis, *The land of the Great Image*, 1948, p. 44.
- ³ J.M de Texeira(ed) *Cronica do Felicissimo Rei Dom Manuel*, 1926, p. 842; *Annales* Vol. XVIII, p. 129; *DHM*. Vol. II, p. 156; *APO*, Vol. I, p. 43; Gaspar Correa, Vol. IV, p. 32.

- ⁴ *DHMP* Vol. III, pp. 259-60; Vol. IV, p. 7.
- ⁵ Gaspar Correa, Vol. IV, p. 669; *DHM* Vol. II, p. 207-11; *DI* Vol. IV, p. 395.
- ⁶ Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christianity: Three centuries of Advance (1500-1800 AD)*, 1939, Vol. III, p. 24; Stephen Neill, *Op.Cit.*, 1964, p. 177; M.J. Castolloe, *Op.Cit.*, 1993, p. 244.
- ⁷ M.J. Castolloe, *Op.Cit.*, 1993, pp. 220-21 and 247.
- ⁸ Gaspar Correa, Vol. II, p. 930-31; *DHMP* Vol. III, p. 539; Vol. IV, pp. 472-74; Vol. III, p. 541.
- ⁹ A. B. Braganza Pereira, *Op.Cit.*; *Separata de OP*, Vol. I, p. 60; M.J. Castolloe, *Op.Cit.*, 1993, p. 413 and 419.
- ¹⁰ *DHMP* Vol. VII, p. 344; Vol. VIII, pp. 229-30; Cipriano de Cunha Gomes, 'A Cristianização de Bardez', *BIVG* Vol. (1957); *DI* Vol. I, pp. 743-44; *AFPI*, p.69.
- ¹¹ *DHMP* Vol. XII, p. 110; Vol. XI, pp. 102-03 and 229.
- ¹² Gabriel de Saldanha, *Op.Cit.*, 1990, Vol. II, p.270 and 225; Achilles Meersman, *Op.Cit.*, 1957, p. 94; J.H da Cunha Rivara *Travels of Francisco Pyrard Laval (1601-45)*, 1858-62, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 30-7; S.N Sen(ed.) *Indian Record Series*, 1949, Chapt. VII, Part III, Book I, p. 190; Houtart, *Op.Cit.*, 1981, p. 59; Francisco y Sousa, *Op.Cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 169 and 288; Amaro Lobo, *Op.Cit.*, 1933, p. 186; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 56, p. 288; for the monument commemorating Afonso de Albuquerque disembarkment refer to Ricardo Telles, 'Igrejas, Capelas, Conventos e palacios na Velha Cidade de Goa', *OP* Vol. I (1921), p. 49.
- ¹³ *Obras de Amorim Pessoa*, Vol. III, p. 249, for details about the College and the Church refer to Ricardo Telles *Op.Cit.*, *OP* Vols. 2 and 3, p. 250 and *OP* Nos. 18 and 22, pp.220 ; Jacinto de Deus, *Op.Cit.* p. 22; Gaspar Correa, Vol. IV, p. 560; *DI*, Vol. IV, p. 278; *DHMP* Vol. VII, p. 304; *Anais*, p. 5; Amaro Lobo, *Op.Cit.*, 1933, p. 186
- ¹⁴ *DHMP* Vol. V, p. 407; *DI* Vol. I, pp. 596-638; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 56, pp. 288-89;
- ¹⁵ *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 58, p. 288, ff. 2; Ferreira Martins, *Cronica dos Viceréis e Governadores da Índia*, 1919; Ricardo Telles, *Apontamentos para a historia dos Reis Magos*, 1906, p. 3-4; The Court of arms of Dom Luis da Ataíde is found in the sanctuary of the Church. It consists of a Crown and a dragon. A specimen of the same is seen in Ricardo Telles, 'O Povorello de Assisi' *OP*. Vol. p. 25; For the list of Viceroy who resided here refer to *Bol. do Gov.* no. 68 (1862); Ricardo Telles, *Op.Cit.*, 1906, pp. 3-4; F. N. Xavier, *Seige chronologica dos Viceréis: Relação dos Viceréis de Goa*, 1908; *DI* Vol. IV, p. 377.
- ¹⁶ *DHMP* Vol. VI, p. 461; *DI* Vol. IV, p. 194; *DHMP* Vol. VIII, p.231.
- ¹⁷ Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, 1922, p. 28; The services there reflected a fidalgo spirit and on the 5th, 6th and 7th of January a fair was held within the limits of the Royal fort in Reis Magos. It was attended by the Viceroy, the Archbishop and the luso descendants. On the feast day, before the solemn mass three boys dressed as the three Kings mounted the horses and entered the Church from Betim. In the Church, they sat on special chairs close to the Viceroy and Governors the politico-religious ethos of the House; Ricardo Telles, *Op.Cit.*, 1906, p. 7; Ricardo Telles, 'Singularidade dos actos religiosos', in *Voz* Vol. 52(1935), p. 585.
- ¹⁸ João de Barros, *Dec.* II, p. 424; *DHMP* Vol. XII, p. 481; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 17, p. 88; S. N. Sen(ed.), *Op.Cit.*, 1949, p. 191; P. S.S Pissurlencar *Op.Cit.*, in *BIVG* Vol. 62 (1945), pp. 69-71; Diego do Couto, *Dec.* I, p. 416; *DHMP* Vol. III, p.159; Arthur Coke Burnell (ed). *The voyage of John Huygen Linchoten to the East Indies*, 1988, p. 176.
- ¹⁹ P. S. Pissurlencar, 'Tentativas dos Portugueses do concao,' in *Anais da Academia Portuguesa da Historia*, Vol. VI, (1955), p. 426; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap.54, p. 272; *DHMP* Vol. III, , p.317; Vol. IV, pp. 174-78.
- ²⁰ *CEO* Vol. II, p. 74; *DHMP* Vol. III, , p. 317.
- ²¹ *APO* Vol. I, p. 40; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 71 , p. 360 and Cap. 55, p. 283, ff. 1.
- ²² *DHMP* Vol. III, p. 207; F. X. Costa, *Op.Cit.*, p. 5; F. X. Gomes Catão, 'Primeiros Vigários colados das Igrejas de Bardez', in *BEAG* Vol. 11(1953), pp. 399-400; Ismael Gracias 'Beati Paliperes Spiritu', *OP*.Vol.5(1908), p. 332; Achilles Meersman, *Op.Cit.*, 1957, p. 158; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap.23, pp. 126-7 and 363, fl. 12, Cap. 19, p. 101; *DI* Vol. III, pp.350-54; *DHMP* Vol. VI, pp. 48-49; F. Coutinho, *Le Regime Paroissal de Rite Latin de l'Inde*, 1958, p. 140.
- ²³ Antonio de Noronha, *Os Indus de Goa e a Republica Portuguesa*, 1922, p. 51; T. R. de Sousa, *Maira, a peep into the past: Some historical notes on Maira*, 1986, p. 4; *Bosq.*, Vol. II, p. 151; *DI* Vol. II, pp. 315-16; The seperation of the mission among the three Religious Orders is dealt by Castilho de Noronha 'A Christianizacao de Ilha de Tissuari nao foi exclusivamente obre dos religiosos da Ordem de São Domingos (1583-1619)', *BIVG* Vol. 80 , pp. 45-55.
- ²⁴ *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 56, p. 285.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 288; The vestiges included two big granite tigers that were located at the end of the staircase and the tank that was located along the passage to the parochial residence in which small idols were found while constructing the cemetery; Ricardo Telles, *O Povorello de Assisi*, p. 25; *Bol. do Gov.* no. 330 (1891); F. X. Gomes Catão, *Igrejas de Bardez: noticia historica dos seus vigarios*, XCHR Ms.
- ²⁶ *Anais.*, pp. 7 and 11; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 58, p. 295; *DHMP* Vol. V, p. 466; Ricardo Telles, *Op.Cit.*, 1922, p. 29. A list of temples in Candoli is provided by Valentim Correia, 'Livro de Aforamentos' *Tombo de Bardez* N° 311.

- This is published by P. S. S. Pissurlencar, 'Tombo das rendas que S. M. tem na terras de Salcete, Bardez e nesta Ylha de Goa', in *BIVG*, Vol. 64 (1945), p. 50.
- 27 Antonio de Padua, *Noticia da fundação das igrejas de Bardez*. This list prepared by the ex-Provincial of the São Thomé Province dated 31st January 1767 is found in *BNL*, Mss 2161, and published in *O Herald* (3-1-1913); *DHMP* Vol. V, p. 446; *Anais.*, pp. 15-16.
- 28 Marcellino de Civezza, *Op.Cit.*, 1859, Vol. VII, pp. 170-71, also provides a list of Churches in Bardez; Antonio da Padua, *Op.Cit.*; pp.16-7; *CEO* ,Vol. I, Cap. 57, p. 293; Ricardo Telles, 'Capelas nos Reis Magos', in *Voz*, Vol. 10 (1935), p. 101; *DHMP* vol. V, p. 467; *Anais.*, p. 16.
- 29 Jean Aubin, *Op. Cit.*, *STVDIA* Vol. 4 (1959); *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 57, p. 296; *DHMP* Vol. V, p. 467; Ricardo Telles, 'Igreja de Nerul', in *Voz* Vol. 47 (1936), p. 523; *Anais.*, p. 14.
- 30 J. S Cummins, *Op.Cit.*, 1986, p. 72; *DHMP* Vol. III, p. 618; Rui Gomes Pereira, *Goa: Hindu temples and deities*, 1978, p. 73; *Anais.*, p. 17; The term Nerul is derived from 'nell' (rice) and 'ur' (village). for details one may refer to Ricardo Telles, *Op.Cit.*, 1925, p. 1; Antonio da Padua, *Op.Cit.*; pp.32; Leopold de Rocha, 'As Confrarias de Goa', *STVDIA* Vol. 34(1972), p. 293; Ricardo Telles, *Op.Cit.*, in *Voz*, Vol. 37 (1936), p. 409; *DHMP* Vol. V, p. 467; Gomes Catão, 'Igreja de Nerul', in *BEAG*, Vol. 15 (1956), pp. 395-96.
- 31 *Anais.*, p. 18; Pe. Gabriel Saldanha, *Op.Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 236; C. C. da Nazare, 'Estabelecimentos de caridade fundados em Goa pelo clero regular e secular', *O Ultramarino*, 21-11-1902.
- 32 Holzapfel, *Op.Cit.*, p. 261; Achilles Meersman, *Op.Cit.*, 1967, p.8; Nimmo Duncan, *Op.Cit.*, p. 162; Paul Sabatier, *Speculum Perfectionis San francisco Assisiensis, Legenda Antiquissima*, 1898, p. 232; Achilles Meersman, *Op.Cit.*, 1957, p. 19; The *Capuchos* had to be distinguished from the *Capuccinos*, a branch that was founded in Italy. Achilles Meersman, *Capuchos e Capuchinos*, in *OP*, No. 18 (1937), pp. 127-28; Dennis Klougen de Cottineu, *Op.Cit.*, p. 74.
- 33 *DHMP* Vol. II, p. 343; Vol. III, p. 526-30; *DI* Vol. I, p. 726; ; Gabriel Saldanha, *Op.Cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 33 and 94; *DHMP* Vol. IV, p. 414.
- 34 *APO* Fasc. I, Part I, pp. 48-49; Diego do Couto, *Dec. VII*, pp. 336-37; Leopold Rocha *Op. Cit.* *STVDIA* Vol. 34(1972), pp. 247-48; *CL* p. 13; *Anuário.*, p. 68; Achilles Meersman, *The Franciscans in Tamil Nadu*, 1962, pp. 13-14; Gabriel Saldanha, *Op.Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 100; *DI* Vol. I, p. 563-64; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 41, p.212 .
- 35 Jacinto de Deos, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 26 and 29; Achilles Meersman, *Op.Cit.*, 1943, p. 20; F. N. Xavier (ed.), *Gabinete Literario das Fontinhas*, 1846-48, p. 119; *DHMP* Vol. IV, p. 331; *DI* Vol. I, pp. 551-570, for details on the life of the Archbishop refer to Jacinto de Deos, *Op.Cit.*, p. 27-29.
- 36 A solemn procession began from the Franciscan Frairy in Old Goa and proceeded to the Madre de Deus Convent in Old Goa. It consisted of the Viceroy, Archbishop, Custos Frei João de Certa, Cathedral Chapter, religious of the convent, inhabitants of the House and several notables. *En route* to the Convent of *Madre de Deus*, the religious and the *Te Deum Laudamus* and the psalms to the tune of many instruments. The procession advanced along the flower strewn streets. On entering the *retiro* of Daugim, the Archbishop made a long prayer and preached an elegant sermon; Gabriel Saldanha, *Op.Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 94; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. ,pp. 204-05; *CL* pp. 135-39 and 191-94; S. N. Sen, *Op.Cit.*, 1949, p. 186; Cunha Rivara, *Op.Cit.*, 1858-62, Vol. II, Part. I, p. 33; *DHMP* Vol. II, p. 103; Ismael Gracias, *Op. Cit.*, *OP* Vol. IX(1912), Nos. 5 and 6; pp. 110-11; *Bol. do Gov.* N.º 39(1859); *DHMP* Vol. IX, p.241; Vol. VIII, pp.78-80.
- 37 Gabriel Saldanha, *Op.Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 94; Jacinto de Deos, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 33-37; *CEO* Vol. I, Caps. 40 and 41, pp. 210-13 and 214-16; *CL* pp. 193-94; *Tabua das casas e frades da Custodia Franciscana de São Thomé de India em 1585*, in *FO* pp. 65-70.
- 38 Gabriel Saldanha, *Op.Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 363; *APO* Vol. I, pp. 77-80; Jacinto de Deos, *Op.Cit.*, pp. 33-34; *Fundo Geral* No. 176, *BNL* fl. 84 cited in Leopold Rocha, *Op.Cit.*, *STVDIA* Vol.34 (1972), p. 248; *ARF.*, Report 1, p. 61; *MR* Vol. 79, fl 339. His mortals remains were later transferred to the Sé Cathedral, Goa, *ML.*, Vol. I, p. 198; Amaro Lobo *Op. Cit.*. 1933, p.9.
- 39 G. D. Winnus, 'Millenarianism and Empire: Portuguese Asian decline and the *crise de Conscience* of the missionaries', *Itinerario* Vol. XI, No. 2(1987), pp. 38 and 41; *CEO* vol. I, p. x.
- 40 *DHMP* Vol. II, pp. 243; Vol. III, p. 68; *DI* Vol. I, pp. 66-72; *DHMP* Vol. III, pp.54 and 321-22; Henry Heras, *Op.Cit.* p. 32.; *APO* Fasc. I, Parte I, p.40.
- 41 *DHMP* Vol. IV, p.121; Vol. VI, pp. 454-55; Vol. IV, pp. 108-09; F. N. Xavier, *Resumo historico da maravilhosa vida, conversoes e milagres de San Francisco Xavier*, 1865, p.7-8; M. D'Sa *Op.Cit.*, p. 55; *DI* Vol. I, p. 326-28.
- 42 Querroz *Op. Cit.*, p. 1603; Diego do Couto, *Dec. VI*, p. 478; Barros, *Dec. 1*, pp. 159-162; *DHMP* Vol. III, pp. 284-314; Vol. IV, pp. 347-58; *CEO* Vol. III, p. 245; Barros, *Dec. VI*, pp. 95-105; *APO* Vol. I, p. 33; *CEO* Vol. II, pp. 296 and 389, Ricardo Telles *Op.Cit.*, *OP* Vol.25 ,(1937), p. 182; There is a reference to a procession dedicated to the *Onze Mil Virgens* that was carried out in three stages. This holy relic was brought to Goa in 1548 and kept in the Frairies of the Dominicans and Franciscans. The first phase was devoted to the *Oração, Pro Mittione e Virgilio* and *Salustio alternatim*. In the second part, Fr. Josepho Ribeiro delivered three lessons in theology and later in the day four to five frairs spoke about how they worked on the mission in the heat and in winter. Such a method must have borne fruit. *CEO* pp. 48-49; Fernão de Soledade, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 541-42 and 609-13; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 56, p. 289; *DHMP* Vol. III, p. 529.

- ⁴³ DHMP Vol. III, pp. 324-25; Vol. IV, p. 297; DI Vol. III, p. 406; Vol. IV, p. 190; DHMP Vol. VIII, p. 40; Vol. XII, pp. 819-20; Philip Baldeus, *A True and exact description of the most celebrated East India, Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel*, 1996, p. 646.
- ⁴⁴ DI Vol. IV, pp. 318-19; Alden Dauril *Op. Cit.*, 1996, p. 6 and vii; *Bull. Patr.* Vol. I, p. 142; There was a reference to a woman from the *terra firme* who was married to a man in Chorão. She went to the Church of Chorão to become a christian. The priest who was also from Chorão sent a brother with her. They entered a house of her relatives the and brother told a small girl that if there was Christ he would draw out a *motim* or a gold hook that the married woman wore in her nose as a sign of idolatry; DI Vol. IV, pp. 489 and 213; DHMP Vol. V, p. 297.
- ⁴⁵ Anthony D'Costa, *Op. Cit.*, 1965, p. 29; APO Vol. V, Part II, p. 613; Part. I, pp. 410' 458,454 and 451; Annas Cannas da Cunha, *A Inquisição no Estado*, p. 249; DHMP Vol. VIII, p. 238; DI Vol. VI, p. 369; DHMP Vol. I, p. 143; Vol. X, p. 354; Vol. III, pp. 203-08; DI Vol. IV, p. 328; Vol. III, pp. 726-27; Vol. IV, p. 677; DHMP Vol. VIII, , p. 160; DI Vol. IV, p. 743.
- ⁴⁶ Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 149; A.K Priolkar *The Goa Inquisition*, 1961, p. xii; A. Baiao, *A Inquisição de Goa*, Vol. II, pp. 37, 65,84,103,122,2 and 119; Fortunato Almeida, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 988-89; DHMP Vol. III, p.72 ; CEO , Vol.I, Cap.53,p.271; APO. Fasc. V, Part I, p. 451; DHMP Vol. X, p. 405-06; DHMP Vol. VIII, p. 238.; DI Vol. V,p. 60; Vol. IV, p. 834; BFUP Vol. 2, p. 84, *Leis por favor da Christandade*, fls. 34-45; APO Fasc. V, Part II, p. 488; DI Vol. VI, p. 176-77; Vol. V, pp. 122-23.
- ⁴⁷ DHMP Vol. VIII, pp. 229-30; BFUP Vol. I,p.51; APO Vol. V, Part 2, p. 451; CEO Vol. I, Cap. 55, p. 284; DHMP Vol. IX, pp. 175-76; APO Fasc. V, Part II, p. 544-45.
- ⁴⁸ DI Vol. VI, pp. 701-02 and 356; DHMP Vol. VI, p. 48; CEO Vol. I, Cap. 64, p. 325; BFUP. Vol. II, p. 87; Vol. I, p. 50; DHMP Vol. X, p. 298; A list of the temples is provided by A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, 1961, pp. 83-84; P. S. S. Pissurlencar, *Op. Cit.*; BIVG No. 62 (1945); DHMP Vol. V, p. 408; Vol. X, , pp. 74-75; DI Vol. VII, p. 62; DHMP Vol. X, pp. 288 and 298; Vol. V,pp. 298;DI.Vol.VII, p.396
- ⁴⁹ Fortunato Almelda, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 519-21; *Bull. Patr.* Vol.I.,Appdx. I, p. 41; Carlos Mercês de Melo, *Op. Cit.*, 1955, p. 323; APO Vol. V, Part III, pp. 687 and 628; DHMP Vol. XII, p. 643; DI Vol. V, p. 9; APO Fasc. V, Part II, p. 613; DHMP Vol. X, pp. 74-75; Vol. XI, pp. 31-35.
- ⁵⁰ APO Fasc. VI, p.9; CEO Vol. I, Cap. 55, p. 282; DI Vol. IV, p. 742; Vol. X, p. 256; Vol. VIII, p. 745.
- ⁵¹ *Bull. Patr.* Vol. I, Appdx. pp. 6-29; DHMP Vol. IX, p. 248 ; CEO Vol. I, Cap . 56, p. 288; DI Vol. X, p. 53; Wicki, *O Livro do Pai dos Christaos*, 1969, p. 202; APO Vol. V, Part II, pp. 903-905.
- ⁵² DHMP Vol. XII, p. 280; APO Vol. V, Part II, pp. 909-10 and 712; DHMP Vol. XII p. 722, *Leis por favor da Christandade*, fl. 46;APO Vol. V, Part III, pp. 973-74; Wicki, *Op. Cit.*, 1969 p. 94; BFUP Vol. II, p.18 ;Vol. I, p. 38.
- ⁵³ BFUP Vol.I, p. 35, *Provisoes e Alvaras a favor da Christandade (1533-1831)*, fls. 35-36 ; APO Vol. V, Part III, , pp. 967-68; Wicki, *Op. Cit.*, 1969 ,p. 66; BFUP Vol. I,p. 48; Vol. II, p. 79; *Leis por favor da Christandade*, fl. 19; APO Vol. V, Part III, p. 991, Wicki, *Op. Cit.*, 1969 ,p. 102; DHMP Vol. XII, p. 788.
- ⁵⁴ Delio de Mendonça, *Conversions and Citizenry in Goa under Portugal (1510-1610)*, 2002, p. 125; T. R. de Souza, 'Christianization of Goa and Cultural conflicts', in T. R. de Souza (ed.), *Goa to me*, 1994, p. 87.
- ⁵⁵ DI Vol. IV, p. 310; Vol. VI, p.682.
- ⁵⁶ DI Vol. V.,p. 279; DHMP Vol. VIII, pp. 485, 421 and 485-9;DI Vol. V, pp. 358-59; Portaria 3056 (23-11-1937); *Bol. Off.* 94.
- ⁵⁷ The term Suli is believed to be derived from *Shivling*; Antonio Ataide de Lobo, *A freguesia de Siolim*, 1931, p. 2. The image was brought back to Siolim on 15th March 1978; DHMP Vol. X, p. 298; A remembrance of the old site is found in the form of a Cross called the *Sonar Khetticho Khuris* and an inscription that was raised in 1910. This is evident from the *Relatorio* of the Superior dated 31st January 1767 that is stated in *Bosq.*, p. 474; Antonio Ataide de Lobo, *Op. Cit.*, 1931, p. 8.
- ⁵⁸ CEO Vol. I, Cap. 60, p. 307.
- ⁵⁹ DHMP Vol. III, p. 279-80; Vol. IV, p. 256; J.M. Castelloe, *Op. Cit.*, 1993,p. 244; DHMP Vol. IV, p. 187; DI Vol. I, pp. 410-26.
- ⁶⁰ DHMP Vol. IV, pp. 208,137-38 and 471; Vol. III, p. 440; DI Vol. I, p. 744, DHMP Vol. VII, p. 289, APO Fasc. V, pp. 412-13; DI Vol. I, p. 531;DHMP Vol. IV, pp. 245-46 and 566; Gaspar de Correa, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 10.
- ⁶¹ Jose de Lima Felner Rodrigo, *Tratado do Tombo Geral da India e Subsidos do Tombo Geral da India Portuguesa*, MDCCCLXVIII, pp. 46-47 and 55-56; Arthur Teodoro de Matos, 'Assets and income of the Religious Orders in Goa at the end of the Sixteenth century', in T. R. de Souza(ed.), *Op.Cit.*, 1994, p. 155. He makes a reference to a document available in *Bibliotheca Ajuda* 51-VII-31, fl. 18v-20; Jose da Lima Felner Rodrigo, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 70; DHMP Vol. VII, p. 194; DI Vol. I, pp. 606-12; Vol. II, p. 508; Vol. VIII, p. 406; Vol. XI, , p.339.
- ⁶² Anthony D'Costa *Op.Cit.*, NZM vol. 18(1962) and *Op.Cit.*, 1965; DI Vol. VIII, p. 406; DHMP Vol. X, p. 470-71; APO, Vol. V, Part II, p. 687; DHMP Vol. X, pp. 298; DHMP Vol. VII, p. 289; APO Vol. V, pp. 412-13; Arthur Theodore de Matos, *Op. Cit.*, in T.R de Souza(ed) *Op. Cit.*, 1994, pp. 153 and 155; P.S.S Pissurlencar *Op. Cit.*, BIVG no. 62 , pp. 169-72; DI Vol. VIII, p. 553; Vol. IX, p. 278 and 281; DHMP Vol. XII, p. 253; Vol. XII, pp. 357-

- 58 and 111-112; *Bol. Off.* 94; *Portaria* no. 3056; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, 1906, p. 10, Ms. in the IVG is published in *Tribuna* (July-September 1922); Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, 1906, p. 11-12; *DI* Vol. XII, p. 87; *DHMP* Vol. XII, p. 722; *APO* Vol. V, pp. 973-4; *Leis por favor de Christandade*, fl. 46.
- ⁶³ Jean Aubin, *Op. Cit.*, *STVDIA*, Vol. 4 (1959) pp. 213, 234 and 239-40.
- ⁶⁴ P. S. S. Pissurlencar, *Regimentos das fortalezas da Índia*, 1951, pp. 33 and 35-36; *DI* Vol. IX, pp. 274-75; *DHMP* Vol. XII, pp. 353, 361 and 365; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, *BIVG* Vol. 26, (1935), p. 9; *DI* Vol. XII, p. 87; *DHMP* Vol. IV, pp. 319-20; Vol. VIII, p. 303.
- ⁶⁵ *CEO* Vol. I, *Cap.* 64, pp. 325-26; *DI* Vol. V, pp. 358-59; Viriato de Albuquerque, 'Casa de Cathecumenos em Goa', in *OP* Vol. II (1905), p. 442.
- ⁶⁶ *DHMP* vol. VII, pp. 328-29, *CEO* Vol. I, *Cap.* 55, p. 284; *DHMP* Vol. VII, p. 414; Vol. VI, p. 348; *CEO* Vol. II, p. 284; *DHMP* Vol. VIII, pp. 103 and 78-80; *DI* Vol. IV, p. 319.
- ⁶⁷ *CEO* Vol. I, *Cap.* 64, p. 326; *DI* Vol. VI, pp. 138-39 and 122-24; Francisco de Sousa, *Op. Cit.*, 1881, Vol. I, pp. 86-87; J. Petrus Maffei, *Op. Cit.*, 1747, Vol. II, pp. 81-2; *DHMP* Vol. IX, pp. 250-51; *DI* Vol. V, pp. 20 and 229-30; Viriato de Albuquerque, *Op. Cit.* *OP* Vol. II (1905), p. 412.
- ⁶⁸ *CEO* Vol. I, *Cap.* 64, p. 326; Gabriel de Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 240; *DHMP* Vol. XII, p. 712.
- ⁶⁹ *DHMP* Vol. II, p. 331; *MF*, p. 177; *CEO* Vol. I, *Cap.* 20, pp. 105-11; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, *OP*, Vol. IV, p. 11; Querroz, *Op. Cit.*, p. 1603; *DHMP* Vol. III, p. 67; Vol. IV, docs. 43 and 49.
- ⁷⁰ *DHMP* Vol. III, pp. 281 and 284; *DHMP* Vol. I, pp. 307-15; *ML* Vol. I, pp. 20-30 and 595-97; S. Brian, 'El Primeiro Bispo de la Índia; Fray Juan Albuquerque', in *Misiones Franciscanas* Vol. 39 (1955), pp. 130-2; *DHMP* Vol. II, pp. 437-39 and 141.
- ⁷¹ Gaspar Correa, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 298; *Annales* Vol. XVIII, pp. 450-52, *CEO* Vol. I, *Cap.* 63, pp. 320-22; *DI* Vol. I, p. 76; Vol. III, p. 812, *DHMP* Vol. II, p. 103; Vol. III, pp. 218-19; *DI* Vol. I, p. 98; Vol. II, p. 247; *DHMP* Vol. III, p. 318.
- ⁷² These Parishes were Sofala, Mozambique, Omruz, Diu, Chaul, Goa, Cannanore, Cochin, Quilon, Colombo, Malaca, Maluco and São Thomé; Henry Coleridge, *Op. Cit.*, 1997, pp. 124 and 77-78; *DHMP* Vol. III, p. 40.
- ⁷³ *DHMP* Vol. I, p. 110; *DHM* Vol. II, p. 200; Pe. Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 133-134.
- ⁷⁴ *DHMP* Vol. VII, p. 382; *DHM* Vol. II, p. 515; Correa, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 667-69; *DHMP* Vol. IV, pp. 253-59, 28 and 259; Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 28-29; *DHMP* Vol. IV, doc. 49.
- ⁷⁵ *DHMP* Vol. III, p. 64; Vol. IV, pp. 254-56; J.M. Castelloe, *Op. Cit.*, 1993, p. 247; *DI* Vol. I, pp. 25-26; *DHMP* Vol. IV, p. 101; *DI* Vol. II, p. 134; J.M. Castelloe, *Op. Cit.*, 1993, p. 146; *CEO* Vol. I, *Cap.* 19, pp. 98-100.
- ⁷⁶ *APO* Fasc. I, Part I, pp. 26-27; *WDI* Vol. III, pp. 14 and 211; *DHMP* Vol. II, p. 561; Vol. IV, p. 472; Vol. VI, doc. 19; *DI* Vol. III, p. 570; Delio Mendonça, *Op. Cit.*, 2002, p. 19; *DHMP* Vol. VI, doc. 42.
- ⁷⁷ *HC* Vol. III, p. 199; *Bull. Patr.* Vol. I, p. 193; Golubovich, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 349; Holzavel, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 372; Fortunato Almeida, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 1013; *Corpo Diplomatico*, Vol. VIII, p. 62; *CEO* Vol. I, *Cap.* , p. 211; *DHMP* Vol. IX, p. 317; Diogo do Couto, *Dec. 7, Cap. 5*; *DHMP* Vol. VIII, p. 238; *WDI* Vol. IV, p. 834; *DHMP* Vol. IX, pp. 137 and 315; Felix Lopes, 'Os estudos Franciscanos entre os Franciscanos Portugueses no seculo XVI', *Colectanea dos Estudos*, Vol. 2 (1951), p. 188; *MF*, p. 181; *APO* Vol. V, Part II, p. 580; *AFPI*, p. 77; Miguel da Purificação, *Op. Cit.*, p. 60; *Bull. Patr.* Vol. I, pp. 213-14; *DHMP* Vol. I, p. 110.
- ⁷⁸ *DHMP* Vol. X, p. 263; Aspurz, *Op. Cit.*, p. 304; *Bull. Patr.*, Vol. I, Appdx. 39.
- ⁷⁹ A list of Custos is provided by Ricardo Telles, 'Inventarios dos Conventos de São Francisco de Assisi, São Caetano e Pilar', in *Separata do BIVG* (1943), pp. 13-14 and in *Relação dos Custodios de Provincia de São Thomé; Fêmea Soledade*, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 189; *FO* pp. 66 and 109; *CEO* Vol. I, *Cap.* 38, p. 201; Diogo do Couto, *Op. Cit.*, *Dec. VII, Cap. 5*; *DI* Vol. X, p. 462.
- ⁸⁰ A. G. Nicolau Pereira, 'Expansion of Christianity in the East (1500-1700)', *BIVG* Vol. 174 (1994), p. 34; *CEO* Vol. I, *Cap.* 65, pp. 323-24.
- ⁸¹ *CEO* Vol. I, *Cap.* 53, pp. 273-74; *DHMP* Vol. IV, p. 254, Barros, *Dec. IV*, pp. 416 and 458; *Dec. V*, pp. 372-3; *DHMP* Vol. III, doc. 83; *DI* Vol. II, pp. 269-70; *SRD*, Vol. IV, p. 156; *CEO* Vol. I, *Cap.* 20, p. 105;

CHAPTER IV

TOWARDS STABILIZATION (1583-1622)

CHAPTER IV

TOWARDS STABILIZATION (1583-1622)

The Franciscan mission in Goa was well established as both the Church building activities and the number of converts had increased. This was despite the threat that was posed by the Dutch. Besides being the political enemies of the Portuguese, the Dutch Calvinists believed that they were the true and Reformed Christians. Hence, they not only attacked the Portuguese dominions but also infiltrated into their mission stations. In Portugal, power was in the hands of the Spanish Hapsburgs. In this situation, the Observants who were hitherto under the Mother Province in Portugal were able to assert their autonomy and found a separate Province in Goa. The *Capuchos* also organized themselves into a Custody.

THE PROVINCE OF SAO THOME, GOA: Between 1542 and 1582, the Franciscans raised several Parishes within the given territory that could be clubbed together and governed by their own Superior without being dependent upon the Mother Province in Portugal. The recruits from Lisbon were insufficient to handle the extensive mission.

In 1583, a Chapter was held at Toledo, Spain at the initiative of the Cismontane family. At this Chapter, the representatives of the *Custodia de São Thomé* submitted a petition in which they requested their Superiors to raise a Province. The General, Frei Francisco Gonzaga agreed to this and passed a Decree entitled *Cum Auctoritate Apostolica sibi Commissa* in 1583 by which raised the São Thomé Province in Goa. But, the Decree was not implemented in Goa because the frairs of the Piedade Province in Portugal were opposed to it and wanted the frairs in Goa to be kept under the close supervision of the authorities in Portugal. In 1583, the Minister General held a Chapter at which Frei Gaspar de Lisboa was elected as the Custos. In the meanwhile, the Deputy of the Holy Office nominated Frei Andre de Santa Maria as the Custos. Frei Andres appointment was invalid because Frei Gaspar was recognised as the Custos. Frei Gaspar argued that the General had nominated him as the Custos and Commissary General of the Custody of Goa and Malacca. But, the Superiors in Goa refused to accept him because they had not accepted the Papal Decree.¹

Frei Gaspar had the evidence that proved his position. Moreover, his appointment had been accepted by the Minister General. But, the frairs in Goa refused to accept his authority. He left Goa and went to the Frairy in Cochin. After ten months,

he came back to Goa, organized the Provincial Council and helped in the *Auto da Fé*. In 1585, a Custodial Chapter was held to elect the Council, Definitor and Superiors of the Houses. The proceedings of the Chapter were sent to Rome through a representative of the Custody, Frei Lopo de São Francisco. At a General Chapter that was held in 1587, a *Tabua* of the Houses, Superiors and frairs in the Goa Province was prepared. However, the Observants of the Piedade Province refused to accept the proceedings of Chapter as it was presided over by Frei Gaspar. Portugal was five hundred leagues away from the East Indies and the Minister of the Province could not handle the Goa mission on his own. Therefore, he decided to decentralize his power and empower the Custos who was elected in India. The latter was placed in charge of an area *utroque foro* India, China and Malacca.²

Between 1585 and 1590, the frairs instructed the people, taught catechism, converted the *gentios* and raised Parishes and other Religious Houses in the Islands of Goa and Bardez. By 1593, the frairs felt that their mission in Goa was stabilized enough to be organized into a Province. At the Chapter of Vallaloid, the King, Felipe I authorised Frei Jeronimo do Espirito Santo to go to Goa as the Custos. His appointment was accepted by the General Chapter. In 1595, he held a Chapter at which a

Tabua of frairs and the Statutes for the Province were drawn up.³

In 1597, Frei Jeronimo completed his term and left for Europe. The new Statutes that were implemented created a lot of confusion in Goa. Some frairs refused to accept the Statutes because the Custos who presided over the Chapter was nominated by the King. The frairs in Goa continued to appeal in favour of a Province. On 11th September 1612, Pope Paul V acceded to their demands and issued a Bull entitled *Ex Coniuncto nobis de Super* that permitted the frairs to erect the Province of São Thomé. The General Chapter of Rome also accepted the Decree. Frei Luiz da Conceição, a former Custos was appointed as the first Provincial. However, before the Bull was passed the Minister General, Frei Joannes Hierro died and the Vicar General, Frei Antonio de Trejo suspended the decree. The frairs of the Piedade Province issued a Suspension Decree. This was implemented by Frei Sebastião dos Santos who arrived in Goa in December 1614 as the Commissary General. In 1618, the Chapter of Salamanca decided to re-erect the São Thomé Province in Goa. The Piedade frairs refused to accept this decision and the frairs in Goa complained to the King Felipe I. In a letter of 22nd May 1618, the King wrote to *Nuntius*, Antonius Cajetanus but the authorities in Rome refused to take any action because the Re-erection Decree was not passed there. Frei

Miguel da Purificação went to Rome alongwith his *Procurador*. After a long drawn struggle between the Pope and the King, the Re-erection Decree passed on 9th October 1619. Frei Francisco de São Miguel was authorized to execute the Decree in Goa but before his arrival to India, he expired. The Decree was officially promulgated in Goa by Frei Diogo dos Anjos. The Province of Goa now became an autonomous unit. The Commissaries General which were hitherto appointed from the Provinces of Portugal (1378), Algarve (1533), Piedade (1517), St. Anthony (1568) or Arrabida (1560) were now appointed by the Minister General in Rome. According to the Constitution of the Order, the Provincial had to be elected every three years. In 1622, Frei Luiz da Cruz succeeded Fr. Luiz da Conceicao as the Provincial. But, he was not easily accepted in Goa. The latter made a petition to the Councillor, Fernão de Albuquerque and to the *Relacao* and agreed to show them the letter that proved his appointment and his right to visit the Province. By, then the frairs had extended the mission in the Islands of Salcete, Mount Poincur, Pare, Amboli, Bhaynder, Trombay, Kalyan , Agra, Ava, Pegu, Aracan and Pegu.⁴

Though the Province was erected in 1619, the title was used only in 1622 because of the tussle that took place between the authorities in Rome and in Portugal.

THE ATTEMPTS TO INTRODUCE THE SECOND ORDER: The Second Order was a Congregation of nuns who were dedicated to St. Clare. When Frei Gaspar de Lisboa was the Custos, the frairs in Goa wanted to found a nunnery in the City of Goa. But, this could not be done without the permission of the Patron of the Missions. In a letter of 7 December 1587, Frei Gaspar requested the King him to assign the Professed House of Bom Jesus to the Poor Clares. The *Santa Casa de Misericordia* and the authorities of the City of Goa also supported him mainly because this House would help the orphan girls. The Viceroy, Mânoel de Sousa Coutinho also made the same proposal.⁵

The Jesuit Provincial, Valignano decided to build a Professed House because of the professed members of the Order found it difficult to live in the College of St. Paul. The Jesuits acquired a site in the City of Goa. Valignano acquired some additional land from the inhabitants who lived there by offering them some Houses that belonged to the College of St. Paul. This brought him into direct conflict with his Superiors because he did not have the right to give the College property without the approval of the General. Valignano did this mainly because he was afraid of the Franciscans who had raised a tumult when they heard that Jesuits were going to transfer their Professed House. The frairs even tried to evoke the support of the *Santa Casa de Misericordia*. Valignano did not waste time in acting against his

opponents. On 3rd and 4th September 1585, he sent three Jesuits to occupy the new site. The frairs complained about this to the Viceroy, the authorities in Rome and to King Felipe while the Jesuits tried to get the help of the Municipality and the Archbishop. The Viceroy favoured the Jesuits and stated that the Jesuits needed such a House.⁶

In 1589, the Professed House was complete. The frairs were now determined to thwart its functioning. In the same year, Frei Gaspar de Lisboa complained to Felipe I that the Jesuits owed many Houses in Goa. He accused the Jesuits of infiltrating into their pastoral domain and of being powerful and troublesome. Frei Gaspar de Lisboa requested the King to hand over the House to the nuns of St. Clare. He stated that such a House would benefit the State because many Portuguese orphan girls whose fathers had lost their lives while spreading the Christian faith and in the service of the King would be safe there. He argued that as the Franciscan Order was the oldest Order to be established in Goa, the frairs had the right to acquire more land. He further accused the Jesuits of acquiring a large part of the *Estado* within a short time. In his letter, Frei Gaspar requested the King to hand over the properties of the deceased to the frairs because they had the legal right to look after the orphans. He reminded the King of his moral responsibility to look after the children of those who died in his service.⁷ In his

letter of 23rd December 1589, Frei Gaspar wrote to the King that it was necessary to have a Convent in the City of Goa because it was inhabited by several honourable ladies whose honour was in danger as they had no shelter and they were likely to "...offend God". Moreover, the King had to fulfil his obligation of helping the orphan girls who had reached a marriageable age and the widows whose fathers and husbands had died in the army while fighting against the enemies of the Crown. He stated that the Franciscan Order could look after them because they had been in the mission field since a long time and the Sisters of St. Clare would cater to their spiritual needs as they were dedicated to recollection and service. In a letter of 23rd December 1589, the Custos requested the King to give them the big and high House in the Terreiro dos Galos that belonged to the Paulistas. The *Camara* that was in charge of public and social welfare also favoured a Convent for the noble and honourable women whose fathers and husbands had expired in the service of God and of the King.⁸

In the meanwhile, the frairs made all the arrangements to bring the Poor Clares to Goa. They collected two hundred thousand xs from the Tertiaries in Bassein. The Second Order was popularised in Goa. In the Church of Penha da Franca, there was a Court of Arms of the Second Order. Though the frairs were ready to bring the nuns, their plan would not materialize

without the permission of the authorities. The King refused to grant permission for a nunnery. In a letter of 1593, Dom Felipe I admitted that the Convent would solve many serious problems that were faced by the innocent women who lived in Goa. But, it was neither his service nor that of God to found the Convent for them. In another letter of 17th February 1595, he wrote to the Viceroy Dom Mathias not to allow the Poor Clares to build a Convent in Goa. The Archbishop of Goa, Dom Alexio de Menezes was an Augustinian and had his own plans to build a Convent for the nuns of Santa Monica. Though the King was against a Convent, he did not want to insult the frairs who worked for Him. Hence, he left the decision to the Archbishop and Viceroy. In a letter of 22nd February 1597, he instructed the Viceroy to consult the Bishop of Cochin and other prelates in this matter. By then, the Jesuits and the Augustinian Archbishop manipulated the decisions and the authorities refused to grant the permission for the Convent. The Jesuits were permitted to occupy the Professed House. The frairs now realized that it was impossible to found a nunnery and the Custos, Frei Miguel de São Boaventura decided to use the money that was collected to found a House of Studies where the clerics would be taught Philosophy, Theology, Konkani and other subjects.⁹ This indicated that the King, Archbishop and the Viceroy were the three pillars of the success of any missionary activity in Goa.

THE KONKANI LANGUAGE: The Portuguese frairs who worked in Goa hardly gave any importance to the local language because they conducted catechism classes in Portuguese and made use of interpreters if at all they needed to communicate in the local language.

In 1592, the Decree that was approved by the Fourth Provincial Synod that was held in Goa explicitly stated that no priest could be appointed as a Pastor in the Parish Church unless he knew the local language and until he passed an examination in the same. The frairs were given six months to learn Konkani, failing which they were to be removed. The King instructed the Custos, Frei Jeronymo do Espirito Santo that it was his responsibility to instruct the frairs to learn the language of the place wherein they resided. The authorities in Bardez observed that many new converts communicated and lived with their *gentio* friends and relatives. Others worshipped their Gods and followed their old customs. The frairs tried to enlighten them but they could not do much as they did not know the language well. Hence, they were instructed to learn the local language so that they could catechize, preach and confess the locals. The Custos reminded the frairs about their duty to study the local languages. In the College of Reis Magos, he separated the Seminary of São Jeronymo from the Orphanage. He included Konkani in the curriculum and ensured that the novices who

were formed there were trained in the local languages. Reis Magos was the first educational institution that taught Konkani to the novices.¹⁰

In 1567, Pope Pius V issued a Brief that stated that the parish priests had to know the local language. This was directed to the King of Portugal. The General Chapter of 1585, the Provincial Synod and the Provincial Councils instructed the frairs to take interest in Konkani, Sanskrit and Marathi and to write a textbook on the Christian doctrine in the same so that the natives understand the new religion. Frei Jeronymo learnt the many languages and invited the local Jewish, Muslim and Hindu scholars to hold discussions with him. In this, he tried to prove the falsity of their religious tenets. Many frairs learnt the local language and compiled books in the same. In 1595, Frei Jeronymo met Frei Amador de Santa Ana and Frei João de São Mathias who knew Konkani. The latter taught Konkani to his co-frairs, translated the *Flos Sanctorum* from Latin to the *lingua maratha* and knew to pronounce the Konkani vocabulary so well that even the Brahmins who heard him could not make out that he was a Portuguese. The Custos, Frei Francisco de Arruida enclosed a copy of his book in crimson velvet with silver clasps and sent it to the Viceroy, Dom Francisco da Gama. The latter sent it to King Filipe II to prove that the frairs knew the language. The King directed it to the *Escorial* in Madrid. Frei

João de São Mathias was appointed as the Censor of the Konkani language by the Inquisition to check and review the books that were published and translated in Konkani. He translated the *Simbolo do Cardeal Belarmino*, a text of two thousand verses into Konkani and wrote about the life of Christ in the *lingua brahmana*. Both the frairs, compiled a book on the Christian doctrine and on the mysteries of the faith in the local language. Frei Antonio da Piedade was also well versed in the language. The frairs took interest in the local language because the Archbishop had stated that the frairs made use of interpreters to communicate with the converts. In fact, he wanted to entrust the Parishes to the Brahmin, native clergy who were well versed with the *lingua maratha* and the *lingua brahmana* that could be understood by the local people.¹¹

The Provincial Council of 1606 warned the parish priests who worked in Bardez that they would lose their position if they failed to pass an examination in the local language within six months of their appointment. The Custos, Frei Miguel de São Boaventura and the Archbishop, Dom Alexio de Menezes supported this and many frairs learnt Konkani. Francisco da Gama stated the frairs studied the local languages and composed books in it. Frei Manoel Banha wrote a Konkani vocabulary and Frei Christovão de Jesus wrote the *Arte Gramatica*. Many of these works were used to instruct the local people. Frei Antonio

da Piedade, Rector of Pomburpa knew the local language and used to preach it to the people. The Archbishop of Goa presented a copy of Thomas Stephens *Crista Purana* to a Brahmin lady from Moira who read to the people it on Sundays and on feastdays. The people liked it so much that they used to hurry to the Church to hear it. In Moira, there was a Brahmin *sacador*. When the lady read the book in the Church, he envied her as he did not know to read the script. After some time he also learnt to read. This indicated that the frairs made use of the dominant classes to spread their religious ideals. The Pope rewarded those frairs who took the trouble of learning Konkani. Gregory XV permitted Frei Francisco Negrão to occupy his office for an additional term so that he could complete his chronicle. The latter completed it and took it to Rome to be published. This encouraged the frairs to concentrate on the local language. In a letter of 10th January 1621, the Viceroy stated that there were several frairs who were acquainted with it.¹²

At this time, the frairs were trying to ward off the criticisms regarding their ignorance of the local language. This was a hurdle to their effort to erect a Province in Goa.

FINANCIAL CONSIDERATIONS: The financial position of the *Estado da India* was stable and the King met the expenses of the Houses and Rectors who belonged to the Order. The Parish Churches were built with the help of the local people.

The Statutes of 1585 clearly stated that the frairs could neither possess estates nor hoard riches. They could only make use of the Houses in which they lived. They were not entitled to a fixed salary and had to depend upon the alms that they collected from the local people. In case they did not have money or work, they had to go from door to door begging for alms. On 4th December 1585, the Viceroy, Dom Duarte de Menezes implemented the *Provisao* of King, Dom Felipe I by which the Christians of Bardez were placed under the *Pai dos Christaos* who was entitled to five hundred *xs*. The King tried to control the religious and instructed the latter to enquire into their assets. In a letter of 1588, he sanctioned forty two thousand *reis* per annum for the frairs. Out of this, thirty thousand *reis* had to be paid to the priests and six thousand *reis* were to the *Confraria* and for the hosts and for wine respectively.¹³

The King wanted to ensure that the frairs did not claim the ownership of the properties that were given to them for their maintenance. The donation that was made by Dom Henrique to the College of Reis Magos to meet the expenses of the *fabrica* was confirmed. The frairs said mass and distributed communion to the soldiers of the *armadas* there. The new converts from the villages that were close to the monastery allotted the proceeds of two *varzeas*, a *mulaco* of the Vithala temple in Serula and a *varzea* entitled Puelo Xetta in the same village to the frairs. This

was hitherto sanctioned to the temple. On 16th June 1590, Catarina de Faria donated two *varzeas* to Church of Pomburpa. The Seminary of São Jeronymo was also entitled to a subsidy from the *Camara Geral de Bardez*. The King tried to exercise his control over such receipts. In a *Provisão* of 24th March 1594, he instructed the Viceroy, Dom Mathias de Albuquerque to maintain the *Tombo dos Escrivaes* of the village in the sacristy of the Church in Bardez. The parish priests also kept confidential records there. In a letter of 14th December 1585, Frei Gaspar de Lisboa stated that the Frairy of Goa guarded the *cofre* of money that was sent by the King. This was done to ease the burden from the State. In a letter of 21st January 1588, the King instructed the Viceroy, Dom Duarte de Menezes to use the proceeds of the lands in Bardez to pay the Archbishop and the priests. The King took personal interest in the missionaries and requested the Viceroy to inform him about the means of their sustenance.¹⁴

The first Synod of the Province held in 1595 approved the Statutes that were introduced by the General Chapter of Toledo. According to this, the frairs were instructed to observe poverty. They could not have ownership rights over their Frairies and Houses. Even the donations had to be considered as alms. The Recollects had to be content with their habit, tunic and a couple of sacred books. The *Tabua* of 1595 stated that there were several frairs in Goa and eleven Parish Churches in Bardez. The

latter had a Rector who also served as a Preacher and Confessor. The mission was extensive and stable. The King exercised his *Padroado* obligations. There was a reference to a grant that was made by the King of Portugal. It included the following:¹⁵

Item	Quantity
Wine	Thirty three and a half <i>pipas</i>
Oil	Fifty nine <i>cantaros</i>
Corn	Fifty five <i>condis</i>
Rice	Nineteen <i>condis</i>
Fine Rice	Fifty two <i>fardos</i>
Coconut Oil	Two <i>condil</i>
Butter	One <i>condil</i>
Plums	Fifteen <i>maos</i>
Wax	Two <i>condis</i>
Cloth	Twenty two <i>Cutonias</i>
Sugar	Three <i>fardaos</i>
Plums of grapes	Fifteen <i>maons</i>
Marmelade	Twelve <i>caixas</i>
Paper	One rim that was worth one hundred and twenty <i>xs</i>
Medicines for the pharmacy	One thousand, nine hundred and ninety six <i>xs</i> .

The Religious Houses received funds directly from the State unlike the Parish Churches that were maintained by the Christians. The Church of Mapusa was built with the help of the *gaoncars* of Mapuca, Cuchelim and Corlim. They, along with the first and fourth *vangods* instituted the two sodalities of Our Lady of Miracles and the Blessed Souls. Similarly, the Church in Calangute was built at the cost of the *gaoncars*. By 1595, the frairs raised eleven Parish Churches most of which were built with the help of the local converts. The religious were given land, groves and estates. Francisco Pais stated that the Jesuits

collected their proceeds with the help of tax collectors who were the *christãos da terra*. This money was used for the divine services. Since the frairs were bound by the vow of poverty, they left their accounts in the hands of a lay person who had to submit the same to the *Casa dos Contos*. The Church of Aldona was built at the cost of the *Comunidade Agricola*, and so was the Church of St. Michael, Anjuna. The money that was collected from the adjoining mission stations was also used for building the Religious Houses in Goa. At the end of the sixteenth century, the State made an attempt to record the income and properties of the frairs. In 1596, Manuel de Abreu Mouzinho, a Judge of the High Court of Goa worked out an inventory of the lands and properties of the religious in Goa at the request of the Viceroy, Dom Francisco da Gama. The religious owned nine thousand, four hundred and eighteen *xs* and four hundred and thirty eight *reis*. Out of this, the frairs owned eight hundred and seventy *xs* and four hundred *reis*.¹⁶

The King generally financed the new missions that were undertaken by the frairs as per the Papal laws and Royal sanctions. In the late sixteenth century, the Patron of the Missions emphasized on the instruction of the catechumens and the wellbeing of the new converts. The House of Monte de Gurim was a College, House of Studies, Catechumenate and a Hospicio or a House of Recreation where the frairs took rest after

working in the mission. It was entitled to an ecclesiastical revenue of six hundred and six *xs* and three *tangas* per year from the main Frairy. This was used to meet the expenses of the *Paidos Christaos* who lived there. It was also entitled to an additional subsidy of one thousand, three hundred and thirty three *xs*, one tanga and seventy *reis* by an oral testimony. In Alvara of 20th February 1598, the King instructed the Viceroy, Dom Francisco to provide it with two thousand *xs* per anum. This was confirmed by a Royal letter of 1st March 1597 and by the Ecclesiastical Chapter of 1598. The Seminary of St. Jerome was entitled to two hundred and fifty *xs* to meet the expenses of the oil and the wax and one thousand *xs* a year for the upkeep of the orphans and catechumens. This was confirmed by a Royal Charter. In Pomburpa, the College was entitled to five *candis* of corn, fifty *candis* of rice and fifty *xs*. The frairs often used the alms that they collected on the mission within the *Estado*. The funds that were collected from the nobles of Bassein to found a nunnery for the nuns of Santa Clara were used to build a College and a Professed House where the novices could study. The *Paidos Christaos* helped the frairs to convert the infeis, instruct the new converts and to care for the new Christians. The manpower that was needed for the spiritual care of the converts was provided by the Frairy in Goa. In a letter of 16th March 1593, the King instructed the Viceroy to send the frairs who worked in Ceylon to the Frairy of St. Francis, Goa, to collect the money that

was needed to sustain the frairs in Ceylon and Calecoulão, to repair their Houses and to care for the sick. The authorities emphasized on the proper training of those who offered themselves for baptism. On 8th January 1598, the King wrote to Dom Francisco, the Viceroy that Jeronimo Pedroso who was promoted by the Inquisition advised the Archbishop of Goa to separate the orphans from the Catechumens in Bacaim, Cranganor and Goa. This was implemented by the frairs who separated the Orphanage from the Catechumenate. Both the Houses received maintenance grants from the benefactors. On 11th June 1604, Louisa da Madre de Deus, the widowed daughter of Ana de Santa Maria donated her houses, a *palmar*, an arecanut grove and *varzeas* called Quelloxy to the Franciscans. All this yielded one thousand and four hundred *xs*. The proceeds were allotted to the catechumens, *fabrica*, beneficiaries of the *palmars* and arecanut groves and to the parish priest respectively. The grant was made in the presence of Leonor de Andrade and Nuno da Cunha. Since the first part was not used, the proceeds were sent to the *Sindico* and used to say masses for the intention of her mother. Lourenco Esteves, donated a *palmar* to the *Confraria* of Nellur on 1st July 1604.¹⁷

The frairs were given donations, bequests and proceeds of the former temple lands. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the authorities tried to exercise some control over these

proceeds. As such we have a number of documents in this regard. The frairs had a coffer in the Frairy of St. Francis, Goa where the Letters of Succession were kept. After the death of the Viceroy, the officers took the box to the Church where the body of the dead man was kept and opened it with three keys. The letter was read out solemnly and the coffer was taken back to the Frairy and entrusted to the Guardian. The Royal grants were also kept there before they were distributed. In a letter of 23rd February 1608, the King instructed the Viceroy to ensure that the coffer that was kept in the Frairy was not misused. From now onwards, it could be opened only with the permission of João Freire de Andrade, Chancellor of the *Relação de Goa* who was authorised to remove the Letters of Succession from the coffer. To avoid any frauds, the letters were sealed in sear cloth and put in a chest of lead that had an iron lock with three keys. These were kept with three separate people. This indicated that the King did not trust them.

The frairs owned a lot wealth. This was evident from a letter of 9th February 1611, in which the King stated that the *Camara* of the City had informed him that the Frairy was entitled to grants and *vazeas* that yielded three thousand xs. In addition to this, they had estates that were worth three thousand xs. This was enough to sustain forty frairs. In a letter of 24th January 1610, the King, Dom Sebastião confirmed the receipts of the

temple lands in Bardez that were sanctioned to the frairs. The reason for doing this was clear from a letter of 15th March 1611, in which the King wrote to the Viceroy about the sorry state of the finances of the State. The King wasted his resources in fighting the wars against the *mouros* and the heretic enemies of the Church and on the alms that were allotted to the faithful, widows and orphans. The was clear in a letter of 27th March 1612, in which the King stated that he spent two thousand *pardaos* on the dresses of those who were baptised unexpectedly at the General Baptisms. The State allotted ecclesiastical revenue called *ordinarios* to the frairs. This generally included a fixed amount in cash or in kind. To avoid any disappointment, the King instructed the secular and religious authorities to inform him about the Religious Houses that were established in Goa. When Lopo de São Francisco came back from the General Chapter, he requested Frei Gaspar to send a list of Houses that the frairs had founded in the areas where they had converted the people. In a letter of 7th December 1587, the Custos stated that the King knew about them because he was informed by the Viceroy. The permission of the King preceded the sanction of such grants. This was clear from a letter of 22nd March 1597, in which the *Procurador* of the Custody was informed about a Royal Instruction that was sent to the Viceroy, Mathias de Albuquerque. In this the King instructed the latter about the Houses that did not receive the *ordinarios* till date because they

were not reported to the King. Till then, the Parish Churches depended on alternate source of income. On 12th March 1611, Marquis de Castello Rodrigues instructed the Viceroy to send him a register of the lands in Bardez, Salcete and in the Islands of Goa. It must be noted that the frairs faced several problems as the *gaoncars* rarely paid their revenues regularly. In a letter of 14th February 1613, the King wrote to the Viceroy that the *gaoncars* of the *Camara Geral de Bardez* had not paid the proceeds and *foros* as per the *foral*. The former temple lands belonged to the King since the last forty years. The temples were destroyed and thirteen Churches were raised on its ruins. The *dizimos* of the estates amounted to three thousand *xs*. These were intended to sustain the parish priests. But, this could not be done as the inhabitants did not pay the *dizimos*. In a letter of 17th March 1612, the Archbishop informed the Viceroy about the problems that the frairs faced in Bardez. In another letter of 21st March 1613, the King wrote to the Viceroy that the *Camara* had complained to him that the people did not pay the *foro* for the lands that were rented to them. The others sold the yields but refused to pay the *foro*. The Archbishop failed to do anything about the *rendas* of the lands in Bardez. The *gaoncars* helped the frairs to raise the Churches, but the authorities also wanted them to sustain the frairs because a large part of the State income was spent on the defense of the land. Revora was handed over to the Ranés for security. Some lands in Anjuna were also

given away for a similar reason. In such a crisis, the frairs had to depend on the benefactors. The House of Our Lady of Pilar was built with the help of Fernão Christovam and Amaro de Rocha. The King made it a point to provide for the maintenance of the Religious Houses. In a letter of 19th March 1612, the Viceroy was instructed not to delay the payments to the contractors who worked in the Frairy and to pay them from the money that was sent to the coffers in the Frairy. A Royal Decree of 16th April 1617 sanctioned an *ordinaria* of one thousand *xs* per annum to the College of São Boaventura. The Frairy was provided with the mass stipends that were given to the frairs to offer the masses in the memory of the European soldiers of the First Regiment and the Legion of Royal Volunteers who died in Ponda and who were buried in the Chapter and Cloister of the Frairy. They were buried there because before they lived with the frairs before their death. The *Conselho da Fazenda* met the routine expenses of the Frairy. On 21st November 1613, it decided to spend one hundred *pardaos* to pay the singers and to meet the other expenses of the Chapel during Lent. In another letter of 13th August 1615, it instructed the Viceroy, Dom Jeronimo de Azavedo to pay the religious in the *Estado* twenty five *xs* per head. The *gaoncars* helped the frairs to build the Parish Churches. In return for this, they were given several privileges on account of which they became influential and even misused their powers. The Judge of the High Court who was present at

the auctions of the paddy fields in Serula complained that the *gaoncars* helped the State to increase its revenue. In Mapusa and Colvale, they tried to take the best paddy fields. In Bardez, the land was mainly owned by the *Comunidades*. The Father of the Christians and parish priests depended on the contributions that were made by the *gaoncars*. They harassed the local people and forced them to contribute for the Church projects. Everytime they came to Church, the *gaoncars* were forced to pass a *nemo* in this regard. The frairs befriended the rich and influential *gaoncars* and forced them to coax the others to contribute towards their projects. Hence, a number of locals were against the frairs.¹⁸

The mission in Goa was stabilised as the Frairies and other Houses were provided with provisions and alms from Portugal while the Parish Churches were financed by the *gaoncars*, the *Camara Geral de Bardez* and by the faithful.

CONVERSIONS: The King helped the Catholic missionaries in the areas wherein they secured a foothold. The frairs gave importance to vertical conversions and concentrated on the adult catechumens. The European missionaries were against the local culture because it was new to their perception. Physical violence was not used because the Christian religion was against the use of crude physical force. Most of the *gentios* were converted with economic, social and psychological pressures.

The Parish Churches were administered by the parish priests who were helped by groups of people called the *Confrades*. The latter ensured the efficiency and continuity in their work because the frairs got transferred every three years. In a letter of December 1583, Fr. E. Texeira and Fr. João Crasso informed João Petro Maffeio that all the Churches in Bardez had *Confraria* that served the Churches by maintaining the chalices, vestments, candles and other necessities. On 9th June 1585, the Third Provincial Council passed nearly thirty decrees that were related to the conversion policies and the new converts. It gave importance to those who were already converted. The frairs admitted that baptism was a legal indication of the acceptance of the new faith. Hence, it had to be given only after the catechumens were instructed in the Christian doctrine. By 1587, the frairs converted nearly seven thousand people and the number increased thereafter. They held forty three General Baptisms at Reis Magos where four thousand, five hundred catechumens were received into the faith. Frei Manoel Pinto converted nearly one thousand, eight hundred people who were baptised at Reis Magos in less than a year. The Custos, Frei Jeronymo do Espirito Santo baptized two thousand people in four to five months. The ceremony was attended by the Viceroy, Francisco da Gama and the Archbishop, Alexio de Menezes. This indicated the success of the frairs. However, foreign travelogues testified to the contrary. In 1593, Linschoten reported that the

Hindu rites were still performed in the City of Goa, Bardez and Salcete. The conversion records also proved the contrary. In 1592, a curious and astonished frair inquired about how the Franciscans converted so many people in Bardez. The frairs stated that they achieved this by preaching to the people or by taking away the Hindu orphans from their relatives and baptising them. This indicated that the frairs did not use physical force. In the same year, Frei Manoel Pinto held three General Baptisms at Reis Magos at which one thousand, five hundred people were converted. The mass and rapid conversions were not favoured by the Fourth Provincial Council that was held in 1592. The latter emphasized on the proper instruction of those who offered themselves for baptisms. For this, the frairs were instructed to prepare a compendium on the Christian doctrine and to translate it into the local language. This was done to enable the Priors, Curates and Rectors to explain it to the local converts from the pulpit on Sundays and on feast days. The Council instructed the Preachers, Confessors and lay catechists to visit the parishioners occasionally. The General Statutes of 1595 also instructed the Rectors not to force the *gentios* to receive the faith, instead they were instructed to guide them to accept Christianity voluntarily. The frairs were advised to be cautious while converting the locals or accepting the orphans. The former were warned against the use of indiscreet and cudgel means. It must be noted that Bardez was located to the North of the Island of

Goa. It spanned over five *leguas* and was inhabited by several Brahmins who were the greatest obstacle to the conversion of the *gentios*. Hence, the frairs were advised to hold General Baptisms so that they could baptise all those who were converted on one day. This was an occasion of great pomp and solemnity that gave a feeling of identity to the converts and cowed down the opposition that was building up against the frairs. Between 1584 and 1590, the opponents argued that the frairs were not suited for the Parish Churches in Bardez because they concentrated on their Frairies. But the frairs were able to disprove them.¹⁹

The King of Portugal was happy with the reports that were sent to him about the progress of the frairs. This was clear from his letter to the Viceroy dated 11th January 1596, in which the King stated that the frairs worked diligently in Bardez and in other mission areas that were adjacent to it where they yielded a lot of fruit. In Pomburpa, the frairs brought up many orphans of Hindu parentage as the wards of the State. The frairs who worked outside Goa sent the converts to Goa to be baptized. Goa was the religious and political headquarters of the *Estado*. Moreover, conversions implied a major transformation in the life of the converts and an obliteration of all the earlier religious beliefs, cultural signs and social ties. After baptism, the converts bore the identity tag of the convert group. There were instances of interaction and synthesis but the changes were more obvious.

Hence, many of those who offered themselves for baptisms outside Goa were brought here so that the sacrament could be administered in a more familiar setting. In 1588, the frairs baptised Dom João de Austria, the King of Candia, his son, Dom Felipe and daughter, Fimata Devina Suri Ada. In 1591, they baptised Changali Cumara, the heir Prince of Jafna, his wife and daughters at Reis Magos. They were called Constantino, Dona Clara, Donna Isabel and Dona Maria respectively. The last one became the prioress of the Convent of Santa Monica. In 1594, Frei Manoel dos Santos baptised the King of *Sete Portas* and named him Dom Manuel. He died at Reis Magos. His nephew was called Dom Francisco and his son was called Dom João. The Princess and his wife were called Donna Antonia and Donna Brites. The King and Queen of Ceitavaca were converted in Goa and named Dom Felipe and Dona Catarina respectively. In the kingdom of Cotta, the frairs converted the two Princes and baptised them at the College of Reis Magos. The two Princes of Ceylon accompanied Frei Simao de Luz and Frei Manuel Pereira to Goa where they were baptised as Dom João and Dom Felipe. Dom João, the Prince of Colombo was brought to Reis Magos and baptised by the Commissary General, Frei Jeronimo do Espirito Santo. Dom Felipe, the grandson of Raju, the King of Ceitavaca was defeated by the Portuguese in an encounter.

He was taken to the Frairy in Goa and baptised. Between 1596 and 1597, he was sent to the College of Reis Magos and taught good habits, Christian doctrine, reading, writing and Latin. Later, the Council of Portugal sent him to Lisbon along with Andre Furtado. Dom Felipe pursued a course in Arts at Coimbra and remained there till his death.²⁰

The frairs realized that they were accused of neglecting their missionary duties because they did not report their achievements in Goa to Portugal and Rome. The other Religious Order discredited them and there were allegations that the frairs only chanted the services, sang in the choir and buried the dead. The Viceroy who was a friend of the Custos requested the frairs to keep the authorities informed about their accomplishments in the mission field. Moreover, the Province was about to be raised and the frairs had to prove that they were active in the mission. Hence, the frairs felt that they should restart the General Baptisms and celebrate them at the Frairy in Goa in the company of the Viceroy, Archbishop, nobles and other officers, so that it would be a grand testimony of their work. The Fifth Provincial Council also favoured conversions. From 1600, they sent periodic reports to Portugal and Rome in which they stated the number of converts and the year in which the General Baptisms were held. These reports are summarized below:

Year	Number of General Baptisms	Place where the General Baptisms were held.	Number of converts	Total number of Christians in Bardez
1602-1604	8	St. Francis Frairy, Goa	7000	32.000
1605-1608	4	St. Francis Frairy, Goa	2500	
1605-1614	12	St. Francis Frairy, Goa	8100	
1608-1611	4	St. Francis Frairy, Goa	3000	
1611-1614	4	St. Francis Frairy, Goa	11770	
1614-1619	3	St. Francis Frairy, Goa	2000	
1619	1	Moira	300	

All these baptisms were held during the tenure of the Commissary Generals, Frei Miguel de São Boaventura, Frei Antonio da Portuincula, Frei Francisco de Arruda, Frei Luiz da Conceição and Frei Sebastiao dos Santos. The statistics that were compiled during this time stated that there were nearly forty seven thousand converts in Bardez.

The frairs spent a lot of money on the General Baptisms. Between 1605 and 1608, the frairs spent nearly two thousand xs on the clothes of the catechumens who were converted at four separate ceremonies. A number of Brahmins, main *gaoncars*, *jocins* or the high priests of the Hindus and the *sinais* or teachers of the *gentios* were baptised. The Fifth Provincial Council instructed the religious to send all the Hindus above the age of twelve years to attend the Konkani preaching that was conducted in the Parish Churches on Sundays. The Custos instructed the frairs to send the converts to the House of Catechumens at São Boaventura, three days before the baptisms.

On the day of baptism, the latter dressed and taken to the Church in a procession with a palm leaf in their hands. They were accompanied by all the Rectors and frairs of the Province. The roads were decorated with carpets and covers. The Archbishop, Dom Alexio de Menezes tried to ensure that they were baptised by conviction. Those who were about to receive the sacrament were asked whether they wanted to be Christians by their own will. They had to answer this question positively. Only then, they were baptized in the presence of the Viceroy, nobles, Inquisitors and the frairs. The King who had hitherto expressed his dissatisfaction over such occasions was now impressed by the work that was undertaken by the frairs. In a Royal letter dated 23rd February 1605, he requested the Viceroy to congratulate Frei Miguel de São Boaventura for the General Baptisms that were held at Goa.²¹

Till then, the King was averse to the General Baptisms because they were not conducted as per the norms that were prescribed by the Provincial Councils. In a letter of 28th February 1605, the King had instructed the frairs to exercise care and vigilance while instructing the people. But, Frei Miguel was able to convince him on the same. On 15th December 1602, he held a baptism ceremony that continued for three days. Within the next three years, he held eight General Baptisms at which seven thousand people were converted. During his tenure, he requested

the frairs to preach the Christian doctrine in the local language and to catechise the catechumens. Thereafter, they were sent to the House of Catechumens and baptised voluntarily. Though the King approved of this, it involved a lot of expenditure. As the King was not in a position to meet the same, the frairs requested him to allot the proceeds of the big temples in the Islands of Goa to sustain the Churches, Frairies and the catechumens. The frairs served the *Estado*. They held the *Autos da Fé*, went abroad the ships and served as Chaplains to the garrisons. In a letter of 6th December 1608, it was stated that the frairs said mass on Sundays and on other Holy days aboard the *nau São Antonio*. However, communion was not distributed because the Pope did not permit consecration on the sea. Hence, it was natural that the State would reciprocate their help.²²

Between 1611 and 1616, the frairs did not make much progress because the State faced a crisis and the King was unable to send the resources that were needed to convert the people. But, after 1616 the situation improved. In 1616, Frei Sebastião dos Santos held three General Baptisms at the Frairy in Goa and baptised one hundred and twenty people. At another one, five hundred people were baptized. The King closely monitored the activities of the frairs through the Viceroy. In a letter of 30th January 1613, the King stated that the Viceroy, Lourenço da Tavora wrote to him about the progress of

Christianity in Goa. In another letter of 2nd March 1615, there was a reference to a list of Parishes and Houses that belonged to the frairs. The Viceroy periodically requested the King to inquire about the religious and to see what could be done to protect the Christians. It was customary for the frairs to send the reports on the mission to Portugal. In a letter of 23rd January 1610, the King informed the Viceroy that the frairs had sent the certificates that testified the General Baptisms that they conducted since the last two years and a list of the *gentios* that they converted. The King expressed his happiness over this and instructed the Viceroy to give the Custos all that he needed.²³

The frairs basically concentrated on the Brahmin castes. The authorities also instructed the frairs to hold the General Baptisms in the Parish Churches so as to cut down the expenses that were incurred on the grand public celebrations. This was clear from a letter of 20th November 1618, in which the King supported this provided it was conducted at the cost of the locals. One such baptism was held at Serula at which several villagers were converted. In 1619, three hundred Brahmins from the whole village of Moira accepted Christianity on the same day. The Provincial, Frei Luis da Conceição and Frei Miguel da Madre de Deus held a General Baptism at which one hundred and twenty catechumens were baptized. The Rector of Mapuça, Frei Madre de Deus decided to build a Church at Uccassaim.

When the frairs tried to acquire the land, one man refused to give his land because he did not profit from it. But, when he came to know that the frairs wanted to build a Church, he agreed. When the frairs were busy building the Church, the superstitious Brahmin *gentios* refused to listen to the Rector. The Rector met the chief *gaoncars* and told them to inform the villagers of Moira that he wanted to serve the village by converting the people. The frairs praised the villagers of Moira for being noblemen and gave them some books that would teach them about the true God, rectify their errors and destroy idolatry with the light of the faith. Two days later, the frairs held a discussion with them. After the discussion, all the villagers agreed become Christians on the condition that a Church was built in their village. The frair was very happy with their spirit and asked them to sign a register in which the villagers certified that they had volunteered to get baptised along with their wives and children. On the next day, the scribe prepared a public declaration that was signed by them. The Viceroy helped the frair and gave him the grants from the *Fazenda*. Within a short time, the Church was completed. Twice a week, the catechumens were sent to Mapusa to learn the Christian doctrine. Within four months, they were baptised at a ceremony that was conducted by the Provincial. Moira was the only village that was converted *en masse* and the only Parish in which the locals requested the frairs to give them their own Church.

The frairs made use of the written word and encouraged the people to read a book before mass. Since the frairs found it difficult to read the local language, they depended on the local Christians. The Archbishop, Dom Christovão de Lisboa offered a copy of the book that was written in the local language to a native Brahmin lady who knew how to read and write. She read it before the mass on Sundays and on feast days and she did it so well that everyone used to hurry to the Church to listen to her. The Provincial held another ceremony at the Frairy at which five hundred people were baptised. This was the last General Baptism that was held till 1632.²⁴

From this it is clear that the frairs used different methods to spread Christianity among the locals. The latter accepted it because they wanted to protect their own privileges as can be seen in the case of Moira. Many frairs, especially those who were expelled from the neighbouring mission stations devoted their time to study the local religion while others catered to forty thousand converts who lived there.

THE COLLABORATION WITH THE LOCAL PEOPLE: With reference to conversions, it is common for the historians to concentrate on the sequence of events that took place within a geographical area in a given span of time. However, religious beliefs cannot be preached in a vacuum. Traditional historians and chroniclers emphasize on a miraculous and sudden

conversion of the people. Within such a paradigm, the concept of adaptation was ignored. It was virtually impossible for a non European group to stabilize its mission in a new land without building up an alliance with the Brahmins, older *gaoncars* and others who occupied a high social position. The frairs collaborated with the locals to protect the interests of the *Estado* and thereby kept the system running efficiently. Through this socio-religious parentage, the frairs created bonds of affiliation and clientage.²⁵

Salvador Pinto or Santu Sinay, an inhabitant of Candolim was born in a Hindu family. He was taken away by the frairs and educated at Reis Magos. Since he belonged to the *nobre de genção*, he was respected by the local people. He helped the frairs to convert several people. In return for his noble service, he was granted a grave in perpetuity in the transept of the Church in Candolim. Many local Indian Princes and benefactors who died in Goa were also buried in the main Frairy. However, the locals elite did not always respond positively to the frairs. On the contrary, they resisted the efforts that were made by the frairs. Such incidents are clearly mentioned in the chronicles. When the Rector of Mapusa was build the Church, some demons with dreadful intentions tried to drive the frairs out by flinging stones at the main alter. In the same Parish Church, a dreadful cobra called *deosa negra magoda* threatened the Church but it was

driven out by the priests who conducted a procession of the Blessed Sacrament. As such, the frairs were the best defenders of their mission but their efforts to defend the Christian faith was generally given a miraculous colour. It is surprising to note that, thereafter, the *gaoncars* of Mapusa helped the Rector to build a Church there. The frairs primarily concentrated on the Parishes and it was impossible for them to work without the active support of the *gaoncars* because the Parishes were located in the villages. Some villages were inhabited by the Brahmins who tried to preserve their identity and status. They collaborated with the frairs, permitted them to build Churches and even changed their faith. The best example of one such village that was converted *en masse* was Moira. The Rector of Mapusa who was busy building a Church in Uccassaim was invited by some Christian *gaoncars* to attend the auction of the lands in Moira. The Rector attended the auction and in the process he won over the goodwill of the people. He preached to them about God and taught them to pray. After two days, he spoke to them. They all agreed to become Christians and requested the to build a Church for them so that they did not have to go to Mapusa to receive the instructions. A local Brahmin lady helped the frairs. When the building work was in progress, nearly three hundred men and women were instructed. Many of the Parish Churches were completed with the help of the *gaoncars*. Moreover, the King and the Viceroy tried to use the alms that were provided by

the *gaoncars* to conduct the General Baptisms that involved a huge expenditure. The benefactors like Luisa da Madre de Deus donated their houses, money and estates to the frairs to carry on the mission. This indicates that the frairs had several local collaborators who enabled them to stabilize the mission in Goa. ²⁶

AGAINST THE OTHER RELIGIOUS ORDERS: The frairs maintained good relations with the Dominicans and the Augustinians but not with the Jesuits. The main cause for the conflict that took place during this time, was the Professed House of Bom Jesus. Between 1584 and 1590, the frairs tried to convert the House into a Nunnery for the Poor Clares. In a letter of 15th December 1585, the Custos, Frei Gaspar de Lisboa questioned the authorities if the Jesuits had taken the permission of the Pope to build a House. The latter was aware that Pope Clement II had stated that no religious could build any Houses without securing a Brief from the Pope. Frei Gaspar argued that the new House was illegal as the Jesuits constructed it without a Papal Brief. In letter dated 18th December 1585, the Jesuit L. Pinheiro informed the General of the Jesuits Order, Fr. Aquaviva that there were differences between the Franciscans and the Jesuits because Frei Lisboa felt that a Professed House was not needed in the City of Goa. The Loyolians were accused of usurping the missionary rights of the frairs in the City of Goa and for being powerful, excessively rich and troublesome. The

Provincial of the Jesuits, Fr. Valignano had his own arguments. In his letter of 25th December 1585, Valignano made it clear to the General that the Jesuits needed a Professed House because the other House that was small and that it was used as a Church where masses and feasts were celebrated and people were buried. The latter bought some houses and gardens around the House with the help of some benefactors, send three Jesuits to occupy the land provisionally, acquired some additional land by giving the local inhabitants the land that the Society owned elsewhere and got the support of the Viceroy, the Archbishop, the Municipality and the *Misericordia*. On 13th January 1586, he laid the foundation stone of the House on the Rua dos Galos.²⁷

The frairs did not stop opposing the Jesuits. In his letter of 13th January 1587, the Franciscans suggested that it should be converted into a Convent for the nuns of Santa Clara. The King considered the request and in his letter of 6th February 1587, he directed the Viceroy to look into the matter. But, the Viceroy could not do much. In his letter of 20th November 1587, Valignano informed Fr. Aquaviva that the problem had aggravated and that one frair went to Portugal to request the King to stop the work. Moreover, the Chapter and the Custos decided to get a Papal Brief against the Jesuits. The frairs had a lot of confidence because the authorities in Portugal were close to the Franciscan General. Frei Gaspar complained to the King that

a new House could cause a lot of inconvenience to the frairs as they were dependent on alms. The frairs wanted him to convert it into a Convent for the nuns of St. Clara as the latter would provide shelter to the orphans and poor girls who had lost their parents on the ships and who lived in the City of Goa. The Viceroy supported this and in his letter of 10th December 1588, he added; "these girls had no help whatsoever". But Valignano refused to agree with this. In his letter of 4th December 1587, he informed the King that he had started building the House with the permission of the Archbishop, Viceroy, *Camara, Misericordia*, authorities of the City of Goa and sixty to seventy inhabitants of the City. He made it very clear that the Jesuits did not infiltrate into the land that belonged to the frairs because there were three roads in between the two Houses. He was sure that even the Court would not be able to stop their work. The Custos was mainly concerned with the alms but Fr. Valignano argued that in 1576, the frairs received thirty three and a half *pipas* of wine, forty two *cantaros* of oil and other provisions that were worth eighty thousand *reis*. In addition to this, the frairs received mass stipends, stipends for funerals and burials that were conducted in their Churches and alms from the devout Christians who lived in the vicinity.²⁸

The Viceroy was unable to take any action and referred the matter to the King. In his letter of 6th February 1589, he made it clear that the work had progressed and although the frairs felt much, they could not oust the Jesuits. He blamed the Custos for all the problems and stated that he was unable to conform with the other religious who worked in the City of Goa. In his letter of 6th February 1589, the King wrote to the *Camara* that a recluse House for the noble women and the daughters of the Royal officers who died in service was not needed. The response in favour of the Jesuits was favourable. In a letter of 5th October 1589, Fr. Lobo de Abreu wrote to Fr. Aquaviva that many authorities alongwith the King had realized that a Professed House was needed for the service of God. But, the Custos was determined to build a Convent for the nuns and forced the King to order an inquiry on the differences that took place over the Professed House. In the meanwhile, the Jesuits completed it and used it as a House of probation for the priests who had taken the vows. Though the Jesuits used some questionable methods, nobody dared to criticize them openly because their power and influence with the Home Government was dangerously great so much so that the Viceroy believed that if he had them for his friends he had no need of any other agents to help him but if they were his enemies, he would have the whole world against them. As the frairs lost the case, the Augustinians carried forth their

mission and started building the Convent of Santa Monica for the nuns.²⁹

The above indicated that the relations between the Religious Orders were not cordial especially when it came to the survival and sustenance of their Houses.

THE REACTIONS OF THE NATIVES TO CONVERSIONS: The early missionaries wooed the local population into the new faith. By the seventeenth century, the frairs possessed Religious Houses in Tiswadi and Bardez. Both, S. G. Pereira and Henry Heras opine that the frairs did not make use of forcible methods to convert the people. Therefore, they faced little or no defiance from the local people. In fact, the resilience of the local converts depended on the encounters that they had with the foreign missionaries and the methods that they used to convert them and isolate them from the indigenous cult and devotion.³⁰

The converts who were hitherto in charge of the land were appointed as local officers under the Portuguese. In many cases, the former took advantage of their position to appropriate the land and records that belonged to their co-villagers. In Calangute, Venaique set fire to the temporary Church to destroy the records of certain lands that he had appropriated in the village. The local people resisted the attempts that were made by the frairs to raise religious structures in their villages. One such

reaction took place in Sangolda. The Captain of Bardez, Diogo Lobo, his brother, Frei Manuel de Souza and Frei João de São Mathias helped Frei Miguel de São Boaventura to acquire the site to build the Church of San Diego. They wanted to build the Church on the site of an old temple that was dedicated to Calemdevta. Accordingly, they held negotiations with the Christian villagers who agreed to the proposal. But, after the *Angelus*, a gentle young lady who was returning home was frightened by the God. The *gentios* rushed to the site. When they learnt that the frairs had decided to built a new Church on the site of the temple, they were agitated and the women and children burst out crying. Since it was nearly nine o'clock in the night, the Captain went back home, Frei Manuel went to Candolim and Frei João left for Nagoa. After they left, the demon entered the body of a local widow who was the sister of a convert, Alvaro da Costa because he wanted the frairs to be thrown out of the village. Such incidents cannot be sidelined because they forced the people to react. A similar incident took place in Mapusa. The Church of St. Jerome was stoned by some mischievous spirits who also harassed the new Christians. One day, after mass stones were flung on the pulpit. The people began to flee the Church in fear but no Christian was struck. The Rector, Frei Luis da São Bernardino was hurt. He did not want the converts to suffer any more. Hence, he requested the Rector of Nagoa to have a procession of the Holy Sacrament in

the Church so that the devil would leave. On doing this, the tribulations stopped. Many of these incidents were in keeping with the Hindu traditions. As such, it can be stated that they were the reactions of the *gentios* who wanted the frairs to vacate their villages and spare their temples. The frairs also fabricated such myths because they wanted to elicit a favourable opinion from their Superiors and Patron. Nevertheless, they indicate that evangelisation was not carried out without any reaction from the local people.

There were several cases wherein the frairs tried to prove that the locals who resisted the new faith would be punished by the True God. The Rector of Mapusa, Frei Antonio da Piedade was called to confess an old sick man who was swollen and was about to die. His wife promised to offer wax candles to save her husband's life. The man was cured in a few days. This was one instance that showed that God helped the new Christians. It is interesting to note that the frairs made use of the local folk cult in this regard. Some *gentios* got converted to escape the punishments that were levied on them by the State. In the same Parish, there was a respected Hindu who used false testimonies to accuse the frairs of serious faults. The frairs struggled to counter the accusations. Finally, the Hindu was proved to be wrong and when he was about to be punished he agreed to get converted alongwith his family. In the Parish of Salvador do

Mundo, Serula a local Brahmin had been converted since the last twelve years. But, he continued to practice the Hindu customs and offered rice, coconuts and other things to the Gods. The devil appeared to him in a human form and taught him to use some medicines that would cure the sick. But, when he used the natural medicines on the sick, he could not cure them. In desperation, he went to the Church of Salvador and sought the help of the Patron. In Serula, there was another Brahmin who was nearly a hundred years old. He had three sons, two of whom were converted. The Hindu son was afraid that his father would become a Christian. The friars met the old man and instructed him in the Christian faith. But, as he was brought up in the *terra firme*, he worshipped the idols in a temple and preferred to live with his son who was not converted. The Rector, Frei Tome Toscano who was in the *terra firme* sent his companion to call him. Thereafter, the old man approached the Rector and requested him to convert him. After him, many wanted to be converted. But, the Rector insisted that they should be instructed and catechised first. After the old man was instructed, he was baptised and brought to the land that was inhabited by many Christians. This indicates that many people were forced to get converted because they were unable to defend their own religion. The Christian missionaries were well acquainted with the Hindu customs and traditions. Hence, they did not find it difficult to disprove their tenets and beliefs. The converts were given a new

identity and their names were recorded in a special register. In 1597, the *lingua do Christo* of Serula, Manuel Rodrigues de Velotim prepared a register of the people who were baptised in Serula. The first to be converted were the Velosos of Quitala. Serula, was an important village that was inhabited by the Brahmins who were reluctant to get converted. But subsequently, they did so in order to preserve their old privileges. The frairs faced several problems to acquire the sites for their Churches because the local people did not want to give away their lands for a religion that was counter to their faith. Since the Church of St. Jerome, Mapusa was too small to accommodate all the parishioners, the frairs decided to divide the Parish and build a Church at Uccasaim. A Hindu man refused to sell the land at any cost although it was full of a few thistles and bushes. The Rector, Frei Miguel de Madre de Deus convinced him in such a way that the *gentio* came to the frair and donated the land to him.³¹

The Portuguese conversion policies changed from time to time. In the seventeenth century, they began to oppress the poor converts in Bardez, Salcete and Tiswadi. This, along with the policy of forcible conversions did not go unhampered. In 1614, the local Christian and Hindu chiefs decided to kill all the Rectors in Bardez. However, the plot was brought to the notice of the Portuguese by an old woman. In some villages, the Hindus

got converted for their own benefit. In Moira, the five Brahmin *vangors* offered themselves for conversion *en masse*. Their Gods were transferred to Mulgao and a Church was raised in the village. This was a cold calculation by the shrewd *Moidekars* to preserve their age old customs and usages. The frairs converted the local inhabitants who lived in the areas that were under their jurisdiction. They tried their best to protect them from the *gentios*. In a letter of 31st January 1620, it was stated that the greatest threat to Christianity were the new Christians who were influenced by the rites and superstitions of the *gentios*. Though the latter were not permitted within their mission field, the Brahmins and *jogis* entered from the land of the infediles and aroused the sentiments of the converts. This was confirmed in another letter of 7th March 1619. The new converts were placed under the *Pai dos Christaos* who was sustained by the *gaoncars* of Bardez. The *Pai dos Christaos* was in charge of the local converts. Hence, he often misused his power. In a letter of 5th March 1620, there was a reference to Frei Simão de Nazareth who was so rich and powerful and that he had splendid repasts and properties that were acquired at the cost of the local inhabitants, much to the disgust of the older and serious frairs who called him the Viceroy of Bardez. The main *gaoncars* and inhabitants of Bardez were unhappy with him and they complained to about him to the Custos. The Custos instructed the *gaoncars* to sign a petition so that they would get justice. The

latter signed the petition, submitted it and returned. Frei Simão could not attend the proceedings as he had to go to the South. The Court did not consider this and decided to dismiss him. This indicated the exorbitance of the religious and the capacity of the frairs to influence the local converts. The local people who hitherto helped the Viceroy and the Captain complained against the exorbitance of Frei Simão. But, the latter did not tolerate this. The Christians were severely punished. Some were taken to the galleys, others were sent to the Casa de Polvora and yet others were sent home with a rope around their neck. Frei Simão caused a lot of trouble and shame to the religious. Hence, the Viceroy realized that he had to take action because the case had been lost in favour of the locals. In an undated document, the Viceroy made it clear that no frair or *Pai dos Christaos* could send anyone to the galleys without his permission. The Court and the Archbishop also accepted the fact that the riches and prejudices of the frair had forced the *gaoncars* to go against him.³²

The above reactions are taken from the chronicles that are biased in favour of the frairs. But, even these indicate that the locals did not receive the faith easily. There was a great amount of reluctance that has been mystified by the contemporary works.

EDUCATION: The frairs established a House of Studies where the novices were trained for priesthood. Here, they were taught different courses but the syllabus was unorganised and based on the pattern that was followed in Europe.

In 1593, the Statutes of the Order stated that the Preachers and Confessors had to be of a Portuguese decent. They had to be virtuous, learned and forty years old. They had to be selected by the Guardian, Vicar of the House or by some other official. Each Province had to have a place where the novices could be taught Philosophy, Humanities, Latin, Arts and Theology. The College of Reis Magos already existed in Bardez. In a letter of 20th November 1589, Fr. Manuel Pinto wrote to the King, Dom Felipe I that a frair lived there and helped the Portuguese to convert the main *infieis* of the *terra firme*. The young orphan boys were also brought and trained in the same College. During the tenure of the Captain, Diogo Lobo de Sousa the local Christians who belonged to noble families were brought up and instructed in the College of Reis Magos. In 1595, the frairs decided to separate the Houses of Studies from the Catechumenates. In 1595, the Hospice of Desemparados was founded for the catechumens of Bardez. In a letter of 1595, the King appreciated the good work that was carried out by this House and promised to provide the necessary help. It was build close to a mosque and its doorway has an Arabic inscription.

The House was affiliated to the Frairy of St. Francis. The *Pai dos Christaos* of Bardez also lived there. Between 1595 and 1597, Frei Jeronimo do Espirito Santo extended the College of Reis Magos and separated the College from the Seminary because he did not want the orphans, frairs and catechumens in the same place. In a letter of 8th January 1598, he informed the Archbishop that this was necessary for the proper formation of the frairs. The inscription that read *Collegio dos Reis Magos* was retained there. The House of catechumens was called the *Seminario do São Jeronimo* or an *Orfantiofio*. It could accommodate sixty boys including the locals who were taught reading, Christian doctrine, music, hymns, good manners, writing and Latin. In 1595, there were nearly eighty students who were instructed by fifteen frairs. Each class had a Master. The orphan boys had to attend classes for two hours in the morning and in the afternoon. Many of the orphans boys, especially the Brahmins were trained to become secular priests. They were authorised to serve the Archdiocese. The catechumens were later transferred to Monte de Guirim.

In 1602, Frei Miguel de São Boaventura came to Goa as the Commissary General of the São Thomé Province. He knew that the Poor Clares would not be permitted in Goa because the Jesuits had already occupied their Professed House. He decided to use the money that was collected from the Tertiaries in

Bassein to build a separate House of Studies This House figured in the chart of Pietro Della Valle. It was intended to House two hundred brothers and frairs. The foundation stone was laid by the Archbishop, Dom Alexio de Menezes on 1st December 1604 in the presence of several dignitaries. The Custos got a letter from His Holiness. In the same year, a College was founded in the Parish of Pomburpa where young boys were taught reading and writing.³³

The College of São Boaventura was an elegant edifice and a center for ecclesiastical studies in which the novices were prepared to receive the Holy Orders. It was inaugurated on 13th July 1618. At that time, fifteen frairs lived there. The main subjects included Philosophy, Theology and Konkani. The novices were also taught the art of preaching. The ecclesiastical studies at São Boaventura were well organized but the facilities were restricted only to the Portuguese. In a letter of 29th February 1605, the Archbishop made it clear that no *mesticos* should be admitted there. They had to be sent to the House of Catechumens in the College of Reis Magos. The latter was a House of formation for the novices of the Order. In 1585, it had one Lecturer for Grammar and four for Philosophy, Konkani and Theology. The novices had to follow the rules that were similar to Santa Fé. They had a fixed schedule. After singing the Psalms, they had to go to the refractory with great modesty. The

collegians had to maintain discipline and read religious books. They had to learn the hymns and other prayers. Three hours were devoted to study and classes were conducted till five. During Lent; they had to maintain discipline and fast for three days in a week namely, on Tuesday, Thursday and Friday. They had to clean the dormitories, carry water and do other domestic work. They had to follow the monastic rules. In the morning, they had to attend mass and sing the *ladanhias* of Our Lady with the *Salve Regina*. On the feast days of the Order, they had to get up early and go to the choir where they sang the *matinas*. They had to hear mass everyday and confess once a month. Thrice a month, there was a procession of the Holy Sacrament. The College of Reis Magos had a Rector who was in charge of the collegians, grammar teacher, master, lay brother, Judge who provided training in the Christian doctrine and a Vicar of the Christians who confessed, distributed communion and taught the Christian doctrine. In 1595, a Chapter was convened at Goa at which Frei Gaspar de São Mathias requested the Minister General, Frei Francisco Gonzaga to send trained Italian or Spanish Lectors to Goa. The General agreed to send the Lectors. He also suggested that the Custos should select four frairs from the Custody at the Chapter and send them for higher studies at São Boaventura, Portugal or São João de Evangelista, Algarve. The first batch of students were selected by the Minister General himself and included two clerics from India and Portugal

respectively. This partly solved the problem of supplying trained Preachers and Lectors. In a letter of November 1587, Frei Gaspar reported to the King that eight frairs had cleared the examination that was held for the Preachers.³⁴

The College of São Boaventura was founded as per the Rule of St Francis. The frairs like Antonio de Lisboa and Boaventura had emphasized on education. The General Chapter of Valladolid (1565) approved the Statutes that gave importance to the studies of the friars so that they could instruct and help the converts. This was also emphasized by the General Statutes at Toledo, Pope Martin V, and the General Statutes of the Cismontana family. The frairs were instructed to pursue a course of studies so that they could be qualified in grammar and latin, serve as Confessors and Preachers and take up studies in Theology and Dogmatics. The General Congregation of Toledo (1583) approved of a regular course of study in the Frairy of St. Francis where there was a *lento do primo* and one for theology. In 1585, eight students pursued their studies in Theology, Philosophy and Arts. In 1595, a post of a teacher was created. But, the frairs were unable to handle the work in the cloister as well as the divine services like the Vespers, *matinas*, Conventuals masses etc. Hence, Frei Miguel de São Boaventura decided to separate the House of Studies.³⁵ But, the Viceroy felt that a General House of Studies was not practical. In a letter of 24th

December 1613, the Viceroy informed the King that the local boys studied with the novices and that the novices could not adjust to them as the former were proud and selfish. Moreover, religious education was not beneficial for the local boys as the educated boys were neither capable of bearing arms nor of tilling the land. The Viceroy suggested that such boys should not be admitted because the people of the land wanted their boys to study either to serve as officers or clerks. The Viceroy felt that if they were educated, only a few Brahmins would be employed and the others would be unemployed. Moreover, the latter would ignore the responsibilities of the land and there would be no people to carry out the other jobs in the State. Hence, he was against the Houses of Study and Colleges and even suggested that the one in Cochin and in the City of Goa had to be done away with. But, the King and the frairs were against this and went ahead with their plans. In a letter of 26th January 1614, the Viceroy informed the King that the Custos, Frei Luiz da Conceição informed him that the College of São Boaventura was built since the last eight to nine months and received the *ordinarios*. Within one year, they had many Preachers who were well qualified. In a letter of 2nd March 1615, the King instructed the Viceroy to send a report on the College of the São Boaventura and to give him information of the number of students and religious who inhabited the House. The King was very particular about the religious. In a Royal letter of 2nd March

1615, the King requested the authorities to review the Houses of Study with a lot of consideration. In a letter of 9th January 1616, the Viceroy stated that there were fifty frairs at Reis Magos. The Seminary had several *mesticos*, local boys and students from the other Colleges like St. Paul who opted for admissions there. Frei Paulo da Trindade served as a Lector in Theology at the College of São Boaventura where he completed a work on the history of the Order. Frei Sebastião dos Santos taught Holy Theology there.³⁶

By this time, the Houses of Study were well established and conducted courses for the frairs, catechumens and orphans. Separate Colleges were founded for the frairs where they were trained for priesthood. But, there was a general tendency to keep the natives out of the Religious Orders.

CHURCH BUILDING: During this phase, conversions progressed at a rapid pace and the authorities were obliged to grant a parochial status to many Rectories that were founded in Bardez. New Parish Churches were also raised to cater to the spiritual needs of the new converts.

The increase in the number of Churches is evident from the Custodial Chapter List of 1585. There were seven Parish Churches in Bardez including Aldona, Siolim and Nerul. Bardez was made up of twelve *deshas* and the main ones were Serula, Assagao, Pomburpa, Calangute, Aldona, Candolim, Nachinola

and Saligao. Except the last two villages, the frairs had built Churches in all these villages that were largely inhabited by the Brahmins. The Churches that were recently completed did not figure in the list because they were not granted a parochial status by the King of Portugal. The Parish Churches in Bardez were placed under the jurisdiction of the Church of Reis Magos that was the center of the Franciscans in Bardez. This is clear from a document of Alex Afonso dated 1583. Between 1585 and 1590, it is difficult to analyse the achievements of the frairs because there are hardly any documents that give us such details. In his letter the Custos, Frei Gaspar de Lisboa stated that the frairs extended their Spiritual Conquests upto one thousand leagues and converted large areas. In 1585, one hundred and twenty three priests, twenty two lay frairs, fifty four students and several choir frairs worked in the mission field. The frairs realized that their missionary activities were carried out in an haphazard manner. At the General Chapter, they decided that the Custos and parish priests should be encouraged to build Houses and Rectories in the areas where the religion was stabilized and where the converts lived. This was to be done to ensure that the converted souls did not revert back to their old religion. Frei Andre de Santa Maria raised two or three Rectories in one year. Frei Manoel Pinto was also actively involved in this work. By 1595, the frairs tried to channelize their missionary activities in the right direction. This is clear from a letter of 19th December

1595, in which Fr. Thomas Stephens, the Jesuit Superior, informed the General that they prepared the map of the missions in Bardez and Salcete so that they could have a better understanding of the villages. The *Tabua dos grades* of 1595, listed twelve Parish Churches in Bardez. The King was happy with the progress. In his letter of 11th January 1596 the King stated that he was pleased to learn that the frairs were working diligently in Bardez and in the adjacent lands by converting the *gentios*.³⁷

The Parish Church in Siolim was built in 1568. But, it was not recognised as a Regular House till 1585. In 1600, the site at which it was located was found to be unsatisfactory and the Church needed extensive repairs. Since, there was no Church in the main village, the villagers had to go to the military chapel at Tropa. The frairs decided to build a new Church there. They demolished the old Church and began to collect alms for the new structure. As they were occupied with these plans, two Portuguese merchants who had been shipwrecked came to the Fonde Poim along the Chapora River. When they saw the frairs collecting alms, they approached them to fulfil the vow that they had made to St. Anthony. They had promised to build a Church if they were saved from the peril. A site was chosen at Marna where there was a temple that was dedicated to Shri Dev Vetal, the *gramadevta*. This place called Sant Antonichem Bhattem. It

was chosen because it was closer to the place where the Christians lived and would enable the frairs to concentrate on the conversion of the remote villages. In 1600, the frairs raised a new Church which was the only one in Bardez that was built in the Corinthian style. Since the Church was built on the ruins of an old temple, the frairs had to encounter several problems. In 1600, when the construction work was in progress a big serpent that resembled a Basilisk dragon who had the power to kill men with its sight was seen crawling in the residence of the frairs. The latter was made of bamboo and covered with palm leaves. Frei Braz who directed the work was disturbed and decided to shift the site. But, he was saved by the Saint. The frairs generally gave such miraculous explanations to cover up their un-Christian deeds. As the number of frairs increased, the Superiors felt that it was necessary to extend the main Frairy by acquiring the Houses and shops that were contiguous to the old Frairy. This could not be done without the permission of the authorities. Accordingly, they submitted an application to the local authorities. But, the Governor was not keen on this mainly because there were too many religious in the City of Goa. Hence, the frairs directly appealed to the King. In a letter of 6th February 1589, the King approved of their plans and the frairs were allowed to acquire the lands that surrounded the Frairy. Frei Manoel Pinto bought the land and completed the work with Royal assistance. The Parish Houses in Bardez built with the help of

the benefactors. In 1595, the Church of Pomburpa was built by Louisa da Madre de Deus and her mother Dona Anna de Santa Maria who belonged to the Third Order of St. Francis of Assisi. By a testimony of 11th June 1604, it was handed over to the frairs. Pomburpa, lay within the jurisdiction of Olaulim and included Vellotim. This village was inhabited by the Portuguese nobles who moved on horsebacks. The *fidalgo* outlook of this village was reflected in the local dictum, "*Goribancheam porank him Pomburpechim festam noim*". Another feast that reflected the spirit of the nobility was that of Reis Magos. On the feast day, a holiday was declared. The feast was attended by the Viceroy . The celebrations included a gun salute and a guard of honour. The servants and other inhabitants also took part in the celebrations.³⁸

By 1591, Christianity progressed towards the North of Bardez. In 1591, Colvale was raised as an independent Rectory. The Church was dedicated to Stigmata of the Patriarch of the Order and catered to the villages of Colvale, Camurlim and parts of Revora and Nadora. A number of people were converted and the expenses of the Church were borne by the *Comunidade*. In 1599, the Brief of Clemente VIII was discussed by the Congregation of Cardinals and the images of Stigmatas were erected in the Churches. Benedict X permitted the frairs to raise Stigmatas in the Churches of Reis Magos and St. Francis.

On 27th February 1566, the *Camara Geral*, representative of the Governor, Captain, Baltasar Lobo e Sousa and the *Pai dos Cristaões*, Fr. Bartolomeu Lopes worked out the terms of an anti Hindu notification that was to be made applicable to the villages of Corlim and Cuchelim. Based on this, the Viceroy, Dom Antão de Noronha drew up a *Provisão* which decreed that no temple should be built or repaired in Bardez without his permission and that its income should be used for the pious works that were carried out by the frairs. In 1594, the Church of Mapusa was built on the ruins of the Tulsai temple. It was dedicated to São Jeronimo. Mapusa was the centre of the *Conselho de Bardez* and was bound by Colvale in the North, Guirim in the South, Tivim, Uccasaim and Moira in the East and Parra, Assagao and Siolim in the West. Some believe that it was built on the ruins of Shantadurga temple. The Church is built in the Eastern style and is a place of veneration for many Hindus.³⁹

The General Chapter of 1595, permitted the frairs to construct the Parish Churches. Frei Jeronymo do Espirito proposed that the abandoned Hindu *mutt* in Calangute could be converted into a Church. In the same year, the frairs raised a temporary structure of palm leaves on the ruins of the Shantadurga temple and dedicated it to St. Alexius. It was intended to cater to four thousand converts. Apart from Parish

Churches, the frair also raised a House at Monte de Guirim that was located at the center of the Province. In 1596, they raised an *Ermida* dedicated to Nossa Senhora de Saude on the ruins of a mosque. This had a Hospice and served as a *Casa dos Catechumenos* that was affiliated to the Frairy of St. Francis. It has a statue of the Povorello of Taumaturgo.

The official report of Bardez stated that the Church of São Thomé, Aldona was raised in 1596 on the ruins of the Bhagvati Temple in Coimbra Vaddo. The Christian *gaoncars* of that village had good relations with the frairs. They encouraged the frairs to work in their village and offered one *jono* to the Saint. By the end of the sixteenth century, Church building activities reached a peak. In 1658, John Huygen Von Linschoten stated; "...on the Northern side of the Cuttie and Island of Goa, layeth the land of Bardez which was high and under what land the *Portingales do e Anker* safely out of all danger...". In the City of Goa, the Frairy was completed. It was able to house one hundred religious including the Provincial, Guardian, frairs, clerics and novices who were needed to cater to the Parish Churches and other Religious Houses. The Chaplains and supply frairs who could be sent on any expedition or mission also lived there. The Church of the Holy Spirit that was contiguous to the Frairy was completed in 1521 but was blessed on 2nd August 1602 by the Archbishop Dom Alexio de Menezes.

In the seventeenth century, the frairs concentrated on spreading the mission towards the North West of Bardez. They raised Parish Churches and named them after the frairs. In 1602, most of the Brahmins of the Atri gotra from Anjuna were converted. The Church of San Miguel was raised there during the tenure of Frei Miguel de São Boaventura. It was intended to cater to the converts. In 1604, Frei Miguel raised the Church of São Diego to cater to the villagers of Sangolda and Guirim. It was built with the alms that were collected from the villagers and was entitled to two *jonos* from both the *Comunidades*. The villagers of this Parish were not firm in the faith. Between 1604 and 1614, Sebastião Manrique visited Goa and left an account of sumptuous Churches and Monasteries that were built by the monastic Orders. The frairs had twenty three *Domini Doctrinales* in Bardez including Chapels and thirteen Parishes that are referred to in a Royal letter of 14th February 1611. The rapid Church building activities coincided with the accusations that were leveled against the frairs and the support they got from the Portuguese and the converts. The rapid extension of the mission impressed the Viceroy who could ensure the security of Bardez. In a letter of 24th December 1613, the frairs defended their claims to stay in Bardez and refuted all charges that were leveled against them. But, the King was afraid that rapid conversions

would affect the security of the State. In a letter of 18th December 1615, the Viceroy warned the frairs that the King forbade the erection of Monasteries and Churches without his permission. This ban came in the wake of the attempts that were made by the local people to resist such moves. Nevertheless, Church building activities continued and many Parish Churches were built and extended to accommodate the converts. In 1618, the Church of Santa Isabel was raised and dedicated to the Queen of Portugal.⁴⁰

The endeavours that were made by the frairs had the desired effect. In a letter of 1st April 1615, the Viceroy informed the King that the frairs conducted the divine services and converted the unfaithful with zeal and determination. In another letter of 15th February 1614, he wrote to the King that the frairs protected the converts and propagated the faith. There is a reference to the Churches of Santa Isabel, Ucassaim and São Christovão, Tivim that were located at the extreme end of the Portuguese dominions in Bardez. Frei Sebastiao dos Santos was actively involved in spreading the Christian faith in Bardez. The *gaoncars* and the *Camara* were favourable towards the frairs. In a letter of 2nd February 1618, the King referred a the Representation in which, the *Camara de Bardez* requested him to favour the frairs who baptized the *gentios*. The King acceded to this appeal and instructed the Viceroy to follow the directions of

27th February 1618. The Viceroy reported that all the help was given to the frairs to conduct the General Baptisms. The Archbishop was placed in charge of implementing the Orders of the King. In a letter of 16th January 1621, the King expressed satisfaction over the fact that his Orders were carried out.⁴¹ Through such efforts, the frairs succeeded in stabilizing the mission in Goa at a time when the mission outside Goa was threatened by powerful enemies.

THE RELATIONS WITH THE SECULAR AUTHORITIES: Between 1561 and 1600, Portugal was governed by three Kings Dom Sebastião, Dom Henry and Dom Felipe. A series of reforms were initiated in Portugal that were subsequently extended to Goa. The frairs encountered several difficulties with the Portuguese officials. This was because the frairs kept a watch on their activities and sent the complaints to Portugal. In a letter of 20th November 1589, Frei Manoel Pinto complained to the King against the Governor, Manoel de Sousa Coutinho. He was accused of accepting bribes, allowing superstitious practices and preventing the conversion of the people of Bardez. It must be noted that the two had arrived in the same boat and were closely associated with each other. It was customary for the Viceroys to stay at the College of Reis Magos. Some of them who died in Goa, were also buried there. In 1581, the Viceroy, Dom Luis da Ataide died and was buried in the in the niche of his brother in the

Church of Reis Magos. In a letter of 14th December 1595, Frei Gaspar de Lisboa described Reis Magos as a House where the out going Viceroy's lived for many months till the ships left for Portugal. The Franciscan Colleges in Goa and Cochin were entitled to Royal stipends that were sent to the Viceroy in the form of a *Regimento*. The General Statutes of 1595 clearly stated that the friars could neither own Friaries nor Houses in the Custody. They could not impose fines on the Christians or Hindus. Moreover, they could not accept or spend the alms on their own accord. Every Rector had to maintain an account book that stated the Income and Expenditure in his respective Parish. This had to be signed by the parish priest and by the one who maintained the accounts of the Parish Church. This was despised by many locals who hitherto benefited from the same. The Custos, Frei Miguel de São Boaventura summoned Venaique, a Hindu from Calangute who had forged some signatures and appropriated considerable wealth in Calangute. The fraud was unearthed by the parish priest of Calangute who consulted the *Livro dos Baptizados* that were kept in the Church. To hide his crime, Venaique set the Church that was made of coconut leaves on fire and destroyed the books. But soon, he felt sick and the people came to know about his crime. They immediately burnt his house in Camorlim and reported the matter to the Custos. This was one instance that indicates that the dominant classes exploited the converts and appropriated their wealth. The poor

converts reacted to this by approaching the parish priests who were their benefactors. The latter could handle such cases because they were familiar with the local laws. In case they could not, they directed the cases to the Custos who had a lot of experience in the Goa mission. The Viceroys maintained cordial relations with the frairs as they were aware that the latter had close relations with Portugal. Mathias de Albuquerque was a benefactor of the Order. He donated a brocade with his Court of Arms to the Guardian of St. Francis, bought a row of Houses for the Frairy, and gave six hundred xs, a big gold plated door rest and many silver chalices for the Frairy. In return for this, Frei Luis Veloso felicitated him with a habit and a chord. Dom Francisco da Gama stayed at the College of Reis Magos after his arrival to Goa. Dom Martin Afonso de Castro had a Franciscan frair, Frei Cosme as his Confessor. When he died in Malacca, he was buried in the habit of St. Francis. The frairs played an important role in the appointment of the Viceroys. After the death of the Viceroy, Dom Luis de Ataide, the Bishop, Dom João Ribeiro Gayo and the President of the Court put the Letters of Succession on the altar of the Church of Reis Magos. The Secretary, Manuel Botelho Cabral opened the sheaf that was sent to the Governor one year in advance with instructions that he should not open them. The Bishop and the Secretary read the *Provisão* to those who were present in the main Chapel where the body of Dom Luis de Ataide was kept. The Captain, Dom Tristão de Menezes

sat down on a chair and the newly appointed Governor knelt down before him. The Captain handed over the sheaf to him on behalf of the King. Thereafter, the Chancellor of the *Estado*, Andre Fernandes administered the oath to him and only then the Viceroy was buried. The Viceroy and Archbishop, Dom Alexio de Menezes attended the *matinas* and the feast at Cabo. But, he was against the frairs because he was an Augustinian. He was against the appointment of the Regulars as parish priests. In 1563, the Council of Trent had prohibited the appointment of regular clerics as parish priests. However, on 23rd March 1567, Pope Pio V allowed the religious to occupy these posts because there were no trained secular clergy. By 1605, a number of secular clergy were trained in Goa and the King suggested that the lay priests should be nominated as parish priests. Taking advantage of this, the Archbishop and the other religious raised their voices against the frairs. In order to protect their hold over the Parishes, the frairs appealed to the Viceroy, Dom Francisco who advised them to publicize their works. It must be noted that the frairs helped the State as and when they were summoned. Frei João de Corda and Frei Eleutheiro de Santhiago were sent to Arracan and Pegu to help Frei Manoel dos Maltos. The next Viceroy, Andre Furtado de Mendonca also supported the frairs as he was influenced by his Confessor, Frei Manuel do Monte Olivete, Lector in Theology. Rui Lourenço de Tavora had a

Franciscan Confessor. He patronized the House at Cabo and joined the *Sindico* of the Order.⁴²

The frairs were strong bulwarks to the *Estado* during a period of a general decadence. In 1598, the Dutch blockaded Goa. The Portuguese immediately fortified Cabo and Agoada. Since the frairs occupied both these areas, they were involved in protecting and defending the Portuguese ships and soldiers that took refuge in the fort. In a letter of 7th January 1611, the King referred to a letter of Antonio Pinto which the latter wanted him to destroy the old earthing that encompassed the hill in Bardez. He also the King to maintain close relations with the people in Bardez as they could invigorate them with their families and cattle. The Viceroy also informed the King that the people who inhabited the lands around Bardez could help the State in time of a war. Hence, instead of concentrating on the Parish Churches, the frairs and local authorities were advised to save their proceeds and properties in Bardez as it was difficult for the Portuguese to replenish the stocks of the *terra firme*. Bardez was a belt along the peninsula that had a small adjoining land that could be fortified as it was in the form of a small hill that jutted out into the River. The Viceroy was instructed to make sure that the people did not pass through the stone fortification that was raised at the cost of the Treasury, with the proceeds of the lands and with the help of the local inhabitants. The Viceroy assured

the King that the proceeds of the lands in Bardez could be diverted to meet this end. The Archbishop and the Viceroy were instructed to control the finances of the State and to channelize the funds for defending the land. In a letter of 19th March 1612, the King informed the Archbishop that Frei Christovão had written to him about the defence and fortification of the lands in Bardez. The King was particular about the expenses that were incurred in Bardez. In a letter of 25th January 1615, he instructed the Viceroy to buy wine and other things that were needed for the divine services with the *ordinarios* but not to waste money buying expensive things. This indicates that the King did not stop financing the mission. On 19th March 1612, Dom Estevão de Faro informed the King about the payments that were made to the contractors who bought the coffers in the Frairy. The expenses were partly defrayed with the proceeds and yields of the properties that the frairs had in Goa. On 5th April 1615, the Archbishop wrote to the Viceroy that he was permitted to pay the *rendas* to the officers and scribes. In addition to this, the converts also paid a certain amount of money to the State. This is clear from a letter of 24th December 1618, in which the Viceroy informed the King that those who had been converted since the last fifteen years paid the *dizimos* to the Treasury. But in course of time, the latter refused to pay this. This is clear from a letter of 28th March 1620, in which Dom Felipe instructed Conde do Redondo to collect the *dizimos* from the people as they had not

paid it for the last five years. Despite such a critical situation, the Viceroys Fernão de Albuquerque and Dom João Coutinho supported of the frairs primarily because they needed their help to defend Bardez.⁴³

During this period, the frairs maintained cordial relations with the secular authorities except for a few instances when the seculars wanted to overthrow them. As such, the frairs were able to stabilize their hold over the Parishes.

THE ERECTION OF THE MADRE DE DEUS CUSTODY: In the early seventeenth century, the Franciscan Order was split on the basis of the vows of poverty and the observance of the Rule of St. Francis. After the death of St. Francis, Frei Elias, the first Vicar General of the Franciscans secured Papal privileges that were in support of the *Regula*. This was pursued by Frei Bernardino de Sena, Pedro de Alcantara etc. In Goa, the Recollects were patronized by the Bishop, Frei Joao de Albuquerque. The Recollects popularly called the Conventuals, believed in the pristine spirit of the Order and emphasized on private prayer, poverty, contemplation and monasticism. But, this was practiced together with active missionary work.⁴⁴

The Recollects were recognized by the Statutes of the General Congregation of Toledo. The Minister General, Frei Francisco Gonzaga recognized them as a part of the Regular

Observants but he criticized them for not converting the *gentios* and for giving up the mission in favour of the Frairies. The Custos defended himself and stated that the Recollects spent only two hours in the choir. The rest of the time was spent in securing a strong hold in the lands that were converted. As such, the Recollects had their Houses in Goa, Damão, Thana and Chaul where they abided by the vows of chastity, poverty and obedience. They lived a solitary life and generally built their Convents in isolated places that were located far away from the City. The Custos requested the General Chapter to send his report to the Province in Portugal stating that the Recollects worked there since the last fourteen years. In Portugal, the Recollects were raised into a Custody at the General Chapter of Rome held in 1571. At the General Chapter of Toledo, 1583, the frairs in Goa tried to raise a Custody for the Recollects. The Custos supported them for in a letter of 6th February 1589, Frei Lisboa wrote to the Viceroy that the Houses of Recollection had to be separated from the Custody of São Thomé. But, the Viceroy preferred to leave this to the General of the Order because it was an internal matter. The King was consulted in this regard. In a letter of 6th February 1589, he instructed the Viceroy to discuss the separation of the Houses of Recollection with the General of the Order. In another letter of 22nd February 1589, the King warned the Viceroy that the Archbishop should not hinder the progress of the Order.⁴⁵

The Congregation of priests supported the decision to separate the Recollects from the Observants. The General, the Chapter and the frairs of the Portuguese Province also agreed to this proposal provided the latter continued to remain under their jurisdiction. At the General Chapter at Vallaloid, 1593, the Recollects repeated their appeal in favour of a separate Custody in Goa. In 1595, Frei Jeronymo dos Espirito Santo arrived as the Commissary General and Custos of São Thomé Province. He was succeeded by Frei Francisco da Arruda. On 5th February 1594, the Viceroy, Mathias de Albuquerque helped the Custos and the Bishop, Andre de Santa Maria to lay the foundations for a House of Recollection at the *barra de Goa*. It was called the *Ermida* of Nossa Senhora do Cabo. In February 1594, the Viceroy built a Chapel at his own cost. It was completed within six months. This in itself indicates the love and concern that he had for them. On account of this he was called the "Protector of the Reformed Franciscans". He handed it to the *Capuchos* on the condition that they would look after it failing which it was to be handed over to the Archdiocese. The Archbishop of Cochin, Dom Andre de Santa Maria helped Frei Gaspar because the latter believed that active missionaries were needed in India. Above the door of the sacristy in the *Ermida* in Cabo, are the Court of Arms of the Archbishop. In the same year, a Chapter was held at the Frairy in

Goa at which a new Definitorium was chosen and a *Tabua* of the frairs was drawn up. The house at Daugim had a Guardian, Confessor, President, Master of the novices, Confessor, Preacher, two choir frairs, two deacons, one lay brother, one door keeper, a gardener, a sacristan and two novices. A *retiro* was intended to be a House of Seclusion in which the frairs could lived according to the rule of St. Francis. The life in such a *retiro* can be studied from the description that is provided on the House in Cabo. Here, the frairs observed strict abstinence. The daily meals consisted of vegetables and fruits. Meat could not be brought in the premises even one third of a mile away. Everyday, except on Sundays and feastdays, the frairs scourged themselves for forty five minutes and spent fifteen minutes in meditation. In the mornings, they sang the *matinas* and this was followed by personal prayer and mass. The frairs observed the rules of the cloister and lived in a spirit of recollection and contemplation. The novices and choir frairs were also trained in this. The frairs kept fasts and followed other penitential practices. They worked and subsisted on alms. After the midnight prayers, they had to observe silence. The frairs had their own Novitiate under the Vicar, Frei Francisco dos Anjos.⁴⁶

In 1594, the House at Cabo accommodated the Recollects. The Convent of Madre de Deus had fourteen frairs. In 1595, the frairs held a Chapter at which Frei Lopo de São Francisco was

appointed as the Commissary. Frei Gonzaga instructed them to send the proceedings of the Chapter to him as he wanted to publish his work. Frei Lopo sent several documents to him.

At the Custodial Chapter that was at the Frairy in Goa, the Apostolic Briefs of Popes Sixto V and Clemente VIII and the General Statutes of Toledo and Valladolid were summarized. The third part of the Statutes dealt exclusively with the Houses of Recollection. Here, the divine services had to be simple. All the brothers had to attend mass but they could neither say mass nor recite the epistle in the Houses of the other religious. The Recollects had to be content with a habit, a tunic, two simple clothes and a couple of sacred books. They had to sleep on the planks. Inside the House, they had to observe silence and speak what was necessary very softly. They could not enter each others cells. In the Frairy of Madre de Deus Goa, they could not even bury the dead without the permission of the Superiors. Outside the House, the frairs had to observe discipline and even their recreation had to be modest. They could neither sleep nor eat out. At the Custodial Chapter, the frairs requested the *Meza* to permit the Preachers to be exempted from distributing communion when they had to deliver the sermons.

The Recollects of Portugal were also against both the erection of the Madre de Deus Custody and São Thomé Province. The General consulted the Council of Portugal and decided to

suspend the Erection Decree. The frairs took the help of Cardinal Arrigonio, approached Pope Paul V and requested him to confirm the Decree. The latter agreed and sent Frei Sebastião dos Santos to India as the Commissary General to execute the decision. The General Chapter of Salamanca also decided in favour of the erection of the Madre de Deus Custody. The Decree reached in Goa in 1618. On 16th February 1620, it was promulgated and two days later, Frei Francisco de São Miguel officially raised the Custody and held the first Custodial Chapter at which Frei Francisco de São Dionysio was elected as the first Custos of the Madre de Deus frairs.⁴⁷

The frairs of the Portuguese Province refused to share their power with the frairs in Goa. In fact, they were against the decision to have two Commissaries. The General, Frei Bernardino de Sena tried his best to abolish the Custody. But, he could not do much because the Recollects were favoured by the General Chapter. The latter was convinced that the Houses in Goa were strong enough to form a Congregation which was dependent on the São Thomé Province. On 1612, the Viceroy, Ruy Lourenço was informed that some religious had come to Portugal with the permission of the Superior to remind the King that it was his duty to protect the Order. The Custos and the frairs also send him a Representation and requested him to separate the Custody in India from the Portuguese Province. The

King asserted his authority in this regard. In a letter of 18th March 1615, the King replied to a letter of the Archbishop who informed him that Fernando Chrom had built a monastery of the *Capuchos* close to the City. The King instructed him not to allow any Convent to be built without his permission. The appeal in favour of a Custody was put to vote but the frairs lost by one vote. Since the Houses were *Retiros*, they were provisionally inhabited by the authorities who lived there before embarking for Portugal. The Viceroy, Rui Lourenco de Tavora resided at Cabo after relinquishing his Viceroyalty on 24th December 1612 and Frei Andre de Santa Maria retired at Daugim after he resigned from the See in 1615. In the early decades of the seventeenth century, there were two Houses of Recollection in the City of Goa and both were located at isolated places. Cabo was located at a distance of two leagues from the Islands of Goa while the *retiro* of Madre de Deus was located towards the East of the City, near the River. The Recollects repeatedly forwarded their petition to their Superiors. At the General Chapter of Rome, they requested the Minister General, Frei Joannes Hierro to permit them to raise the *Custodia de Madre de Deus*. The proposal was discussed by of the President, Cardinal Arrigonio who is hailed as the Protector of the Order. The proceedings were sent to the Holy See and based on this the Pope issued the *Ex Conjuncto nobis desuper* on 1st September 1612. By this, the Houses of the Recollects in India were separated from the Observants and the former were raised

to the status of a *Custodia*. The Custos who was nominated had expired. Hence, a new Chapter was planned. However, merely a month later the General, Frei Joannes Hierro expired and his successor, Frei Antonio de Trejo suspended the Decree. The frairs of the Province were not allowed to receive novices or work without his permission. Though the King favoured such a move, the Viceroy was against a new Custody. In a letter of 20th March 1612, he made it clear that the Recollects did not have sufficient reasons to raise a separate Custody. By 1620, the Royal opinion changed. In a letter of 19th February 1620, King Dom Felipe informed the Viceroy that he sent Frei Francisco de São Miguel to India to raise the Custody.⁴⁸

The Madre de Deus Frairy in Daugim was neither big nor ostentatious. The cloisters and dormitories were modest and they accommodated forty frairs. The frairs lived in poverty and were generally dependent on the rich locals who lived around the House. They helped the authorities whenever they came to Daugim. Frei Gaspar helped the Viceroy, Dom Luis da Ataide when he was fighting a war with the *mouro* at Banastarim. In return for this, the latter sent him a dissipated iron ball which he could hit at the enemy. Meat was not allowed in the refectory and the diet included bread and rice. The frairs who lived there, observed poverty and austerity. Nevertheless, they took part in the apostolic and missionary works. The people admired the care

and concern with which they treated and converted the sick and the unfortunate. The Frairy was also used as a *Retiro* where the frairs retired from the active mission and lived a humble life engrossed in contemplation, prayer and study. The House at Cabo, was built on the foundations of an *Ermida* that was built in 1541 by the Viceroy, Mathias de Albuquerque with the permission of the Archbishop, Dom Matheus de Medina. Ever since then, it served as a sacristy to the Church. The structure was modest and the cells were simple. It was intended for those who gave up the grandiosity of the world and lived in evangelical poverty. Many noble benefactors were buried here. It was strategically located afront the Island of Goa. The House at Pilar, was founded at the initiative of Frei Luis de Conceição. The latter was a favorite of the Governor, Fernão de Albuquerque and was nominated as the Provincial Minister by the Minister General, Frei João de Hierro. His appointment was confirmed by Paul V. As the Commissary General, he raised an *Ermida* on a hill in Tiswadi, in the Parish of Goa Velha. The foundation stone was laid by the Archbishop Cristovão de Lisboa. The House was not very big. It had cells and narrow dormitories. On one side, there was a spacious refractory, a Chapel and a verandah. The main floor served as a residence for the Patriarch and for those who came on retreats. The House also had a place where the clerics were taught Philosophy and Theology. In the Rectory, we find the

Court of Arms of the First and the Second Order. The Recollects lived in these three Houses.⁴⁹

Having stabilized the mission, the Recollects tried to raise their Custody into a Province. They already had a Congregation of Convents that were united among themselves and were not dependent on the others. On 28th September 1622, Frei Luiz da Conceição died in Daugim and the Custos, Frei Manoel Baptista went as the *Procurador* to Rome to request the Pope to raise the Custody into a Province. On 15th January 1622, Frei Manoel got the permission from Gregory XV who issued a Brief in this regard. The new Province was placed under the Discalced frairs of Spain. This was done because the two Crowns of Spain and Portugal were united. The Recollects were allowed to have their own Vicar General and to hold a General Chapter. On 2nd February 1623, the Decree was executed in Goa by the Apostolic Commissary, Frei Boaventura das Chagas. The erection of the Madre de Deus Province largely depended upon the cooperation of the authorities in Rome. This was because the King was not in favour of a Contemplative Order.⁵⁰

In 1622, there were several irregularities in the Church. The authorities in Portugal faced practical difficulties and found it difficult to send the frairs from Portugal. Portugal was facing a twilight of its Empire. The dwindling resources, lack of personnel and territorial losses made Rome realize that Portugal was unable

to handle the colossal task of evangelizing the East. Rome wanted to bring the mission stations under the Roman Pontiff. All these factors prompted Pope Gregory XV to establish the *Sacrae Congregationae da Propoganda Fidei* on 6th January 1622. This marked the beginning of the stagnation and subsequent the decline of the *Padroado* missions in the East.⁵¹

Notes and References :

- ¹ *MF* pp.167-68; Holzavel, *Op. Cit.*, p.310; *FO*, p. 139; *DHMP*, Vol. I, p.255; Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*; *STVDIA*, Vol. 9 (1962), pp. 29 and 32-33; Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*, *AFH* Vol. 59(1966), p. 5; Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 35; Soledade, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 632; *DHMP* Vol.II, p.73.
- ² *Bull Patr* Vol, I, Appdx.57; *DHMP*. Vol. III, p. 93; Vol. II, p. 74; Vol. V, p. 126; Vol. XI, p. 141; *MF* pp. 181-2; Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*; *AFH* Vol.59 (1966), pp.7-8.
- ³ *CEO* Vol. I, Cap 61,p.312; *FO* doc. 4, p. 102; *MF* p. 167; Espelho Antonia da Piedade, *Penitentes e Chronica da Provincia de Santa Maria da Arrabida*, 1728, Vol. I, pp. 763-76; Jacinto de Deos, *Op. Cit.*, p. 23; Soledade, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 632; Antonio da Piedade, *Op. Cit.*, p.193.; The Statutes of the Custody of São Thomé (1595) prescribed the norms of behaviour for the frairs. The Novices were to be appointed and instructed as per the Statutes. The frairs had to follow the rules of the Custody. The Preachers and lectors were excused from morning prayers only when they had to preach or teach. Every Friday they had to pray before the Holy Sacrament. In every Vicariate and Rectory they had to conduct the holy services, the choir in the Chapel at prescribed times. All the frairs had to sing hymns and lauds like *Benedictus*, *Vesperas*, *Psalms ladanias* etc. On the feast days of the Saints of the Order, a Conventual mass was held at the main altar the Commissary or the Guardian. The Choir frairs had to serve for thirty years as deacons or twenty

years as subdeacons. The frairs had to observe silence and discipline in the sacristy. Every frair had to spend time in the choir in prayer or in song. The doorkeeper, sacristan, nurse, keeper and the mess worker were exempted. The locals (negros) were not allowed in the sacristy. No local religious could write or read letters without showing them to their prelate. They could correspond only with their mother or brothers. No frair could be made a Confessor unless he was thirty years old. No frair could consume wine in the refectory nor could they move on carts and steeds unless they were sick. A frair could seek the services of preachers or old priests if he had too many sermons but by and large no Rector could entrust the tasks in the Rectory to the seculars. He could impose fines or penalties nor take money to give permission for the marriages of the locals. The locals could be accepted into the Holy faith only if they volunteered. No religious could live in Bardez without the permission of the Rector of Reis Magos. No member of the Third Order could live in the Custody among the others. They were given a ginger coloured habit with a tapering hood and a sash. These statutes laid down the basic norms of behaviour for the frairs. They also differentiated between the different sects within the Order and brought the Rectors under the purview of the Superiors. The General Chapter held at Vallaloid on 5th June 1593 approved the Statutes for the Custody of São Thomé. According to these the Custody of *India Oriental de Portugal* had to be placed under a frair who could live in India for three years from the day he received his patent from the General. This term could be extended only at the request of the Minister or Definitor of the Portuguese Province. His duties were specified by the Statutes of Toledo. He had to return back *ipso facto* after his *trenio*. The Custos, Definitors and Guardians of São Thomé and *Madre de Deus* Provinces had to be Portuguese in decent but and *ipso facto incurrenda*, the Custos could not receive *castiços* or *mestiços* into the Order because it was felt that many disturbances were caused due to the appointment of local seculars, young frairs and those who did not have enough credibility. The Custos could not permit any frair to go to Portugal without the prior knowledge of the whole Definitorium. The *India Oriental* had two Custodies, one in Malacca and the other in Goa. Both were under the Province of Portugal. Since the latter had much work in sending frairs to the mission every three years it was proposed that the Chapters and Congregations should be held in Goa at which they could receive novices, Confessors and Preachers. It was even proposed that it should be raised as a Province under a Minister as it was impossible to send decisions, doubts, cases and other matters to the Minister or to the Commissary General in Portugal. The General Statutes of *India Oriental de Castella* (Cap 3^o) also suggested that the Commissary General and the Custos who were sent from Portugal to hold charge of the São Thomé Custody should be given the plenary authority in *utroque foro* by the Minister General over the frairs in Malacca, China and India. As such they had to be authorized to visit, punish, sentence, solve and dispense all the cases, punishments, censors and irregularities that were otherwise under the jurisdiction of the Minister General but the Custos could not dispense, declare, innovate or alter any matter that was included in the Statutes and he was under the Provincial Minister and other Superiors in Portugal. These Statues were intended to regulate the relations between the different components of the Order. *MF Caps.* 1, 2, 3 and 5; The frairs were granted several privileges that were specified by Frei Boaventura das Chaguas, *Op. Cit.*; *IVG Mss.* 29, *fs* 1-372; These included the privileges to celebrate the masses, *fs.* 125; to administer the sacraments, *fs.* 127-143; to enjoy the privileges granted hitherto, *fs.* 1-481 on the way of life of the frairs, *fs.* 143-333. On their appointments *fs.* 333-54, *fs* 1-51 etc. an explanation to these was provided by Paulo da Trindade *Op. Cit.*, *IVG Mss.* 29, *fs.* 482-539 dated 20th February 1618. Fourteen instructions regarding the rules and regulations to be followed by them is found in *IVG.* *fs.* 540-630.

- ⁴ *MF* includes the Statutes that were drawn up in 1595, pp. 181-201; *CEO*. Vol. I, pp. 21, 45 and 65; *Analees* Vol. XXV, pp. 491-92 and 521; *DRI*. Vol. 12, p. 226; Miguel da Purificação, *Op. Cit.*, p.7; Holzavel, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 691 and 694; *MR*. Vol. 22B, *fl.* 440; *DHMP*. Vol. V, pp.446-7; Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. 60 (1967), pp. 4-5; Jacinto de Deus, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 45-6; Miguel da Purificação, *Op. Cit.*, p. 2; *CEO*. Vol. I, pp. 117, 134, 145, 238 and 246; Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*, 1957, p. 13; *BFUP*. Vol. I, p. 85; *HMP*. Vol. I, p. 200; *APO*. Vol. 6, Part II, p.1212 *DI* Vol. I, p.566; *CEO* Vol. II, pp.154-55; Vol. I, p.331; Felix Lopes *Op. Cit.*, *STVDIA*, Vols. 20-22(1967), p.71.
- ⁵ *FO* doc. 3, pp. 104-113; *BFUP*. Vol. V, p.550.
- ⁶ *DI* Vol. XIII, pp. 549-51 and 683-85; Vol. XIV, pp. 10, 33-35, 18, 8-9, 103, 5-7, 105, 1 and 14-19; A summary of the contents of these documents was available *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25, 11 and 197-98; *FO* pp. 50-54; *APO*. Vol. III, p. 195; *DI*. Vol. XI, p. 85.
- ⁷ *FO*, doc. 4, pp. 104-08; *BFUP*. Vol. V, p. 550. There was the case of Jorge da Costa the brother-in-law of Frei Gaspar who came to the *Estado* with his wife and children. He wanted the frairs to help him. His unmarried relative Beatriz Rebeiro was a poor orphan. Her relative Estevao da Costa had died in the service of Dom Sebastiao. As Jorge himself had two daughters and one son. Hence, he wanted the King to help her.
- ⁸ Achilles Meersman, 'Attempts to introduce the Poor Clares into India', *IES*. Vol. 2 (1963), p. 105; *DI*. Vol. XV, p. 455; *DHMP* Vol. XI, p. 19; *BFUP*. Vol. V, pp.550-1; Vol. I, pp. 438 and 443; *FO*. doc. 5, pp. 113-5.

- ⁹ Gerson da Cunha, *Op. Cit.*; *Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society*, p.195; Joseph Wicki The Professed House of Bom Jesus/BIVG. Vol.147 (1985), p. 94; *BFUP*. Vol. I, pp. 327, 438, 448 and 443; *AHU Registos de Cartas de 1589-97* in Delio Mendonca, *Op. Cit.*, 2001, *Appdx* 8, p. 427; Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*; *IES*. Vol. 2 (1963), p. 150; *DHMP*. Vol XI, p. 113; *APO*. Vol. III, p.195;. The foundation stone of the College of São Boaventura was laid by the Archbishop.
- ¹⁰ *Bull. Patr.*, Vol.I, *Appdx*. 1, p. 123; *MF*. pp. 189-91; *CEO*. Vol. I, Cap. 69, pp. 349-50; *Anais*, p. 5; Ricardo Telles, *Op.Cit.*,1906,pp.6-8; Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.* Vol. II, pp. 225-26; Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*; *NZM*. Vol 16(1960), p. 44.
- ¹¹ *Bull. Patr.* Vol. I, p. 212; *MF*, pp. 189-90; *CEO*. Vol II, pp. 25 and 16; *MF* p.187; *Tabua das casas e frades desta Custodia Franciscana de São Thome da India*, in *AIA*. Vol.II, (1914) p. 189; *CEO* Vol. I, p. 116;Cap. 69, 350-51; *DHMP*. Vol. V, p. 406; *Anais* p. 18; *EHGLC Caps.* CLXV and CLXVIII. A copy of the manuscript was kept in the Escorial in Spain and referred to in Civezza, *Op. Cit.*, 1859, p. 550; Miguel da Purificação, *Op. Cit.*, p. 3; *BL* Vol. II, pp. 694-5. lists the work of the frairs; *DHMP*. Vol. V, p. 495; Jose Pereira, *Op. Cit.*,1982, p. 12; C.C Nazareth, *Op. Cit.*, 1927,p. 146;P.S.S Pissurlencar *Op.Cit.*, *BIVG*. No. 26 (1935), p. 10.
- ¹² *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 65, p. 328; *DRI*. Vol. 15, p. 55; Mss of the Order cited in *CEO*. Vol. I, Cap. 70, p. 350 and translated in Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*, *NZM*. Vol. 16 (1960) p. 44; *DHMP*. Vol. V, p. 495; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 59, pp. 303-05; *Analees*, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. XXV, p.621; *DRI*. Vol. 15, p. 55; John Correa Afonso, 'More light on an unnoticed scholar Frei Francisco Negrão', *JUB*, Vol. XIV, Part IV (1946); *BL* Vol. III, p. 214; Faria y. Souza, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 401; Jacinto de Deos, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 3-4.
- ¹³ *BFUP*. Vol. XII, p. 60; *DRI*. Vol. I, p. 95; Vol. XII, p. 966.
- ¹⁴ Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, 1906,pp. 17-18; Leopold Rocha, *Op. Cit.*, p. 307; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 22, p. 128; *BFUP*. Vols. 3-4, p. 279 and 282.
- ¹⁵ Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*, *STDIA* Vols. 13 and 14 (1964), *Caps.* 3 and 2; *MF*. doc. 2, pp.183-4. The document relating to the grant was found in the *Arquivo da Fazenda*, dated 15th November 1596. It figures out the donations made by Dom Manoel and Dom Filipe. This was transcribed in 'Ordinaria do Convento de São Francisco de Goa', *OP*. Vol. IX, Nos. 3 and 4(1912), pp. 99-100; *APO*. Vol. II, Part I, pp. 250-51.
- ¹⁶ K. S. Latourette, *Op. Cit.*, 1926, Vol. III, pp. 39-40; Amaro Lobo *Op. Cit.*, p. 162; Alexio Braganza, *A Igreja da Mapusa*, 1926 p. 10; *CEO*. Vol. I, Cap. 61, p. 308; In 1595 the *gauncars* of Aldona met and decided to contribute 25 xs. to build the Church. These *gauncars* had surnames as Kamat, Prabhu, Naik and Xista; The *Tabua das casas e frades da Custodia Franciscana de São Tomé da India em 1595*, in *AIA* Vol. II(1914) it refers to the Parish Churches of Cirula, Candulim, Nellur,Nagoa, Colvale, Calamguty, Pomburpa, Reis Magos, Aldona and Ciolim; Gomes Catão, *XCHR Ms. fl. 5*; Theodore dos Matos, *Op.Cit.*, 1994, pp. 151-2 and 156-57; f. 22.
- ¹⁷ J. M. do Carmo Nazareth, 'Occidentais e Orientalis – os Conventos religiosos de Goa', *OP*. Vol. IV (1907), p.151; Gabriel Saldanha, *Op.Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 234; Gabriel Saldanha, 'Collegio ou Hospicio do Monte de Guirim', *OP* Vol. I (1904), p. 151; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, *BIVG*. Vol. 59 (1944), p. 96; S. M. Sen (ed.), *Op. Cit.*, 1949, p. 194; Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 73; *APO*. Vol. V, Part 3, p. 1022; J. Wicki, *O Livro do Pai dos Christão*, 1969, pp. 14-18; *BFUP*. Vol. II, pp. 201, 61 and 237; C.C. Nazareth, *Establimimento de educacao e ensino en Goa pelo clero regular e secular*, *Jornal das Colonias*, Vol. 8(1903); Ms. of 1750, fl. 23, cited in Leopold Rocha, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 307 and 296 and in *Heraldo* (2-2-1921).
- ¹⁸ *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 22, pp. 128-29; *L^oM*. Vol. I, fls. 109 and 404; *DRI*. Vol. I, pp. 91 and 404-05; *BFUP*. Vols. 9, 10 and 11, p. 599; *DRI*. Vol. I, p. 415 and 254-55; *APO*. Vol. V, p.64, 103, 109 and 111; *APO*. Vol. 3, pp. 98 and 734-35' *DRI*. Vol. I, pp. 323, 222 and 415; *HAG. Assentos do Conselho da Fazenda*, Vol. V, fl. 31v; Vol. IX, fl. 31v, stated in Bosq., *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 61; Leopold Rocha, *Op. Cit.*, p. 434; *ARF* Report I, from *MR* Vol. 26A, fl. 244; *BFUP*. Vol. I, pp. 442, 540 and 509; *DRI*. Vol. I, pp. 227-28; The inscription was found in Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 43-44; F. N. Xavier, *Resumo historico da Vida do glorioso São Francisco Xavier*, 1859, pp. 125-26; *Assentos do Conselho da Fazenda*, Vol. I, Part I, (1613-17); doc. 7, p. 8; doc. 22, pp. 23-24; *AHU*, *India Caixa* 6, fl. 29 in T. R. De Souza, *Op. Cit.*,1979, *Apdx* A-4, p.225; *MR* Vol. 13, fl. 112v.
- ¹⁹ Don Peter, *Op. Cit.*, 1996, p. 966; *Bull.Patr.* Vol. I, p. 60; *FO*;Franciscus Gonzaga, *Op. Cit.*, p. 1218; *CEO*. Vol. I, Cap. 64, pp. 326-27; The decrees of the Third Provincial Council are found in *APO* Vol. V; *MF* Cap. 6; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 53, p. 271; Cap. 64, p. 325; *FO* p. 79;
- ²⁰ *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 56, p. 285; *APO*. Vol. III, pp. 569-70, also in *DI*. Vol. XVIII, p. 482; *DHMP*. Vol. I, p. 12; Susan Bayly, *Op. Cit.*, 1989, p. 1; Femao de Soledade, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 541 and 551; Fortunato de Almeida, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 354; Jacinto de Deos, *Caminho dos frades*, Vol. III, p. 330; *Bol. do Gov.* No. 67(1880), pp. 65-66; No. 214 (1885); *DRI*. Vol. I, pp. 8 and 106; Vol. II, p. 39; Vol. III, p. 263; Querroz, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 381, 578-91; *CEO* Vol. II, Cap. 14, pp. 73-76; For a short note on General Baptism refer to T. R. de Souza, 'The Portuguese in Asia and their Church

- patronage', in M. D. David(ed.), *Op. Cit.*, 1988, p. 19; Dom João was buried in the Convent of Telheiras. Dom Felipe died in the Franciscan Convent in Portugal and was buried in the Frairy in Goa.
- ²¹ CEO Vol. I, Cap. 65, pp. 330-32; J. N. Fonseca, *Op. Cit.*, 1986, p. 65; *Anais*, p. 86; Baião, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 585; Jacinto de Deos, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 87-88; The decrees of the fifth Provincial Council are published in APO Vol. V; CEO Vol. I, Cap. 64, pp. 327-29; DHMP Vol. V, p. 418; BFUP No. 6-B, p. 513.
- ²² L^oM. Vol. I, p. 20; CEO Vol. I, Cap. 64, p. 328-30; Fernão de Soledade, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 205-06; Gaspar de São Bernardino, *Itinerario da India por terra a este reino de Portugal*, 1611; DRI Vol. I, pp. 163-164; Maurice Collins, *Op. Cit.*, p. 71.
- ²³ Ricardo Telles 'Real Casa dos Cathecumenos em Goa' Voz, (1941), p. 36; DRI Vol. I, p. 298; Vol. IX, pp. 85-86, and 284-85; DHMP Vol. V, p. 417 and 420; CEO Vol. III, p. 73; DRI Vol. I, pp. 297-98;
- ²⁴ C. Nazareth, *Op. Cit.*, *Journal das Colonias*, Vol. 8 (1903); The frairs in Goa tried best to imitate the pomp and splendor of the religious ceremonies in Portugal. On 31st August 1617, the Pope Paul V had held a General Congregation of Inquisitors in Rome and the Congregation of Cardinals published a Decree entitled *Sanctissimus Morte* by which importance was given to the devotion of Our Lady in different part of the world. In the Frairy of St. Francis, Goa, the feast of *Conceição de Virgem* was celebrated. The Church was decorated. Four *lanços* of the Cloister was covered with a rich cloth. The inhabitants of the City were richly dressed and so were the four altars and the cloister. The images were dressed with gold and precious stones. During the mass, the best music was played and two to four choirs sang. News spread in the City. The Provincial of São Thomé said mass along with the Bishop of Japan. Bells toiled, crackers blasted and there were lights, joy and festivity all around. For three days the preachers in Theology explained the Biblical verses, epigrams and recited other prayers in Latin. The Cloisters resounded with sonets, octaves, tiercets and songs in Portuguese. On the last day, before the feast some people were dressed in the Moorish style. They went on the main roads on horses with a *cesas* in their hands, singing hymns and playing instruments. There was a public procession in the City. A number of *charoias* of the Order joined it. Behind the procession was a big vehicle on which an image of Our Lady was richly dressed and kept on a high point. In front of the chariot was a boy dressed in the Franciscan habit a bonnet of white tassel on his head bearing the symbol of the Theological Doctor. In his left hand, he held a book and a banner of red damask in the right hand. Behind him was the vehicle accompanied by four *ninfas* who were richly dressed with gold garlands and pearls on their head. This was followed by the religious who went with raised crosses. This description summarizes the pomp with which the frairs celebrated their feasts, CEO Vol. I, Cap. 58, pp. 298-302; T. R. de Souza, *Maira: a peep into the past*, pp. 1-2; Houtart, *Op. Cit.*, p. 130; Fernão de Soledade, *Op. Cit.*, p. 513; This book was either the *Purana a historia Biblica* or the *Purana Christa*, *Ibid.*
- ²⁵ Susan Bayly, *Op. Cit.*, 1989, pp. 327-28.
- ²⁶ FO. p.109; CEO Vol. I, Cap. 57, p. 295; Ricardo Telles, 'Epitafios nas igrejas das Mapusa e Candolim', in OP. Vol. XIII, pp. 216-7; Fernando de Soledade, *Op. Cit.*, p. 505; CEO Vol. I, Cap. 58, pp. 303-04.
- ²⁷ FO. doc. 2, pp. 89-90; DI Vol. XIV, pp. 72-73 and 121; Vol. XV, pp. 464-67; Vol. XIV, pp. 195-200; Francisco de Sousa, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 999-1001.
- ²⁸ APO. Vol. III, Part I, p. 90; DI Vol. XIV, pp. 106-08; Vol. XI, pp. 8, 104-06, 688-90 and 10; Vol. XIV, pp. 103, 19 and 43-46
- ²⁹ APO. Vol. III, pp. 195 and 103; DI Vol. XV, pp. 371 and 385; Vol. XIV, doc. 39 and p.113; DI Vol. XIV, pp. 72-75, 195-99, 247-48, 576-78 and 688-90; Vol. XV, p. 597; APO, Vol. III, pp. 274-86; DI Vol. XIV, pp. 600, 195-99, 516-18, 688-90 and 706-08; Vol. XV, pp. 455-61; BFUP No. 15, pp. 596 and 109-26; Vol. XVI, p. 357.
- ³⁰ S. G. Pereira, *Op. Cit.*, 1941, pp. 16-17; Henry Heras, *Op. Cit.*, 1933; Susan Bayly, *Op. Cit.* 1989.
- ³¹ CEO Vol. I, Cap. 60, p. 307, Cap. 61, pp. 288 and 308-11; F. X. Gomes Catão, *XCHR Ms.* fl. 5; CEO Vol. I, pp. 308 and 288; DRI Vol. VII, pp. 55-7, 83 and 88; FO p. 81 and fl. 24; DHMP Vol. V, p. 438; T.R de Souza, *Maira: a peep into the past*, p.4; *Anais.*, p. 71.
- ³² This was cited in the fifth Statute that was drawn and approved by the General Chapter held at Vallaloid on 5th June 1593; MF Cap. 5, point 8; FO. doc. 12, pp. 139-40; The inscription was found in *Tribune*. (8-4-1921); APO. Vol. III, p. 804; ML. Vol. I, pp. 228 and 150; *O Heraldo* (24-4-1920); Micheal Telles, *Op. Cit.*, 1922, pp. 89; Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 225-26, fl. 1; C. Nazareth, *Op. Cit.*, 1927, p. 179; Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, in OP. Vol. IV (1907), p. 150-51; ML. Vol. I, p. 304; MR. Vol. 464, fl. 85; APO. Vol. III, p. 804, ML. p. 228; DHMP Vol. V, p. 465; XCHR Mss, p. 2; *Anais*, p. 22; CEO Vol. I, Cap. 56, pp. 289-90, ff. 2; João Crisolomo d' Amorim Pessoa, *Noticias sobre o Estado do Real Padroado Portugese no anno de 1779*, Vol. III, p. 249; A. B. da Braganza Pereira, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 198; *O Heraldo*. (14-6-1914); Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, BIVG. No. 59 (1944), p.87.

- ³³ Jacinto de Deus, *Op. Cit.*, p. 23; This chart was found in Fonseca, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 242-43; Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 72; Michael Telles, 'Igrejas, Coventos e Capelas na Velha Cidade de Goa', *OP*. Vol. I, (1931), p. 142; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 30. p. 165; Cap. 52, pp. 264-65; Cap. 65, p. 327; Bosq., *Op. Cit.*, p. 152; *Bol. do Gov.* No. 86 (1870); Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, *BIVG* Vol. 59(1944), p. 103; Inventarios (1748 and 1749); Ricardo Telles, *O Povorello de Assisi. Poeta e sancto*, 1926, p. 29. This monograph has a photograph of the College.
- ³⁴ *CEO*. Vol. I, Cap 51, pp. 264-65; *BFUP*. Vol. I, p. 801; *DRI*. Vol. I, p. 20; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, *BIVG*. Vol. 59 (1944), p. 87; *Anuario* p. 161; *BFUP*. Vol. I, p. 237; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 56, pp. 290-91; *Anais*, pp. 22 and 34; Gonzaga, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 1214 and 226. the frairs who were sent for higher studies includes Frei Francisco Bocarro and Frei João Pompeo of Portugal and Frei Rodrigo das Chagas and Frei Francisco da São Miguel from India. the last one returned to India as the Commissary General; *FO*, pp. 60, 66 and 102; *MF*. pp. 183-84; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 21, p. 114.
- ³⁵ Felix Lopes, *Santo Antonio de Lisboa, Doutor Evangelica*, Braga, 1954; The Chapter of Toledo was held in Segovia. Pope Martin V in the Constitution (nos. XVI and XVII) also gave importance to education; *Statuta Generalia Barehnonensia pro Cusmontana familia*, Toledo, 1883, fls. 23-24; *Tabua. Op. Cit.*; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 52, pp. 262-65.
- ³⁶ *BFUP*, Vol. I, p. 736; also in *Bol. do Gov.* No. 34, (1933); *DRI*. Vol. IX, pp. 220-21 and 286-87; Vol. III, p. 171; *FO* doc. 2, pp. 82-83; *BFUP*. Vol. I, p. 801; *DI*. Vol. V, pp. 142, 172 and 609; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 51, pp. 255-66;
- ³⁷ *CEO*. pp. 255-56; Gonzaga, *Op. Cit.*, p. 1241; *Bosq.*, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 24-25; T. R. de Sousa, *Op. Cit.*, 1979, p. 58; *Anuario*, pp. 184-85, 189-91, 174-75; Sebastian Goncalves, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 293; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap 75, pp. 388-97; *DI*. Vol. XII, doc. 148, pp. 966-67; Vol. XIII, *Appdx.* I, p. 852; Vol. IX, pp. 274-75 and 79; *Tabua* in *AIA* Vol. II 1914; *MF* pp. 37-38; *DI*. Vol. XVIII, p. 467; *Tabua Op. Cit.* *MF*, p. 190; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 55, pp. 285;
- ³⁸ Antonio Lobo, *A freguezia de Siolim*, 1931; Ricardo Telles, *Igreja de Siolim, Voz*. No. 47(1936), p. 523;; *Anais.*, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 14-15; Fernão do Soledade, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 513; *DHMP*. V, p. 467. The frairs had already built the main altar and the niche in the wall had an image of Saint Anthony. Before doing this, he decided to confide in the Saint. To his astonishment he found that the cobra was entangled to his chord. This legend may have been a testimony to the fact that a cobra who was worshipped in the temple may have been trying to find his hole that was ruined to build the Church. To commemorate this legend a picture of the saint was painted. He was holding a serpent tied to a chord in the right hand and a cross in the left; Tropa meant a military centre. In Marna, there was a property of St. Monica called Vethalache Toli. At the side of the old Church, a cross called Sonar Kheticho Khuris was built; *Anais.*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 16; *CEO*. Vol. I, Cap. 60, p. 305; *BFUP*. Vol. V, p. 550; Vol. I, pp. 290-91, 341 and 324; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 57, p. 294; The donation grant was stated in *Tribuna* (6-2-1920) and in *O Heraldo* (14-4-1918) and (27-4-1918); Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*; *BIVG*. Vol. 59(1944), p. 108.
- ³⁹ *Anais.*, pp. 20-21; Telles, *Op. Cit.*, *Voz*, No. 20, (1936), p. 285; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, 1922, p. 38; *DHMP*. Vol. V, pp. 467-69 *CEO*. Vol. I, Cap. 57, p. 296; Amaro Lobo, *Op. Cit.*, p. 161; Aexio Braganza, *Op. Cit.*, 1926, p. 9. Mapusa which was then the chief town where the weekly fair was held, *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 57p. 294. It was inhabited by Hindus who were firm in their beliefs. When the missionaries and converts gathered in the Church the demons tried to drive them out. This partly proves that the local Hindus were attached to their temple; Femao de Soledade, *Op. Cit.*, p. 513; But after the Church was built they shifted their devotion to Our Lady of Milagres. This was mentioned in the *Noticia* of 1722. Hence, it was a misnomer that it was dedicated to São Hieronymus. It was believed that Shantadurga who was later worshipped as Our Lady of Milagres was one of the seven sisters who were worshipped in the different villages of Goa namely Lairai, Mahamai, Kelbai, Adibar and Morzai, Tulzai and Shitala. The first five were worshipped at Sirgao, Mulgao, Mayem, Angedic and Morzim. The seventh was worshipped at Ratal and had her temple in Vainguinem. They had one brother named Khetoba or Kheto who became lame after he was kicked by his sister. *O Heraldo*, (24-VII-1922), Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, *Voz* No. 20(1936), p.212; Another legend states that the seven sisters were converted. The converted sisters were Our Lady of Candelaria, Pomburpa, Our Lady of Rosary, Navelim, Immaculate Conception, Moira, Our Lady of Health, Cuncolim, Our Lady of Miracles, Mapusa, Our Lady of Victory, Revora, etc. The rear of the Church in Mapusa was still in the oriental style. It had a rock hewn stairway that led to the tank of the old temple. Our Lady of Miracles bears a garland of flowers that belonged to goddess Tubxy. These are identified as lotuses and a tuff. In front of the Church was a pedestal of black granite that bore mythological figure. In this Church, two images were brought out on the novena day, one was bathed with oil and the other was adorned with flowers. A pot of oil that was offered to our Lady was taken for the Shirgao Zatra and the mogra flowers was sent from Shirgao for Our Lady of Miracles; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, *OP* No. 12, pp. 216-7; H. Bravo de Morais, *Op. Cit.*, Mss 1722; N. T. (27-4-1982). The Hindus still offer oil to the goddess that was collected and taken for the zatra at Singao; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 60, p. 308; *Anais.*, p. 21; *DHMP*. Vol. V, p. 469.

- ⁴⁰ Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 233-34. In this book there was an inscription of the *Collegio Real* that existed here. On a stone on the doorway was an Arabic inscription, *Tribuna* 8-4-1921; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, *OP* Vol. XVI, p. 30; *APO*. Vol. III, p. 804, *O Herald* (5-3-1922); *ML*. Vol. I, p. 70; *MR*. Vol. 1654, fl. 4; F. X. Costa, *Op. Cit.*, p. 22; F. X. Gomes Catao, *BEAG* 1956, pp. 353-59; *DHMP*. Vol. V, p. 407; Lopes Mendes, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 218; Several testimonies prove that the Churches received the grants from the dying benefactors and also received such deposits and endowments, *HAG* Vol. 2489. J.B. Amnacio Gracias, *Op. Cit.*, *OP*. Vol. XVI, (1919), p. 365; *Bosq.*, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 419; Arthur Coke Bumell, *The voyage of John Huygen von Linschoten to the East Indies*, Vol. I, 1988, p. 176. *APO*. Tomo. IV, Vol. II, Part II, p. 55; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, *OP*. Vol. I (1931), p. 55; Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 33; *Anais.*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 4; Arsenio Dias, *Serafim de Assisi*, p. 88; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, *OP* No. I (1931) p. 44. *MR*. Vol. 86A, fl. 37; *Anais.*, pp. 23-24; *CEO*, Vol. I, Cap.39, p. 208; Cap. 57, p. 296; Maurice Collins, *Op. Cit.*, p. 43; *Analees*, Vol. 25, p. 25; Coutinho, *Op. Cit.*, p. 119; P.S.S Pissuriencar, *Op. Cit.*, 1951, p. 35; Femão de Soledade, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p.503; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap.69, pp. 350-51; *ML*. Vol. II, p. 74; *MR*. Vol. 86A, fl. 40; *DRI*. Vol. 61, p. 606-611, p. 343.
- ⁴¹ *DRI* Vol. IX, p. 342; Vol. V, Tomo XII, p. 164; Vol. XI, p. 302; Vol. VII, p. 178. By the first two decades of the seventeenth century the frairs of the São Thomé Province had eleven Frairies, three Vicarates, six Colleges and forty Rectories; Ricardo Telles *Op.Cit.*, *OP*. Vol. IV, p. 227.
- ⁴² *FO* doc. 12, p. 138; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 71, p. 365; Diego de Couto, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 285; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, 1922, pp. 34-35; The Court of Arms was founded here; *LFO*. doc.2, pp. 82-83; *MF* Caps. 3 and Cap. 6; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 60, p. 308; Cap. 71, pp. 365-66; Barros, *Op. Cit.*, *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 71, p. 368; Telles, *Op. Cit.*, p. 34; *O Herald* (11-11-1919); *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 71, pp. 367-68; Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 229; *CEO* Vol. III, pp. 73-78.
- ⁴³ *DRI* Vol. VIII, p. 477 and 229; Vol. IX, pp. 404-06, 414, 18, 358 and 163; Vol. VII, p. 47; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 71, p. 368.
- ⁴⁴ Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, *Separata de BIVG* (1943), p. 10; Aspurz, *Op. Cit.*, p. 59.
- ⁴⁵ *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 39, p. 208; Diogo do Couto, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. X, p. 537; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 42, p. 220, fl.3; *LFO*. doc.3, pp. 78-80; doc. 2, pp. 73-75; Baião, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 119; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 42, pp. 220-22; *Bull. Patr.* Vol. I, p. 232; Jacinto de Deus, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 56-58; *APO*. Vol. III, pp. 196-97; *BFUP*. Vol. 3-A, p. 29; Vol. 3-B, p. 298.
- ⁴⁶ Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 364; F. X. Gomes Catão, 'The Reformed Franciscans and the Frairy of Our Lady of the Cape', *ICHR* Vol. IV, No. 2(1970), p. 84; *MF*. pp. 73-74; *Bull. Patr.* Vol. I, p.37; *FO*. doc. 1, p. 93; Ricardo Telles, 'Convento do Cabo', *OP*. Vol. I (1903-04), p. 55; Baião, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 97; *LFO*. doc. II, pp. 75-77; *LFO*, p. 67; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 5, p. 49; *AFPI*. pp. 26-27; Jacinto de Deus, *Op. Cit.*, p. 85; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap.52, p. 256, CL pp. 26-27 and 189; *MF* pp. 119-202 and 185.
- ⁴⁷ *MR*. Vol. 79, fl. 339v; Franciscus Gonzaga, *Op. Cit.*; *LFO*. pp. 75-77; *MF* Part 3, Cap. 1,2,3 and 4 and part W^o; *LFO*. doc. 2, pp.75-77; Cottineau de Klougen, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 43 and 143; Holzafel, *Op. Cit.*, p. 611; *Analees*, Vol. XXV, p. 521; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, 1906, p. 11.
- ⁴⁸ *DRI*. Vol. III, p. 229; Vol. IX, pp. 285, 638, 102 and 341-2; Vol. V., pp. 371-72; Vol. VI, pp. 70-71; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 46, pp. 241-2; Cap. 42, p. 220; Jacinto de Deus, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 89-91 and 324-42; *DRI*. Vol. VII, *Liv.* 15, p. 214; Fernando de Soledade, *Op. Cit.*, p. 441-51.
- ⁴⁹ Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 95 and 100-01; Jacinto de Deus, *Op. Cit.*, p. 86; *Instrucoes do Marquez Alorna*, Part I, p. 64; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, 1922, pp. 65 and 52; For a biography of Frei Luis da Conceição, refer to Jacinto de Deus, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 97-107 and 87; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 45, pp. 235-38; Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 102-03; Fortunato de Almeida, *Op. Cit.*, Tomo III, Part II, p. 1016; *O Cronista de Tissuari*. Vol. IV, p. 88; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, 1922, p. 59; *MR* Vol. 117, fl. 53; Vol. 176, fl. 199, Vol.170A, fl. 109.
- ⁵⁰ Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, 1906, p. 11; *Bull. Patr.* Vol. I, p. 258; *Analees.*, Vol. XXV, p. 659; *The New Catholic Encyclopaedia*, Vol. V, p. 42; Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*, 1957, p. 23; After 1600 Portugal was under Spain till 1640.
- ⁵¹ C. R. Boxer, *Op. Cit.*, 1969, pp. 230-35.

CHAPTER V

THE
PROGRESS
OF THE
MISSION
(1622-1657)

CHAPTER V

THE PROGRESS OF THE MISSION (1622-1657)

In the seventeenth century, Portugal was the *efurjand* of the Dutch. Between 1640 and 1665, the Dutch seized Malacca, Burma, Macao, Malay, Indonesia, Nagapatnam, Tuticorin, Quilon, Ganganore, Cochin, Malabar, Cananore, Ceylon, Malabar and the Coromandel Coasts. The Nayak of Ikheri had seized the forts of Mangalore and Ganguly. The frairs surrendered Mazgaon, Mahim and Dadar to the secular clergy. Bombay was given as a dowry to the King of England. Pope Gregory XV decided to revive the missionary and the evangelical work and established the *Sacrae Congregatione de Propoganda Fidei*. Thereafter, the Vicars Apostolic were appointed by the Holy See and deputed to carry out the mission work in the areas that were outside the *Padroado* stronghold.¹

THE ERECTION OF THE MADRE DE DEUS PROVINCE: In 1622, the Recollects or the *Capuchos* in Goa were structurally and financially secure to be organized into a Province. The *Procurador*, Frei Manoel Baptista requested the authorities in Rome and Portugal to permit them to raise a Province. Frei Luiz da Conceicao, the Provincial of the Sao Thome Province sent Frei Manoel to solicit the support of the Pope in this regard. Pope

Gregory XV issued an Apostolic Commission entitled *Sacri Apostolatus* on 11th January 1622. According to this, he permitted the Recollects to erect the Madre de Deus Province so that the frairs who had committed themselves “to serve the most High in a life of stricter discipline... in peace and tranquility would fulfill their pastoral duties in a way that was salutary and convenient.” Till then, the Recollects were placed under the *Congregacao dos Discalcos Ordem Franciscana* of Spain. The King, Felipe II of Portugal approved the Apostolic Letter that was issued by the Pontifical Court. But, as he was unable to send his report to Rome, he requested the Collector of Portugal to suspend the Apostolic Constitution. He knew that if he had not done this, the Observants would have been accused him of misusing his Apostolic authority.²

In the meanwhile, the Commissary General, Frei Luis da Cruz came to India and executed the Apostolic Constitution. On 22nd September 1622, he implemented the *Religio Sarum Virorum Familias* at the request of Felipe II. According to the Statutes, the Commissary could not formally execute a Papal Decree without the permission of the Minister General of the Province. Frei Luis was accused of disobeying his Superiors. After some delay, the Brief was officially promulgated in Goa on 6th February 1623 and on the next day, the first Provincial Chapter of the Madre de

Deus frairs was held at Daugim, Goa. But, as the Provincial Frei Luiz expired, the Brief was executed by Frei Boaventura das Chagas who was nominated as the Apostolic Commissary. Frei Antonio dos Anjos was elected as the first Provincial Minister of the Recollects. These frairs wore a long, black, cotton robe, with a long cowl and a white girdle. They did not wear a scapular.³

In the same year, a Congregation of the *Reformados* was held in Spain. The Collector of Portugal passed a *Provisao* by which, he instructed the Provincial Minister of the Recollects in Portugal, Frei Antonio de Sao Luis to go to India. On 10th March 1623, the latter came to Goa and revoked the *Auctoritate Apostolica* because it was implemented without the permission of the Provincial Minister. The Pope had made it clear that the latter was supreme and that all the frairs of the Order had to obey him. During this time, the Provincial, Frei Antonio dos Anjos was in visitation to the North. In his absence, the Commissary General convened a Chapter on 4th June 1624 at which he instructed the Recollects to reduce the Province to a Custody. Accordingly, the Brief of Gregory XV was suspended and the Recollects were placed under the São Thomé Province. The Frairy in Daugim and the Houses at Cabo and Pilar were placed under a Guardian and Frei Anjos was dismissed. However, after some time the frairs of the Custody suspected the

validity of the Suspension Decree and Frei Antonio dos Anjos sent his representative, Frei Antonio de Santiago to Rome. The latter met the Holy Congregation of Religious and complained against the Commissary General. On 23rd September 1627, the Pope issued the *Letras Apostolica* entitled *Militantis Ecclesiae Regimini* by which the Superiors in Goa were instructed to re-erect the Recollect Custody into a Province. The frairs who had been elected to head the Province were re appointed. In 1628, the King instructed the Custos of the Recollects, Frei Antonio de Sao Jorge to resign. In April 1628, Pope Urban VIII issued a *Monitoria* that was signed by the Apostolic Notary, Janii Antonio Anticas. It was sent to Goa with the *Procurador*, Frei Antonio de Santiago. According to this, the Madre de Deus Province was raised and the *retiros* in India, Malacca and Macao were placed under it. Frei Antonio dos Anjos was re appointed as the Provincial Minister. When the authorities in Goa heard about the *Monitoria*, they refused to accept it. Frei João de Abrantes went to Daugim and tried to convince the frairs that the *Monitoria* was not valid. At night, he proceeded to the Madre de Deus Frairy and tried to remove Frei Antonio dos Anjos from his post. He also complained to the Archbishop. On 28th May 1628, the Archbishop clarified his doubts about the *Monitoria* and made him accept it. It was difficult to convince Frei Antonio dos Anjos and his co-frairs about the invalidity of the Decree. Hence, the

authorities decided to execute the Reerection Decree on 19th December 1628. Frei Antonio dos Anjos and the other frairs who were appointed in 1623 were reappointed.⁴

Some frairs were dissatisfied and appealed to the authorities in Rome to cancel the Re erection Decree. They argued that the appointment of the Provincial was approved by the Commissary General and by the local authorities but it was neither confirmed by the Apostolic Nuncio of Portugal nor by the authorities in Portugal and Rome. The former was the representative of all the religious who worked in Portuguese dominions. In October 1629, Pope Urban VIII, the Procurador, Frei Antonio de Santhiago and the Bishop Dom Luis de Britto confirmed the Re erection Decree. On 23rd September 1629, the Holy Congregation issued the *Bullarium Discalceatorum* by which the Recollects were given the right to build new Houses and monasteries. The authorities in Goa could not ignore the Decree. They were forced to promulgate the Decree and this put an end to all the controversies regarding the erection of the Province. Frei Antonio dos Anjos was reinstalled as the Provincial. Within six months, he fell sick and was removed per the General Constitution of 1630. In 1629, a *Pastoral* was issued in order to review the lapses that had caused contentions in the Madre de Deus Frairy, Daugim. This was announced in all the Churches of

the Archbishopric. The religious who plotted against the Decree were to be punished. To avoid this, some eminent frairs like Frei Joao de Sao Mathias requested the King to reduce the Province and save the frairs.⁵

Frei Antonio dos Anjos was succeeded by Frei Pedro da Madre de Deus who was elected at the Provincial Chapter of 1629. But, he and the Commissary General were inefficient. At the Chapter of 15th January 1631, he was succeeded by Frei Antonio de São George as the Provincial. From then onwards, the Provincials were elected at the Chapters that were held in Goa every three years.⁶

The authorities in Rome favoured the Recollects. This was clear from the reports that were sent by the Pope. On 1st July 1630, the *Propoganda Fidei* informed the Inquisitor, Frei Sao Francisco de Borges that they had received two letters dated 13th October 1627 and February 1629 that stated the number of heretics who were converted in Goa and the names of the Recollects who worked there. The Pope supported them because they were more in favour of the decrees that were implemented by him. Hence, they were granted several privileges. In a letter of 28th December 1629, Pope Urban VIII permitted the frairs of the Madre de Deus Province in India to build Houses and Churches because there were involved with converting the pagans.

Although the Madre de Deus Province was a separate Province, the division was not territorial and many a times, the Recollects worked within an area that was given to the other Orders as can be seen in the case of Rachol, Pilar and Cabo. But, this did not happen in the case of Observants. The Recollects had their *retiros* in remote areas to enable them to observe the Rule and devote themselves to prayer and penance. However, their opponents stated that they deliberately kept away from the active mission and concentrated on a contemplative life. The Portuguese believed that this was contradictory to the apostolic mission that was entrusted to them by the *Padroado*. In a letter of 18th February 1630, the Archbishop complained to the Viceroy about Frei Pedro da Madre de Deus, Provincial of the *Capuchos* and requested the King to arbitrate in this matter. However, the Viceroy favoured the Recollects because they looked after strategic points and helped him to defend the *Estado*. Antonio do Bocarro provided a description of Cabo and indicated that the fort was a strategically located as it could control the entry of the ships into the two Rivers, namely Zuari and Mandovi as well as the forts of Aguada and Mormugao. The House of Recollection there served as a shelter for the garrisons, a storehouse of the ammunition as well as a non-military checkpoint from where the activities of the enemies by the frairs were gauged.⁷

The Viceroy and the King were against the Recollects because they got involved in petty squabbles. This was clear from a letter of 27th November 1632, in which the Viceroy referred to the bad behaviour of the religious. He requested the King not to raise any Provinces in India, to instruct the General Chapter to reduce them to a Custody, to rename the *Casa dos Capuchos* as the House of the Observants and to place it under Portuguese frairs. The King tried his best to control the frairs. In one such attempt, the King instructed the Viceroy to inquire into the behaviour of the Commissary General, Frei João de Abrantes and to send the reports to him. But, the *Capuchos* tried their best to get the support of the authorities in Rome especially that of the Tribunal of the Holy Congregation, the Pope and the General Inquisitor of Rome. In 1633, they made a fresh petition to Rome. Sometimes their appeals were considered and they were allowed to enjoy certain priviledges. Their House at Pilar was converted into a House of Studies where the boys were taught prayers and hymns. Here, the frairs were trained so that they could be sent to the different mission stations in the Indies. This was not possible without the help of the authorities. In a letter of 4th March 1632, Cardinal Dom Alpornato complied with the request of the Provincial and the Definitors of the Discalced frairs of the Madre de Deus Province in Goa. He wrote to the Pope to renew the privileges that were granted to them because they had expired

at the end of ten years. A clear indication of the steady growth of the Recollects, was the increase in the number of frairs. In 1634, there were fifteen frairs in Cabo. By the next year, there were thirty five to forty frairs at Daugim. The Madre de Deus Province had one hundred and seventy five frairs the majority of which worked at Daugim, Cabo and Pilar.

In the first half of the seventeenth century, the Poor Clares of Macao made a petition to the authorities to permit them to establish of monastery in Goa that would cater to the brahmin vocations. They wanted to remain under the jurisdiction of the Madre de Deus Province, Daugim. Since, these frairs handled many mission stations; the Poor Clares were closely associated with the Recollects who helped them to forward a petition to the authorities. In a meeting held on 8th January 1641, the Council of States considered the petition and referred it to the King. The Reformed frairs had been favoured by Pope Urban VIII. He had issued a Brief that permitted them to build Convents in India. The King considered the request and in his letter to the Viceroy, he wrote about the Abbess and the religious of the Convent of St. Clara, Macao who had approached him for a permission to work among the brahmins in the City of Goa. He requested the Council of States to deliberate upon this. In the report of 23rd December 1651, the Council refused to permit them to build a

Convent there because it would be a difficult for the Sisters to find a place in Goa. Their desire to collaborate with the brahmins did not impress the Council. The latter argued that the brahmins only wanted two or three religious to found a small Convent for their daughters. This forced the Poor Clares to stop their efforts in this regard.⁸

The Madre de Deus frairs were placed under the immediate control of the Commissary General of the São Thomé Province, but were closely associated with the Pope. Hence, the authorities in Rome approved their activities in the mission field and endowed several privileges on them. A number of frairs had left the Observants and joined the Madre de Deus Province. The authorities in Goa and in Portugal had a favourable opinion about them. In a letter of 13th December 1664, the Viceroy stated that these frairs "... lead exemplary lives. They attend to the sick ... with great humiliation and danger to their lives. They go into the interior to care for the wayward, having converted many to our holy faith...". This was not liked by the Observants who criticized them because they were oriented towards a life of contemplation. But, it was clear that the frairs were active in the mission. They were invited to deliver sermons on special occasions, served as Chaplains to the garrisons, accompanied the fleet on expeditions and catered to the sick and to the poor.

Since, the Houses were located far away from the main towns and villages, several refugees and prisoners were given shelter there. In 1653, the Viceroy, Dom Vasco de Mascarenhas, Conde de Obitos was kept in the House at Cabo when there were political disturbances in Goa. He was later taken to Portugal.⁹ As such the Recollects contributed to the active mission without infiltrating into the Parishes that were under the Observants.

CHURCH BUILDING: The Parish Churches were a symbol of the Christian faith. A characteristic feature of this period was the gradual dispersion of the mission from the outlying areas into the hinterland. This was obvious from the Church building activities that indicated the intensive nature of conversions and the progress of the mission. Many old Parishes were subdivided and new Parish Churches were built. The old structures were rebuilt or repaired at the cost of the *gaoncars*.

In 1624, a Church dedicated to Santa Isabel; Rainha de Portugal was completed at Ucassaim after three years. It was intended to cater to spiritual needs of the inhabitants of Ucassaim, Poliem, Bastora and Punela. It was built at the cost of the *gaoncars*. In 1628, the Church of Virlasca (Serula) was built by a rich and pious Tertiary, Dona Anna de Azavedo, a widow of Christovão de Sousa. She built a Chapel that was dedicated to Madre de Deus in the *Camara* where she lived and donated her

houses, garden, palm groves and treasury to the frairs. On 14th December 1629, she gave an oral testimony to Frei Alphonsus do Nascimento, the Rector by which she handed all that to the Order. Her donation was to be acknowledged after her death. She wanted to be dressed in a habit of the Third Order. The Guardian, frairs of the Frairy in Goa, Rector of Serula and other parishioners, attended her funeral. She was buried in the main altar of the Chapel and five masses were said for her intension. The frairs exercised the duty of the parish priest there. In 1625, the Church of São Christovão, Tivim, was built at the expense of the *gaoncars*. It was meant to cater to the spiritual needs of the villagers of Tivim, Sircaim and Assnora. The Patron was the protector of the travelers. This Church was located at the extreme end of the Portuguese dominions in Bardez. The Parish Churches enabled the authorities to entrust the defense of the villages to the frairs and to the converts. Hence, they not only encouraged this but also sponsored such activities. In 1630, the *Ermida* of São Lourenço was separated from the Parish of Candolim and raised to an independent Church. It hitherto catered to a few fishermen and soldiers who were stationed in the fort of Aguada. The construction work was completed with the help of the Viceroy. On 22nd February 1636, it was donated to the Order by the founder, Viceroy Miguel Noronha, Conde de Linhares. Hence, it was called São Lourenco de Linhares. In the

sacristy, there is a delicate *vestaria* with his court of arms. The feast was celebrated with great pomp as it marked the opening of the *barra* for the ships at the end of the monsoons. In 1635, there were forty eight villages in Bardez, some of which had been incorporated into the others. Nearly eighteen Parishes had their own Churches. Aldona, was one of the largest villages in Bardez. It was located at the extreme end of the Portuguese possessions in the North East of Goa. Frei Manoel de São Mathias had crossed the River, entered the mainland and converted the people of Moira. The Church that was dedicated to the Immaculate Conception was completed by Frei Francisco de Barcelos in 1636. In the Church, there is a laterite pillar that belonged to an old temple. This indicates that it was built on the ruins of the temple. The Churches were built of leaves, mud and lime. Hence, most of them were damaged or destroyed because of the vagaries of time. By the mid seventeenth century, many *gaoncars* got converted either to preserve their old priviledges or for fear of deprivations and contributed towards such activities. The Church of Tivim that was burnt down during the Maratha invasions was rebuilt on its foundations by Frei Francisco de Barcellos in 1634. In 1638, the Church of Colvale was rebuilt by Frei Pierre de la Purificação.¹⁰ These were located over a large area and were concentrated along the extreme North and North East of Bardez. This indicated that they also served as centres of

defence from where the frairs exercised their control over the Christian inhabitants and sheltered the Portuguese who were sent there to protect the lands.¹¹

Between 1638 to 1648, there was a lull in Church building activities. The Churches that were built so far were financed by the *gaoncars*. In the remaining Parishes, individual frairs made an effort to raise new Churches. In 1649, Frei Hyeronimo Ferras founded the Church of Santa Anna, Parra. He brought the wood for the Church from the North and from the Convent of Chaul. It must be noted that money could not be easily procured from the State and the *gaoncars* because they had spent heavily to counter the internal and external threats. The frairs tried to cut down the expenses by using the material of one House to complete another. The Church of Moira, for instance, had the altar screens that were brought from the Frairy of St. Francis, Goa. In 1653, the frairs constructed a Church in Revora. It was dedicated to Our Lady of Victory and was intended to cater to the Christians of Revora, Pirna, Bassora and Nadora. Revora was a strategic area that was bordered by the *aldeias extra mouros*. Before this, it had been handed over to Mukund Rane alongwith Pirna and Nanora in 1609. It was now raised as a Parish and provided with a Church. The Church of Penha da Franca was about to collapse after twenty six years because of seepage from

the nearby river. In 1655, it was rebuilt by Frei Manuel do Lado. His service to the State was acknowledged and he was nominated as the parish priest of the Church for fifteen years by a Decree that was passed by the *Sacrae Congregação* of Regular Bishops dated 26th August 1666. This was also confirmed by Pope Clemente IX through the *Bula Religiosus Zelus* of 20th August 1667. In 1661, the Frairy of St. Francis was repaired using the alms that were collected from the Parishes in Bardez and the North. Most of the Rectories were under the frairs who administered the sacraments and instructed the locals in the faith.¹²

The Church building activities were a veritable index of extensive conversions. It is interesting to note that by the end of this period, the frairs had raised Parish Churches in all the eight chief villages of Bardez namely, Serula, Assaganv, Pomburpa, Calangute, Aldona, Kandoli, Nachinola and Parra. Only Saliganv did not have a separate Parish Church till the nineteenth century. Most of these villages were inhabited by the Brahmins. Besides, they raised another ten Churches in the strategic areas within the Province.

NATIVE REACTIONS: The authorities and frairs cooperated to extend the mission in Goa. The frairs structurally organised themselves and helped the Portuguese to implement decisions of

the Provincial Councils. Since, many of these policies were against the local customs and usages; they resulted in confrontations between the locals and the frairs. One such encounter took place in Dazannacho Vaddo that was inhabited by the Prabhus.

In the Parish São Miguel, Anjuna, the Rector tried to convert a local Hindu *gaoncar*. He informed the widow about the Royal law according to which, she had to bring the orphan child to the Church for baptism. The aggrieved woman disclosed this to the inhabitants of Chivnar Grande, Anjuna. The locals became furious and thrashed the frair so severely that he had to be carried into the Church and then shifted to the Frairy at Old Goa for treatment. The Portuguese authorities were equally harsh towards the locals. They referred the matter to Portugal. In 1628, the Court decided that the guilty had to be punished. Their houses had to be ransacked, destroyed and mixed with salt and the convicts had to be sent to the galleys on a life sentence because they had assaulted the Vicar. In memory of this, a *pedra de maldicao* was erected on the spot on the condition that no one should remove it. In spite of this, the situation did not improve and the people were determined to take revenge on the frairs. The frairs realized that the volatile situation could not be countered by force. On 25th November 1632, Frei Francisco de

Lisboa moved a resolution in which he appealed that the guilty should be pardoned and fined. The matter was discussed by the Council of States but the Viceroy refused to take any action. He opined that the appeals should be referred to the King. The King studied the matter and issued his Instructions on 21st January 1634. Augustinho, The Bishop of Cochin, Dom Frei Luiz Augustinho de Brito was authorized to punish Parbil Babuzo Adelza (?) Prabil and (?) Parbil who assaulted the priest and to pardon the others.¹³ From this, it is clear that the Portuguese frairs were very careful while dealing with the local people. In such cases, the King generally took the final decision and implemented it through an agent who lived outside the area. This was done to avoid any such recurrences.

The local dominant classes generally resisted the Portuguese conversion policies. In a letter dated 12th February 1652, the King instructed the Viceroy, Conde de Obitos to attend to the complaints of Frei Luiz de São João, *Pai dos Christaos*. He had referred to the locals in Bardez who hindered the progress of the mission. The Viceroy was determined to protect the interests of the Christians in Bardez. Within a short time, the problem was settled. In a letter of 8th January 1653, Conde de Obitos reported to the King that the Christians and *Pai dos Christaos* did not have anything to complain. The local resistance movements

in Bardez took place mainly because the frairs had converted several people and raised several Churches, both of which were threats to the local *gentios*.

In 1656, Pedro Borges was sent to Goa by the Bishop, Fr. Francisco do Castro. He sent a report to Rome in which he stated that there were eighty five Parishes in Goa of which twenty three were under the Franciscans. The frairs had not restricted their activities to the mainland. They tried to convert those who lived at the frontiers of their dominions in Bardez. Frei Manoel de Sao Mathias, the caretaker of the Parish of São Thomé, Aldona converted nearly four hundred people. Since he was familiar with the *gentios* and their books, he was able to confuse and convince many locals about the errors in which they lived the falsity of their deities and the irrationality of their religion. On one instance, he had a discussion with the main *jocim* who was forced to agree with the religious ideas of the frair. The disappointed *jocim* was determined to prove that the frair was wrong. He took the brahmins who were present there to the *pandit* who was in charge of the village. The *jocim* told the *pandit* about the Rector of Aldona who was an enemy of the *gentios*. The *pandit* willingly confronted the Rector but the latter convinced the villagers about his mission and brought them to his side. Some brahmins of Aldona challenged him to cross over to the mainland

and to discuss his ideas with the inhabitants there. The frair accepted the challenge and held discussions with some brahmins. Since, he was beyond the *Padroado* land; they arrested him and took him as a prisoner. When the *gaoncars* of Aldona heard this, they went to the *terra firme* and begged of the *pandit* to release him. However, the *pandit* refused to do so. For three days, the Rector was kept in prison along with his allies. The *gaoncars* approached the Viceroy. The Viceroy threatened to take action and burn the village. However, the *pundit* was adamant. Finally, after a lot of compulsion, the *pundit* decided to release the Rector. Before doing so, he invited the *gaoncars* and the Rector to eat with him. After food, they entered the *terra firme*. On reaching Aldona, many were converted and the village became the best Christian Parish in Bardez.¹⁴

The frairs had to take a personal risk to convert the people as the locals did not receive the faith in a docile manner. However, their success largely depended on the support of the *gaoncars* and the backing from the secular authorities. The *pandit* had tried his best to protect his co-religionists and the temples from the enemy of the *gentios* while the converts tried to help the Rector. Since such incidents are taken from the contemporary missionary accounts, there is a tendency to eulogise the efforts of the frairs and to discredit the attempts

made by the locals to counter the frairs. A narration spoke about the eldest son of a particular King who was killed by his father's men because he had decided to become a Christian. The Portuguese frairs called him a true martyr and decided to give him a Christian burial. When he was about to be buried, the earth opened in the form of a Cross and everytime it was filled with heathens it opened again and again. Such was the fictitious manner in which the missionaries described the locals who died in the faith.¹⁵

The natives generally resisted the anti Hindu legislations that went against the rights of the local people. Frei José de Christo, Rector of Revora had insisted that the children of non Catholic widows should be baptized. He was vehemently opposed by the locals because the latter were afraid of losing their properties and wealth to the State. In some cases, the Rectors personally dealt with these reactions. In Pirna, a group of people came to the Church and made a noise. The Rector thought that they were Maratha soldiers and tried to escape into the fort of São Thomé. But the moment he slipped off the Rectory, he was attacked him with stones. When he fell to the ground, he was killed by the locals.¹⁶ It was common for the frairs to encounter such difficulties in the Parish Churches as most of them were

close to the frontiers of the Portuguese dominions and many Rectors defended these areas.

The sporadic instances of violence indicated the hostility with which the local people resented the attempts that were made by the frairs to convert them.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE: The frairs received their income in the form of donations, grants and other non-monetary benefits. This was used to pay for the sustenance and maintenance of the faith and the faithful.

The heads of income can be broadly categorized into:

(a) **Royal Grants:** These took the form of grants that were sanctioned by the King to the religious. Most of these were directed to the Viceroy or other secular authorities.

In 1623, the frairs received an allowance of five thousand and five hundred xs. The King instructed the Viceroy to provide for the sustenance of the frairs and Dominicans. The frairs were also given alms and ordinarias to look after the converts and for maintenance of the Houses like Reis Magos. By a Royal Decree of 23rd November 1627, the latter was provided with one cow per week and fifty xs per annum for oil and wax to light the lamp of

the Holy Sacrament. This grant was made for three years and it had to be reconfirmed. In addition to this, it was allotted one thousand *xs* per year for the support of the orphans. Grants were made in the form of consignments that were temporarily kept at the Frairy in Old Goa before they were distributed among the religious. One such consignment that was worth six hundred and fifty *xs* and six *reis* was sent to the Treasurer of the *Estado*, Antonio Sidrão who kept it in the deposit of the Frairy. This was to be used for the mission in Omruz and for the *Misericordia* in Goa.¹⁷

The King did not sanction grants without keeping a check on the income and expenditure of the religious. In a letter of 3rd January 1630, the King ordered an inquiry into the income of the Royal College of Reis Magos. The inquiry indicated that there were religious, orphans, collegians and servants there. All of them hardly received a share of the proceeds because they were inadequate. The College received one thousand *xs* from the lands ever year and grants that included twelve *candis* of wheat and four *corjas* of cloth for the vestments for the frairs and the orphans. Besides this, they procured twenty *xs* per anum from the rice fields that were formerly a part of the temple lands. Though they received several grants, these were inadequate because most of the money was spent for what the boys ate and

drank. The King had to look after several religious Houses. In a letter of 24th December 1643, the Viceroy, Dom Jeronimo de Azavedo clearly stated that the King had to maintain the Frairy of St. Francis and the Houses at Reis Magos, Daugim, Cabo, São Boaventura and Pilar.¹⁸

Unlike the Houses, the Parish Churches did not receive maintenance grants as most of them were built and maintained by the locals. After the Churches were constructed, the frairs had to apply to the King for grants. The King approved of such grants only if he felt that their income from the local sources was inadequate to maintain the Churches. In a letter dated 8th March 1655, the King instructed the Viceroy to sanction a grant to five Churches in Bardez namely, those in Oxel, Moira, Revora, Aguada and Parra. The grants further depended on the capacity of the Viceroy to meet such expenses as the latter he had to depend on the local sources. This was evident from a letter of 20th December 1655, in which the Viceroy regretted that he was unable to pay the five Churches as the yields in Bardez were poor and he was facing shortages on account of the invasions. Though the frairs depended on the *gaoncars* for the construction of the Churches, the King paid the stipends to the because they were the personnel of the King. As the mission progressed, the number of frairs who claimed these stipends also increased. In

such a situation, the King attempted to control the expenditure on the frairs. In a letter of 12th March 1656, the King instructed the authorities in Goa not to pay any parish priest unless he obtained a certificate from the Secretary of the Holy Office of the *Estado* that he had been examined and approved by the Inquisitors.¹⁹ This method was used to pressurize the frairs to obey the Orders of the King.

This indicated that the frairs were dependent on him. But, this was not the case with the Church building activities for which the frairs depended on the local people.

(b) **Local Grants:** The frairs succeeded in getting the support of the new-converts and other inhabitants of the villages who contributed independently or as organized groups called *Comunidades*. These grants generally took the form of *dizimos* wherein the people had to contribute one tenth of their income for the mission. However, since the political control over religion had considerably relaxed, the inhabitants did not take such impositions seriously. In a letter of 23rd February 1622, the Viceroy informed the King that the inhabitants of Bardez, Salcete and the adjoining Islands did not pay the *dizimos* since the last fifteen years. Hence, although the Parish Churches were entitled to such stipends *de jure*, they hardly received such grants in time and as such they had to depend either on the alms of the faithful

or on the Royal stipends. They made periodic attempts to collect money from the people. This was clear from a letter of the Archbishop dated 24th March 1629, in which there was a reference to a negotiation that was made by the *Camara* by which the rich people and the other volunteers had to pay a tribute for the last six years. The *Camara* tried to meet the expenses of the Parish Churches and contributed towards the maintenance of the Houses. The *Camara Geral* of Bardez contributed eight hundred xs annually towards the maintenance of the College of Reis Magos. Besides this, the College was entitled to the proceeds of the rice field that was given to it by the Cardinal King as a royal endowment for the maintenance of the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament. The Father of Christians played an important role in this regard. On one occasion, there was a complaint against the lavish expenditure of the *Pai dos Christaos*, who was a friar. The people argued that his money came from them and that he had no right to waste it. There were also complaints against the parish priests who oppressed the people to contribute towards the Church projects and other works. The frairs approached the Village Council and got the help of the friendly and influential *gaoncars* in order to coax the others to make such contributions. In a letter of 12th February 1619, the *gaoncars* complained to the King that the people of Bardez were oppressed by the collectors, *Pai dos Christaos* and the parish priests and this happened

mainly because the King had allowed the Archbishop to appoint revenue collectors and to give jobs to his favorites. The parish priest also had say in this matter because he was under the Archbishop. Hence, the complainants argued that it was better if the Archbishop had set aside the revenue of certain villages for the purpose. The Father of Christians received a salary of one thousand *xs*. Of this, he paid half a *xerafin* per day to the palaquin bearer and spent a lot of money on the presents to the Archbishop, Inquisitors, and Judges and on sumptuous meals for the Viceroy whenever he visited Bardez. The frairs were generally in good terms with the *Camara* and were entrusted with several official secrets. This was done because the frairs wanted to use the *gaoncars* as intermediaries to exploit the other inhabitants. There was a reference to the records of the *Camara* that were kept in a Parish Church in Bardez. These were locked in the box that had two keys. One was kept by the Vicar of the Church who also maintained the books of the *gaoncars* and the other was kept with the *Camara*. In a letter of 28th December 1629, the Viceroy instructed the Factor to keep the minutes of the *Conselho* in a coffer at a Franciscan House. This coffer had three keys that were to be handed over to the factor, friar and scribe respectively. It must be noted that, the Churches in most of the villages were endowed with *varzeas*, which were former temple lands. The King tried to exercise his control over these lands and in one of his

letters, he instructed the local authorities to measure and record all these lands. Unlike the Observants, the Madre de Deus frairs were dependent on their own resources. In Nossa Senhora do Pilar, the expense of the twenty six religious who lived there were met by the inhabitants of the City of Goa. In fact, they maintained three such Houses in the Island that belonged to the same Province.²⁰

The early missionaries had used different resources to construct their Houses. It was reported that Frairy of St. Francis was built within the fortified City using the spoils of war that the Portuguese had looted, Royal grants and alms of the faithful. The brahmins of the City of Goa offered to build a Convent for the Poor Clares of Macao and to maintain them. The frairs had properties in the areas that were located outside their immediate territorial jurisdiction. The College of Reis Magos received an *ordinario* of a thousand xs from the *namoxins* of the temples that were located at Nachinola. The frairs had to systematically plan their expenditure because they had to sustain on the alms that they received over a period of time and had to submit the records of the King. Reis Magos received four hundred and sixty eight xs and two *tangas* for the sustenance of the local boys and eight *tangas* per week for cereals, oil, corn, vegetables and meat. In his letter of 2nd January 1631, Frei Simão de Nazareth rightly stated

that the College had no fixed income although it belonged to the Order. Similarly, the City authorities allotted additional grants to the frairs so that they would work with greater diligence. In a letter of 18th February 1630, the Archbishop wrote to the King that Frei Diogo de Santa Anna who had served as the Deputy of the Holy Office, Administrator of the Monasteries and as a Judge of the Second Instance was given one thousand xs by the City authorities to enable him to work better. This indicated that the Parishes in Goa were quite well off. Bardez itself paid thirty one thousand, eight hundred and forty two *tangas brancas* per anum to the State Treasury. The role of the *Comunidade* in building and renewing the Churches of Bardez was clear from a document of 17th August 1630. Several Churches were built by the alms provided by the *gaoncars*. The Frairies of the Madre de Deus Province were maintained almost entirely by the converts. In 1635, Bocarro observed that the Frairy at Daugim that had thirty five to forty inmates was maintained with alms, as it did not receive any help from the Royal Treasury. Hence, it was not worse off as compared to the other Houses. Some Churches were built by benefactors. The Chapel or *Ermida* of São Lourenço was built by Dom Miguel de Noronha, the Viceroy. He spent five thousand xs on the structure as is evident from an inscription on the wall of this Church. It was handed over to the frairs on 22nd November 1636. This Chapel was placed under a Chaplain who

also served the fort of Agoada but did not receive any grant till 1688. The Parishes that were approved by the King received annual grants though they were founded by the *gaoncars*. In 1635, all the sixteen Parishes in Bardez received grants except for Moira and Penha da França that were bequeathed to the Order by certain donors. The Parish of Moira received a grant from the villagers. Many Parish Churches in Bardez and Frairies also inherited lands outside Bardez. This was clear from a letter of 23rd February 1654, in which the King wrote to Dom Bras de Castro to instruct the frairs to meet their necessities with the proceeds of the Passo de Murgury. In the second half of the seventeenth century, the financial position of the *Estado* was so precarious that the Viceroy refrained from requesting to the King for grants. In a letter of 1st February 1655, the Viceroy Dom Castro made it clear that he had desisted from making such petitions because he knew the financial difficulties of the *Estado*. In fact, he tried to help the authorities by making several suggestions to improve their finances. In a letter of 4th January 1654, he proposed to the King that he should pass an *Alvara* by which all the estates that were confiscated had to be remitted to the State.²¹

From the above, it was clear that the local people supported the frairs and Houses when the Royal grants were not easily forthcoming.

(c) **Private Donations:** The frairs largely depended on the benefactors, local people and the secular priests to carry forth their missions. One such major donation was made by Donna Luisa de Madre de Deus by her testimony dated 21st December 1628. After the death of her mother, she disposed off her property and divided the income into four parts. One part was given as a payment for the masses to be said for the repose of the soul of her mother Dona Anna de Santa Maria, the second part was given to the *fabrica* of the Chapel of the Church that she and her mother had constructed at Serula, the third part was to be used to support the Coliege and for the upkeep of the Church and the fourth part was to be used for the maintenance of the frairs who served the Parish. Although it was financed by the Tertiaries, the Church was used by the parishioners and was placed under the jurisdiction of the Order and the *Padroado* head. Another Church that was dedicated to Nossa Senhora da Penha da Franca was located at Virlassa It was donated by a Tertiary, Dona Anna de Azavedo e Souza. On 16th December 1629, she signed a testimony in the presence of the Rector, Frei Afonso do Nascimento. She paid twenty *pardaos* to the priest of

the Frairy of St. Francis, Goa to bury her in the main alter of her Church, six *xs* to the Rector and five *xs* to the *Confraria* and *Irmandade* of Penha de França to accompany her body with a Cross, alms to the parishioners to attend her funeral, four *xs* to the Rector of Serula to attend her funeral and to say nine masses for her soul and ten *xs* to the frairs to say the funeral mass and for the other masses. The rice that was procured from her fields was to be used by the frairs and the cows, buffaloes and three hundred thousand *reis* were given to the *Confraria*. She bequeathed her house and properties in Virlasca, Aldona and Arpora and the money that she had lent, to the Order. The frairs were granted twenty *xs* a month as mass stipends, a quarter bottle of oil everyday to light the lamp in the Church and the expenses for the feasts. Hence, this Church was called a Private Church. The authorities took the responsibility of maintaining the cult at their personal cost. The Viceroy allotted two thousand *xs* to dress and baptize the catechumens of Bardez. Similarly, the Viceroy, Dom João da Silva Telo de Menezes, improved the *Ermida* at Cabo. Private donations were also made in the form of small grants by individuals for their Houses and Parish Churches. In the Church of Madre de Deus, a gold crown was offered by Dom Matildas, the widow of Miguel de Lima e Sousa whose mortal remains are kept there with an inscription. In the Frairy of St. Francis, Goa many benefactors and others were

buried in the main body of the Church. Their graves are still marked by their respective Court of Arms.²²

Apart from the Churches, other religious Houses were built and handed over to the frairs. In Valverde, a Hospice dedicate to Nossa Senhora de Saude was founded by Baltasar de Sa. The frairs managed to get some benefactors who helped them to stabilize the mission by overcoming difficulties and inconveniences. Oxel was attached to the Parish of Siolim. However, as the number of converts increased, the locals found it difficult to go to the Parish Church that was far away from their habitation. In order to solve their problem, a secular priest, Fr. Pedro Franco Godinho donated some lands including an area called Bauem Casana to the frairs by an instruction of 14th October 1648. Accordingly, the frairs sold the *varzeas* and raised an *Ermida* for the converts of Oxel, Chapora and the borders of Siolim so that they could attend mass on Sundays and Holy days. It was dedicated to Nossa Senhora do Mar. One hundred and thirty *xs* were kept aside for the masses to be recited for his soul and for the sustenance of the priest who was nominated there. The brother of Fr. Godinho, Frei Antonio de São Bernardino became the first Rector of this Church. One frair conducted the masses and services there. After some time, it was raised into a Parish and was entitled to a Royal grant. The frairs

in Bardez depended on the *gaoncars*. The latter rendered assistance to the frairs because most of them had been converted and even those who were not were keen on preserving their traditional rights. When the frairs could not procure their help, they directed their appeals to the King. This was clear from a letter of 5th December 1652, in which the King wrote to the Viceroy that Frei Hieronimo Ferraz had requested the King to render a little help to rebuild the five old Churches namely, those at Moira, Revora, Oxel, Parra and São Lourenco. When the King was not in a position to meet such expenses, the frairs tried to minimize the expenses on the same. One frair who had been to the North on visitation brought timber from Chaul and used it to build the Church and Rectory of Parra. He also brought the other articles that were needed for divine services from the Frairy. The Frairies were large, strong and well provided with religious men of Portuguese origin who could be relied upon. Hence, the Royal consignments were entrusted to them. In a letter of 6th February 1652, the King requested the Conde de Obidos to acquire all his payments and dues from the coffers that were kept in the Fairy at Old Goa. The frairs also got their resources from the mission stations abroad. This was quite feasible, mainly because Goa provided the personnel for the mission stations throughout the *Estado*. The funds that were harnessed in Goa were used for the mission in the areas that were recently

incorporated into the *Estado*. The Rectory of Our Lady of Victory, Bessora, for instance, was built with the help of the Rector, Frei Manoel Baptista who had collected funds from the City and Islands of Goa and from Bardez. This was done without even consulting the parishioners.²³

This indicated that the progress of the mission largely depended on the help of the local inhabitants especially some individuals who were called faithful and were given a place of honour below the main altar after their death.

THE MISSION THROUGH THE WRITTEN WORD-THE GROWTH OF THE KONKANI LANGUAGE: The frairs composed several books in literature, grammar and theology that were intended to help the frairs to learn the language and to enable the poor Christians and *gentios* to understand the Christian doctrine. Though the frairs converted several people in the Island of Bardez, they latter continued to communicate with the *gentios* and had relations with those who lived in the *terra firme*. Their Hindu relatives reminded them of their old religion, caste, obligations and status. Many of them turned back to idol worship, superstitions and some even raised temples and began to celebrate their festivals as they were not firm in their faith. In Bardez itself, many of their non-Christian relatives came to live with them and never ceased to remind them of their past. The

preachers in Bardez tried their best to learn the local language so that they could teach, preach and confess them. Boys and girls who were fifteen and ten years respectively were brought to the Parish Churches with their crosses where they were taught the Christian doctrine, hymns and prayers in the local language. Before the Sunday mass, a Chapter from a book was read and a sermon was delivered in the local language. During Lent, the Passions of Christ were preached in this language in some of the Parishes in Bardez. This would be followed by a *Passo de Passion* that was devoutly attended by the converts, *gentios* and the locals of the *terra firme* whose wives and children wept and beat their chests during the ceremony. This dramatic reaction may have served as a psychological boost for the religious in Goa who requested the Pope and the King to promote the local language. After 1627, the Canons of the Council of Trent and a Papal Brief stated that the local language was compulsory to carry on the pastoral work in the Parishes. At this time, the frairs had three masters, three preachers and some confessors who served the converts. The General Baptisms proved that the frairs were quite successful in the mission. The frairs were strongly against the secular clergy and criticized them because they pierced their ears and hoarded money for themselves and for their relatives.

In 1627, several accusations were leveled against the frairs. The Archbishop, Dom Sebastião de São Pedro stated that the frairs had neglected the local language. There was a strong appeal to expel the frairs and to dismiss the Regulars from the Parishes in Bardez. In his letter of 1628, he informed the Viceroy that the Parishes in Bardez were badly cultivated because the parish priests were not familiar with the local language. The Canonical Provisions were in favour of their removal. In a letter of 12th April 1628, the Archbishop repeated his complain and accused the frairs of being unable to carry out their responsibilities in the Parish Churches. However, the Viceroy did not interfere because he depended on the reports that were sent by the frairs. The Provincial had informed him that they had teachers and preachers in the language. In a letter of 13th December 1629, Frei Simão de Nazareth, Minister Provincial reported that they had three religious who were masters in the language. He sent a certificate to the King to testify the same. This frair complained about the bad treatment that the Franciscans had received from the Archbishop. The latter belonged to another Order and was overtly hostile towards the frairs. In 1628, he openly supported the appointment of secular clergy to carry out the parish activities because they knew the local language and could use it regularly in the ministry. The King was by and large influenced by such negative remarks. In a

letter of 12th April 1628, he warned the frairs about their ignorance in the language. He warned them that if they ignored it, their *ordinarios* would be withdrawn. The King insisted that the frairs should follow the decrees of the Council, Papal Briefs and the Royal Instructions. The Archbishop was supported by the *Camara Geral de Bardez*, which complained that the frairs did not take interest in the vernaculars and were not fit to administer the Parish Churches. However, the frairs argued that they had studied the language and that the Order had nearly twenty religious who instructed the Christians in Bardez in Konkani. The authorities proposed that the frairs should be examined by the Archbishop and the Inquisitor. But this did not materialize as the frairs disagreed to this. The accusations continued till the death of the Archbishop. The Viceroy always supported the frairs and stated that the frairs used Konkani to preach and confess in the Churches of Bardez and that they prepared booklets on the Christian doctrine in the same language. He accused the Archbishop of distorting his mind by complaining against the frairs till his last hour. In fact, he now blamed him for the disturbances in the City.²⁴

The authorities requested the frairs to acquaint themselves with the local language. In a letter of 9th December 1631, the Viceroy was instructed to examine and approve that the religious

knew the local language before they entered the Parishes. A copy of this Instruction was sent to the major priests of all the Parishes so that it could be implemented. The Decrees of the Third and Fourth Provincial Councils made it obligatory for the religious to translate the compendium of the Christian doctrine into a language that could be understood by the converts. By his Brief *Ex Debito Pastoralis*, Pope Urban VIII made it compulsory for the frairs to instruct the converts in the doctrine of Robert Bellarmine. The decisions of the authorities in Rome and Portugal largely depended upon the reports that were sent from Goa. The new Viceroy, Conde de Linhares was favourable towards the frairs and supported them. Moreover, the allegations that were leveled against the frairs prompted them to preach and write the Christian doctrine in the local language. As such, they made use of the written word to instruct the converts. The frairs had their own training centers. In Pomburpa, for instance, Luiza da Madre de Deus had founded a College where fifteen to twenty collegians were taught the Christian doctrine, reading, writing, singing, local languages and Latin. They were trained so that they could help in the conversion of the local people. Many *gentios* who heard such preaching opened their eyes and embraced the faith. The frairs also translated the Christian doctrine into Konkani. The frairs had three aims in completing such works. They wanted to teach catechism to the young men

and to the neo-converts, to follow the instructions of the Provincial Councils and to furnish a grammatical base for the European missionaries whose basic instruction was in Latin. The frairs were very meticulous and emphasized on phonetics, morphology, syntax and structure. Frei Christovaós work, for instance, was based on a synchronic model of scholastics that was current in Portugal. It was intended to enable the frairs to preach with greater dexterity. Frei Banha's vocabulary was also very copious.²⁵

One frair who contributed towards linguistics was Frei Gaspar de São Miguel. Around this time, there were several criticisms that the frairs in Asia had no time left after singing in the choir and burying the dead. This accusation was made at a time when the Crusade Spirituality fermented the Post Reformation period. Frei Trindade had attempted to counter this by recording the achievements of the frairs in the missions in the East. The works of Frei Gaspar, Frei Antonio de Saldanha and Frei Miguel de Almeida enabled the frairs to learn the basic grammar. This period was often called the Golden Age of Konkani literature. Frei Gaspar was a Portuguese who joined the Order in India. During his studies at the College of São Boaventura, Goa, he learnt the basis of the language. He worked in Bardez for thirteen years as the Rector of Mapusa and later as

the *Pai dos Christãos* of Bardez and devoted his time to study the language. He was the prime contributor of the Franciscan School because he had learnt how to make the new religion more attractive to the Indians by experience. He had several works to his credit. These included Pastoral works, apologetic or doctrinal works, polemic works and linguistic works.²⁶

Though the frairs wrote several books in the local languages and in Portuguese, very few of these works were published because they did not have a printing press in Goa and the books had to be sent to Portugal for publication. This could be done with the permission of the King. Frei Gaspar knew about this legislation and submitted a petition to the King in which, he requested him to give him this permission. On 5th February 1635, the Pope had instructed the authorities not to appoint a parish priest unless he knew the local language. The frairs supported this and frairs like Frei Miguel de Purificação made a personal representation to the King in this regard. When he was on his visit to Madrid, he carried two books, the *Vivekamalaand* and *De Vitis Apostolorum erumque Symbolo* and approached the Minister General of the Order, Frei João Baptista at Madrid. He succeeded in getting the permission of the King to publish them and it was stated that the King kept them on a table and admired the works in the presence of an audience. He then sent them to

the *Conselho Supremo de Portugal*. In a letter of 5th April 1645, the King instructed the *Conselho* to print at least one book at the expense of the Treasury. The Viceroy, Conde de Aveiras was instructed to inform him about the number of copies that were needed. The books were subsequently printed as the *Imprimatur* was dated 20th February 1645.²⁷

The frairs concentrated on language studies to counter the accusations that were leveled by the Jesuits were believed that they were the apostles and who sought an admiration for the work that they did. The frairs followed suit and tried to impress the authorities by taking the local language seriously. Frei Gaspar de São Miguel knew the language so well that he was appointed as a Censor by the Inquisitors to check the new edition of Fr. Stephens *Christa Purana* and to check whether it confirmed with the original. Frei Manoel Baptista worked in a similar capacity and his *Imprimatur* appeared thrice in the work of Fr. Stephens. Frei Christovão de Jesus was referred to as *Magister Theologus e Pracdicator* in the language.²⁸

The Viceroy, Dom Bras de Castro was not satisfied with the efforts of the frairs. In a letter of 1653, he wrote to the King that the frairs did not believe that it was their duty to spread Christianity. He wanted the King to send an Inquisitor to Bardez because the local situation demanded the knowledge of Konkani

catechism. In his letter of 4th January 1654, the Viceroy complained that the main cause of idolatry was the inability of the frairs to learn the local language. He wanted the King to allow the *negros* or the locals to teach catechism. He requested the King to issue an Order by which he could appoint a Master in the Languages and place him permanently either in the College of Reis Magos, which had twenty students, or in the Frairy of Goa. It was decided not to pay an allowance to the frairs unless they had a certificate that they were examined in the local language in the presence of the Viceroy and other dignitaries. The former had to be issued by the Secretary of the State. All these resolutions were approved by the King and were confirmed during the Viceroyalty of Manoel Mascarhenas Homen. They were implemented in Goa in the second half of the seventeenth century. The Viceroy, Conde de Sarsedas wrote to the Franciscan Provincial, Frei Lourenco de Conceição about an examination that was scheduled for 2nd March 1656 and requested him to inform the parish priests who were working in the local Parishes about it. This caused dissatisfaction among the frairs. The Franciscan Superiors assured the authorities that the language was already taught at the College of São Boaventura where there were nearly twenty frairs and a teacher who was very skilled and learned. The frairs who worked as parish priests were also informed about the letter. Except for the Jesuit Provincial, Fr.

Antonio de Almeida, the other religious obliged to it. The frairs complained that they should not be reexamined in the presence of the Apostolic Inquisitors. The King directed this appeal to the Inquisitor, Paulo Castellino de Freitas. In his report, the latter stated that this was compulsory. Within a short time, Frei Antonio de Santiago compromised with this and the problem was temporarily solved. The contemporary chroniclers stated that the zealous apostates of the divine word provided Bardez with the first Masters of the Spirit who knew the local language and who educated the others. The São Thomé Province had thirty two Masters in the Language who were also excellent preachers. Though, thirteen of them had died, eleven were good enough to preach in the local language from the pulpit and others were familiar with it. Hence, many *gentios* were familiarized with the teachings of Christ.²⁹

INVASIONS: Bardez and Salcete had been made over to the Portuguese Crown, but they were occasionally threatened by the local invaders. The frairs who worked outside the territorial borders of Goa faced severe difficulties and the frairs in Goa anticipated a probable attack. Moreover, since Bardez was bordered by the enemy territories, they posed a danger to the frairs who exercised their spiritual care over these areas. The frairs took great care to avoid such problems. In a meeting of the

Conselho do Estado on 28th January 1623, the frairs requested to the Viceroy, Conde de Almerante to help them to maintain the security of the fort of Bardez as it circumvented all the lands that were susceptible to the attacks from the Dutch. A similar appeal was voiced in a letter of 2^{8th} May 1622, in which the frairs asked for help against the Turks. The Viceroy, Conde de Linhares heeded to their appeal and started fortifying the lands in Bardez so that the enemy attacks could be resisted. The expenses for this were met by the *Camara*, Royal Treasury and proceeds from the temple lands. The authorities took up the task and the fortification was completed by 12th November 1633. The frairs advised the authorities on the steps that had to be taken to guarantee the security of Bardez. In a letter of 13th December 1629, the *Custos* of the Observant Province advised the Viceroy not to entrust with the *vizinhos dos mouros* to the seculars. He opined that the religious could be used to defend the borders of the Portuguese territories as they were reliable and were dependent on their Patron for their sustenance.³⁰

In the last half of the seventeenth century, Goa was threatened by several enemies. The frairs tried their best to ensure their security. In a letter of 6th December 1653, they advised the Governor and the *Conselho do Estado* that the leaders who lived on the other side of River of Bardez could help

in the defense of the lands. Five to six thousands xs were allotted to complete the defenses so that the *mouro* could not enter the Islands. The authorities were afraid of a probable alliance between the locals and the enemies. In a letter of 9th December 1653, the *Conselho do Estado* referred to the Bishop of Chrysopolis and instructed the Governor to meet the Councillors and to decide the ways and means of dealing with the Bishop who was helped by a local brahmin from Serula. Baltesar de Mascarhenas was sent to compromise with the locals who lived in the Bijapuri lands. However, they had little respect for the frairs, Jesuits and for the Holy Office. The Bishop Dom Matheus de Castro was responsible for influencing them as he himself hoped that an invasion would hasten the collapse of the Regime. In 1654, the Marathas attacked Goa and an army of nearly four hundred men entered Bardez. Another group of two thousand soldiers invaded this Province through Tivim. Since the frairs had a Parish there, many Churches were damaged and many frairs were hurt in the course of the invasions. Frei Antonio de Santa Clara was killed and three thousand inhabitants from Bardez and Salcete took refuge in Kutur, that was twelve miles East of Khanapur, in order to escape the ravages of the Maratha invasions. The religious who lived in the Frairies helped the garrison and five frairs fought aside the Captain of Bardez, Antonio de Sousa Coutinho with the Cross in one hand and the

Sword in the other. Frei Antonio was a Captain on one of the ships that brought reinforcements from across the River Chapora. Frei Antonio da Conceição, Vice Commissary entered the fort of Reis Magos with a garrison of fifty frairs. He was busy guarding the fortress and the frairs helped the Captain, Francisco Henriques Pinto. Another group of frairs served as a reserve force in the College. Five frairs accompanied the Captain. It was in this situation, that the frairs were compelled to learn the *lingua Maratha* so that they could communicate with the enemies and unearth their plots. The Marathas tried their best to pressurize the Bijapuri General, Abdul Aquimo to conquer Bardez. The Portuguese had no other alternative but to seek the help of the local inhabitants. In the meeting on 25th May 1654, the Governor and the Councillors including Frei Antonio de Trindade, Provincial decided to take the help of the locals to repair the defenses and to resist the *mouro* at Tivim. In 1654, the *Idalção* attacked these lands and conquered them. In a letter of 8th August 1654, it was clear that the Portuguese were preparing to fight a war against the *mouro*, Abdul Aquimo who operated from Bicholim. The Viceroy was very sure that he could not expect much help from the Christian inhabitants as they were not firm in their faith and though they pretended to be faithful to the Portuguese, many influential members of the General Assembly had decided to help the *mouro* and to give their territories to him.

The Portuguese sent their armies to Tivim and Salcete respectively and the authorities were happy with the progress. In a letter of 5th September 1652, the Governor, Dom Bras de Castro praised the valiant soldiers who arrived that at the right time along the River Chapora. During this expedition, Frei Antonio lost his life. By the next year, the threat became more serious as the *Idalção* tried to reassert his control over the Provinces that he had ceded to the Portuguese. In a letter of 3rd January 1655, it was clear that he was given an entry into Bardez and the offensive points like the Passo de Tivim and the *machuas* on the river. The Portuguese had failed to fortify the land and the sea. The invaders did not destroy any Church or kill any frair. The only case of violence was reported in the Parish of Santa Isabel, Ucassaim. The local Hindus and the main Christians of the village decided to go out at night and call the Rector from the Church on the pretext that one of the parishioners was seriously ill. They decided to pounce on him and beat him. However, a poor, old Christian woman who was given alms by the Rector, Frei Sacramento on several occasions overheard the plan. One afternoon, on the pretext of collecting alms, she met the Rector and warned him that certain important people were planning to kill him. When the Rector heard this, he was shocked. However, this can hardly be called a plot by an invader because the inhabitants irrespective of their religion went

against the Rector for other reasons as well. Another incident took place at Verem. The Commander, Manoel Soares Velho went to Verem alongwith five frairs, pillaged some houses and sold the goods. The culprits were caught. During this incident, seven people including the daughter of Dom Christovão Severim and two frairs were seriously wounded. Such stray incidents occurred till 1755 when the Portuguese concluded a treaty with the *Idalção*. The latter was driven beyond Bardez.³¹ After this, the situation was peaceful because it was brought under the control of the Portuguese.

CONVERSIONS: The frairs entered the new mission stations and founded several Parishes in Bardez and other parts of Goa that lay on the fringes of the Portuguese territories. The Provincial Minister, Frei Gaspar de Conceição baptized nearly seven thousand souls at three General Baptisms that were held within two years. In the same year, Frei Antonio de São Bernardino, Rector of the Nossa Senhora dos Milagres, Mapusa and Frei Francisco de San Antonio, Rector of Nerul conducted three General Baptisms in which they baptized the Queen, Prince and the relatives of the royal family of Kidyal. In another baptism, six hundred boys and girls were baptized. In a letter of 9th January 1623, the Inquisitor of Goa, Francisco Borges de Sousa and João Fernandes de Almeida referred to the scandalous incidents that

were faced by Frei Luis da Conceição when he celebrated of the divine services. The King took a lot of interest in conversions and in his *Carta Regia* of 1625, he personally instructed the frairs to help the Viceroy and to work for conversions. Those who were converted were appointed as *merinhos* and became strong protectors of the frairs who lived in the Parish Churches in Bardez.³²

A major achievement during this period, was the mass baptism of the brahmins from Moira by the Provincial Minister, Frei Luis de Conceição. He baptized Three hundred gentios. In another General Baptism that was held on 9th January 1624, six hundred people were converted and the Catholic population was twenty seven thousand. This was evident from the *Rois da Christandade de Bardez*. In his letter, Frei Francisco de Negrão stated that he baptized seven thousand, five hundred and thirty four people. During his tenure, there were thirty two thousand Christians. However, this figure seems to be exaggerated because the Official Roll of 1630 referred to twenty seven thousand Christians in Bardez. Between 1633 and 1692, seven hundred were received into the Church. Trindade stated that three fourth of the people in Bardez was converted. This was possible because of collaborative effort. In a letter of 13th December 1629, the Provincial acknowledged the help of the Archbishop and the

Viceroy in their efforts. The baptism figures impressed the authorities in Portugal. In a letter of 24th December 1633, the King expressed his gratitude to the Viceroy for helping the Franciscan Provincial to celebrate a General Baptism in the Frairy at Goa in which seven hundred people were baptized. In another letter of 13th December 1634, the King congratulated the frairs and promised to help them with money and offices that were to be given to the neo-converts. Such promises were made in the response to the high sounding letters that were directed by the frairs. In 1634, Frei Trindade celebrated several General Baptisms in Goa. At one of these, he baptized five hundred people. The Bishop of São Thomé, Dom Paulo de Estrela attended the ceremony. The frairs adopted a policy of extensive and intensive conversions. Baptism ceremonies were held in the Frairy at Goa and in the Parishes in Bardez. Within three years, two General Baptisms were held at which nine hundred people were baptized. The following table indicates the Parish wise distribution of the number of converts, communicants, children and those who were confessed. The first group was already baptized while the second and the third were eligible for the same. The children included those who were below the age of fourteen.

Parish	Converts	Communicants	Confession	Children
Reis Magos	nil	200	3400	584
Nagoa	nil	3337	100	857
Aldona	nil	700	561	576
Penha de França	nil	66	900	nil
Siolim	nil	80	1700	700
Nerul	nil	215	1413	223
Salvador	nil	107	1125	200
Serula	nil	81	2170	530
Colvale	nil	nil	1077	322
Mapusa	nil	12	200	236
Calangute	nil	80	1540	434
Candolim	nil	100	1705	640
Anjuna	nil	20	1316	415
Guirim	1100	4	nil	420
Virulsa	nil	606	900	277
Moira	472	12	402	3280
Tivim	943	nil	nil	400

In 1635, the total Christian population of Bardez was twenty seven thousand. Though the above table gives a Parish-wise distribution of the converts as well as those to be baptized, we should note that the statistics pertained to the number of Christians in a Parish and not in the village. A single Parish often catered to several villages. Pomburpa, for instance, included Olaulim, Vellatim and Hecassim. Nagoa included Parra, Arpora and Saligão. The number of converts depended on the size of the village. Some Parishes like São Diego, Guirim had few converts as compared to big Parishes like Aldona or Calangute. Moreover, the Parishes that were recently founded, like Moira, had a comparatively large number of people who were yet to be converted. Some villages were almost entirely inhabited by the brahmins. For instance, Moira had five *vangors* of Brahmins and

seven temples whose *mahajans* were all Gaud Saraswats. The far away parishes like Colvalle and Anjuna had more people who were yet to be converted because many inhabitants from the villages which were converted earlier had migrated to the mufussil areas to evade conversion. The converts were lured by several benefits. This was clear from the Royal letters that allotted grants to enable the frairs to conduct the baptisms. The mission was handled by several frairs. The *Junta das Missoes* reported that there were one hundred and seventy seven frairs in the São Thomé Province while forty three frairs were attached to the Madre de Deus Frairy. In 1636, there were four hundred Observant frairs and one hundred and sixty *Recollects*. Besides the dominant classes, the frairs also baptized those who were poor. The latter actually sustained on the crumbs that were thrown by the religious.³³

The dominant classes offered themselves for conversion to preserve their old customs and privileges, as in the case of Moira. The converts who helped the religious in their enterprise were given a preferential treatment even after death. Dona Anna de Azavedo, the foundress of the Church of Penha da França, for instance, was buried in the sanctuary of the Church. Some of the benefactors of the Church of Candolim were also buried inside the Church. This was done at the instance of the religious

authorities. The Visitor, Andre Palmeiro stated that the brahmins who had died in the *Casa dos Cathecumenos* should be buried in the place behind the altar. The frairs played an important role in conversions. Apart from preaching, converting and baptizing the local inhabitants, the frairs also focused on the social apostate. They maintained Infirmaries and Schools in their Parishes. Pomburpa, for instance, had a Parish school where fifteen to twenty children learnt the Christian doctrine, reading, writing, arithmetic, music and Latin. Many of these children later helped the religious. The Superiors send some talented frairs to improve the missions in certain areas. Frei Manoel de São Mathias was sent to the Rectory of Aldona by the Commissary General. He took care of the Parish for four months but converted four hundred people to the faith. Fifteen days after the feast of the temple that was located opposite the *terra firme*, he said a mass for Christians on Sunday. One hour later, the people who lived there offered themselves for conversion. The frairs also helped the other institutions to carry out the mission. The baptism records stated that three thousand, six hundred and seventy one people were brought to the Islands where they were baptized. The *Misericordia* had a hospital of Nossa Senhora da Piedade that was endowed by Conde de Linhares and administered by the frairs. Many local Princes lived in the College of Reis Magos. The frairs sent periodic records to Portugal but the Kings soon

realized that many of the contents especially those related to the number of converts were exaggerated. On 17th November 1630, he instructed Simão Falcao de Mendonca to make it compulsory for the frairs to submit some certification to prove that they converted the *gentios* in Bardez and Bacaim. Nevertheless, the King appreciated their efforts. In a letter he stated, "... one cannot tell how much they helped the inhabitants of this fatherland ... the help given by the frairs and how many *gentios* came to Christ by their preaching and wonderful example". From the beginning, the Crown was supportive towards the frairs. However, the Portuguese kept a check on them. In January 1624, Conde de Almirante informed the Chancellor that the King wanted him to look into the behaviour of the Franciscan Provincial and to settle the problems between the latter and the Commissary General. It is primary because of such efforts that the mission progressed. In 1635, the Observants had nineteen Frairies, three Vicarates, six Colleges and one hundred and seventy eight Parishes under them. In Bardez, they had eighteen Parishes at a time when the Padroado was at its apogee.³⁴

The frairs generally depended on the support and cooperation of the dominant classes especially when they wanted to found a new House. In 1641, the Poor Clares of Macao forwarded a petition to the authorities by which they wanted

permission to found a monastery for brahmin vocations. Since the nuns of the Second Order were close to the frairs in Goa, they knew the importance of the monastery. But, in the meeting held on 8th January 1641, the *Conselho do Estado* refused to grant them permission because the King had instructed the authorities not to allow them to build a Convent without his permission. In 1651, they tried again. In a letter of 30th January 1651, the King wrote to the Viceroy that the Abess and the religious of St. Clare wanted the permission to found a House in the City of Goa for the brahmin girls. However, both the King and the *Conselho* flatly refused on grounds that it was difficult to find a place in the City of Goa. This indicated that the efforts of the missionaries largely depended on the secular authorities. During this time, the authorities were largely supportive of the Diocesan prelates. In a letter of 5th December 1652, the King instructed the Viceroy to send a report on the secular clergy. In a letter of 4th January 1654, Dom Bras de Castro clearly supported the secular clergy because there were great scandals in the Parishes and among the Christians of Bardez where idolatry was still practiced by the inhabitants. The main cause of this was that the Vicars were given *ordinarios* for their work. But, they rarely bothered to learn the local language and forced a *negro* to teach the Christian doctrine to the converts. The King instructed the Viceroy to ensure that the College of Reis Magos and the Frairy of St.

Francis had a Master in the Language. Moreover, he had made it clear that no religious would be paid the *ordinario* unless he had obtained a certificate from the Secretary of the State that he was examined in the presence of the Viceroy. This had been done to ensure the wellbeing of the converts. The frairs were given the help of the *confrades* who formed associations called the *Confrarias*. The *Confrarias* were important associations that were formed in almost all the Parishes in Bardez. The frairs succeeded in the mission and had nearly one hundred and twenty Rectories. In Bardez, nearly one thousand, six hundred and seven people were converted and were placed under the spiritual care of the Portuguese frairs. This was clear from a letter of Dom Braz de Castro who wrote to the King to instruct the Provincial of the Order to hasten the mission and to propagate the Christian faith by sending Pastors who would instruct them. The frairs tried to remove the vestiges of idolatry by conducting *Autos da Fé*. The Commissary General, Vicars, Definitors, Provincials and others tried their best to carry out the services and to teach the doctrine. This ruled out the fact that Bardez was entirely converted. Many of those who were baptized were already influenced by their non Christian relatives. But, both the *Conselho de Bardez* and the Provincial admitted that the frairs yielded good results.³⁵

THE RELATIONS WITH THE SECULAR CLERGY: Between 1622 and 1657, the *Estado* was plagued by several reverses including a chronic shortage of manpower. The Portuguese were involved in a global struggle with the Dutch, British and the rulers of Bijapur who their territories in Goa. The Portuguese ships rarely frequented the Indian seas and the frairs had to provide theological training and formation to their missionaries in Goa. In 1633, the *Capuchos* of the Madre de Deus Province had their own College in Pilar that was called *Universidade das Sciencias, Artes e Theologia*. They also had Schools where they trained boys in reading, writing, arithmetic and Latin. The Observants had a school in Pomburpa. Many local Princes studied at the College of Reis Magos. Priesthood was by and large restricted to the local nobility and many native brahmin students became secular priests and worked in the Parishes with greater success as they were eloquent in the local languages and were well acquainted with the local people. The authorities also favoured them. In a letter of 1627, the Archbishop appealed in favour of the appointment of Indians as Vicars. The Viceroy forwarded a similar appeal. As a result, many lay people left or neglected their military duties and entered the Religious Orders and the Provincial had to face problems related to the choice of missionaries. The authorities tried to control this by forbidding the soldiers from entering the Religious Orders. In a letter of 8th

November 1630, the King sent strict Orders to the Provincial not to accept soldiers into the Novitiate. He complained that nearly one hundred and twenty soldiers had already joined the Order and three hundred were planning to do so. As a precautionary measure, the secular authorities tried to control the elections so that the suitable candidate was elected into the higher offices in the Order. The Provincial proposed that the election processes should be carried over a period. It was suggested that the General of the Order and the Congregation should elect the Provincial, Definitors and the Custos. Several Novitiates and Study Houses were founded in Goa where both the Portuguese and Indians were trained for priesthood. In the College of Reis Magos, there were nearly eighty religious of which only one fifth were Portuguese. The formation of the priests was very strict. Every Friday of the year and three times a week during Lent, they had to recite the *matinas* at midnight. They had to observe silence and dedicate fifteen minutes to mental prayer. Only sixteen were allowed to become frairs and the other collegians were qualified to teach. One of the students of this College was Dom Matheus de Castro. He had appealed to the Pope and the King to get a high ecclesiastical post. Because of this, the Provincial of the Franciscan Order requested the King to execute a Royal Order by which the religious in India were prohibited

from going to Rome or Portugal without the permission of the Viceroy.³⁶

The frairs never supported the *clerigos pretos*. The reason is clear from the letter of the Provincial Minister dated 13th December 1629, in which he complained that the native clergy did not command much respect because most of them had pierced their ears and were busy acquiring fortunes for themselves and for their relatives. Even when they were appointed as soldiers and Chaplains, they were loyal to the locals and not to the Portuguese. The relations between the frairs and the secular authorities largely depended on their personal contacts. The Viceroy, for instance, had good relations with the Provincial, Frei Simão de Nazareth because he believed that the frair was well equipped to handle his post. He wanted him to be appointed as the *Bispo Letrado*. On the other hand, frairs like Frei Jeronimo de Abrantes was discredited for being imprudent and rough. His behaviour was clearly seen during the elections of the Provincial in 1630, when Frei Jeronimo joined the *mestiços* and instigated them against the Portuguese frairs. Conde de Linhares wrote to the Crown that many frairs were intemperate even on the pulpit unlike the Jesuits who were moderate and well behaved. Though the authorities favoured the local priests, the frairs were against the admission of *castiços* into the Religious

Orders. The frairs who were born in Portugal tried their best to prevent a Creole from holding high offices in any branch of the Franciscan Order in Asia. They believed that although their parents were Portuguese in blood, Indians ayahs had suckled them in their infancy and their blood was contaminated. Frei Miguel da Purificação wanted the Indians to be admitted into the Order. He took an Indian syndic with him to show the authorities the difference between the pure white races in Asia and the Indians. Subsequently, he was able to secure a Brief from the Pope by which the former was allowed to hold some offices in the Order. The internal political threats forced the authorities to be careful while admitting the novices into the Order. The King was against admitting the *mestiços*. In a letter of 7th January 1634, he clearly stated that any person who was born in India should not be received into the Order without the permission of the Custos because of security reasons. This does not mean that the frairs were the best. The Governor General clearly stated that the Dominicans and the Jesuits were relatively good as compared to the others who were incorrigible. When the Augustinians cooled off after their quarrels, the Capuchins would begin theirs. The Franciscans and the Carmelites behaved likewise. This largely affected the state of the mission. In his letter of 10th December 1633, the Viceroy stated that while the Jesuits cultivated any souls in Salcete, the Franciscans,

Carmelites and Augustinians *se canção pouco*. The Viceroy was apprehensive about the manner in which the frairs were recruited. In a letter of 15th February 1635, he wrote to the King to instruct the Commissary General about the methods that were used to recruit the sons of India as his instructions had not been obeyed so far.³⁷

The policy against the admission of the locals hastened the decline of the mission. This state of affairs continued till 1640, when the Restoration took place in Portugal and the Portuguese freed themselves from the Spanish Captivity. Portugal had its own *Commissarius Generales Lusitaniae*. Till this time, the Minister of the *Provincia Portugaliae* was delegated as a representative of the Portuguese frairs in the Spanish Court. After the appointment of the *Commisarius*, he was given full powers over the Portuguese Provinces. However, the Provinces in the *Estado* did not accept his authority and severe differences took place. In such cases, the Roman Curia was forced to intervene. The King also took a decision against the admission of the locals into the Order. In his letter of 5th March 1643, the Viceroy communicated the Instructions of the King to the Commissary General by which he stated that all the future Provincials and Guardians in Goa and Colombo had to be Portuguese who were born in Portugal. The Chapter in Goa went

ahead and elected Frei Antonio de São Alexio, a Portuguese born in Portugal as the Provincial. To avoid any further confusion, the Pope Innocent X issued the *Instauranda Regularis Disciplinae* that banned the recruitment of novices for the next ten years. As a result, the number of frairs working in the São Thomé Province declined from five hundred to two hundred and forty. The earliest documented evidence of an Indian to be admitted in the Order was found in 1653. The frairs continued to be trained in Goa as per the *Acta* of 1643. There was a reference to a letter of Fr. Tescopagam who wrote to the Commissary in India that the frairs had two Houses in Goa where the novices were trained. The Frairy of St. Francis had a Chair for Theology, Morals and a class for Latin and Konkani. The Madre de Deus Province also had their own House of Studies where the *Capuchos* were trained. The Madre de Deus Frairy at Daugim served as a Novitiate.³⁸

The disturbances in the Order were described by the Venetian traveler Manucci: "... I will say something about this City of Goa which as it seems to me is dominated by some disquieting planet or by demons who throw it into confusions filling it with murder, disunion and oppression, I have tested with experience ... I must add that it is the same thing in the Convents of men dedicated to religious life". The frairs had rarely

maintained friendly relations with the Jesuits. Formal occasions were the best events to study their relations. Between 10th and 19th February 1624, the canonization ceremony of Francis Xavier was held. On the last day, a procession was taken from the College of St. Paul to Bom Jesus. At the back, several Jesuits dressed in their Capes carried the body of the Saint that was enclosed in a silver canopy and the effigies of the Saint. The priests from Salcete carried the Crosses. The frairs did not join the celebrations because they were jealous of the Jesuits who had an upper hand in Church affairs and held important positions. The frairs believed that their efforts were hardly appreciated because they concentrated neither on writing their history nor on getting their books printed. The frairs clashed with the Jesuits over alms. Being a Mendicant Order, it was customary for the frairs to go about begging for alms. In the heydays of the Portuguese seaborne Empire, rich alms were forthcoming from the merchants and benefactors. However, by the seventeen century, trade was in its twilight phase. The conflicts between the frairs and the other religious had created disturbances and the King was forced to interfere. In a letter of 6th February 1652, the King wrote to the Conde de Obidos to decide the means of resolving the conflicts. There was a conflict on the use of the inheritances of the dead benefactors. In a letter of 23rd January 1653, the King ordered the Viceroy to inquire into

the doubts raised by the Jesuits, frairs and *Misericordia* regarding the deposits of the deceased. The resolutions were taken. In a letter of 26th January 1654, the King wrote to the Governor, Dom Bras de Castro that a new *Alvara* should be passed regarding the inheritances because they had caused severe problems between the religious. Around this time, the Jesuits amassed properties and wealth. This prompted the Viceroy, Dom Felipe Mascarenhas to inquire into their immovable assets. Subsequently, they were found guilty of misappropriations. The frairs and Councillors were quick to level accusations against the secular clergy. They warned the authorities that the *castiços* should never be admitted into the Order. The frairs who worked in the Parishes of Bardez did not allow the locals to call a native priest for sermons and confessions even during Lent.³⁹

Hence, we can conclude that the relations between the different Orders were not very cordial. The main clashes occurred over the appointments and resources.

RELATIONS WITH THE STATE: The frairs faced three major problems namely, the threat from the *Idalção*, the global struggle with the Dutch and the conflict between the *Padroado Real* and the *Propoganda Fidei* after the Restoration of 1640. The State had financed the missionaries in the East and the frairs were the agents of the King. In a letter of 18th February 1622, an account

about the religious and religious matters was sent to the King. The Archbishop was happy with the frairs because the Provincial Frei Christovão de Lisboa had helped the Church. The authorities had to keep aside a considerable amount of money for defense and sent it to the frairs. The Commissary General, Frei Francisco de São Miguel wrote to the King that they received the grants that were sent in the ships that came from Lisbon. The frairs in the Frairy of St. Francis kept the money that was allotted for the mission. The King took a lot of interest in the missions. In a letter of 7th March 1623, the King instructed the Viceroy to inform the Superiors of the Religious Orders to brief him about the progress of the religious every year. In a letter of 1st January 1624, he made it compulsory for the Superiors to send the information about the mission as well as the names of the Provinces and the Superiors in the mission field.⁴⁰

The frairs rendered their service to the State especially in matters related to defence. Frei Antonio da Natividade who studied at the College of Reis Magos died for the faith at Mombaca. It must be noted that young boys from Lisbon came to Goa at a young age and studied at this College. The King instructed the Viceroys, Conde de Vidgueira and Dom Francisco da Gama to send the religious from Goa on such expeditions because they underwent faith formation there. The Archbishop,

Alexio de Menezes agreed to send the frairs to Zanzibar and Ampaza to serve as parish priests there. There was a reference to a Rector of Reis Magos who was formerly the heir Prince and who surrendered the Crown in favour of the Portuguese. There was also a reference to Frei Constantino de Christo who died for the faith. The Viceroy, Dom Miguel de Noronha gave the frairs a House at Carambolim at the request of some *chatins* and an *Ermida* that was built at Aguada. In 1630, the Viceroy left the City of Goa to Chaul with a fleet that had many Christians and frairs. In Danda, the Malabar pirates killed several frairs. It is interesting to note that the frairs were against the recruitment of soldiers into the Religious Orders because of which the number of frairs had increased. In a letter of 22nd February 1633, the King commented about the rapid increase in the number of soldiers who frequented the Religious Orders since the last forty years. After they arrived in Goa, the soldiers were exhausted at the end of a long and weary journey and sought relief in the Frairies. The King was upset about this because the soldiers were needed to defend the *Estado*. Accordingly, he requested the authorities to solve this problem. The Archbishop instructed the Religious Orders not to accept the novices from the military. Any changes in the *Estado* could not be undertaken without a consultation with the Viceroy. In this case, the Viceroy strongly supported the decision. In a letter of 18th February, the

Archbishop wrote to the King that nearly one fourth of the soldiers had received the habit and that there were nearly seventy soldiers in the Order. However, he could not do much in this regard and requested the King to instruct the Provincials of all the Orders not to receive the soldiers because there was a shortage of men for war. But, his Order was not followed because the frairs were trying their best to compensate for the shortages of manpower to look after their missions in different parts of the *Estado*. The King now decided to reduce the number of frairs and Houses because he felt that there were more Houses than those that were needed. The authorities in Rome realized that Portugal was not in a position to handle the missions but Portugal clung to its *Padroado* privileges. The Archbishop made his stand very clear. In a letter of 12th April 1628, he wrote to the Viceroy that he had doubts about the Orders issued by the Kings for the colonies because there were religious who worked as parish priests there without the approval of the Ordinary. The *Mesa da Consciencia* had also received instructions that were not clear. Many frairs had helped the Portuguese to defend the border areas especially Bardez. This was one of the reasons as to why seculars were kept out of the Orders. Since the aspiring secular clergy belonged to the local dominant classes, there was a possibility that they would ally with the local rulers. It must be noted that many villages in Bardez formed a border with the

territories that were ruled by the local rulers. Siolim, for instance, was a gunshot away from the mainland that was ruled by the *Idalção*. This was clear in a letter of 13th December 1629, in which the Custos, Frei Simão de Nazareth, specified the reasons why the Parishes in the *vizinhos dos mouros* should not be entrusted to the seculars. Unlike the Jesuits who were always paid from the Treasury, the frairs had to depend on the alms of the Christians for the maintenance of their Parishes. Hence, they were compelled to maintain cordial relations with their parishioners.⁴¹

The close alliance between the Cross and the Crown was obvious enough to be noticed by the chroniclers. Paulo da Trindade stated "the two Swords of the civil and ecclesiastical power were always so close together in the Conquest of the East that were seldom find one being used without the other, for the weapons only conquered through the right that the preaching of the Gospel gave them and the preaching was only of some use when it was accompanied and protected by the weapons". This was evident from the fact that the frairs along with the other religious were legal members of the *Conselho do Estado*. Frei Antonio Fagundes, Frei Antonio de Conceição and Frei Gonçalo de Conceição were some representatives of the *Conselho*. Some feasts also reflected this alliance.

The frairs had to face several problems to balance the relations between the State and religion. Frei Francesco Antonio Frascella was secretly consecrated as the Bishop at a Carthucian monastery of St. Mary of the Angels, Rome, on 30th November 1637. The Holy See wanted to place the mission under the *Propoganda* by sending men into the areas where the *Padroado* claimed exclusive responsibility. They wanted him to function as a Vicar Apostolic. However, he was not allowed to work in Goa because he did not have the permission of the King. He was kept in the Frairy of St. Francis and his case was referred to Portugal. He was forced to appear before the authorities in Portugal but he refused to do so. In 1653, he fell ill and Rome allowed him to return to Europe. He went to Paris and lived in the Convent of the Order there. In general, the frairs maintained close relations with the Crown. They also helped the Viceroy on their arrival to the *Estado* and saw them off at the quay on their departure. On the death of the Conde de Redondo, Dom João Couto, the frairs who were in the College of Reis Magos gave the letters of succession to the Secretary of the *Estado*. In a letter of 5th May 1643, the *Conselho* announced that the Prince of Matala (Vijayabala) had arrived in Goa. But, he was unable to live in the Frairy because of the disturbances there. Hence, he was given a room in the College of Reis Magos. The frairs helped the secular authorities in times of such disturbances. The Viceroy, Conde

de Obidos who faced a political crisis in Goa was kept in the College of Reis Magos. On 23rd October 1653, he were transferred to Cabo. In return for such services, the frairs were entrusted with obligations by the authorities. By an Instrument of 22nd February 1636, they were made the trustees of the Church of São Lourenço. The frairs helped the authorities to resist the worst enemies. One such incident took place during the incumbency of Frei Francisco dos Martyres, Archbishop of Goa. During this time, the Dutch blockaded Goa. This frair instructed the people to offer special prayers and penances and to organize penitential processions. He even tried to coordinate with the officials to sign a Truce with the Dutch.⁴²

In the second half of the seventeenth century, there was a strong move to remove the frairs from Bardez because there were several reports on idolatry in Bardez. It was alleged that the frairs who formerly served as Provincials and Commissary Generals had selected commodious, well ventilated Churches for themselves where they spent heir lives after their retirement. In his letter, the Governor informed the King that the frairs yielded little fruit in Bardez. Moreover, the Inquisitors at the request of the Governor informed the Court about their carelessness and scandalous disregard for the mission work. The King tried his best to exercise his control over the mission. On 8th February

1650, the King asked them to send a list of Provincials and Superiors. Although they did so, there were allegations that these reports were manipulated to cheat the King. The King was determined to effect their removal. But the frairs raised their voices against the seculars especially against the Captains who clashed with them in their missionary zones. One such complaint was leveled by the *Pai dos Christaos* of Bardez, Frei Luis de São João. In his letter of 17th January 1648, he complained against Dom Antonio Lobo, Captain of the Province of Bardez who did not permit him to attend the sessions of his Court and to keep a *naique*. This was prejudicial because it had hampered his intention of benefiting the orphans, widows, children and Christianity as a whole. Frei Luiz requested Frei Gaspar de São Miguel to comment on the complaint. Frei Gaspar did as directed and stated that he had been the *Pai dos Christaos* since the last thirteen years. In that capacity, he was always present at his Court where the distribution of *Comunidades* took place. According to him, if the *Pai dos Christaos* were not allowed to be present at such meetings, their Office was useless. On the other hand, the Captain agreed that frairs had the power over the converts in Bardez but he argued that they had no authority to interfere in the meetings of the *Estado*. The frairs claimed they worked to promote the interests of the converts. But this was not always true. In a letter of 28th August 1658, the Viceroy wrote to

the Provincial of the Observants that the frairs did not work hard in the Parishes of Bardez. As such, it was necessary to encourage them to cultivate the pasture. It is interesting to note that while the Observants were targeted, the *Capuchos* were encouraged. This may be because the latter did not transgress the mission field as often as the Observants. They had few contacts with the locals and lived a secluded life.⁴³

The authorities generally appreciated the efforts of the frairs in the mission. In a letter of January 1624, Conde Almirante praised Frei Simão de Nazareth who promoted the mission and served the King. On one occasion, the latter sailed to the *barra de Goa* to help the people of Bardez. Frei Rafael de São Francisco worked in Burma and later proceeded to Malacca. Frei Francisco do Chagas also worked in Burma but he was expelled from there and forced to return to Goa. The frairs helped the Viceroy when they disembarked from the ships. They were taken to Reis Magos with great pomp. Some, like Antonio Telles were buried there. Frei Luiz da Cruz was praised for being virtuous and zealous. The same was said about Frei Gaspar de Conceição.⁴⁴ Frei Manuel de Desterro and Br. Francis da Conceição accompanied the ambassador of Portugal and the Viceroy Francisco de Souza de Castro was sent to Atjeh (Achem) in Sumatra. The two were taken as prisoners along with Blessed

Dionysius de Natividade, Blessed Redemptus, a Cruce and a small group of frairs where a Muhammadan put them to death.

The frairs did not always have the capacity to handle the mission with their personnel. After the death of the Archbishop, Dom Francisco dos Martires, the See was vacant for nearly twenty three years and the Capital of Goa became a theatre of scandals. In a representation to the King in 1672, it was stated that the missions in the East were without priests and without body, soul and the mind. The priests lived a self abased life, without the fear of God or of the world. Some even had wives and children. Moreover, the Churches in Bardez had become houses of recreation. This was the state of the mission before its actual decline.

IN THE NEIGHBOURING MISSIONS WITHIN GOA: Since this work deals with the Franciscans in Goa, it is important to study their activities within the modern geographic-political limits of Goa. Goa was then limited to the *Velhas Conquistas*. But, the frairs were able to infiltrate into the surrounding areas like Ponda, Bicholim, Chapora, Tiswadi, Salcete and other areas.

In the Frairy of St. Francis, Goa there is a painting of the martyrs who were killed in the neighbouring areas. The contemporary documents stated that there were several

Christians in the vicinity of Goa who lived in cooperation with the Hindus. In 1653, the frairs were given certain mission areas within their neighbourhood where they had to carry on the Apostolic mission. The *Propoganda Fidei* made efforts to send the Vicars Apostolic like the Archbishop Franscella to such areas. In a letter of 14th December 1641, the Viceroy wrote to the King that the Archbishop of Mira came to Goa from Rome by land and lived quietly in the Frairy of St. Francis, Goa for nearly one year where the frairs treated him with respect. The King instructed him to go to Portugal but he refused and the Portuguese had to force him to comply with the Orders. Since he was not in charge of any Church, the Viceroy did not know what to do because the Archbishop asked the Viceroy whether he had an Order of the King. In another letter of 20th December 1651, the Viceroy stated that the Archbishop who had proceeded to Japan came back to Goa and lived in Bardez. The authorities would not tolerate his presence in the *Padroado* lands. In a letter of 5th March 1653, the Archbishop was asked to vacate the *Padroado* lands and proceed to Portugal. Though the frairs resisted the *Propoganda*, they were forced to shelter the Archbishop as he was a frair. In a meeting of 8th August 1654, the Governor Dom Braz de Castro declared that the frairs should be active in Bardez and Salcete. The Portuguese did not trust the inhabitants of these places as many had gone to the mainland to help the *Idalção* especially in

Tivim, Aldona and Revora. Now, they did not trust the frairs either. They were afraid that the Catholics would welcome any intruder as they were not firm in the faith and as they did not trust the frairs. In such a situation, the frairs defended the *Padroado* from religious and political infiltration.⁴⁵

THE THIRD ORDER: The Third Order or the Tertiary was an Order of lay men and women who lived a secular life but abided by the Rules of the Order. The earliest source for the study of the Tertiaries in Goa is the *Titulo* of 1619. The Franciscans had formed two Provinces in Goa and it was not possible that the members of the Third Order existed in the *Metropolo da India* before this. According to the *Titulo*, Frei Sebastião dos Santos, Custos and Commissary General in Goa visited the brothers and sisters of the Third Order in Goa. Frei Hieronimo da Esperanca tried to strengthen the spirituality of the members by instructing them on every Friday of the month. Between 1626 to 1629, Frei Mathias de Albuquerque continued the practice of receiving Tertiaries into the Order. Frei Simão de Santa Maria was the first to create the office of the Commissary of the Third Order in 1630. Between 1631 and 1640, Frei Bartholomeu de São Miguel, Frei João da Portuincula, Frei Antonio dos Martyres and Frei Bartholomeu occupied this Office. They were under the jurisdiction of the Guardian of the Frairy. Frei Bartholomeu

created the Office of the *Mesa dos Terceiros*. In 1641, it was decided to hold a procession of Tertiaries on Ash Wednesday and on Tuesday of the Holy week. From 25th January 1641, the Province of the Order began to organize this.⁴⁶

The Third Order was founded in many Churches and Houses of the Observants and Recollects. In Pilar, a procession of the Tertiaries was held on Tuesday before the Holy week in which sixty five images of the Franciscan saints were taken in a procession. This was later shifted to Goa Velha where twenty eight statues of the saints, martyrs, Popes, Bishops, Cardinals and Kings are still taken in a procession. In Pilar, an inscription of the Third Order was found in the garden in 1909. The Archbishop, Francisco dos Martyres encouraged many women to join this Order. During the tenure of the Governor, Dom Ayres de Saldanha there was a reference to the brothers of the Third Order who persuaded the authorities to establish a Convent for the Tertiaries in Goa.⁴⁷

The life of the Tertiaries is evident from that of Donna Anna de Azavedo e Souza, founderess of the Church of Nossa Senhora da Penha da Franca. She spent the whole day in prayer. She was so devout and humble that she even swept the Church. She ate some bread that she received as alms from the Rectors table. For years, she never ate meat unless her confessor obliged her to do

so. She ate in an ordinary plate that was made of baked clay and slept on a board that was covered with a habit. She used a stone as a pillow. By her testament, she donated all her wealth to the frairs. In this Church, there is a Court of Arms of the Third Order.

After the removal of the frairs from Bardez, the Office of the Commissary of the Third Order was shifted to the Hospice at Monte de Guirim. Between 1780 to 1812, a number of Tertiaries lived there. After 1812, the office was abolished and Guardians were placed in charge of them.⁴⁸

In this manner, the frairs were able to work for the progress of the mission. But this progress evoked the hostility of the religious and seculars who tried their best to hinder their efforts in the mission. As a result of this, the frairs found themselves bound by several legislations which made them stagnate within their mission in Goa.

Notes and References :

- ¹ Earnest Hull, *The Bombay mission with a special study of the Padroado question (1534-1858)*, Vol. I, pp. 37-28; Domnic Alwaye, *The Latin mission under the jurisdiction of the Propoganda (1637-1838)*, in E. R. Hambye and Perumail (ed.), *Op. Cit.*, 1972, pp. 102-03; *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*, Vol. XIV, pp. 456-60; Jno Godinho, *The Padroado of the Portuguese in the Orient (1454-1860)*, pp. 1-3.
- ² The details relating to the Custody are included in *Bull. Patr.*, Vol. I, p. 258, *Analees*, Vol. XXV, pp. 470-71 and 623-24
- ³ *Analees*, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 631; *CEO*, Vol. I, Cap, 48, p. 250; Jacinto de Deus, *Op. Cit.*, p. 459; Cottineau, *Op. Cit.*, p. 74.
- ⁴ *CEO*, Vol. I, Cap. 48, pp. 249-51 and 262-63, ff. 6; *Analees Op. Cit.*, Vol. XXV, p. 631; *CL*, pp. 203 and 207; Jacinto de Deus, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 459-60; Meersman Achilles, *Op. Cit.*, *AFH* Vol. 60(1967), pp. 108-14; For details on the erection of the Madre de Deus Province refer to *Analees*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 446-47, 413, 512, 16-18, 222 and 509-10; Vol. XXV, pp. 10-11; Vol. XXVII, pp. 59 and 229; Vol. XXV, p. 470; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 87, 208 and 597; Vol. XXX, p. 42.

- ⁵ Cottineau, *Op. Cit.*, p. 74; Jacinto de Deus, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 382 and 394; *ML* Vol. I, p.132; *Analees*, Vol. XXVI, p. 512; *ML* Vol. I, p. 138; *BFUP* Vol. III, pp. 496 and 528; Miguel da Purificação, *Op. Cit.*, p. 28.
- ⁶ *MR* Vol. 13A, fl. 208; *BFUP* Vol. III, No.7, p. 5; Jacinto de Deus, *Op. Cit.*, p. 459; *CEO*, Vol. I, Cap.48, pp. 252-53, ff.6; The list of Provincials for the Madre de Deus Province are available in Jacinto de Deus, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 320-21.
- ⁷ *Analees* Vol. XXV, p.534 ; *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*, Vol. III, p.42; *EHGLC* doc. 5, p. 216; "... at the top of the hill is the Church of Our Lady of Cabo which belongs to the Reformed Franciscans. The Church is at a height of seventy *bracas* from the sea level and occupies a circular plot of fifty *bracas* where there are cisterns of water ... at a distance of two hundred *bracas* from the foot of the hill, towards the hill side, there is a fortress where one can go by road which is at the back of the said hill, on the inner side its length being a thousand paces which leads to the door of the said fortress.... At the side of the hill which is very high and lofty there are seven houses with stories sufficient for being inhabited by any person serving as a Captain and below in the square near the Northern side there are twelve small houses for soldiers and the bombardiers... The frairs are frequently visiting the spot and there is sufficient ammunition in the Convent for the said four guns. Warning is received from these frairs in case they see anything suspect in the sea. And always where it is required steps are taken to send to the fort Captains and bombardiers"; Antonio de Boccarro, 'Livro das plantas de todas os fortalezas cidades e poveacoes da India Oriental', *APO*, Tomo. IV, Vol. II, Part II, p. 262.
- ⁸ *BFUP* Vol. I, No. 8, pp. 31; No. 9, p. 269; No. 26, p. 314; *Analees* Vol. XXVI, p.368; *APO*, Tomo IV, Vol. II, Part II, p. 58; *Assentos* Vol. II, p. 30, *ML* Vol. II, p. 74; *CL*, pp. 164 and 210; *Assentos* Vol. II, p. 307; *Aspuruz Op. Cit.*, p. 181; *ML* Vol. II, pp. 389-90; Meersman Achilles, *Op. Cit.*, *IES* Vol. II, No.1(1963).
- ⁹ *BFUP* Vol. 4, pp. 687- 88; *EHGLC* doc 9, p. 222; *CL* p.210; Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 160; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, 1933, p.8; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, *BIVG* Vol. 59(1944), p.123.
- ¹⁰ *CEO* Vol. I, Cap.57 ; pp. 292-93; *Anais*, p.p. 25-26; The donation grant is evident from the letter of the Viceroy to the King dated 18-1-1759; Viriato de Albuquerque, 'Um tempo Arqueologico na Velha Cidade de Goa', *OP* Vol. V (1906), p. 23, *Herald* (9-3-1921); *DHMP* Vol. V, p. 465; Ricardo Telles, 'Igreja de Tivim', *Voz* No. 34 (1941), p. 270; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 57, pp.295; The Church was donated to the frairs by a *Tabelliao* of Francisco Barbosa, *MR* Vol. 165A, fl. 4; *DHMP* Vol. V, pp. 471-73; *MR* Vol. 14, fl. 112; Ricardo Telles, 'Igreja de São Lourenço', *Voz* Vol. 25(1937), p. 264; *Bosq.*, Vol. II, p. 140; *CEO* Vol. I, p. 275; *Anais.*, p. 28; *EHGLC*, p. 411. This Court of Arms was a field that had five stars of five beams that supported a pair of anchors and a flag that bore a cross of fret work; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, *OP* Vol. XVI, p. 367.
- ¹¹ Civezza, *Op. Cit.*, 1859, pp. 129-130; *DHMP*, Vol. V, pp. 468 and 471-72; *Bosq.* Vol. I, p.3; For the all the Parishes in the year 1622, refer to *Analees*, Vol. XXV, p. 10.
- ¹² *DHMP*. Vol. V, p. 472; *Anais.*, pp. 29-30; *ML* Vol. I, p. 164; Civezza, *Op. Cit.*, 1859, p. 130; A list of Rectors in Revora (1654-1767) is available in F. X. Gomes Catão, 'Igreja de Revora', *BEAG*(1952) p. 395; *Herald* (30-3-1917); *EHGLC*. p. 412; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, *Voz*, No. 35(1937), p. 378; *ML* Vol. I, p. 164; *O Catholico*, No. 2; *DRI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 101; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, *OP*. Vol. V (1908), p. 31; Arsenio Dias, *O Serafim de Assisi*, 1926, p.188; *CEO*. Vol. I, pp. 296; *Bosq.*, Vol. II, p.24.
- ¹³ *CEO*. Vol. I, Cap. 57, p. 370; *Bull Patr.* Vol. I, Appdx. I, p. 114; *Anais.*, p.23; *Bosq.* Vol. II, p. 422; *DHMP*, Vol. V, pp. 439-40; A. de Noronha, 'Os Indus de Goa e a Republica Portuguesa', *A India Portuguesa*, Vol. II, p. 70; The pillar subsequently collapsed and broke but the Hindus and passerbys light candles there; *BFUP*, Vol. III, No.8, pp. 28 and 457.
- ¹⁴ *EHGLC*, dos. 9 and 10, p. 223; *BFUP*, Vol. IV, No. 21, doc. 29, p. 383; Carlos Melo, *Op. Cit.*, p. 186; *BFUP*, No. 30, fl. 57; *Dec. XI*; Diogo do Couto, Vol. 3, p. 169; *CEO*. Vol. I, Cap. 28, pp. 158-59;
- ¹⁵ *Analees.*, Vol. 25, p. 625; *Anais.*, pp. 23-25.
- ¹⁶ *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 27, pp. 292-27; *DHMP*. Vol. V, p.467.
- ¹⁷ Report of Antonio Simoes dated 1623 stated by Charles Borges *Economics of the Goa Jesuits (1547-1759)*, 1994, p. 25; *APO*. Fasc. III, Tomo. VIII, Liv. 15, doc. 174, p. 251; *EHGLC*. p. 24; *Carta Regia* No. 30, includes the donation grant made to the Rector of Reis Magos in 1625 for three years.
- ¹⁸ Jean Aubin, *Op. Cit.*, p. 239; Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 227; *BFUP*. Vol. II, No. 7, p. 527; *DRI*. Liv. 19, pp. 128-29; *BFUP*. Vol. I, No. 5, doc. 114, p. 87; Vol. II, No. 7, pp. 526-27; C. C. Nazareth, *Op. Cit.*, 1927, p. 175; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, 1922, p. 6.
- ¹⁹ *AHU* Codice 208, fl. 249v; *BFUP*, no. 25, pp. 262 and 263; *EHGLC*. doc. 12, pp. 226-27.
- ²⁰ *DRI* Vol. VII, Liv. 15, p. 251; *EHGLC* doc. 5, p. 216; Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 227; *AHU* Ms, India, Caixa 6, fl. 29 in T. R. de Souza, *Op. Cit.*, 1979, p. 225 and 146; Joseph Wicki, *Op. Cit.*, 1969, p. 244; *APO* Vol. V, Part 3, p. 1008; The fact that the temples possessed land is evident from the *Foral Antigo de Brdez (1647-1783)*, HAG No. 7587, Part II that stated the properties of the temples that were given to the missionaries. Some of these include *Narannachem Batta*, *Olaulim*, *Tivim*, *Deulachem Gatta*, *Aldona*, *Ravallanathechem Batta*, *Revora*, *Ramanathache Batta*, *Nachinola*, *Joguiachem Batta*, *Revora*, *Bramana Purussachy Namoxi*, *Siolim*, *Vetallachem Batta*, *Anjuna*, *Naranache Batta*, *Ucassaim*, *Guruanch Batta*, *Mapusa*, *Santareche Batt*, *Pileme*, etc. These are found in *flos*. Nos. 19-21, 26-26v, 31v, 34, 51v-52, 56, 60v-61, 75v, 83v-84, 102-104v, 109-112v, 127, 132v-133, 148v, 159v-160 and 169v; *Assentos* Vol. II, doc. 83, p. 254; *DRI* Liv. 19, doc. 112, p. 83; C. C. Nazareth, *Op. Cit.*, in *O Ultramarino*, No. 60 (1901-02), p. 76.

- ²¹ ML Vol. II, pp. 389-90; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, 1906, p. 2; CEO Vol. I, Cap. 54, p. 275 *Anais.*, p. 22; Antonio Boccardo, *Op. Cit.*, p. 212; Anthony Disney, *Op. Cit.*, p. 1; DHMP Vol. V, p. 471; BFUP No. 24, p. 313; No. 25, p. 269; EHGLC doc. 11, pp. 223-24; *Analees.*, Vol. 25, p. 82; MR Vol. 14, fl. 112.
- ²² Soledade, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 80 and 511; Dona Anna made a will by which she asked the Rector to give one *candil* of rice and three *padaos* per year to Gracia and Maria her servants. Gracia was given all her clothes and boxes; Manoel who had helped in the Church for eight years and his wife were given thirty *xs*. The orphan boys were given ten *xs*. and a *varzea*; Viriato de Albuquerque, *Op. Cit.*, OP Vol. V(1908), pp. 26-33; This is published in Ricardo Telles, *Voz*, Vol. 13 (1935); Nazare, *Op. Cit.*, p. 134; *Anais.*, pp. 26-27; CEO Vol. I, Cap. 71, p. 278; DHMP Vol. V, p. 473; EHGLC doc. 5, p. 215; *Bosq.*, p. 149; The testament is available in *Tribuna* (20-8-1920); MR Vol. 165A, fl. 4; *Anais.*, p. 29; Anthony Disney, *The founder of St. Lawrence Linhares*, p.1; CEO Vol. I, Cap. 71, p. 368; Carmo Azavedo 'The Church of St. Lourenco, Linhares', *Purabhuleka Puratatva*, Vol. V, p. 61; Ricardo Telles, 'Brasoes e epifafros do Museu do São Francisco de Assisi', OP Nos. 12-13(1936), pp. 27-47; Ricardo Telles, 'Galeria Lapidar no Museu Real da India Portugal,' OP Vol. IV, (1907), pp. 86-87; 114, 153, 212, 256, 327, 376, 424, 495, 584 and 636 are relevant for our study.
- ²³ DHMP Vol. V, p. 472; *Anais.*, *Op. Cit.*, p. 28 and 31; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, OP Vol. XV, p. 199; Ricardo Telles, Igreja de Mapusa; *Voz* No. 23 (1936), pp. 357-58; EHGLC doc. 11, pp. 223-24; ML Vol. II, p. 5; BFUP No. 21, p. 392; *Anais*, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 29-30; DHMP Vol. V, p. 472; BFUP Vol. 26, doc. 92; CEO Vol. I, Cap. 69, pp. 349-50 and 353; Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 30.
- ²⁴ A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, 1958, p. 207; EHGLC doc. 3, p. 207, doc. 4, pp. 208-09; DRI Vol. XV, p. 55; AHU India Maço, fl. 134 in Maria de Jesus dos Martires Lopes(ed.), *Goa sessenta: Tradicao e modernidade. Collecao estudos e documentos*, 1996; MR Vol. 143, fl. 832; Vol. 13 A, fl. 18; EHGLC doc. 4, p. 209; Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 230; EHGLC doc. 5, CEO Col. I, Cap. 3, pp. 22-26;
- ²⁵ EHGLC doc. 4, pp. 208-09; CEO Vol. I, Cap. 57, p. 294; DHMP Vol. V, p. 406; The major works completed during this time included a book on christian morals that was written in a manuscript form and used by several religious in the different parts of the Province. DHMP Vol. V, p. 495; A book on the religion and doctrines of the *gentios* in Portuguese. This was written in a dialogue form by Frei Manoel de São Mathias. CEO Vol. I, Cap. 27, p. 156; Grammatical works by Frei Manoel de São Mathias and Frei João de São Mathias. The latter translated the *Simbolo da Fé* of Cardinal Belarmine into the local language. He also wrote the *doctrina Christa* and the mysteries of the christian faith in prose in two thousand verses. DHMP Vol. V, p. 406; Frei Amador de Sant Anna wrote on the Christian doctrine and translated the *Flos Sanctorum* into the local language. DHMP Vol. V, p. 495; Frei Paulo da Trindade, *Jubiliado Mestre* composed a detailed volume on moral theology. Frei Manoel de Banha was a lexicologist who compiled a vocabulary in the local language. EHGLC Cap. XVII; Civezza, *Op. Cit.*, 1859, pp. 249 and 32; DHMP Vol. V, p. 495; CEO Vol. III, p. 26; Frei Christovão de Jesus was a Portuguese born in India. He was a Master of Theology who preached in the local language, converted and baptized many. Miguel da Purificação, *Op. Cit.*, p. 59; He composed the *Arte Arte Gramatica da Lingoa Bramana*. Frei Manoel Baptista wrote a catechism in the local. Frei Domingos de São Bernardino wrote an explanation of the Creed in the local language. There is a reference to his *Imprimatar* and *Revalda* EHGLC Cap. CXXII, CLXVII; DHMP Vol. V, pp. 496 and 407; Frei Manoel do Lado wrote a booklet of the treatises on the faith. Jacinto de Deos, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 10-11; Frei Francisco de Negrão wrote a chronicle that contained a list of antiquities of the Province and Frei Miguel da Purificação wrote the *Vida Evangelica dos Frades Menores* that was printed in Barcelona and dedicated to Dom João IV; DHMP Vol. V, p. 495; Gerson da Cunha, *Konkani language and literature*, 1981, pp. 38 and 141.
- ²⁶ CEO Vol. I, p. x; Jose Pereira, 'Gaspar de São Miguel, OFM arte na lingua Canarim Part 2, sintaxis copiosissima na lingua Brahmana', *JUB* Vol. XXXII(1967); EHGLC Cap. CXXV; Civezza *Op. Cit.*, 1859, pp. 565-66; Gerson da Cunha, *Op. Cit.*, p. 38. The major works of Frei Gaspar de São Miguel included *Manual para os parochos e reitores* that was a manual of twenty two pages in prose. It was intended to enable the Parish Priests to teach the faith and the seven sacraments to the parishioners. *Das Estações que os parochos devem fazer as seus ovelhas* in which the mysteries of the faith were explained, *Baculo Pastoralis* that was a Crozier in prose that was meant for the Rectors so that they could counter idolatry and instruct the people on the chirstian life, *Sympolum Fratris Ludovici Granatesis* in which was a translation of the work of a Spanish author, *Doctrina Cnsta* an anthology of devotional writing published in Lisbon in 1599, *Introduzion del Simbolo de Fé* (1582) a Spanish work on the mysteries of the faith Brahmana e Pollida respectively, *Conciones de Tempore et de Sanctus* in four volumes. These included sermons that could be delivered on Sundays and two or three short sermons, *De vitis apostolorum corumque symbolo* a poem of eight thousand verses and a poem by missionary in Marathi, *Sermoes do tempo dos Santos Sermoes* in four volumes. This included sermons for all the days of the year. The details of this author and his works are taken from Miguel da Purificação *Op. Cit.*, pp. 9-10; Jacinto de Deus, *Op. Cit.*, p. 10; Civezza, *Op. Cit.*, 1859, pp. 565-66; CEO Vol. I, Caps. 6-9, pp. 35-54; DHMP Vol. 4 and are stated by Jose Pereira, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 6-21; The *Syntax Coprossima* is published by Jose Pereira, *Op. Cit.*, *JUB*(1967), pp. 1-155 from the original in the Marsden Mss in the school of School of Oriental and African Studies, London; Mariano Saldanha, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. 8 (1935-37), p. 721; EHGLC Capi. CXVII and CXXV; BL Vol. II, p. 363 contains a list of books; Olivinho Gomes, 'Grammatical studies in Konkani: a critical overview', *BIVG* No. 170 (1994), p. 87 also comments on these works; DHMP Vol. V, pp. 195-96. *Symbolum Cardinales Bellarmini* that was a translation of his *Dichuarazione piui coprosa della Dottrina christiana* (1599), that was meant for the small *idiotas*. It dealt with the creed and the doctrine and included an account of the lives of the apostles, dialogues, comparisons and other things. It included eight thousand verses *De Septem Sacramento*, a work on the seven sacraments, *De Vitebus Gentilium* consisting of twelve *cadernos* and more than three thousand verses. They included the considerations to be observed during the passios. They were divided into seven parts and were meant to be sung during lent before the Passions by the people in the Parishes

- where they preached, *Conciones de Tempora et de Santis* a poem of eight thousand verses presented in the form of a dialogue, *O Credo* that was based on the teachings of the christian writers. It had eight thousand verses and an important chapter on devotion and adoration. It included seven parts that were divided into Chapters. The first four dealt with the four *novissimos* namely the gravity of sin, misery and divine favours *Super passionem domini*, a poem of three thousand verses. It included twelve booklets that included scenes that could be enacted by the faithful on the days of Passion, a Konkani to Portuguese that included nearly seventeen thousand eight hundred entries with Latin directions, *Arte de Lingua canarin*, a grammar in the Konkani language. It had two parts. The first part was a work on grammar, phonetics and morphology and the second part dealt with syntax. These were called *Grammatica da Lingua Brahmane que Corre na Ilha de Goa e sua comarca* and the *Sintaxes Copiosissima na Lingua*.
- ²⁷ Miguel de Purificação, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 9, 28-29 and 31; *DHMP* Vol. V, p. 495; *Bull Patr* Vol. I, p. 123; *DRI* Vol. 55, p. 327; *EHGLC* Cap. CXXXI; *CEO* Vol. I, pp. 1-x.
- ²⁸ Maffei, *Op. Cit.*, 1605, p. 306; *CEO* Vol. I, Prologue; *CEO* Vol. I, p. 395; *DHMP* Vol. V, pp. 195-96; Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*; *Indica* Vol. 6(1969); *EHGLC* Caps. CXXI-CXXII; *Diário de Terceiro Vicerai da India Conde de Linhares*, 1937, pp.98-8; Miguel de Purificação, *Op. Cit.*, p. 59;
- ²⁹ *BFUP* Vol. I, No. 8, pp. 38-39; A. K. Priolkar *Op. Cit.*, 1958 pp. 175-76; *EHGLC* doc. 11, pp. 223-240, doc. 12, pp. 226-29; *BFUP* No.35, p. 500; *DHMP* Vol. V, pp. 407-08.
- ³⁰ *Assentos* Vol. I, pp. 507, 145 and 213; *MR* Vol. 13 A, fl. 63v; *MR* Vol.54, fl.55-57; An inscription in the fort of Tivim dated 1638 refers to the Catholic King Felipe III, Governor of the *Estado* and Dom Miguel de Noronha, Conde de Linhares. These two must have been involved in the building of this fort. Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*; *OP* Vol. IV (1907), p. 326.
- ³¹ *Assentos* Vol. III, pp. 295, 396-97, 371-73, 357 and 374; *MR* Vol. 130 B, fl. 425; Vol. 54, ff. 55-57; *DHMP* Vol. V, pp. 436-38; Nazareth, *Op. Cit.*, 1927, p. 239; Fernão de Soledade, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 515; *Assentos* Vol. III, pp. 340-41, 347-48, 1358 and 373-74; *DHMP* Vol. V, pp. 437-38
- ³² *Baião*, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 596-97 and 618-19; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 45, pp. 36-38, 349; *EHGLC* doc. 13, p. 24; *DRI Liv.* 19, p. 62.
- ³³ *CEO* Vol. I, pp. 235-38; *DRI Liv.* 19, p. 80; *Analees* Vol. XXVI, p. 223; *CEO* Vol. I, pp. 223, 57-58, 334 and 291-96; Viriato de Albuquerque, *Op. Cit.*, *OP* Vol. IV(1907) p. 448; *EHGLC* doc. 4, p. 209, doc. 8, p. 221; *BFUP* Vol. III, No. 9, p. 487; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 65, pp. 333-34; The statistics for 1635 are compiled from *CEO* Vol. I, pp. 285-86; Cap. 57, pp. 292-95; *DHMP* Vol. V, p. 470; *Anuario.*, p. 172; The seven temples in Moira included those of Santei, Rampurusha, Mahadeva, Rampurusha, Vantepurusha and Dadd. This is stated in T. R. de Souza, *Op. Cit.*, 1986, p. 1 and Rui Gomes Pereira, *Op. Cit.*, 1978, p. 71; *Cartas Regias* Nos. 37 and 54 (1618); Nos. 30 and 123 (1622); Nos. 13 and 53(1638); These are stated in a. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, 1958; *APO* Vol. 2, Part II, p. 58; *Assentos* Vol. II, p.30; *DHMP* Vol. V, pp. 438-39
- ³⁴ Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*; *Voz* No. 35, p. 288; Joseph Wicki, *Op. Cit.*, 1969, p. 25; This is also found in *APO* Vol. V, Part 3, doc. 1022; *DHMP* Vol. V, pp. 789-96; *EHGLC* doc. 11, pp. 224-25; *BFUP* Vol. I, p. 687; Vol. II, p. 142; Vol. I, p. 49; Fernão de Soledade, *Op. Cit.* Vol. III, p. 511.
- ³⁵ *Analees*, Vol. XXV, pp. 372-73; *DRI Liv.* 19, pp. 62-62; Nazareth, *Op. Cit.*, p. xxii. These included João de Noronha, of Serula, Nama Prabhu, Mangoji Sinay, Manoel de Siqueira, Jorge Pereira, Antonio Vas, Lourenco Pinto, Pascoal de Mendonça. *ML* Vol. II, p. 74; *Assentos* Vol. II, p. 307; *ML* Vol. II, pp. 389-90; *BFUP* Vol. IV, No. 17, p. 57; *EHGLC* doc. 8, 11 and 27; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*; *OP* Vol. VII (1910), pp. 161-64; *CEO* Vol. I, pp. 288-303, 354-9 and 292-97; *EHGLC* doc. 13, p. 231, doc. 11, pp. 224-25; *MR* Vol. 138, fl 204; A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, p. 175; *CEO* Vol. I, pp. 350-54; *BFUP* No. 26, p. 360 and doc. 159.
- ³⁶ Jacinto de Deos, *Op. Cit.*, p. 87; *BFUP* Vol. I, p. 49; *DRI* Vol. XXII, p. 32; *BFUP* Vol. I, No. 5, p. 99; Vol. II, p. 480; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap. 4, pp. 13-14; *BFUP* Vol. IV, No. 11, p. 49; No. 5, p. 99.
- ³⁷ A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, 1958, p. 174; *MR* Vol. 13 A, fl. 50; Vol. 14, fl. 114; *ML* Vol. II, pp. 99-100; *MR* Vol. 13, fl. 206; *BFUP* Vol. II, p. 515; No. 7, p. 481; C. R. Boxer, *Op. Cit.*, 1969, p. 253; Miguel da Purificação, *Op. Cit.*, p. 3; *BFUP* Vol. II, No. 9, p. 496; Charles Borges, *Op. Cit.*, 1994, p. 25; *BFUP* Vol. III, No. 10, p. 375; No. 9, p. 528.
- ³⁸ Gubolovich, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 322; Holzavel, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 358; Miguel de Purificação, *Op. Cit.*, p. 30; *DRI* Vol. 48, p. 258; Vol. 52, p. 276; *BFUP* Vol. IV, No. 18, p. 61; *DUP* Vol. I, p. 517; *Assentos* Vol. III, p. 250; A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, 1958, p. 175; C.R. Boxer *Op. Cit.*, 1977, pp. 253-4; In the corridor of the *Madre de Deus* Church, Saligao there is a painting on a piece of wood that was brought from the *Madre de Deus* Frairy, Daugim. This included the documents pertaining to the rules that had to be followed by the *Confrades* of *Madre de Deus*. When they entered as brothers they had to confess, receive communion and gain a plenary indulgence as prescribed by Clemente X. Each brother had to give one *xeráfin* as alms on entering, thereafter, he had to pay one quarter of this amount every year. If he did not pay in the first three years he was removed from the brotherhood. He had to celebrate four feasts namely those of the Assumption, Birth, Conception and Annunciation of Our Lady. Every month a *confrade* had to confess and receive communion at least on Sunday or any other holy day. He had to hear mass everyday if he could. Every hour, he had to pray to the sacred heart of Our Lady and say the Hail Mary's. At home, he had to have a recollection during prayer time and examine his conscience. He had to observe discipline, give alms or perform some service to Our Lady on Sundays. On salses and feast days he had to wear the *opas* and help the frairs during the masses. They had to wear the *opas* on two occasions namely when they went in a procession on Easter and on the day of Assumption. The brothers who wore the *Opas* had to pay for the souls of the dead members or have three *ladinhas* or *salve rainhas* or had to recite fifteen *Ave Marias* or fifteen mysteries on the life and passions of Christ.

- The second document dealt with the obligations that the members had to undertake if they entered the *Confraria*. Those who wanted to enter it had to meet the authorities personally. These included the President, the Secretary, *Procurador* and the Treasurer. The Treasurer looked after the income and expenditure. After the feast of Assumption, he gave them to the officers and brothers of the *Meza*. The *Meza* was responsible for electing the new members as well as the office bearers. The members had to work selflessly and zealously; Ricardo Telles, 'Memorias do Convento da Madre de Deus de Daugim', *OP* Vol. VII(1910).
- ³⁹ William Crooke, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, 1966, pp. 156-7; M.S. Commissariat, *Op. Cit.*, 1931, p. 105; This is stated by Jose Pereira, *Op. Cit.* p. 12; *BFUP* No. 21, p. 393; No. 22, p. 123; No. 24, p. 74; Charles Borges, *Op. Cit.*, 1994, p. 74; Carlos de Melo, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 156-57; *ARF* Report II, p. 66; *MR* Vol. 79, fl. 341.
- ⁴⁰ *BFUP* Vol. I, No. 7, p. 486; *APO Fasc. 2, DRI* Vol. 18, p. 101; *ARF* p. 2.
- ⁴¹ Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, 1906, p. 1; *CEO* Vol. I, *Cap. 71*, p. 368; *Cap. 37*, pp. 199-200; *BFUP* Vol. II, p. 268; *EHGLC* doc. 5, p. 216 and doc. 3; A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, 1958, p. 175; *DRI* Vol. 7, pp. 330-32; Vol. 22, p. 32; *MR* Vol. 13 A, fl. 63; Vol. 55, fl. 55; *BFUP* Vol. I, No. 7, p. 48.
- ⁴² *Assentos* Vol. III, pp. 52, 59, 71 and 127; Carmo Azavedo, 'St. Lawrence Church at Linhares', in *Purabhilekha*, p. 23 and 271 Archbishop Frascella was appointed as the Apostolic Administrator of Japan under the *Padroado*. He had to go *incognito* to avoid problems. He was then forced to go to Goa. He came to Goa on 15th November 1639. But he did not have the permission of the King and was not allowed to go further; Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 142-43; Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*; *AFH* Vol. 46 (1953), p. 371; Meersman Achilles *Op. Cit.*, in *NZM* Vol. 13(1957), p. 28; Achilles Meersman, 'Additional notes on Archbishop F. A. Francella, OFM, Conv. in Goa, (1640-53)', *Miscellanea Franciscana*, Vol. 59(1959) pp. 1-6; Achilles Meersman 'A few notes on Archbishop Francella' *NZM*, Vol. 53(1969), pp. 427-29; *Assentos* Vol. I, p. 87; Vol. II, pp. 410-11, Vol. I, p. 155; *EHGLC* doc. 13, p. 231.
- ⁴³ Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 264; Fernão de Soledade, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. XL; *Assentos* Vol. II, p. 119; A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, p. 175; *BFUP* no. 2, p. 246; No. 35, p. 504; *EHGLC* doc. 5, p. 210; *AHU*, *Cod. 208, fl. 148v*; *BFUP* Vol. I, No. 7, doc. 113, p. 486; *DRI* Vol. 60, pp. 199-202; Vol. 61, pp. 205-206, 456. This is referred to by Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*; *ICHR* Vol. V, No. 2, p. 100; *Assentos* Vol. II, p. 119; *EHGLC* doc. 13, p. 231; *DRI* Vol. 61, pp. 30-32.
- ⁴⁴ *CEO* Vol. I, pp. 124 and 145-46; Fernão de Soledade, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 1009-12; F. X. Vaz, *Op. Cit.*, *OP* Vol. IV(1907), p. 229; Jacinto de Deus, *Op. Cit.*, p. 316.
- ⁴⁵ An inscription in the Frairy of St. Francis, Goa reads "God revealed the food of the souls of venerable Fr. Manoel de Desterro and Fr. Francisco da Conceição Leygo, who through the integrity of their bodies as a reward for the fervour in which they preached their faith. The resignation with which they suffered that their bodies were cast into pieces. Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*; *Franciscan Studies*(1944), p. 263; *DRI* Vol. 49, pp. 91; Vol. 51, pp. 61, 581 and 80-81; *Assentos* Vol. III, p. 348; *DHMP* Vol. V, p. 465; The feast of Linhares was celebrated on 10th August at the opening of the monsoons. At the time of the procession of the Blessed Sacrament a gun salute was given and the land bar was broken. The Commandant of Aguada and the General of the River went along with the Parish Priest wearing a pluvial and cut the rope from Cabo and Aguada, a symbol of the opening up of Aguada for navigation. Thereafter the priest blessed the water.
- ⁴⁶ F. X. Vaz, *Op. Cit.*, *OP* Vol. IV (1907), pp. 227-77; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, 1922, p. 11; In a manuscript F. X. Vaz refers to the Commissary Visitors of the Third Order; *Heraldo* (9/7/1940); Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*, 1943, p. 34; *Tribuna* (22-7-1922); Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 103; *Bosq.* Vol. II, p. 26.
- ⁴⁷ Her testament is published by Viriato de Albuquerque, *Op. Cit.*, *OP* Vol. V (1906), p. 25 and Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, *Voz* No. 41(1935), p. 397.
- ⁴⁸ Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*, 1943, p. 35; F. X. Vaz, *Op. Cit.*; *OP* Vol. IV(1907), p. 203.

CHAPTER VI

THE
STAGNATION
OF THE
MISSION
(1657-1700)

CHAPTER VI

THE STAGNATION OF THE MISSION (1657-1700)

The Franciscan mission flourished in different parts of Goa till the mid seventeenth century. However, by then the frairs began to face several set backs because of the political condition in Portugal. In 1689, Dom Pedro II died and Portugal faced a political crisis till 1706. This affected the mission because there was no competent authority to handle the *Padroado* obligations. The internal invasions further worsened the situation.

FINANCIAL POSITION: The financial position of the Portuguese improved because the Dutch threat subsided. Between 1668 and 1669, the Portuguese was able to concentrate on the mission in Goa. The Portuguese men who had married the local women inhabited the City of Goa and Bardez. They had their own palm groves, rice fields and houses that were made of lime and stone. Their servants and the *canarins* were also converted. The King paid the Vicars who administered the sacraments to them. There were sixteen Parish Churches in Bardez. The parish priests who worked there were paid six thousand *reis* per year to meet their personal expenses and those of the *merinho*, *lingoa* and the others who helped him to spread the Holy Faith. All

the Churches were entitled the proceeds from the temple land and except for the Churches in Penha da França and Moira, all the others received an *ordinario*. The Frairies accommodated the frairs, brothers and collegians. They received an additional Royal grant in cash and kind. The Frairy of St. Francis, Goa, for instance, had seventy to eighty frairs who were sustained by the King. The Frairy was entitled to provisions that were worth four thousand, nine hundred and ninety six *xs* from the Royal Treasury per year. The Churches were not entitled to an annual grant until they applied for it and till the amount was sanctioned. This was clear from a letter of 10th February 1657, in which the Viceroy stated that the Franciscans had requested him to incorporate five Churches including those of Parra, Oxel, Neura, Moira and Penha da Franca in his list. This was done because the State was not in a position to meet such expenses on the spot. In a letter of 28th August 1658, it was stated that the grants were delayed because the State did not have the capacity to pay. The frairs were assured they would be paid the dues once the difficulties were overcome. Till such a time, they were requested to meet their expenses using alms and the yields of former temples lands. The King tried to withhold the grants that were sanctioned to the College of Reis Magos on the grounds that they needed a reconfirmation. In a letter of 28th August 1658, the frairs stated that the *varzeas* were handed over to them since a long time. But, the authorities argued that

the King had not reconfirmed the Alvara.¹ Such stringent policies continued till 1662, when the Crown was able to provide for the mission.

This does not mean that King supported the mission as it had done in the Age of Glory. The allocation of grants was subject to certain conditions. In a letter of 27th September 1672, the King made it clear that the Houses that had less than seven religious would not be entitled to any payment. However, the parish priests were entitled to a salary from the Royal Treasury because they administered the sacraments on behalf of the King. On 10th March 1672, the Viceroy instructed the religious to send the details related to the number of missionaries in the Houses and their proceeds. Though the King imposed certain conditions, he admitted the fact that the missionaries ensured the success of His mission in Goa. The frairs and the authorities in Goa were unhappy. In his letter of 31st January 1679, Dom Jacinto de Saldanha requested the King to imitate Dom Manuel and to be liberal in making payments for the mission. The King had not shunned his responsibility as the Patron of the Mission because he still paid the religious of the Franciscan Province from the Royal Treasury.²

The donations that were given to the Order had to be sanctioned by the Apostolic See. Moreover, they were not granted *in perpetua* and had to be reviewed every fourteen to fifteen years through the Briefs. The King had to record all the

payments in a certified list. One such list of payments was sent on 10th December 1686 in which the King sanctioned some money to the Frairy to meet their personal expenses. The frairs made periodic appeals for help. In an appeal of 27th October 1685, the Provincial and the Observant frairs requested the King to provide them with ecclesiastical revenue. The King did not delay the payments to the Colleges because he was aware that the Province was big and that the boys who were trained in these Colleges could be sent to different parts of Asia to work for Him. In a letter of 24th January 1688, it was stated that Reis Magos received four hundred and sixty eight *xs* and two *tangas* and thirty *reis* to meet the costs of wine, oil, vegetables, fruit and cloth while the College of São Boaventura was entitled to two thousand *xs* to buy beef, oil, corn and vegetables and to look after the orphans. The King also sanctioned three thousand, three hundred and seventy seven *xs* and two *tangas* for the Vicars of the Parishes of Bardez and six hundred and sixty six *xs*, three *tangas* and twenty *reis* to the catechumens there. These payments were made to the secular authorities and the receipts were acknowledged by the Governor and by the Religious Superiors. The priest the Church of Linhares was paid one hundred and eighty *xs* per year because he worked as the Vicar of the Church and as the Chaplain of the fortress of Aguada. The *Padre* was recognized as an official of the *Estado* as

he catered to the soldiers who were stationed there and was paid by the *Junta da Fazenda*.³

The Statutes of 1680 instructed the frairs not to receive any donation in cash or kind without the permission of the Definitor or the Provincial Minister. The frairs were forced to maintain the accounts and to submit the registers to the Synod. The Churches that had been founded by private individuals were placed under the frairs who administered them on behalf of the donors. The problem arose when it was to be decided whether they were entitled to the *Padroado* grants or not. One such complaint was raised by the Viceroy regarding the Church of Madre de Deus, Pomburpa. The King had allotted one hundred and fifty three *ashrafis* to pay for the repair work of the tabernacle in the Church. The Viceroy argued that the benefactor had already provided for this. Moreover, the amount that was sanctioned for the catechumens could be used for the maintenance of the Church building. It must be noted that by the early seventeenth century, twenty two Parish Churches whose Vicars were given a Royal allowance of thirty eight *xs* that were paid to them every three months. The frairs, who worked in the private Parish Churches namely, those of Soccoro and Pilerne were paid one quarter of this amount. Did these Churches belong to the Order, the King or were they permanently financed by the lay donors. As per the Statutes, the frairs could not receive legacies and properties because they

professed to abide by the vows of poverty. To solve this problem, the frairs in Goa handed over such donations to the *Fabricas* and *Confrarias*. They stated that such donations belonged to the Parishes and not to the frairs. These Churches were financially stable because the benefactors provided the frairs with everything that was needed to perform the divine services. Many other Parish Churches were maintained by the *Comunidades* that allotted a share of the annual produce to the Patron or Patroness of the Church. For instance, the Village Community of Revora provided two *jonos* to the Church. Similarly, the Parish Churches of São João de Baptista and Bom Jesus were entitled to *jonos*. Besides this, the Village Communities bore the expenses of constructing or repairing the Churches. The Parochial House of the Church of São Baptista, Pilerne and the Church of Candolim were repaired at their cost. They maintained the new Churches till they received an annual grant from the State. The frairs collected the alms from the people to undertake such works. The *Ermida* of Sao João de Baptista was constructed with the alms that were collected by Frei João de Santa Clara, the *Collegio de Madre de Deus* was built using the masses stipends, alms and the personal money of the Rector. Frei Carlos dos Remedios struggled to rebuild the Church of São Jeronimo, Mapusa. As a result of this, many doubted as to whether the Parish Churches belonged to the King. The authorities were not sure whether they could be entitled to the

Padroado grants. This was not the case with the Frairies. The Frairies did not cater to the local community and fully depended on the King. In the second half of the seventeenth century, the frairs decided to rebuild the Frairy of St. Francis, Goa. The Commissary General requested the King to contribute towards this work. The King was not in a position to do so. Hence, he instructed the frairs to dispose off the Captaincies of Sofala and Diu to the highest bidder and to use the proceeds for the work. But, the frairs did not use this Royal grant because the money that was collected from the benefactors was adequate to complete the task. Hence, they returned the Captaincies to him. The frairs who worked in the *Estado* contributed towards the Goa mission. In 1667, the Custos, Frei Miguel de São Boaventura, collected two thousand *xs* from the matrons who lived in Bassein and used it to establish a House of Studies at Old Goa. The Chaplains of Monte de Guirim and Valverde used mass stipends for their sustenance.⁴

In the last decades of the seventeenth century, the Religious Orders amassed immovable properties that were donated to them by the faithful. The College of Pomburpa, for instance, had a *palmar* in Ecoxim that was bought for ten *xs* and eight hundred *tangas* by Gaspar de Amorin on 1st July 1695. Sometimes, the donations to one Order were made within the territorial jurisdiction of another Order. The Augustinians, for instance, had a paddy field called *Mullaque* in Serula that

was donated by Francisco Figueira de Almeida. In a letter of 11th April 1668, the Viceroy confirmed that the *Procurador* of the Jesuits had purchased a *palmar* in Bety, Bardez. It must be noted that the frairs were against this and appealed to the King. The Viceroy was authorised to report on this.⁵

The *Camara Geral de Bardez* helped the missionaries and the State in times of emergencies. It had helped the Oratorians of St. Filipe Nery to found the Church of Santa Cruz dos Milagres. The money from the Churches in Bardez was used for security of the land. This was clear from a letter of 22nd March 1687. The parishioners in Bardez pawned the silver of the Churches to help the Portuguese to fight against Sambhaji. The Governor allotted three hundred thousand *xs* for the defense of Bardez. This money was collected by imposing taxes on the people of Goa and by appropriating the silver ornaments of the Churches and Convents there. The King took the responsibility of repaying the money. He sent a grant of more than one thousand *xs* for each House in Bardez. The *gaoncars* and the *Camara de Bardez* contributed towards the construction and maintenance of the Parish Churches. In return for this, they had claimed several rights like the right to occupy the *Confrarias*, to celebrate the feasts, etc. However, the frairs denied them such priviledges. One misunderstanding took place in 1694. The Viceroy wrote to the King that there was a misunderstanding between the *Camara* and the frairs regarding

the celebration of the feast of St. Francis. The Hindu *gaoncars* from the adjoining areas requested the King to allow them to bring their relics back to their land. The King considered such requests, because he needed their support to fight against the local invaders. In a letter of 24th October 1698, the King solicited the advice of the Viceroy about Vitola Prabhu and the other local inhabitants in Bardez who had requested him to allow them to bring the statues from the neighbouring areas after they had paid all their dues. In many cases, the Officers in Goa appropriated their dues and privileges. In a letter, Vitola Prabhu, Babrigi Prabhu, Rama Chrisna Prabhu, Chindelica Prabhu and others complained to the King that their estates in Bardez had been lost to those *gaoncars* who were in the service of the King. Though they had paid the quit rents to the State, they were not allowed to enjoy their privileges. The State tried its best to satisfy them so that they did not join hands with the local invaders. They contributed towards the State but such dues were quite high and they were unable to pay them. Hence, they requested the authorities to keep them out of such impositions.⁶

The local Hindus were given certain benefits and even permitted to come back and settle down in the Portuguese dominions. This enabled the local converts to get empowered and to resist the foreign clergy.

CONVERSIONS: Conversions assumed a different connotation because the frairs along with the King and the other converts cooperated to preach, administer the sacraments and convert the Hindus. The steady increase in conversions and Church building activities in the early seventeenth century emanated from the desire of the frairs to disprove some of the accusations that were leveled against them by the other Religious Orders. The Observants who looked after the Parish Churches faced several difficulties because of a large number of immigrants. Conversions did not imply a change in religion but also in the name of the person who was converted. Mangarna Sinai, a clerk in the Municipality of Bardez was converted and named Pero Ribeiro. The frairs who handled this ministry had to be efficient, mature and united. In a letter of 5th February 1665, the King criticized the frairs for being unqualified and inefficient as compared to the Jesuits. In another letter, the Provincial requested the frairs to observe their Rules and to avoid scandals. These complaints were not genuine because the frairs succeeded in extending the faith to Bardez that was full of Christians. In the Parishes in Bardez, there were only one or two houses where the Hindus lived. Between 1662 and 1667, the frairs were very active and the King constructed several Churches at the request of the frairs. Hence, these complaints have to be seen within a context that was not favourable towards the religious.⁷

The converts and the *nouveaux* elite tried to occupy the religious offices and associations. The mariners, white men and the converts of the City of Goa requested the Head of the Cathedral to permit them to form a *Confraria of Nossa Senhora de Milagres* in the name of the navigators of the *Carreira do Estado*. On 20th November 1661, the Commissary General, Guardian and the Provincial met the candidates and nominated the office bearers of the *Confraria*. This was confirmed by the *Ordinario de Goa*, dated 4th January 1662. The Cathedral of Goa had a pensionary that belonged to the *Confraria da Conceição* that was raised in the Frairy in Old Goa. Anna Mendes had donated two hundred xs to it. This money was to be used to celebrate twelve masses for the repose of her soul.⁸

Bardez faced political disturbances because of the incursions of the Konkan Desais. Many *gentios* who lived on the borders of the Portuguese dominions in the North took refuge in Bardez. The authorities agreed to shelter them provided they accepted the Christian religion. One *gentio* agreed to get converted because the King permitted his wife and family as well as the children of a Rane of Revora to live in Bardez. The frairs tried their best to shield the local converts from the non-Christians who came from outside. They did not allow the latter to enter the Parishes that were under their spiritual care. The local Christians were not allowed to go to the mainland to cultivate their fields and to speak to the non-converts. Bardez

had twenty three Rectories that protected the converts. The frairs from the Frairy of St. Francis and College of São Boaventura were also sent to Bardez to look after the converts there. This was observed by Pyrard de Laval who stated that there were eighty thousand Catholics in the Parish of Goa but there were only two priests in the Cathedral. The frairs who worked in the Goa mission were busy because many *gentios* who had come from the mainland had offered themselves for baptism. The statistics of 1667, stated that the Observant frairs had converted nearly forty six thousand, four hundred and fifty people in Bardez, of these four thousand were baptized and three thousand were already instructed. There were only seven thousand *gentios* there. This indicated that the converts constituted nearly eighty five percent of the population of Bardez.⁹

The General Baptisms were celebrated with great pomp and splendour. The catechumens were dressed in new clothes and taken in a procession till a place where they would receive the sacrament. This was done to attract the others to a religion that was glamorous and secure. In 1665, Frei Bernardino de São João held a baptism at the Frairy. There was a reference to a forty year old Brahmin man, Ramanzi Camoty, the son of Randu and Lucuminy Camoty of Torda, Salvador do Mundo. He was converted and given the name of Pascoal. On 7th April 1668, thirty four people from Serula were received into the Church. In

Paitona, there were thirty four catechumens that included seventeen men and women respectively. The Parish Church was seen as a symbol that ensured the security of those who were baptized. While the Observants worked in the Bardez mission, the Recollects worked in Daugim. In 1640, the latter tried to found the *Confraria de Madre de Deus*. But, their efforts were resisted by the Observants who had the support of the Primate of Goa. In such a condition, the Recollects appealed to Rome and requested the authorities to help them to solve the problem. But the *Propaganda Fidei* was not very powerful in the *Padroado* lands. Hence, the decision was passed in favour of the Observants who were praised for their zeal and capability. The friars tried to keep themselves acquainted with the methods that could be used to convert the local people. Frei Pedro da Magdalena was well versed in ascetics and mystical theology. He encouraged conversions and organized Conferences for the laity of Damão. The King favoured the friars because they helped him to protect the *Padroado* lands. The missionaries reflected on the *Estado* because the formers were the agents of the King. Hence, the King instructed the authorities in Goa to select efficient friars for the mission. In one letter, he instructed the Viceroy, Conde de Sarzedas to examine the friars before they were nominated as parish priests in the Churches of the Bardez. The Franciscan Provincial wanted to protect the interest of the King. Therefore, he requested him to entrust the Parishes to the

Inquisitors. The Viceroy was against the frairs. On 28th January 1666, he had complained to the King that the older priests should be kept out of the Parishes because they went there to take rest. Having taken the title of Vicars, they kept one or two boys to serve them and they did little work there, "...what they do, God alone knows". Many frairs had been approved by the Chapter and appointed directly without passing any exams. This method had been used when a few frairs volunteered to help the King to handle a new mission in an unknown land. However, by this time, Bardez was Christianized and several frairs were trained in the House of Studies in Goa. The Prince Regent did not have confidence in the frairs who were trained in Goa. Hence, he instructed the Viceroy to send the Inquisitors to Bardez because the Christian community was neglected by the frairs. The situation bad and there was a village in Bardez where the divine services were rarely carried out because the priests did not take any trouble to instruct the faithful. The Province was under a Commissary General but the Parishes were under a Provincial. The old Rectors used the Churches as rest houses. Many of them even appropriated the funds that were sanctioned for the converts. The King was aware of this. In a letter of 3rd March 1672, the Prince Regent instructed the Viceroy not to sanction any favours to Christians in Bardez unless the *Pai dos Christaõs* had issued a certificate. The Viceroy refused to implement such

instructions because it would be an insult to the Portuguese. In a letter of 12th September 1672, the Viceroy apologised and stated that he was unable to do much because many officials of the *Estado* who were in charge of War, Justice and the Treasury supported the frairs. The authorities admitted that the frairs lived a scandalous public life. Many of them had illicit relations and lived with their wives and sons. Others forced the converts to give them gifts and harassed the parishioners. As a result of this, the inhabitants of Bardez were dissatisfied with the frairs and this in turn ruined their relation with the State. As the head of the affairs in Goa, the Viceroy advised the authorities that the only solution was to replace the frairs with the clerics of the land.¹⁰

Such criticisms forced the frairs to cultivate the mission field. In 1613, two General Baptisms were held at which two *balagatins* from Salvador do Mundo were converted. But the authorities were still not happy with the frairs. In a letter of 11th October 1673, there was a reference to the excesses and exorbitances that they committed. Since, many of the conversions were superficial and forcible, the converts reverted back to their old religion. There was a reference to the local widows who had married the local brahmins, vanis, sudras and others in the Islands, Bardez, Salcete and in the fortresses of the North without being catechized in the faith. Catechism was important as it was believed that it would enable the converts to

understand the real the Christian religion. The authorities felt that many local converts followed the new cult in a superficial manner and that the converts continued to observe and practice the Hindu rites, idolatry, superstitions and other local customs. The Portuguese tried their best to increase the number of converts. The Christian women who had lost their first husbands, women who were separated by law and those who had no sons had to be identified and instructed in the Christian faith. As a result of this, several General Baptisms were held. One was presided over by the Auxiliary Bishop, Dom Jacinto de Saldanha. Another was held in 1680. Around this time, the *Propoganda Fidei* tried to infiltrate into the jurisdiction of the *Padroado*. On 22nd December 1672, Abbé Carre arrived at Banda and went to the Church of Bicholim. He was courteously received by three *canarin* priests and met Dom Matheus de Castro who worked in the land of the *Idalçao*. He was a local convert who took the help of the *Propoganda* to be appointed as the Titular Bishop. Hence, the Portuguese disliked him. Abbé Carre noticed this and commented; "they disliked him so much that there was no indignity that was not inflicted on him without regard to his position".¹¹ If the frairs were interested in Christianization *per se* they would not have seen him as a threat to their position.

Between 1681 and 1686, there was an official move to shift the capital of the *Estado*. Several edifices in Old Goa were

destroyed. This directly affected the frairs, who had just received the Statutes that authorized them to hold General Baptisms and to concentrate on conversion. This prompted them to concentrate on Bardez. The Provincial Statutes were approved by the Chapter that was held on 8th January 1680, in the College of São Boaventura, Goa. They included several provisions that enabled the frairs to deal with the problems that they faced in the new areas. The Master of the Novices was instructed to train the novices with care so that they got acquainted with salvation, evangelization, truth, Christian doctrine, Rules of the Frairs Minor and those of religious life and the Pontifical Orders including the *Exiit qui Seminat* of Nicholas III and *Exivi de Paradiso* of Clemente V. They had to be trained for one year and they could not become Guardians or Rectors unless they completed six years. In those days, many novices were professed soon after completing their training in the Novitiate. The Statutes clearly stated that they could be ordained only after the age of twenty two or twenty three or five years after their training. No new priest could say mass unless he was examined and approved in performance of the duties of the altar. The Rectors were instructed to guide the converts and to administer the sacraments as per the Provincial Chapter. Every Sunday, the parish priest had to explain the Gospel and the mysteries of the faith to his parishioners. On the fourth Sunday of the month, they had to explain the

sacraments of communion, confession and the mysteries of the Eucharist to the converts. The Rector could not forcibly baptise any *gentio* or infidel. He could convert them only by preaching the truth of the Holy Faith to them. The Rectors had to maintain books on baptisms and marriages. They had to write down the names of all the Christians in their Parishes. Apart from baptising those who wanted to be converted, they had to instruct those who were already baptised so that they were well versed in their faith. Every year, they had to hold General Baptisms in Goa, in the North and in the City of Bassein. Three days before the baptism ceremony, the Rectors of Bardez had to send the catechumens to the Rectory of Nossa Senhora da Penha de Franca where they were instructed by the frairs. Three months before baptism, they had to be called to the Church everyday so that the Rectors could catechize them. No Rector in Bardez could baptise anybody before this. All the sacraments had to be testified by certificates. All this was intended to avoid the problems that had cropped up in the mission field. Between 1689 and 1690, two thousand, one hundred and sixteen children and two hundred and ninety seven adults were baptized in Bardez and by 1700 nearly three hundred General Baptisms were held.¹² However, the number of converts was comparatively low either because most of the inhabitants were converted or because the non-converts had migrated into the neighbouring lands.

The authorities were interested in the Bardez Province because it was a border Province that was susceptible to invasions. The Portuguese believed that if the new converts were strong in their faith, they would be a formidable bulwark against the enemies. Hence, they fortified the Province and provided it with Chapels and Hermitages where the frairs did much more than merely being Chaplains and parish priests, "...besides what nature made it, the Portuguese have taken much pain to complete and fortify it. Bardez is five miles long and forty five in compass with twenty eight villages governed in spirituals by the clergy...". The frairs catered to the converts and protected the Province. However, although they were the agents of the King, they did not live an exemplary life and disturbed the peace of the Province. The local authorities realised this and requested the King to send them to Portugal. But, the Archbishop, Frei Agostinho da Assunção was in favour of them. He further empowered them and nominated them to visit the *Fabricas* in the Parish Churches where their co-frairs were parish priests. This was done to check the cases of corruption and misappropriations there. The Archbishop himself visited all the Parish Churches in Bardez and in the *Visita Pastoral* dated 2nd December 1698, he commented that the Churches were well maintained and that the divine services were performed in a proper way. The Churches were beautiful structures whose size depended on the villages in which they

were located. There were several Catholics who were well instructed and *Confrarias* and *Fabricas* that catered to the poor converts. The religious took an oath of poverty by which they could not possess any legacies. The donations to the Parishes were treated as alms to the Order and the donors were called beneficiaries. The *Visita* was contrary to the accusations that were leveled against the frairs and indicated that the local officials had an ulterior motive in removing the frairs from Bardez. Hence, there were problems in the Bardez mission. Every General Baptism, for instance, was an occasion of show rather than a manifestation of a true love for conversions. In his letter of 5th February 1692, the Viceroy, Conde de Villa Verde stated that the missionaries and Vicars in Bardez did not behave properly. Most of the frairs were adept in maintaining structures and Churches and in receiving alms from the community rather than in their apostolic duties. This does not mean that all the frairs ignored their responsibilities. In a letter of 23rd January 1691, the Provincial, Frei Antonio da Esperança, wrote to the *Junta Gubernacional* that certain certificates that were taken from the *Livro das Catechumenos* made it clear that nine hundred and seventy seven adults were baptised with the help of the parish priests of Bardez. Many frairs brought the *gentios* from the *terra firme*, cured them from their sickness gave them alms and baptized them. From the above, it was clear that different frairs in different Parishes gave

priority to different aspects of the mission. Hence, it is not proper to conclude that all the frairs were lax and inefficient as they converted many people by guaranteeing them spiritual and material benefits.¹³

From 1700 onwards, the frairs undertook several missionary activities but, the accusations that were leveled against them created an unfavourable effect because the converts and the authorities were not well disposed towards the frairs.

THE MARATHA INVASIONS: Several Konkan Desais recognized the suzerainty of the Marathas. In 1660, the Marathas intruded into Bardez lands in search of the Desais who had taken refuge in the Portuguese lands.

The Desais of the Konkan like Lakhan Sawant and raided the Portuguese enclaves. In 1667, Naroba attacked the Dutch factory at Vengurla. On 20th November 1667, Shivaji entered Bardez in search of Locamu Saunto and Quessoia Naique, the Desais of Cudal and Pernem respectively. These Desais were defeated by the Marathas. They escaped from Pernem, entered Colvale and lived in a village near Aguada. These areas were inhabited by the Christians who were identified with the Portuguese. The Marathas were against the Portuguese because they had sheltered their enemies. The former pillaged the villages in Bardez for three consecutive days and the

inhabitants were forced to take refuge in the forts of Reis Magos or Aguada. The houses of the locals were ruined, many were deprived of their property rights, some were imprisoned and others were killed. The frairs buried several dead bodies at Colvale. Two frairs, Frei Manoel de São Benardino and Frei João das Neves heard the cries of the marauding soldiers and parishioners. But, as soon as they went out, they were slain near the Church of Colvale. The latter had nineteen wounds and his body was found only on the fifth day. It is opined, that many local people offered themselves for conversions because they wanted to avail of security from the Portuguese. In a letter of 15th November, Conde de São Vicente instructed the Secretary to appeal for help from the King. The Portuguese also tried to get the help of the Ranes of Revora. Certain villages in Naroa and Revora were given to them. Revora was a strategic Parish that was bound by *aldeias extra-muros*. However, before the reinforcements came, the Marathas concluded a Peace Treaty with the Viceroy, João Nunes da Cunha. In 1667, an Englishman stated that the Marathas attacked Bardez and killed four priests because Shivaji was against the policy of religious persecution that was adopted by the Portuguese in Goa. However, it is doubtful that the Marathas deliberately attacked the frairs only because they were Christians. The reason for killing the frairs was clear from the developments that took place in 1667. The Rector of Colvale tried to enforce a

law by which he made it compulsory for the inhabitants of Bardez to attend the preachings that were conducted on the recommendation of the Viceroy. Many inhabitants, especially the non-Catholics, traders, artisans and workers who came from Pernem and from the other side of the River refused to do so. Quessoa Naique argued that these instructions were meant for the *naturais da terra* and not for those people who came from outside. He wrote against this to the Viceroy, Dom João Nunes da Cunha who was forced to cancel it. The latter made it applicable only to the inhabitants of Bardez. When the Marathas entered Goa, they killed the Christians who tried to block their entry and who stopped them from searching for the Desais.¹⁴

The Marathas re-attacked Bardez. The inhabitants of the villages there tried to protect themselves. On 12th December 1671, the *gaoncars* of Siuly met at the Fort of Reis Magos. In the course of these invasion, Frei João das Neves, the Commissary General lost his life while defending the fort of Tivim. The frairs helped the authorities to defend these lands because they had their Parishes and Churches there. However, many of the inhabitants of Bardez helped the local invaders because they were against the frairs. In a letter of 15th January 1678, the Viceroy referred to Guimarji Pandito, the Subedar of Dicholi who took the help of the inhabitants of Bardez and attacked Pernem. In this letter, the Viceroy instructed the

Captain of the City to take action against the Subedar and the people of Bardez. These measures were adopted to avoid such recurrences. In 1683, Sambhaji allied with Aurangzeb and entered the Portuguese dominions to weaken the hold of the Deccani Sultan of Bijapur. The Marathas entered Siolim and arrested three men who had taken shelter in a village that was under the Portuguese. The Viceroy immediately broke off all the trade relations with the Marathas, demolished a fort in Ponda and stationed a garrison there. But, the Marathas defeated them and it seemed as if they would invade the whole of Goa. As a last resort, the Portuguese decided to pawn the silver of the Churches in Bardez to collect the reinforcements to fight against the Marathas. The records stated that Sambhaji was against Christianity. In his letter to the Viceroy dated 13th December 1683, he warned his people that there should be no Christians in Goa. During this invasion, several religious structures were damaged. In 1682, the Rectory and presbytery of the Church of Colvale was set on fire. In Tivim, the Church was damaged and the Rectory was burnt. In Parra, the Church was demolished and in Oxel, the Church bells were carried away. In the course of these attacks, the Christians and frairs were hurt. In 1683, three frairs and a group of Christians were taken away and imprisoned at Tivim for two months where they were deprived of food. Some frairs succumbed to the invasions but others resisted them. When the Rector of Nerul heard about the arrival

of the enemies, he refused to abandon the Church and ordered the parishioners to cut down some coconut trees. He sawed them in the shape of canon barrels and placed them around the Church and presbytery with the ends pointing towards the invaders. He then posted some men around each contraption. The invaders were deceived and ran away. This indicated that the Marathas were more interested in looting the wealth in the Churches than in destroying the centers of Christian worship. The frairs were keen on defending the Churches because they were also the defence centers of the Portuguese lands in Bardez. The Viceroy requested the King to send the reinforcements to enable him to repel such attacks. In a letter of 25th January 1684, the Viceroy wrote to the Regent that Sambhaji was in Goa since the last twenty six days, during which he had occupied three forts. The frairs served as couriers and carried letters and messages during the invasions. Frei Salvador de Made de Deus delivered the Royal letters to the Viceroy. The Marathas did not know about this and did not suspect the *padres*. In one letter, it was clear that a frair encountered several problems in the course of the journey and lost the letters that he carried to the Viceroy. The Viceroy did not know about the decisions of the King and he was not even sure whether he could make use of the money of the *Estado*. Since he could not wait for the ships to come, he requested the frairs to help him. In a letter of 22nd March 1687, there was a reference to a payment that was made

by the parishioners of the Churches of Bardez to counter the attacks of Sambhaji. In his letter of 10th December 1686, the Viceroy summarized the effort that was made by the Provincial of São Thomé Province. The latter gave away all his riches to finance the war. The Franciscans who were in charge of Bardez helped the authorities to protect the walls, defend the villages, operate the patrols and to look after the sentry without any concern for themselves. Frei Luis de São Francisco and Frei Manoel de Santo Antonio was sent to Chapora that was beyond the Portuguese jurisdiction. One of them was killed by a bullet that hit his head when he was trying to warn the soldiers who were on line. The other also lost his life. In the fortress of Reis Magos, the Captain was assisted by a frair who fell from the wall and broke his leg when he was patrolling in the night. The frairs helped the garrisons in the Islands of Goa and in the fort of São Estevão. Another frair was hurt when he was trying to defend a fort that was captured by the enemy. The frairs were killed while entering the *Passo de São João* alongwith the garrison. Twenty four frairs defended the bulwarks of Carambolim alongwith the infantry. Many frairs were tormented and others were imprisoned. In this manner, the frairs defended the lands of His Majesty. The local converts were disappointed with the Captain of Bardez and the frairs as they extracted money from them. The *Camara Geral de Bardez* complained against this. The Viceroy was aware that the converts in Bardez were against the

Estado. As soon as Sambhaji attacked Goa, some of them left the fortress of Tivim and others emigrated to Kanara along with their families. They forgot about their faith and upbringing. During the invasions of Abdul Hakim, some influential members of the *Camara Geral de Bardez* tried to revolt against the Portuguese and hand over the land to him. Four thousand armed men from Bardez were sent to the fort of Tivim. But, the Portuguese were sure that they could not depend on them because they would desert the battlefield at the first instance. The *Comunidades* were tired of financing the wars as they did not benefit from them. They spend sixty thousand *xs* in the past and thirty six thousand *xs* to build the trenches in Tivy. The *Camara Geral* itself had paid forty *reis* a day to two hundred and fifteen men who were appointed to keep a watch over Calangute, Candolim, Nagoa and Arpora that lay between the forts of Aguada and Chapora respectively. The King sent thirty one thousand, one hundred and four *xs*, two *tangas* and forty *reis* of which eleven thousand, one hundred and seventy nine *xs* were spent and the rest of the money was kept at the College of Reis Magos to meet the emergency situations.¹⁵

The frairs helped the poor and the dying without any reservations. But, soon they were exhausted and the Viceroy realized that they could not subsist only on alms because they needed grants to buy their necessities and to repair the Houses that were broken or destroyed. The economic conditions in the

land were such that it was impossible for them to overcome poverty. The Viceroy requested the King to help the frairs and to send alms in the form of ecclesiastical revenue. The Provincial of the Observants who had spend a lot on the war forwarded a similar appeal. He needed money because the parishioners of Bardez had borne great losses. Their houses were destroyed and they were unable to meet their necessities because of their poverty. The Provincial wanted to help them and requested the Viceroy to grant one thousand xs to each of the seven Houses in Bardez so that they could maintained the Churches and converts. As the Viceroy could not meet this demand, he sent an appeal to the King on 27th October 1685.¹⁶

The war continued because Conde de Alvor was interested in expanding the Portuguese rule towards North Konkan. Moreover, he was interested in capturing Sambhaji alive in Naroa. Many forts in Bardez remained with the Marathas. After the death of Sambhaji in 1689, the Portuguese allied with the Sawants and other Konkan Desais and succeeded in bringing peace in Bardez.

THE KONKANI LANGUAGE: The Portuguese attempted to revive the Konkani language so that the frairs could preach in a language that was understood by the people. Moreover, the authorities wanted the frairs to be familiar with the local language, as it was also the language of the local invaders.

In a letter of 2nd March 1656, all the Religious Orders were instructed to conduct examinations for the parish priests who were to be appointed in the Parishes in Bardez. The Viceroy was given the power to nominate the Vicars who knew the local language in the presence of an Apostolic Inquisitor. Those who did not know the language and those who wanted to learn it were to be sent to the College of Reis Magos where there was a Master. The Instructions were intended to benefit the souls and Christianity as a whole. In a letter of 28th January 1666, the Viceroy, Antonio Melo e Castro wrote to the King that the frairs knew the language and used it to preach in the villages. In 1667, Conde de Sarzedas expressed his happiness that the Kings Order was executed.¹⁷

The frairs obliged by the Order because they were warned that they would not be paid their allowances and that those who knew it would substitute them. The Portuguese made it clear that the frairs who were ignorant of the local language or unworthy of occupying the Churches had to be removed because John Chapter X stated that; "the herds follow the pastor who knows the language". The Viceroy did not favour the substitutes for fear of a possible alliance with the Marathas. Instead, he requested the frairs to learn the language and to appear for an exam. A Master was appointed in the Frairy to help the frairs in this regard. The authorities were convinced

that this was needed to promote the mission and instructed the frairs to obey God and the King.¹⁸

The frairs ignored the warnings. This was clear from a letter of 28th January 1666, in which the Viceroy stated that many Vicariates and Rectories had religious who did not do anything to convert the *gentios* and some Parishes were still occupied by old frairs who had retired from the highest posts and had one or two boys to help them. A frair complained to the King that his co-frairs did not do much to spread the faith. The Viceroy made it very clear that the King and instructed him not to appoint any frair as a Vicar in the Parish unless he was conversant with the vernacular language and was able to teach, catechize and persuade the heathens to follow the route to salvation. The King instructed the Superiors to send him a Roll of the frairs who were conversant with the language. They were not allowed to appoint or pay the frairs who were not examined. The Chapter was requested to help the State to remove those frairs who were incompetent.¹⁹ This was often seen as an attempt to remove the old frairs and replace them with those who would defend the *Estado*. The authorities knew that the new frairs would be directly responsible to the State because they would be appointed and paid by it.

The reason to implement such legislations was very clear. The earlier attempts in this regard had gone unnoticed and the spiritual pasture continued to remain uncultivated. This was

dangerous to the peace and security of the land especially during the Maratha invasions. In a letter of 1672, the King was informed that the people went to Church without any knowledge of the Christian doctrine. Since the priests were ignorant of the local language, they could not instruct the parishioners as the latter could not understand Portuguese. It was argued that such ignorance made it difficult for the friars to enter into the spirit of the parishioners, to dissuade them from idolatry and to lead them to a better Christian life. The insolence of the friars and their bad had set a bad example to the local people. Luis de Furtado complained that the friars lived a lax life. To improve the situation, the Principe instructed the Viceroy to appoint Apostolic Inquisitors who could examine the Vicars and Rectors in Bardez and who could ensure that all of them knew Konkani. As a result of this, the friars made some effort to develop and promote the local language. The Provincial, Frei Manoel do Lado wrote a *Cathechismo* in four manuscripts and insisted that his co-friars in Penha da Franca should study Konkani. However, largely the friars resisted the methods by which they had to compulsorily learn Konkani and many were determined not to learn it. The authorities had no other alternative. In a letter of 1672, they clearly stated that they wanted to hand over the Parish Churches to the clerics because they were familiar with the language and were capable enough to handle the mission.²⁰

In the last two decades of the seventeenth century, the official policy was suddenly reversed. Instead of forcing the frairs to learn Konkani, the authorities began to force the people to learn the Portuguese language. The *Alvara* of 1684 that is often seen as a unique specimen or an unenforceable piece of legislation was passed. One of the main reason for this alleged reversal is that the Viceroy, who was experienced in administrative matters realized that it was impossible to force the frairs to learn Konkani. Hence, he tried to force the converts to learn Portuguese so that they would not be in a position to communicate with and to be influenced by the local invaders and *gentios*. Moreover, the locals clerics could be temporarily kept out of the Order, as they could not understand Portuguese. Conde de Alvor insisted that the people should learn Portuguese because it could profit the souls of the natives and ensure the security of the Portuguese Empire. In the course of the Maratha and other invasions, the Portuguese had already lost several strongholds in different parts of the *Estado*. The officials believed that if the people understood only Portuguese, they would neither be influenced by their enemies nor by their non Catholic neighbours. The decree was implemented in Bardez because it was most susceptible to the invasions. The Provincial and the frairs supported this *Alvara* for their own benefit. The Decree that legally and officially suppressed the Konkani language was passed during the Viceroyalty of Dom Francisco

de Tavora, Conde de Alvor. According to this, the people were not allowed to use Konkani. Within three years, all the people had to learn Portuguese and use it in all the contracts that they made within the territories of the *Padroado*. The parish priests had to explain the mysteries of the faith and instruct his parishioners in Portuguese. All the meetings and sermons had to be conducted in Portuguese. The King, Dom Pedro II supported this *Alvara*. In addition to the *Alvara*, other pro-Portuguese policies were adopted. By a letter of 7th March 1687, the King encouraged marriages between the local women and white men but the former were given three years to learn Portuguese. In 1685, it was made compulsory to use Portuguese in all treaties and contracts.²¹

This *Alvara* did not produce a great effect because it was not accepted by the people. It was reintroduced by a letter of 1st March 1687, wherein the parish priests were forced to instruct the people in Portuguese. The authorities in Goa and the Archbishop were against this as they felt that the parish priests had to be well versed in Konkani because the people of Bardez despised the Portuguese language. Many frairs worked hard to develop the language. In 1695, Frei Simão Alvarez wrote a Konkani grammar for the poets and composers. He alongwith Frei Laurenço Alvarez compiled a vocabulary for the priests. Frei Domingos de São Bernardino wrote an explanation of the Credo in Konkani. It now seemed as if all their efforts were in vain. On

8th January 1680, a Chapter was held at the College of São Boaventura where the Statutes of the Province of São Thomé were drawn up. According to the Statutes, the Rectors were instructed to be careful while dealing with the *gentios*. Every Sunday, they had to speak to their parishioners and explain the Gospel and the mysteries of the faith to them. Three months before baptism, they had to send them to the *Casa de Cathecumenos*. The Statutes did not refer to the use of the local language but the documents and testimonies of 1698 referred to the widespread use of Konkani. There was a reference to eleven frairs who preached the sermons in the mission and to four others heard the confessions in Konkani. The Archbishop stated that although the frairs did not enforce the *Alvara* vigorously, there was no complaint against any religious in any village hereafter. The frairs in the Churches, Chapels and *Confrarias* of Bardez knew what was necessary to administer the sacraments. The Archbishop saw and heard most of frairs preaching and instructing in the mother tongue of the people. This report was an eyewitness account that was prepared from the experiences of the Archbishop when he visited the Parishes. The King was eager to improve the mission. He instructed the Provincial to ensure that the Superiors and frairs were well examined and that they had the capacity to handle spiritual services. According to him, this would infuse fresh blood into the decaying Province of São Thomé. He stated that the frairs

who sent to Goa were to be sent only from the Province of Algarve because this would avoid a recurrence of the animosities that existed between the Province in India and the Mother Province.²²

Hence, we observe two paradoxical tendencies. The first aimed at promoting Konkani for the proper instruction of the people and the second aimed at making the locals learn Portuguese. The effect of these two policies was that the people realized that the frairs were not in a position to master Konkani and that they were more interested in the security of the *Estado*. Hence, the former began to support the secular clergy. Some frairs who worked in Bardez realized this and began to preach in Konkani because they needed the support of the local people. As the frairs were unhappy with the Alvara of 1684, the Portuguese reversed it. This indicated that the authorities were keen to protect the interest of the frairs because they needed their help to defend Bardez.

CHURCH BUILDING: The period between 1596 and 1663 was called the eclipse of the Seaborne Empire. The Dutch had seized several fortresses and mission stations in the *Estado*. The Luso-Dutch conflicts had impoverished the Portuguese coffers and made it difficult for the authorities to support the mission. Moreover, Portugal was hardly in a position to keep up to the *Padroado* obligations. This had prompted the Pope to support

the *Sacrae Congregatio de Propoganda Fidei* that aimed at a Rome Rule.

Inspite of the perilous situation, the frairs constructed and repaired several Churches with the active assistance of the institutionalized, local setups called *Comunidades* and with the alms from the individual donors. Pope Alexander VII, stated that the Madre de Deus and São Thomé Provinces had several frairs. In 1658, the Parish Church of São Baptista was constructed at Pilerne on the site of the simple *Ermidizinha* that existed there. Frei Antonio dos Anjos built a cell for the parish priests while the Rector Frei Carlos dos Remedios completed the sacristy with the alms that he had collected from the villagers. The verandah was built by the Provincial, Frei Bernardino de São João. In this manner, several frairs took an initiative to complete one Church. In 1661, the frairs tried to supplement the alms of the local communities with Royal favours to complete the big projects. They broke the old Frairy and laid the foundation stone for a new Frairy that was dedicated to the Holy Ghost. It was intended to be the main center from where the frairs would control the mission in Ceylon, Burma and India. The Provincial, Guardian, Masters, Confessors, Lectors and other frairs lived there. The steady increase in the number of inmates prompted the frairs to build a new Frairy. The Church of Penha da Franca was built by Frei Manuel do Lado. In return for his service to the Holy See, he was nominated to

occupy the office of the parish priest for fifteen years by the *Sacrae Congregação* of the Regulars and Bishops that was held on 20th August 1666. This was confirmed by the *Bulla Religionis Zelus* of 20th August 1667. In 1661, the Church of Candolim was rebuilt by Frei Antonio de Assumpção as the old one was ruined. This work was completed with the help of the *gaoncars*. The Rectory was rebuilt with by Frei Jeronymo de Natividade who was interested in architecture. He changed the original plan and enabled the frairs to save a lot of money.²³

Frei Pedro Franco, a cleric of the Order of São Pedro to contributed a certain amount of money for the Church of Oxel. The altar screens and other ornaments were brought from the Convent of Goa. This Church was completed with private donations and the frairs claimed that it belonged to the Order. But, as the Order believed in poverty, such donations had to be treated as a possession of the Parish. In 1685, Frei Ignacio do Rosario repaired the Church using the mass stipends and the money that he got from other divine services. The Church, a frontispiece and some cells were also completed. In some cases, the money from the Mother House was used to complete the construction works in the poor and distant Parishes that had a small number of parishioners.²⁴

In 1679, the frairs began to extend the Parish Churches to accommodate the parishioners. The Parish of Nagoa was divided. Serula, was big village where the frairs raised a new

Church dedicated to Our Lady of Succoro to accommodate a large number of converts who lived there. Around this time, many of the Churches that were built in the earlier were in ruins. In a letter of 3rd January 1669, the Commissary General wrote to the King that it was urgent to restore the structures because they would collapse and cause danger to the people who lived in the vicinity. The travel accounts testified to the bad state in which the Churches and Houses were found. In 1672, Abbe Carre, visited the large and once flourishing City of Goa and stated thus; "I could hardly find any shadow or vestige of its former splendour. Two magnificent monasteries, the finest ornament, the Carmelites to the East, Augustinians to the West also the monasteries of the Franciscans, Dominicans, Theatines, and Paulists. The other Churches are ill served and in most mass and divine services are no longer sung for want of priests and monks. These diminish in numbers as their revenue is confiscated and they have been obliged to abandon many fine Churches in and outside the town where one sees only the vestiges of the former splendour of the Portuguese". This observation was made when there were rumours about shifting the capital city to Cabo and when the Pope was trying to destroy the *de facto* control of the Portuguese over the missions. There was a shortage of manpower mainly due to the Dutch threat and the many missions were neither staffed nor maintained. By and large, the mission in Bardez was

considerably well developed. In a letter of 4th October 1671, the Viceroy wrote to the Principe Dom João that Christianity had progressed and it was essential to construct additional Churches. Accordingly, the old Churches were repaired and new ones were built. In 1674, the Church of Mapusa was rebuilt under the direction of the Rector, Frei Carlos dos Remedios who was a devotee of the Mother of God and gave her a place of honour in the sanctuary. The Church was named after Our Lady of Miracles. Frei Francisco de Madre de Deus built a shelter where the offerings and articles of the *Confraria* could be kept. In 1676, the Church of Nachinola was built during the tenure of Frei Pedro da Purificação. It was the twenty second Rectory in Bardez and was built on the ruins of the Shri Betal Temple. The Rector, Frei Pascoal De Santa Maria rebuilt the Church of Colvale that was dedicated to the Stigmata of St. Francis of Assisi. The Provincial, Frei Pedro de Purificação laid the foundation stone. However, in 1682, it was attacked by Sambhaji and his soldiers who took away the frames and the timber. The material was brought back and used to rebuild it. The Church of Parra that was burnt in the course of the Maratha invasions, was rebuilt in 1688 by Frei Antonio de Esperanca. The Parishes like Colvale were small and sparsely populated. Therefore, they received limited alms and the frairs like Frei Diogo da Cruz had to work hard to complete the Church. He brought wood from the other side of the enemy

territory to complete the work. The frairs who served in the mission stations within the *Estado* also brought several things for the Parish Churches when they came after their retirement. Frei Diogo brought planks and doors for the Church and saved a lot of money. Frei Diogo da Madre de Deus bought the main alter screen at a cheap price from the College of Reis Magos and Frei Miguel de San Jose brought the side altars and the image of Nossa Senhora do Rosario. In 1663, the Rectory of Tivim that was set on fire by the Marathas was rebuilt at the cost of the *gaoncars*.²⁵

The steady increase in the number of converts and the desire to keep the new converts under the close control of the Pastors prompted the frairs to raise new Parishes and to separate the small areas from the larger Parishes. In 1688, the Church of Linhares that was hitherto an *Ermida* under the Parish of Candolim was separated from the latter raised to a Parish and dedicated to São Lourenço de Linhares. Similarly, the other Churches were remodeled and extended. The original Hospice of Madre de Deus, Pomburpa was remodeled during the tenure of the ex-Provincial, Frei Antonio da Assumpção. Frei Francisco da Virgem Maria added a sanctuary to the Church of Aldona. The frairs did not follow a uniform architectural pattern while building the Churches. In March 1694, Careri visited a Franciscan House at Pilar and stated that it was one of the best Churches in Goa for although it was small, it looked

like one entire mass of gold. The roof was adorned with fretwork. The Provincial Statutes of 1697 tried to put a check on the construction and design of the Churches. The Statutes were against the Observants because they raised expensive and superfluous edifices that were badly designed. The frairs were instructed not to undertake any new mason or wood works in the Rectories and Frairies. They could not demolish the old structures without the permission of the Superiors *in scriptis* and the signatures of the Definitors. If the Rector did not do this, he was not allowed to occupy his office for the next three years. The ornaments and other things in the Sacristy could not be lent out without the permission of the Vicar or the Assistant Commissary. Since the frairs spent a lot on the maintenance of the Franciscan Frairy, Old Goa, it was difficult to meet them with the alms and proceeds that were sanctioned to it. Hence, the Chapter decided that the Sunday mass stipends and burial allowances of the whole Province could be used for this purpose with the permission of the Provincial Minister. The Frairy in Goa was allotted only five hundred xs from the amount that was provided to the College of Monapasser in the North. According to the Statutes, no Rector of any Parish in Bardez could extract money, agreements or a *nemo* from the parishioners for any new work in stone, or wood. No frair could repair the Church or enlarge it without the permission of the Provincial Minister.²⁶

From this, it was clear that the Church building activities were undertaken at the cost of the local converts. However, the latter were not in a position to bear such expenses. The Franciscan Superiors realized this and put a strict control on the Church building activities.

THE RELATIONS WITH THE STATE: The frairs maintained friendly relations with the authorities. The Portuguese were bent upon despising the efforts that were made by the Pope to control the missions of the Portuguese lands. The authorities had to get the support of the frairs and they tried to do this by getting their own candidates elected at the Chapters. This resulted in factions and conflicts.

Frei Antonio dos Anjos was sent from Portugal to put an end to this. But, he was unable to control the situation. On 23rd August 1658, it was reported that he favoured one faction. This was brought to the notice of Pope Alexander VII. He was requested to approve the Statutes that were drawn up at the General Chapter held at Toledo, in 1658. Here, the frairs were allowed to elect their own Superiors without any interference from the State. The Pope confirmed this and the Definitors were given the right to choose the Vice Commissary and the Provincial was allowed to nominate the members to preside over the Chapter through an *Autoritate Apostolica*. When the Decree was implemented, one faction accepted it but the other did not

because it lacked the *Placet Regium*. One faction that supported the State went ahead and elected Frei Antonio de Conceição as the Commissary General. The Madre de Deus frairs and some Observants refused to accept his appointment because they abided by the Orders from Rome. At the Chapter of 1661, they asserted their right to chose their own Commissary General. This case indicated that all the frairs of one Province did not necessarily own allegiance to the King of Portugal or to his representatives. They were largely influenced by their co-frairs in Europe who were interested in admitting men of caliber and ability even at the cost of going against the *Padroado* as was stated in a letter of 23rd March 1676. To settle the problem, the frairs in Portugal sent Frei Jacinto de Deus. He was appointed by the General, Ildephonsus Salizanes. On his arrival, Frei Antonio dos Anjos went to Rome and approached the *Propoganda Fidei*. The General of the Order and the Pope supported him and reintroduced the Brief. The *Padroado* refused to accept Frei Antonio as Commissary General because the Brief lacked the *Placet Regium*. On his arrival, Frei Antonio had to appear before the new Commissary General, Frei João de São Bernardino in 1672. Frei Bernardino was appointed according to the Papal Brief. In his letter of 8th March 1672, the King instructed the Viceroy to acknowledge the Brief and to accept the appointment of Frei Bernardino. The latter came to

India in 1672 and in 1673 he took over as the Commissary General and presided over a Chapter.²⁷

The Provincial Houses were dependent on the State for their financial needs. This was clear from a letter of 29th January 1666, in which the Governor, Dom Antonio de Melo e Castro wrote to the King that he had instructed the Superiors of the Order regarding the receipt of the one eighth part of the proceeds of the lands in the Islands of Goa, Bardez and Salcete. The Kings financed the Frairies other Houses. In 1672, the King sanctioned money for the College of Reis Magos. This had been founded to train the orphans so that they could help the priests in different parts of the *Estado*. The frairs did not always follow the instructions of the King. In a letter, it was stated that though the frairs received payments to maintain the orphanages, they did not look after the orphans. The latter were so impoverished that some of them left and went to the houses of their relatives and others begged the Rector to provide for their daily sustenance. The frairs rarely spent the Royal grants on the locals. There was a case wherein the parish priest spent only one third of the money that was allotted for the baptisms. The Governor was aware of such appropriations for, in a letter of 29th December 1662, he stated that he had taken care to identify the frairs who did not fulfil their obligations.²⁸

The frairs of worked for the State. Some of them were sent to restore the diplomatic relations between the Crown and

the local rulers. In 1668, the Viceroy sent Frei Gaspar Baptista and Frei Sebastião da Anunciação to Sumatra to settle a Treaty between the Portuguese and the Queen of Achin and to find a possibility to establish a mission there. Frei Gaspar returned to Goa to obtain the confirmation for the House and to inform the Portuguese about the arrangements that he had made in Achin. He was also sent as a State representative to Surat to clarify some matters with the Great Mogul on behalf of the Portuguese. He completed this and returned to Goa. The frairs helped in the garrisons of the State. In an expedition that was led by the Viceroy against the Bhonsles, three frairs, Frei Manoel Graça, Frei Belchoir dos Reis and Frei Francisco de Santa Rosa assisted the military because they felt that it was their duty to punish the Bhonsles who had attacked their Rectories. Brother Gregorio who was attached to the College of Reis Magos traveled to Chaul on behalf of the Viceroy, Mathias de Albuquerque. The frairs had links with the *Padroado* and many seculars like Dom Luiz de Mendonca Furtado, the Viceroy pressurized the members of the Chapter to elect his candidate.²⁹

The relations between the frairs and seculars was not always cordial. The Viceroys leveled several accusations against the frairs. In a letter of 1672, the Viceroy complained to the King that the Churches in Bardez had become houses of recreation for the Governors, Commissaries, Provincials and others who were unable to teach as they did not know the local

language. They ignored the Orders of the King by which the parish priests had to be examined by the Inquisitors in the local language. There were complaints that the frairs behaved badly towards the Christians and that they were unpopular among the locals. The Viceroy was against the practice by which the frairs made it compulsory for the relatives of the deceased to pay the funeral expenses before interring any dead body. This had weakened the faith of the locals and the secular authorities felt that the locals were only tolerating the religious. However, the complaints pertained to their deeds rather than to the religious themselves. The latter formed an unofficial link between the *Estado* and Portugal. In a letter of 11th December 1677, the Viceroy, Dom Pedro de Almeida stated that the King had entrusted certain letters to the Guardian of the Frairy, Frei João Baptista. The authorities in Goa entrusted the spiritual and political responsibilities of the *Estado* to the foreign clergy. But, they also reprimanded them whenever it was necessary. In a petition to the King, the authorities stated that many frairs indulged in vices and corruption. They lived with their wives and children and openly disregarded the vows of celibacy. Such accusations have to be considered within the context of the triangular struggle for power between Rome, Portugal and Superiors of the Order. The Roman Curia and the King nominated the Superiors and the frairs who were appointed in Goa depended on the local Superiors who represented both.

Sometimes, the Sovereign was overlooked and at other times, the Papal Briefs were ignored. The Court had taken precautions to avoid such problems and had issued an Order to the Viceroy. Within a few years, the frairs managed to get this revoked and accepted only those provisions that benefited them. In such cases, the Archbishop and the Viceroy accused the frairs of disobedience. In a letter of 27th September 1672, the Principe requested the Archbishop to send him a copy about the commissions and excesses that the frairs committed in Bardez and to recommend the steps by which they could be avoided. The Viceroy was not favourable towards the frairs and clearly stated that they yielded little fruit as parish priests in Bardez because they neither instructed nor worked for their parishioners. They lived in the Parishes without any real interest in spreading the faith. Many did not know the local language and the parishioners could not understand what they said in Portuguese. The frairs were accused of living a lax life while the Jesuits were noted for their avarice. “*A Franciscano guardo minha mulher, a Paulisto guardo minha denyer*”, was a common epithet that was used to describe their lifestyle.³⁰

The Roman Chancellor had sent a set of Instructions by which the Pope made it clear that the *Padroado* Parishes had to execute the directions that were implemented by the Apostolic See failing which they would be declared as null. In this paradoxical situation, the Portuguese King tried to protect his

Padroado rights. In 1672, he instructed the Viceroy to control the frairs. In a letter of 6th February 1674, he requested the latter to send a list of frairs who belonged to the Order. The Viceroy never complained about the Order as a whole. Most of his complaints were directed against one frair or a small group of frairs. The Superiors generally defended the frairs against the seculars and the Viceroy was against this. The *Procurador* of the Madre de Deus Province, Lisbon, complained against the Viceroy because he tried to introduce a law by which he could claim absolute authority over the Superiors of the Order. As such, he tried to make the frairs subservient to the State.³¹

The close alliance between the Church and the State was proved by the fact that the representatives of the Religious Orders played an important role in the *Conselho*. Frei Pedro da Purificação and Frei Manuel de São Nicolão attended the meetings of the *Conselho do Estado* on 7th July 1678 and 29th December 1681 respectively. The frairs served as Chaplains aboard the ships and defended the *Estado*. Frei Antonio de Belem and Frei João de Deus helped the Viceroy when he escaped the ambush in Ponda. Frei Antonio encouraged the troops to fight while the latter was killed in the battle. In the late seventeenth century, the Portuguese faced a shortage of manpower from Portugal and the non-Portuguese soldiers revolted against the Portuguese. In such a situation, the frairs served as safe spies and friendly soldiers. A contingent of frairs

was stationed at the fort of São João, Carambolim. Eighty frairs joined the garrison at the request of the Viceroy. Six were appointed to command the soldiers who were in charge of the bulwarks. The frairs lived in the Houses that were located at strategic points and helped the Portuguese to spot the enemy, destroy their ships and to thwart their efforts to wade across the River. Frei Marçal da Magdalena fell from a wall and hurt his leg when he was checking on the soldiers from the fort. The Viceroy summoned many frairs on board to provide physical and psychological support to the soldiers and to lead them to victory. When the fort of Revora was seized, the Captain wanted to surrender. At this point, Frei Manoel de São Antonio intervened and encouraged the Captain to fight. Frei Manoel defended the post bravely but he was shot. After his death, the Captain immediately surrendered. Frei Thomé da Madre de Deus, Frei Francisco de Santa Teresa and Frei Luiz de São Francisco were imprisoned in the fort of Tivim for two months along with a group of Christians. They were starved and ill treated by their captors. Only the missionary desire to help their fellow captives gave them consolation.³²

In the mid seventeenth century, the Portuguese lost Ceylon and the other territories in South India. The mission was limited to Diu, Bassein, Chaul, Bardez and the Islands of Goa. The King tried his best to settle the problems there. In a letter of 24th March 1682, the Regent wrote to the Viceroy to

take the help of the Archbishop and the Inquisitor to punish Frei João da Trindade who had misbehaved with the Commissary General. However, the case had to be withdrawn because Frei Trindade expired. The King was adamant not to remove the frairs from Goa. In a *Provisão* of 22nd March 1684, he decreed that the frairs and Jesuits should remain in Bardez and Salcete. The relations of the frairs with the Crown were strained because of the lack of communications between the Superiors of the Order and the *Padroado*. The King tried his best to exert an influence over the frairs in the mission. In a letter of 10th March 1687, he requested the Viceroy to brief him about the mission and insisted that all the Orders from Rome should receive the *Placet Regium*. In a letter of 27th November 1686, the *Procurador* of the São Thomé Province, Frei Lourenço de São Antonio agreed to this and requested the King not to reject the Briefs that were related to the religious life of the frairs. The frairs followed the dictates of their Superiors in Rome in their monastic life but they also fulfilled the responsibilities that were allotted to them by the *Padroado*. The Vice Provincial of the Madre de Deus Province, Frei Jeronymo dos Reis wrote to Dom Pedro II that even the Recollects served as the Chaplains on the Portuguese navy. He sent a list of Navy Chaplains who accompanied the fleet between 1652 to 1680. The frairs helped the benefactors of the Order against the *Estado*. In a letter of 24th January 1688, there was a reference to Duarte Martins de

Melo of Baçaim who was accused of treachery and murder. He was tried in the Court and imprisoned in the Franciscan Church at Thana. He was brought into the Franciscan Frairy in Goa along with three other frairs. The Ouvidor *Geral* of the Archbishopric was authorised to deal with the case. The frairs in Goa tried to protect him. But, the *Ouvidor* insisted that he should be imprisoned in the Frairy of St. Francis, Goa. Here, the frairs were warned not to move him out without the permission of the King. The matter was suspended till 10th January 1689. In the meanwhile, three frairs helped him to escape from the Frairy. The matter was referred back to the King. In a letter of 24th January 1690, the King wrote to the Viceroy to instruct the Franciscan Provincial to exile the two religious and to send the third one to the kingdom. The frairs in Goa argued that they should not have kept the prisoner in the Frairy as it was a public case.³³ This was an instance wherein the interest of the religious clashed with that of the *Estado* in non-religious matters.

The authorities in Goa were keen to substitute the frairs and sent several complaints against them. The frairs refused to pay heed to such allegations. Frei Manoel do Espirito Sancto, the Commissary General refuted many of the allegations and insisted that the frairs should remain in Bardez. The authorities stated that the frairs wasted their time in private avocations thereby creating an impression that the cloister was

a barrack of soldiers rather than a habitation of the monks. The Archbishop was unable to deal with the monastic disturbances. Moreover, the frairs were not longer under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop. The Viceroy stated that they were a burden to him and that he could not concentrate on the administrative matters. The complaints were not one sided. The frairs also raised objections about the life of the secular authorities. In a letter of 20th November 1689, the Rector of Reis Magos complained to the King against Digo Lobo de Sousa, the Captain of Bardez who scandalized the Christians. The Governor was accused of being involved in the illegal trade of women. Such accusations and counteraccusations by the religious and secular authorities forced the Portuguese to intervene in the Goa mission. The Madre de Deus frairs did not come under much criticism because many like Frei Gaspar Baptista and Frei Sebastião da Anunciação carried on the Apostolic mission and went to Achem in 1668. Two *canarins*, Lourenco de Noronha and Salvador de Tavora from Serula, Bardez were sent to Tanque.³⁴

The frairs helped the authorities to implement the provisions of the Counter Reformation. There was a reference to an Inquisitorial trial that was held at the Franciscan Frairy in Goa. But, by then, the factional conflicts hindered the relations between the Church and the State. While the State occasionally intervened in religious matters, the frairs tried to sort out the

differences at the extraordinary meetings called Congregations. The frairs believed that it was their mission to carry out the responsibilities that were entrusted to them by the State. When Frei Anjos was deposed, he refused to go to Portugal because he owed allegiance to God and to the King. His intransigence was reported and he was even sentenced to an exile. This matter involved the frairs yet it affected the *Estado*. On 14th September 1693, it was discussed in the *Conselho do Estado* and as Frei Anjos had not completed his term, a Vicar Provincial was appointed to handle his office. The Vicar Provincial handled his responsibility so well that he was called the most capable and virtuous religious. Generally, the Provincial handled the religious matters whereas those associated with the State were discussed in Council of States. When the Viceroy could not handle the matters, he directed them to the King. In 1694, Frei João de Santhiago was sent as the Provincial to Goa. But, the frairs were not happy with him. On 14th November 1694, a group of seventeen frairs armed with guns, pistols and large swords staged a scandalous uproar. At four in the afternoon, they came out and entered the College of São Boaventura where the Capitulares had assembled for the Chapter that was scheduled for 17th November. They wanted the Visitor to expel Frei João de Santhiago the President of the Chapter and to reinstate Frei Antonio do Anjos who was suspended. Another group of frairs got together and supported Frei Santhiago.

There was so much of confusion that the Superiors were forced to report the matter to the Viceroy. On 17th November 1694, the Viceroy complained about this to the King and the Archbishop while Frei Anjos sent an appeal to Rome. Frei Anjos failed in his venture and was confined to St. Cajetan, Goa. In the following monsoon, the King directed the Viceroy to reconduct the elections and empowered the Viceroy to arrest the rebel. Accordingly, the Viceroy sent the *Procurador Geral do Crime* to the College. The rebel frairs closed the doors and locked the Visitor, Provincial and other members inside. Having no other alternative, the *Procurador* had to resort to force. At night, he ordered his troops to surround the College. By morning, the resistance became very tenacious and the Viceroy ordered a *galeola* to be brought close to the walls of the College. But, it was ineffective and the frairs continued the revolt. They shamelessly exposed the Blessed Sacrament at one of the windows of the dormitory that faced the River. The Viceroy was aghast and ordered the troops to move the guns into the main gate. The frairs knew that the troops would force open the doors. They immediately opened the door and surrendered. The *Procurador* arrested the rebellious frairs and sent them to Aguada. The leaders were sent to the lighthouse and the others were sent to Marmugao where they were imprisoned and punished by the Superiors. The King was informed about this. In a letter of 11th January 1697, the King instructed the Viceroy

to imprison and banish the seventeen Observants who had caused disturbances in the College of São Boaventura. The case was handed over to the Guardian who decided to suspend them. The Viceroy wanted to hand over the matter to the Nuncio but the King instructed him to leave it with the local Superiors because he did not want the reports to reach Rome. The main causes for the rebellion were the shortcomings in the administration and the indiscipline among the frairs. The Viceroy now suggested that the Provincials and frairs should be appointed in Portugal and sent to Goa, as this would avoid such problems in the future. After Frei Anjos was deposed, a number of incidents took place in Goa and the authorities were unable to meet such emergencies. The King permitted Frei Santhiago to continue as the Provincial. He was succeeded by Frei Lucas dos Remedios who attended the meeting of the Council of States on 30th July 1699.³⁵

At the end of the eighteenth century, the Kings of Europe began to interfere in the different aspects of the monastic life and suppressed several Religious Orders. The Court generally acted on the complaints and instructed the authorities to take action. The *Propoganda Fidei* that functioned since a century ago came into a conflict with the *Padroado*. The *Placet Regium* was resisted by many frairs who still maintained links with Rome. During the tenure of the Provincial, Frei Antonio Brandão, the Viceroy passed a *Portaria* by which he intended to

control the ecclesiastical matters. But, the *Juiz de Cavaleiros* and the frairs protested against the *Provisão* because it restricted their freedom. In 1665, the Commissary General wrote to the Viceroy that the frairs hated the Prelate who had exercised control over the religious. Since the frairs were directly under the jurisdiction of the State, some of them ignored the Papal Briefs and implemented the Orders that were issued by the King. In a letter of 26th March 1688, the King complained to the Viceroy, Dom Rodrigo da Costa that the frairs did not execute the Briefs that were passed in Rome. The King was happy, as he had insisted that such Orders should not be implemented unless they received the Royal sanction. In a letter of 3rd March 1687, Frei Lourenço de Santo Antonio and his *Procurador* in Lisbon stated that any Order that came from the Pope could not be executed unless it was registered and passed by the Royal Chancellery. The King tried his best to maintain his hold over the frairs through his representatives. In his letter, Luis Goncalves Cotta, the Secretary of the *Estado* and *Junta das Missoes*, requested the Provincial to account for the things that had been given to them. The Governor and *Capitão Geral* were instructed to give an account of the mission that was under the frairs. The close alliance between the State and the religious was evident during the crises. The Franciscan Frairy in Goa served as a shelter for several criminals and there were cases when the frairs helped these criminals to escape. The

Procurador Geral of the São Thomé Province complained about the frairs who helped a criminal to escape from the Frairy of the City. The former was afraid of losing the immunity of the House and the *quartais* because the Frairy was poor and money was needed to procure the necessities of life. His argument was that the inmates of whole Frairy should not be punished because of few. From then onwards, the frairs hesitated to keep the criminals in the Frairy with out the permission of the King. The frairs did not always support the State. Hence, they were believed to be worse than many other Orders who worked here in Goa. In a letter of 22nd December 1691, the frairs were held responsible for several disturbances and the authorities stated that except for the Dominicans and Jesuits, the others like the Augustinians, Carmelites, Capuchins and Franciscans spent their time in converting the infidels and lived like soldiers in the barracks. In many cases, the frairs went beyond their limits. In a letter of 7th January 1694, the Viceroy complained to the King about Frei Anjos who ignored his sentence and lived in the Frairy. Even after his departure, his papers were fixed on the doors of the Church as an indication of his determination to disobey the authorities. This was tolerated neither by the King nor by his representatives in Goa. The latter were afraid of any further upheavals. In a letter of 28th February 1694, the Viceroy requested the King to inquire into the Bulls that were sent to the *Capucho* frairs and Carmelites so that there would

be no disputes. The King realized that he could not solve the problem without the help of the local authorities. Hence, the Viceroy was authorized to brief him about the solution to such problems. The Franciscan Superiors were aware of the deterioration within the Order. In a letter of 5th October 1694, there was a reference to the Observants who lived without the fear of the King and who got involved in non religious disputes. The *Junta das Missoes* was also requested to go through the accusations and do the needful. The Viceroy knew that he could not handle the situation. In a letter of 8th December 1695, he blankly informed the King that he could not deal with the vice of ambition because the frairs were independent and did not pay any attention to the Orders of the Commissary General.

The authorities had to tolerate them because of the problem of the scarcity of the frairs in the local missions. However, they tried to recruit a new group of frairs into the Bardez Province. They imposed a norm by which the frairs had to be examined and their capacities had to be observed before they were appointed as parish priests. The Provincial suggested that the *prelado maior* had to be chosen from the Province of Algarve for a term of three years. In addition to this, two capable religious had to be appointed to the Province every year. The Provincial Statutes of 1697 laid down the basic rules by which the frairs had to live. They incorporated the Provincial

Statutes of 1685 and 1686. The Provincial Chapters were held to enable the frairs to adapt to the new situation in the mission. The Vicars of the Parishes of Reis Magos, Candolim, Aldona and Mapusa were allowed to vote at the Chapter as they were familiar with the mission.³⁶

The above indicated that the King tried his best to solve the problems of the frairs. The Viceroy needed their support because they were in charge of the converts and Parishes in Bardez that was a dangerous mission field and the Portuguese knew that they could not handle it by themselves. Hence, they tried to force the frairs to learn Konkani and tried their best to bring the missionaries under their control.

NATIVE PRIESTS: The seventeenth century witnessed several discords and disturbances within the Order. This was a challenge to the secular and religious authorities. From the beginning, the native clergy who were recruited in the *Estado* were believed to be substandard. Nevertheless, they had helped the frairs to administer the sacraments and to preach the Gospel. In many Parishes, several local priests were exploited by the frairs. The Governor was aware of this. In a letter of 25th January 1666, Dom Antonio de Melo e Castro complained that although the frairs made use of the secular clergy to administer their sacraments, they preferred to have their own Masters who preached in the local language. The old frairs who retired from

their offices relaxed in the Parish Churches in Bardez. Their work was entrusted to one or two young men who served him. They were called Vicars of the Community and what they did "God knows".³⁷ This made it clear that native clergy did help in the mission. Several clerics were trained in the Colleges in Goa and recruited in the Rectories. But, they were never allowed to occupy the high posts.

The native clergy were well trained as they had undergone formation programmes in the Seminaries. They were also familiar with the local language. The Viceroy stated that the frairs had been appointed as the Rectors in Bardez because there were no secular clergy. But now, there were several seculars who lived a good life and were ready to take charge of the mission and of the Churches. They administered the sacraments, heard confessions and preached on behalf of the frairs. They were conversant with the local language and the local customs. As such, they could enter the spirit of the parishioners and persuade them to leave idolatry. But, the foreign religious exploited them in their Parishes and the elderly frairs enjoyed *otium cum dignitate*. The Pope favoured the secular clergy but the frairs refused to admit them into the Order.³⁸

The frairs were not prepared to accommodate the local clergy because they believed that they would circumvent their powers. The frairs argued that the Order needed decent,

honourable and virtuous men. They also stated that the seculars did not have prior permission from the King of Portugal who was the spiritual head of the frairs in the *Estado*. The foreign accounts stated that the frairs rarely possessed these qualities. Abbé Carre for instance, referred to Frei Emmanuel de Cab(ral), the Superior of Madre de Deus, Goa. Frei Cabral had left Persia with Abbé Carre. The Abbé spoke to him on religion and the frair flew into a terrible rage, abused him and treated him as a heretic only because he had used a Latin phrase that Frei Cab(ral) could not understand. The Abbé was not sure whether he was a monk because his action did not reflect his habit. When the Abbé asked him for the breviary, he called a Kafir servant, gave him the keys and asked him to get the breviary. He stated that he did not wear it for fear of wearing it out. When the Abbé asked him the cause of this, he swore by St. Anthony, called the Frenchman a Jew and promised to put him in a cell in the Inquisition on his arrival to Goa. His discussion with the Abbé indicated the suspicion and hatred with which the frairs had treated the non-Portuguese. The resentment has to be understood within the context of the threats that were posed by the English and the Dutch who came to India with their Bishops, monks and missionary priests and tried to capture their monasteries and ecclesiastical services. The mission was deteriorating and the King was aware of this. In his letter of 26th August 1672, the latter raised several points

to improve the condition of decline. The frairs worked in Goa, Chaul, Bacaim, Daman and Diu. A few frairs who worked there did not observe regular discipline and did nothing to develop the spiritual life of the inhabitants or to convert the locals. Both these were the criteria for founding new Churches. In such a situation, the seculars were seen as a better alternative. The foreign clergy were always afraid of losing their rich Parishes. It was primarily this threat that prompted them to persuade the Viceroy, Dom Francisco de Tavora to issue the Decree of 27th June 1684. The frairs argued and it was difficult for the parish priests to instruct and catechize the locals because they were not acquainted with the local idiom. They believed that the local language should not be promoted because it was dangerous from the political point of view. Hence, they requested the authorities to force the natives to learn Portuguese within three years. Accordingly, the Viceroy issued a Decree that forced the local converts to learn Portuguese.³⁹

The King and the Pope realized the importance of the secular clergy to meet the shortage of manpower and to spread the mission among those who had hitherto evaded the new religion. They took steps to train the missionaries. The College of São Boaventura that was a Novitiate for the Province had local students who were trained for priesthood. Their admission was clear from a document of 1694. They studied there for six years. After studying Arts and Philosophy for three years, they

had to answer a final examination. The students were given six questions: two on logic, physics and metaphysics respectively. After passing this, they were admitted to Theology. If they wanted to be promoted as Confessors or Preachers they had to complete an additional course of three years and had to answer another examination. There was a reference to Frei Cosimo de Goa who died while he was still a cleric at the College on 7th September 1695.

The admission of the locals into the Religious Orders created problems and gave rise to indiscipline and disturbances in the Order. This was because the former claimed an appointment in the higher posts. The Provincial Statutes of 1697 insisted on the appointment of the Portuguese religious and specified that the seculars should not be encouraged to join the Order. The religious were allowed to take some collegians from the College of Reis Magos to their Rectories to help them but this could not be done without an Order of the Superiors *in scriptis*. The Discretory suggested that the Colleges in Reis Magos, Manapasser, Agassaim, Palle and Caranja should be placed under the Guardians who were appointed as per the Statutes that were drawn up at Rome in 1639. The training in the College of São Boaventura was made systematic. The students had to pray in the morning and at midnight. Besides this, they had to participate in the *Te Deum Laudamus*, in the mass and in the Vespers. The Guardian was instructed to give

five hundred xs as alms to the Infirmary of Goa for the treatment of the students of the College every year. Besides Canonical Studies, the collegians were trained in moral life and were taught to play the musical instruments and to perform the services. They had to observe silence and discipline. At the strike of the bell, all the doors of the cloister and refectory had to be closed. No one could serve in the sacristy without the permission of the Guardians. The students had to study till two in the afternoon under the supervision of the Lectors and Guardians. They had to attend classes everyday except on Saturdays when they were taken out. The students had a holiday three times a year. The examinations were tough and those who did not pass the Three Year Course in Theology could not become Preachers. Those who passed it were examined and were admitted for Theology. The students of Theology had to defend three theses, one in each year at the Provincial Chapter that was held on the day of São Boaventura. A student could neither leave the College without the permission of the Guardian nor could he be summoned from the study to meet a guest. If the novice was sick in the Infirmary for four months, he was sent home. Those who died there were buried in the Chapter.⁴⁰

From the above it is clear that the authorities favoured the native clergy. But, the frairs were against them. Therefore the syllabi at the Colleges were framed in such a manner that the native clergy could hardly be in a position to avail of these

facilities. However, the secular clergy were able to gain a hold over the Parishes and many local Brahmins got themselves trained there. Even after this, they were not allowed to enter the higher posts within the Order. But, they became powerful enough to oppose the discrimination and exploitation.

The mission in Goa began to show the signs of deterioration and decline. Several conflicts and tensions broke out between the State and the Religious Orders and between the religious and the seculars. These encounters became more obvious in the next period when the seculars were powerful enough to fight against the domination of the white religious.

Notes and References :

- ¹ The King sent thirty three *pipas* of wine, five hundred and nine *cantaras* of oil, fifty-five *candis* of corn, nineteen *candis* of rice, five hundred and two *fardos* of good quality rice, two *candis* of coconut oil, one *candil* of butter, two *candis* of *sera*, twenty two *corjas* of *cutunias*, three *fardos* of *asucar*, fifteen *maso* of *amexas pacadas*, fifteen *maos* of resins and almonds respectively, twelve cases of marmalade and one ream of paper to the Frairy of St. Francis; *APO* Tomo. IV, Vol. II, pp. 211-12 and 250-51; *XCHR Ms.* 656, 370-71, 23, 16, 23 and 20; *MR*. Vol. 264, fl. 244; *BFUP* no. 26 A, pp. 361-62.
- ² *BFUP*, No. 28, p. 524; *EHGLC*, doc. 20, pp. 246-48; *AHU, Doc. Avulsos*, Caixa 30.
- ³ *EHGLC*, doc. 19, p. 245; *BFUP*, No. 52, p. 46; No. 29, p. 34; No. 51-B, p. 53 and 62; No. 60, p.89; *EHGLC*, doc. 25, pp. 261-63; Anthony Disney, 'A seventeenth century Consul, Dom Miguel de Noronha, Conde de Linhares in *Purabhilekh Puratatva*, Vol. II, No. 2(1984)p. 63; *Bosq.* Vol. I, p. 149.
- ⁴ *EHGLC*, p. 412; These Churches included Reis Magos, Nagoa, Serula, Siuly, Aldona, Velluy, Callvale, Mapusa, Calangute, Anjuna, Sangolda, Ocassay, Pilerne, Virluca, Pomburpa, Tivim, Moira, Parra, Bessora, Oxel, and Soccoro; *Bosq.* Vol. I, pp.303-11; *DHMP*, Vol. V, pp. 469 and 474-75; A document that is found in the archives of the Order is cited by Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*, *NZM*, Vol. 16,(1960), p. 62 and translated by Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*, 1943, p.453; *Anais*, p. 30; Lopes Mendes, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 75; S. N. Sen (ed.), *Indian travels of the Thevenot and Careri*, 1949, Book I, Chapt. V-VII, p. 194.
- ⁵ F. X. Gomes Catão, *XCHR Ms.*, p. 47; *BFUP*, Nos. 33 and 34, p. 480; No. 38, p. 66; Nos. 42-43, p. 170.
- ⁶ *ML*, Vol. I, p.192; S. N. Sen (ed.), *Op. Cit.*, 1949, p. 194; *Assentos*, Vol. IV, pp. 419-20 and 428-32; P. S. Pissuriencar, *Portuguese-Maratha Sambandh*, in T.V Parvate(trans), *Portuguese Maratha Relations*, 1985, pp. 89-90; *BFUP*, No. 51-B, p. 46; No. 46, p. 102; No. 50, p. 66; *EHGLC*, doc. 24, pp. 260-1.
- ⁷ *BFUP*, No. 27, p. 177; No. 35, p. 501; *MR*, Vol. 26B, fl. 388; *DHMP*, Vol. V, p. 405-06; *MR*, Vol. 36, fl.41.
- ⁸ F. N. Xavier, *Collecção dos Leis Peculiares dos Comunidades*; Ricardo Telles, *Op.Cit.*, *OP* Vol. (1907), pp. 77-78; On the feast of Our Lady of Milagres, a *bourginho* driven by the boys dressed as sailors is taken in front of the processions. The brothers of the *Confraria* were buried in graves in the cloister; Ricardo Telles, *Op.Cit.*, *OP*, Vol.IV (1906), p. 477; Leopold Rocha, *Op. Cit.*, p. 234.
- ⁹ *Assentos*, Vol. IV, pp. 49-50; Jacinto de Deus, *Op. Cit.*, p. 11; *BFUP*, No. 51-B, p. 34; *ML*, Vol. I, p. 171 and 769; Jagunath Sarkar(trans.), *Life of Shivaji*, It contains a translation of the travels of Abbe Carre, 1928,p. 355; *AHU India*, Caixa 41, fl. 32, in T. R. de Souza, *Op.Cit.*, 1979, pp. 259-60; Soledade, *Op.*

- Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 511; E.R. Hambye and A. C. Perumail (ed.), *Christianity in India: A history in ecumenical perspective*, 1972, p. 65.
- ¹⁰ Soledade, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 511; *DHMP*, Vol. V, p. 473; *Anais*, p. 20; Leopold Rocha, *Op. Cit.*, p. 232; *Actas de Sacrae Congregatione da Propoganda Fidei (1642-47)*, Vol. 17, no.23, fl. 80; *BFUP*, No. 25, p. 342; No. 36, p. 532, letter of 21st March 1671; No. 35, pp. 12-13; There was a reference to a son of the Province of São Thome who had gone to the Mongol kingdom and forgotten about his profession. He had married a woman and had five sons. These and other scandals forced the authorities to think in terms of alternatives., A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, 1958, pp. 175 and 181; *EHGLC*, doc. 21, pp. 251-53.
- ¹¹ *Anais*, pp. 34-35; *EHGLC*, docs. 22-23, pp. 255-56; Gabriel de Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 366; Jacinto de Deus, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 13-14; Charles Fawcett, *The Travels of Abbé Carre in India and the Near East (1672-4)*, 1990, Vol. I, p. 202; Nicolao Manucci, *Storia do Mogor en Mogul India*, 1966, Vol. I, p. 211; Vol. IV, p. 423.
- ¹² The Statutes stated that the Rector could not accept any rent of the Church properties nor lease the plots, orchards and palmgroves of the Houses without the permission of the Definitor nor could he obtain a donation of the palmgroves without the permission of the Provincial Minister. The proceeds of the Parish properties had to be portioned out as per the agreement. All the Rectors had to maintain accounts of income and expenditure every month. These expenses of each Rectory were checked in the presence of the Synod and signed by the Rector, the members of the Synod and a witness who helped him to maintain the records. This was followed up in the college of Reis Magos. The Houses that were donated had to make sure that the donation deeds were rewritten and authenticated. To avoid problems that were already faced in some Rectories, the Rectors were warned to maintain Rolls of Christianity every year and deliver them alongwith an Inventory and other books on marriages, baptisms, those on the House, masses etc. to their Superiors. These books were to be maintained neatly. To ensure uniformity in the Rectories in Bardez, the Rectors were instructed to follow the Constitutions of the Archbishopric related to the faith. The properties orchards and material belongings of the Rectories had to be specified in a book. This had to be signed by the President and sent to the Synod. No Rector could impose a penalty in cash on the *gentios* or on the christians who did not hear masses as it was against their Rule. The Rectors had to be gentle and careful in dealing with the converts and could not force the Christians to give them anything after the baptism, marriage or the blessing of the house. In fact, he could not bring anything even from his home. He could not stay out of the House without the permission of the Superiors except when he went to another Rectory to celebrate a feast. Even then, he could stay only for the night of the Vespers. He could not expose the Sacrament at odd times even to the sick. Achilles Meersman, 'Statutes of Franciscan Province of São Thomé the Apostle in India 1678-97'; *STVDIA*, Nos. 13 and 14 (January-June 1964), Introduction and Chaps. 1, 2 and 7; *DI*, Vol. II, p. 247; Amaro Lobo, *Op. Cit.*, 1933, pp. 116-17; In Goa, the *Rois da Christandade* date from the seventeenth century
- ¹³ Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, in *Voz*, Vol. 15 (1941), p. 24; S. N. Sen(ed.), *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 30; Book II, p. 191; *ML* Vol. I, pp. 195-96; Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*; *NZM*, Vol. 16(1960), p. 52; Simão J. Freitas, *Souvenir da fundação da Igreja de Parra*, 1949, p. xi; *MR*, Vol. 55B, fl. 499 in *ARF*, Appdx. II, p. 403.
- ¹⁴ *Assentos*, Vol. IV, p. 50; W. Foster, *English factories in India (1583-1619)*, 1921, p.86; *Assentos*, Vol. XII, p. 286; *DHMP*, Vol. V, pp. 442-43; *Livro dos Reis Vizinhos* No.3, fl. 64; Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*; *AFH*, Vol. 59(1966); p. 118, nt. 3; *L^o M.* Vol. 42, fl. 177; Jacinto de Deus, *Op. Cit.*, p. 20; Ricardo Telles, 'A incursão de Shivaji em Bardez'; *OP* Nos. 19-21(1938), pp. 370-80; Eduardo Balesmão, *Os Portugueses no Oriente feitos gloriosos praticados no Oriente(1600-1700)*, 1881, Part II, p. 184; *L^o M.*, Vol. 63, fl. 283; *CL*, pp. 230-33; *Livro dos Pazés*, fl. 49; *Assentos*, 37Vol. IV, p. 562; Ricardo Telles 'Shivaji no Conção', *BIVG*, Vol. 32(1939), pp. 133-37; T.V Parvate(trans), *Op. Cit.*, 1985, pp. 61-62; One frair Manoel da Graca was hurt, *Livro dos Reis Vizinhos*, No. 2, fl. 69; *BFUP*, Vol. 4, p. 262; Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 173.
- ¹⁵ *BFUP*, Vol. 4, p.520; *Livro dos Reis Vizinhos*, No. 3, fl. 3; Ismael Gracias, 'A invasão de Goa', *OP*, Vol. 8, (1911), pp. 62-63; T.V Parvate(trans.) *Op. Cit.*, 1985, pp.90; P. S. S. Pissurlencar, 'Portuguese e Marathas', *BIVG*, Vol. 2(1927); *DHMP* Vol. V, pp. 468-9; *BFUP*, No. 48, p. 287; No. 51-A, p. 14; no. 51, p. 14; No. 51-B, p. 46; *EHGLC*, doc. 24, pp. 260-61; T. R. de Souza, *Op. Cit.*, 1979, Appdx A-9, pp. 49-50.
- ¹⁶ *EHGLC*, doc. 24, pp. 259-61; *BFUP*, No. 51-B, p.34; *MR* Vol. 54, fls. 50-57, translated by T. R. de Souza, *Op. Cit.*, 1979, pp. 255-57; *Bosq.* Vol. II, pp. 65-66.
- ¹⁷ *BFUP*, No. 35, p. 501; *EHGLC*, doc. 15, pp. 235-36; doc. 17, p.343; A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, 1958, p. 177.
- ¹⁸ *EHGLC*, doc. 16, pp. 238-41; A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, 1958, pp. 178-79.
- ¹⁹ *EHGLC*, doc. 16, pp. 237-42; A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, 1958, pp. 179-81.
- ²⁰ A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, 1958, pp. 179-84; *EHGLC*, doc. 18, p. 244.
- ²¹ *EHGLC*, Cap. CLXVII, p. 232, Civezza, *Op. Cit.*, 1859, p. 265; *EHGLC*, doc. 20, p. 247 and Cap. LXXI, this is translated in A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, 1958, p. 183; Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*, *NZM*, Vol. 16 (1960), pp. 49-50; Mariano Dias, 'Was Konkani ever suppressed', *Seperata do BIVG* No. 177(1997), pp. 50-51; *EHGLC*, p. 739, *EHGLC*, doc. 23, p. 258, doc. 20, p. 247.
- ²² A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, 1958, pp. 184 and 187; Antonio Pereira, *The makers of Konkani literature*, Goa 1982, p. 20; *DHMP*, Vol. V, p. 407; *EHGLC*, Cap. CLXV, Vol. VII, Part III, Cap. III (1500-1700); Civezza, *Op. cit.*, 1859, p. 431; Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*, *STVDIA* Vols. 13 and 14(1964), Cap. 7; A

- document of the Archives of the Order dated Panely, 2nd December 1698, stated by Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*; *NZM*, Vol. 16, (1960), pp. 52-53 and translated in Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*, 1943, p. 423; Simão J. Freitas, *Op. Cit.*, pp. xi-ii.
- ²³ *Annales*. Vol. XXV, p. 561; *Anais*, p. 30; Civezza, *Op. Cit.*, 1859, Vol. VIII, Part III, p. 130; *EHGLC*, p. 412; *DHM*, Vol. V, pp. 473 and 466.
- ²⁴ *DHMP* Vol. V, pp. 473-75; *EHGLC* p. 412; Civezza, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. VII, Part III, Cap. III p. 131.
- ²⁵ *BFUP*, No. 35, p. 501; Arthur Coke Burnell (ed.), *Op. Cit.*, 1988, Vol. I, pp. 112 and 75; Manucci, *Op. Cit.*, p. 112 and 75; Ricardo Telles, 'Epitafios e Brasoes da Museu Francis de Assis de Goa'. *OP* Nos. 12-13 (1986); Charles Fawcett, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 214-16; *BFUP*, No. 36, p. 509; *EHGLC* p. 412; Civezza, *Op. Cit.*, 1879, Vol. VII, Part III, pp. 129-30; Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Voz, (1936), *O Herald* (24-7-1912); *Anais* pp. 29 and 31; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, Voz, No. 36 (1941), p. 285; J. B. Amancio Gracias, 'Os bens pensionadas em Goa', *OP*, Vol. 16, p. 364; This article contains a few details about the Churches in Bardez, pp. 364-68 *Livro dos Assentos*, (1677-78), fl. 124; *DHMP*, Vol. V, pp. 468-69.
- ²⁶ *DHMP*, Vol. V, p. 468; *AHU*, India, Caixa 36; Linschoten described the Church of Reis Magos thus: "By the barra de Goa is *Reys Magos*. The place appointed for the Viceroy's burial is a cloister called *Reys Magos* or three Kings of Cullen being the Order of St. Francis which standeth in ye land of Bardez at the Mouth of the River of Goa (Mandovi)". S. N. Sen (ed.), *Op. Cit.*, 1949, p. 193; Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*; *STVDIA*, Vols. 13 and 14 (1964), Caps. 3 and 7.
- ²⁷ *CL*, pp. 243; *MR*, Vol. 37, fls. 82, 80 and 78, and Vol. 36, fl. 399, Vol. 38-A, fl. 187.
- ²⁸ *CL*, p. 237; *BFUP*, No. 35, p. 499; No. 28, p. 524
- ²⁹ Julio Biker, *Collecção de tratados e conceitos de pazes que o Estado da India fez com Reis da Asia e Africa e Occidental*; 1995, Vol. IV, pp. 176-181; S. K. Mhamai Kamat, *Op. Cit.*, p. 18; *CL*, p. 240.
- ³⁰ *EHGLC*, doc. 21, p. 251; *BFUP*, No. 41, p. 157; No. 61, p. 61; A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, 1958, p. 24; *EHGLC* Cap. XV, p. 182; doc. 21, pp. 249-51; William Crooke, *Op. Cit.*, 1912, Vol. I, p. 13.
- ³¹ *BFUP*, Nos. 35-37, Vol. XII (1968), pp. 12-13; No. 40, p. 105; *EHGLC*, doc. 19, p. 245; *AHU*, Codice 208, fl. 291v.
- ³² *Assentos*, Vol. IV, pp. 326, 410 and 571. These included Frei Domingos de São Benardino, Frei Manoel de São Francisco, Frei Francisco de São Ignez, Frei Antonio de São João, Frei João de São José and Frei Diego de San Antonio. Apart from these Frei José de Jesus Maria, Frei Manoel do Nascimento and Frei Francisco de Virgem Maria, helped in the defence of the fort; *DHMP*, Vol. V, pp. 436-38, 442-51 and 455-56.
- ³³ *BFUP* Nos. 44-45, pp. 210, 250 and 152; Archives of the Order cited in Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*, Bangalore, 1971, p. 163; *AHU*, Caixa 34, India 168; *AHU* Dec. *Avulsos*, India, Caixa 351 in *MR* Vol. 53, fl. 190 transcribed in *ARF* Appdx. I, p. 399; W. G. L. Randles, *Op. Cit.*, *STVDIA* Vol. VI (1960), pp. 342-43; *EHGLC* doc. 29, p. 269; *BFUP* No. 44, p. 146 and 151.
- ³⁴ *DRI* Vol. 60, pp. 199-202; A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, 1958, pp. 187-88; *BFUP* No. 15, pp. 6-11; *MR* Vol. 37, fl. 349; Jacinto de Deus, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. V, p. 640
- ³⁵ One case was state thus: "Pity on you, Oh Convicts! Poor victims in sheepskin, tunics and sackcloth on were asking to undergo the final punishment! One by one they were not allowed even to utter the last goodbye to those who were their dear ones in this world. There were no weeping, no crying, no tears that might have weakened the rage of terrible inquisitors who were at the black covered altar of the St. Francis of Assisi Church, sitting on a throne, having at their side the Viceroy, a witness to the nefarious act! Yes, witness but irrespective on account of the terrible sentences and other proceedings of savage pandity resorted to under the garb of a false religiosity. Jose Ferreira Martins, *Historia da Misericordia de Goa (1691-1910)*, 1912, Vol. II, p. 43.
- ³⁶ *EHGLC* doc. 36, p. 276, doc. 37, p. 277, doc. 40, p. 280; *Assentos* Vol. IV, p. 448. quoted in Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*, *AFH* Vol. 60 (1967) pp. 15-16; *AHU* Dec. *Avulsos*, India, P. 36; A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, 1958, p. 186; *BFUP* No. 61, p. 81; *Assentos* Vol. V, p. 64.
- ³⁷ *Aspurz*, *Op. Cit.*, 569; *ML* Vol. I, pp. 177-78; *BFUP* No. 35, p. 501; No. 53, p. 79; No. 57-B, p. 54; No. 53, p. 89; *EHGLC* docs. 30-35, pp. 270-75; docs 38-39, pp. 279-80.
- ³⁸ *EHGLC* docs. 38-39, pp. 279-80; According to the Statutes of 1685 and 1686, a novice had to be admitted after being examined and approved in the divine services and those of the altar. He had to be placed under a Master for Novices and trained in carrying out the divine activities. He had to be trained in theology, philosophy, languages and in the other subjects. After completing their studies the novices were called clerics. These clerics had to observe strict rules. They could neither have a wallet nor accompany the priests without taking permission from the Provincial Minister. They neither go home or sleep in the houses of the seculars without permission. The General Statutes stated that they had to stay there till the age of twenty two or till they completed two to five years in the habit. They had to wear the habit with *fauas brancas*. The clerics could not say mass without being examined and approved. If they broke this rule, they were suspended for two months. They could become a Confessor two years after saying the first mass.

In the choir, the frairs had to perform the holy services like singing. They had to observe silence. They had to pray and read according to the rules. Each frair could recite two masses and the clerics and the lay brothers had to pray as per the rules that were laid down in the General Statutes of Segouea. The frairs could not say mass on the days that were prescribed by the Pope in Rome. The Guardian, cleric and Vicar of the House had to follow the rules prescribed by the Statutes of Toledo. The clerics were not allowed to enter the cells and disturb the Masters of Philosophy or Theology. They

had to remain awake till eleven in the night to sing the *matinas* and the *salvo*. On the days of silence, the cloisters and refectories could not be used before the *Ave Marias*.

The frairs had to abide by the Rules of poverty. They could not repair their Houses without the permission of the Provincial Minister. They could not lend anything from the sacristy without the permission of the Commissary. The Guardians had to submit their accounts to the Synod every month. They gave the Rectors a book in which the annual expenses were written.

Inside the Frairy, the religious had to take care not to disturb the others. During Lent and Advent they had to read religious literature. The clerics could distribute communion but could not preach. They had to clean their tunics and hoods and avoid shirts. They could neither confess in the sacristy nor in the cells. The servants, helpers and door keepers had to be taught the christian doctrine and had to receive communion on the main feast days in the year. Every night, the keys of the Frairy were kept with the Guardian. Nobody could enter the Frairy. If anybody wanted to meet a frair, the *Porteiro* had to keep him at the door or in some class and he himself could go to call him. No student or *canarin* could bring anything for the Guardian or for the Definitor without his permission. No benefactor could stay at the Frairy for more than three days. Only certain religious could perform the duties on the altar like the lighting lamps or decorating them, the *negros* were not allowed. After the *Ave Marias*, the Churches had to be shut except on days of obligations and on feast days. During the novenas, they could be kept open till eight in the night but the keys were entrusted to the brothers of the *Confrarias de Milagras de Conceição*. The brothers were not allowed to sleep in the Churches. The bells of the Frairy could not be rung except during Novenas, General Baptisms and other solemn occasions. The Definitors and *Custos* could not refuse the duty of preaching because there were a few preachers and at every Chapter only four to five preachers were selected. Nobody, not even the Viceroy and the Ordinary could interact with the priests without the permission of the Provincial Minister. This was done to rule out the interference of the officials in the religious matters and in the elections.

The Statutes were particular about the reception of the new christians. A Chapter of all the frairs who dealt with them was held. The Orders were forbidden to accept the converts within the Order. With reference to the frairs who had already been taken into the Order, it was decreed that they had to be in the Order for ten years before they could become preachers. To avoid confusion in the choir, the Vicar of the Choir was authorised to lead the choir. The Provincial Minister had to submit reports of his *trianio* to the Royal Commissary every year. It had to be signed by two Definitors of the Province. The Commissary had a vote in the Chapter. The Guardian of the Frairy of Goa was in charge of the other Houses. He could occupy his office on seniority. To avoid the problems between the Guardian and the Masters of Theology, the posts were allocated on seniority. Strict measures were adopted to control the behaviour of the frairs outside the Frairies. They could neither keep wallets nor spend from them in the City. They had to enjoy their recreation religiously. They could not enjoy in the company of the religious of the other Orders. They had to spend their free time at the College of Reis Magos. The Conventuals of the House could stay with the Guardian or the Vicar of the House but they could go out for more than ten days, eight days of stay and two days for travelling. The College of São Boaventura was equipped for this purpose. No frair could go alone without a companion unless he was sent by the Major Prelate. No frair could leave the House before the daily mass, the Vespers or on Sundays unless he was sent by the Guardian on a specific task. The frairs who undertook a voyage had to leave on the previous day from the harbour. They stayed in the College of Reis Magos, Nerul or São Lourenço till their departure. On the day of their departure, amass was said in their intention. The Confessors were directed by both the Tridentine Councils and the Apostolic Orders. Those who were not well read or educated in divine services could not confess the Viceroys, Captains of the forts, officers, Judges, Treasurers and Factors Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*, *STVDIA*, Vols. 13 and 14 (1964) Caps. 1 to 6; The Statutes of the Chapter of *Segouaa* are published by Civezza, *Op. Cit.*, 1859, 473 onwards.

³⁹ Charles Fawcett, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 211-13; Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*; *NZM* Vol. 16 (1960), p. 49.

⁴⁰ A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, 1958, p. 182; Streit, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 516; Bull, *In Ecclesia* (1669). Decrees of the *Collectanea de Propoganda Fidae*; F.X Gomes Catao, *Op. Cit.*, *BEAG* Vol. IV (1946), p.1; Niccolao Manucci, *Op. Cit.*, 1966, Vol. III, p. 199; *EHGLC* doc. 20, p. 248; Carlos Mercês de Melo, *Op. Cit.*; Lisbon, 1955, p. 173; *ARF* p. 19; Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*, *STVDIA*, Vols. 13-14 (1964), Cap. 1, 7 and 8. A similar set of Statutes are found in the *IVG Ms 29* entitled *Tratado dos privilegios que gozam os religiosos mendicantes* composed by Frey Boaventura das Chagas of the *Madre de Deus* Province (1614). The included the privileges of the frairs, protection, extension and revocation of their privileges, *fls.* 12-28; interpretation, *fls.* 33-38; the privileges that were granted to the confessors, *fls.* 38-61; feasts, masses, sacraments, blessings, *Irmandades*, celebrations etc. *fls.* 89-123, regarding indulgences, confessions, consecration, habit, diet etc, *fls.* 126-34, the profession of the novices etc. *fls.* 334-54, *Breve recopilação do poder autoridade que tem os confessores mendicantes assi subditos como pralados por virtude de seus privilegios para absolver e dispensar particularmente em as partes da India Oriental e Occidental* by Paulo da Trindade (20th February 1618), *Ms.29*. These included twenty seven folios on the life of the frairs, their rules, their dealings with the local christians, an explanation of the Papal Briefs etc. *Ms. fls.* 423 onwards. *Explicação os casos reservados da nossa ordam*, composed by Paulo da Trindade (21st January 1619), *IVG. Ms.20, fls.* 482-536. These regarding the regulations of the life style of the frairs, *IVG Ms.29, fls.* 540-630.

CHAPTER VII

THE DECLINE OF THE MISSION (1700-1766)

CHAPTER VII

THE DECLINE OF THE MISSION (1700-1766)

The Franciscans founded a mission in Goa with the help of the converts, *gaoncars* and the State. The legislations that were enacted by the Portuguese forced the native *gentios* to emigrate from the *terra firmes*. The converts themselves reacted against the zealous frairs but such reactions were pacified by the secular arm. However, this policy of repression did not continue for long because the former soon allied with the secular clergy to expel the frairs from the Parishes in Bardez.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE: The frairs constructed several Parish Churches in Bardez and erected two Provinces in Goa. In 1702, Dom Caetano de Melo took over the administration of the *Estado*. At that time, the Portuguese forced a deficit of five hundred and seventy five *xs* and nine hundred and fourteen *reis*. He called a meeting of the *Conselho do Estado* and decided to impose *dizimos* that amounted to five percent in Goa, Bardez and Salcete. However, the religious were against this and several religious including the Chief Commissioner of the Franciscans, Frei Lucas dos Remedios and the Capuchin Provincial, Frei José Santa Maria made a representation to the King. The King immediately cancelled the *dizimos*. The Council now decided to procure income from the taxes on copra, sale of properties and a

capitation tax that was imposed on the Hindus. In this manner, the State tried to reduce the burden on the local people.¹

It must be noted that Bardez was under the spiritual care of the Franciscans but the *Estado* had to meet the expenses of some Churches like that of Reis Magos. The Royal Declarations of 1704 and 1707, instructed the Public Exchequer to contribute towards the upkeep of this Church and to give the frairs five hundred xs that were to be spent on the hospitality of the Viceroy who lived there after they came from the Metropolis. However, this was not the case with the other Churches, which were maintained by the parishioners. The surplus was used to maintain the Frairies. When the cloister of the Frairy in Goa was ruined, it was rebuilt with the alms that were collected from the parishioners of Bardez and the North. The Parish Church of St. Alex, Calangute was reconstructed at the cost of the *gaoncars*. The Parish Church of Revora that was burnt down during the invasion of Ghema Saunto was rebuilt by the *gaoncars*. The frairs fulfilled their responsibility of being the caretakers of the Churches in Bardez. The Rector of Uccassaim tried to economise the expenditure on the Church by carrying the timber to the construction site personally. When the parishioners noticed this, they helped him and this saved a lot of money. Similarly, the Rector of the Church of Colvale, Frei Damião de São José supervised the construction of the vaulted Church.²

The local converts, especially the *gaoncars* held regular meetings and passed resolutions on such matters. The Church and the State depended on the *Comunidade* and forced it to pass resolutions regarding the expenses that were to be incurred on the Church repairs. The King was against such unanimous decisions because they were unfair to the people. In a letter of 31st March 1707, the King stated that no *nemo* should be passed regarding the village Churches without the permission of the Viceroy. Some of the *Comunidades* were against this because they felt that it was their duty to finance the local Churches. In 1713, the Rector of St. Michael, Anjuna decided to construct a larger Church and its expenses were borne by the *gaoncars*. Similarly, the villagers met the expenses of the Church of Colvale.³

The benefactors had made several donations to the frairs but these needed a Royal confirmation. In *Alvara* of 18th March 1709, the King confirmed that the Hospice of Madre de Deus, Pomburpa had an annual income of two hundred and fifty *xs* and another thirty *xs* that were procured from the assets that were donated by Louisa da Madre de Deus and Antonio Roiz Burrealhão respectively. The Madre de Deus frairs failed to harness such resources. Hence, they had to depend on the alms from the faithful. In a report of 16th November 1713, it was clear that fifteen frairs who lived in the Convent of Cabo and thirty two frairs who lived in the Frairy at Daugim sustained on the alms of

the faithful. The latter depended on the yields of their properties that amounted to three hundred and sixteen *xs* quit rents that were worth one hundred *xs* and Royal grants that amounted to thirty *xs*. This indicated that the King did not altogether shun off the *Padroado* obligation. In fact, the King found it difficult to send the missionaries to Goa. Hence, he spent liberally on the Novitiates and Orphanages that were the training centers for the missionaries who were recruited in Goa. This was clear from a report of 1713, in which Frei São Ighes stated that the King sanctioned seventy and a half *tangas* per annum for the maintenance of the frairs, eighty eight *xs* for the parish priests per *quartel*, two hundred and fifty *xs* for the maintenance of the orphans and collegians and two hundred and thirteen *xs* per annum for the oil that was needed for lighting the lamp near the Blessed Sacrament. This was not the case with the other Parishes. In Bardez, for instance, two Parishes were sustained with mass stipends while the Church of Penha da França was sustained by a benefactress who lefts assets that yielded thirty eight *xs* per *quartel*.⁴

The Parish Churches that were located in the periphery of the Bardez Province were often attacked by the invaders. In such cases, the frairs attempted to reimburse the damages from the enemy. Babu Desai (Fondu Saunto Bounsulo), Sardesai of Cuddale promised to pay ten thousand *xs* to rebuilt the Church of Revora.⁵

Not all the Parishes in Bardez were similar in area or in the number of converts. But, the frairs ensured that the services were conducted in all the Churches. In a letter of 18th December 1718, the Provincial stated that the sacraments were administered in all the Parishes in Bardez. However, only eleven Churches received a *quartel* from the Royal Treasury. The remaining either maintained themselves or were filial to the other Churches. Many Parish Churches were built and maintained by the local communities but the King bore the responsibility of the priests. A *Camara Ecclesiastica* was appointed to deal with the problems that were faced by the missionaries in this Province. The Portuguese were not in a position to pay the frairs regularly. In 1713, the Frairy of St. Francis did not receive any Royal grants and the frairs who lived there depended on alms, mass allowances and donations. The College of São Boaventura was entitled to a Royal grant of one thousand xs per annum. This was to be used for the food, dress and other necessities of the inmates. The Observants received Royal assistance mainly because they helped the King to defend Bardez. The King did not always support the retirios because they were not actively involved in the mission. Hence, they had to depend on the other sources of income. The twenty inmates in the Guardianate in Cabo depended on the alms that were given by the seafarers who disembarked on the port or by the locals who lived in the vicinity. The Recollect Houses in Goa sent a part of their proceeds to their

mission stations in the neighbouring areas. The mission in Sumatra, for instance, was entitled to six hundred and ninety nine *xs* from the amount that was allotted to the Madre de Deus Frairy, Daugim. The grants never remained the same. In 1720, the College of Reis Magos received one thousand, four hundred and sixty three *xs* but for the next few years, it did not receive any grants and the Guardian had to depend on the alms for its upkeep. The Parish Churches were maintained by the *gaoncars*. They also helped the frairs to enlarge and reconstruct several Churches like Sao Jeronimo, Mapusa and São Baptista, Pilerne. The *gaoncars* generally acceded to the appeals of the frairs because their position depended on the latter. Frei Carlos dos Remedios succeeded getting the money to remodel the Church in Pilerne.⁶

The *gaoncars* were not allowed to sanction the money at their own discretion. In a letter of 2nd September 1719, there was a reference to the procedure that had to be followed by the *gaoncars* to sanction money to the frairs. It was observed that the parish priests used to request the influential *gaoncars* of the *Comunidade* to sanction money for their religious projects. The appeal was discussed by the *gaoncars* at a meeting and they sanctioned the grant. The other *gaoncars* were against this. They insisted that the appeal had to be discussed and forwarded to the Chief *Tanador* who was authorised to check the appeal and to examine the capacity of the *Comunidade* to meet such

expenses. If the appeal was genuine, he passed it and sent it to the *Comunidade*. The latter then passed a *nemo* in favour of the grant and the grant was handed over to the frairs. As the Parishes in Bardez were generally poor, it was difficult for the frairs to maintain the former glory of the Churches with the alms that were collected from the inhabitants of Bardez. The Archbishop, Dom Vincente da Fonseca noticed this and complained to the King that the Churches in Bardez were very poor. He requested him to provide alms to the *fabrica*. To avoid any misappropriations, the King sent the money through the Factors. However, this was not the case with all the Parishes. The frairs made a distinction between the Small and Big Parishes. The Parishes that were located in the main villages were inhabited by a large number of converts. These were richer as compared to those that were located in the remote areas or those, which were inhabited by the enemies of the Cross. It must be noted that the *Comunidades* generally consisted of the converts who played an important role in the maintenance of the cult. The frairs tried to get the cooperation of the *gaoncars* by allowing them to become the members of the *Confrarias*. The members of the first and fourth *vangor* of the *Comunidade* of Mapusa constituted the *Confraria* of the Holy Souls. However, some *Confrarias* like that of Santissimo Sacramento had Portuguese members. The frairs tried the best to appease the local inhabitants. In 1719, Frei Francisco de Madre de Deus

tried to please the *gaoncars* of Mapusa by placing an image of Our Lady of Miracles on the collateral alters of the right side of the Church. The people of the *aldeias* of Cunchelim, Corlim and Mapusa were allowed to join the *Confraria*. The *Confrarias* had to look after the assets of the Church. In the *Tombo de Legados e Pensoes*, it was clearly stated that the Churches in Serula, Reis Magos, Penha da França, Calangute, Pomburpa, Parra, Moira and Nerul had legacies that were administered by the *Confrarias*.⁷ The frairs entrusted their assets to the latter because their Rules did not permit them to own wealth.

The frairs and the *gaoncars* generally collaborated with each other. The Fifth Clause of the Vice Commissary stated that the chest of the *Comunidades* that consisted of cash receipts, account books, registers of the *nemos*, registers of the payments etc. had to be kept in the custody of the Vicar of the respective Parish Churches. The chest had four keys that were kept with the Vicar, *gaoncar*, tax collector and scribe respectively. All the four had to be present to open the box. Similarly, the Twenty Ninth Clause stated that the cash box of the General Assembly of the *Comunidades* of the Islands of Goa had three keys that were kept in the custody of the Superior of Our Lady of Pilar. This indicated the confidence that the local people had in the frairs. The *Confrarias* of the Frairies and *retiros* had resources that were lent out to the *Estado* in times of emergencies. The *Confraria* of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, Pilar had a rich patrimony that was

given to the *Estado* in times of need. In a letter of 7th November 1740, the Viceroy stated that the *Mesa da Confraria* lent a huge amount of money to the *Estado* at a high rate of interest. The converts and gaoncars helped the Portuguese to collect the revenue from the estates, *varzeas* and palmars that they had been donated to them. They entrusted this task to them because the former was familiar with the land and people. On 10th December 1741, the Municipal Corporation of Bardez complained to the King that the Hindus harassed the locals while collecting the land revenue and requested him to entrust this work to the Christians. This happened because most of lands were owned by the converts who were despised by the *gentios*. However, the Viceroy, Marquez do Louro did not want to alienate or instigate the local power groups at a time when Goa was threatened by a number of invaders. He did not dismiss the Hindu officers because he needed their help to defend the areas that lay beyond Bardez. The Municipal Corporation and the Christians were disappointed and did not attend the auction.⁸

The maintenance of the Church and Church building activities required a lot of money. Between 1744 and 1750, twenty seven thousand, eight hundred and fifty xs were spent on the Churches in Bardez. Of this, four thousand xs were given from the Royal Treasury and the rest was provided by the *Comunidades* of Bardez, Salcete and the Islands of Goa. Apart from this, individual donors provided alms for the mission. On 1st

February 1737, Manuel de Brito and Joseph de Brito of Nachinola donated a *palmar* called Malbachabhatta to the Church in memory of their grandfather Manuel de Brito. The Fraries and Churches in Bardez inherited several assets and properties. The Frairy of St. Francis had five shops in *Pelovinho* that yielded fifty xs. It also had a plot where a baker lived, a *palmar* named Modaxachem Baga in Arpora, a *palmar* that was contiguous to the College of São Boaventura, a *palmar* and cashew plantations in Valverde, two *marinhas* in Nerul and one *cajual* in Guirim. The Catechumenate of Betim had properties in Oxel.⁹

The *Comunidades* and *Confrarias* had entrusted their wealth to the frairs but their relations with them were not always cordial. In the *Pastoral* of 18 November 1728, the Archbishop stated that the frairs made the House of God seem like a dungeon because of the lacerny, vengeance and sacrilege that took place there. The frairs insisted on administering the assets of the *Confrarias*. There was a case wherein the Archbishop permitted the *confrades* of Nagoa to transfer their money and silver to the *Irmandade*. The frairs retaliated against this and complained that the *confrades* broke into the Parochial House where the silver was kept. They also requested the *Ouvidor Geral do Crime* to investigate into this fraud. In his letter of 15th January 1724, Frei Clemente de Santa Eyria provided some

details regarding the assets and receipts of Churches in Bardez. From this, it was clear that most of the Parish Churches in Bardez were sustained by the *quartels* from the King and on the donations that were entrusted to the *confrarias* and *fabricas*. The latter is evident from the following table:

Parishes	Quartels for the Parish priests	Private donations	Purpose of expenditure	Proceeds of the Fabrica
Nossa Senhora da Penha da França	38 <i>xs</i> per <i>quartel</i> = 152 <i>xs</i> per annum.	A palmar from a devotee of Our Lady.	To the <i>confrades</i> of Nossa Senhora for the sustenance and dress of the orphans for masses and for the <i>fabrica</i> .	450 <i>xs</i>
Madre de Deus, Pomburpa.	152 <i>xs</i> per annum plus 2 <i>xs</i> .	The proceeds of a <i>palmar</i> donated by a Tertiary.	To be divided into three parts namely the masses for her soul, for the widows and orphans and for the <i>fabrica</i> .	150 <i>xs</i>
Senhor Salvador do Mundo, Serula. São Thomé, Aldona. O Senhor Jesus, Nachinola, Nossa Senhora da Conceição, Moira. São Heronimo, Mapusa. São Christovão, Tivim. Nossa Senhora da Vitoria, as chagas de São Francisco, Callovale, Nossa Senhora do Mar, Ossel. Santo Antonio, Sinclim. São Miguel, Anjuna. Santa Izabel, Rainha de Portugal, Ucassaim. São Diog, Querjim. A Santissima Trindade, Nagoa. Santo Alexio, Calangute. Nossa Senhora da	152 <i>xs</i> to be paid in four <i>quartels</i> .	The family of the deceased adults who were interred in the body of the Church paid six <i>tangas</i> , while those buried near the cross paid twelve <i>tangas</i> and the children buried in those places paid half the amount to the <i>fabrica</i> . The Houses received <i>batte</i> as alms from the parishioners.	To be paid to those officiating the Church. These included the parish priest, sacristan, <i>merinho lingoa</i> who taught the doctrine and catechism to the minors every day in the week and to all the Christians in the Parish in the local language on Sundays and holy days before mass. The <i>batte</i> that was given by the parishioners was used to sustain the priests for six months	

Esperança, Candolim. Nossa Senhora dos Remedios, Nellur.				
São João Bautista, Pillerne. Nossa Senhora do Socorro, second Parish in Serula	These parishes did not receive the royal <i>quartel</i> provided by the King			
Parishes	Quartels for the Parish priests	Private donations	Purpose of expenditure	Proceeds of the <i>Fabrlica</i>
São Lourenco de Linhares	Since the Rector was also the chaplain of the fortress of Agoada, he received the <i>quartel</i> of the parish priest and of the Chaplain that was equal to 9 <i>xs</i> .	The Conde Linhares provided for him.		
<i>Ermida</i> of Monte Guirim.	the <i>Pai dos Christaos</i> was paid hundred <i>xs</i> per annum for his maintenance		For the upkeep and maintenance of the priest and the <i>Ermida</i> .	
<i>Ermida</i> of Nossa Senhora da Valverde.			A palmgrove was given to him. This yielded 200 <i>xs</i> per annum.	

Till 1724, the Observants had three convents, five Colleges, two Seminaries and forty eight Parishes in Goa and in the North and four *Ermidas* and fifteen missions in the South. The Order consisted of one hundred and sixty religious and the King spent nearly sixteen thousand, three hundred *pardaos* on them. This money spent on the sustenance of those who were in charge of the Parish Churches, for the maintenance of the Churches and for social work. The *confrarias* had their own source of income. On 23rd October 1753, the *Confrades* of Nerul received half a *varzea* in Talpotem from Antonio Coutinho de Souza.¹⁰

In the second half of the eighteenth century, the Archbishop, Frei Ignacio de Santa Thereza became the Governor of Goa. He inquired the assets and records of the Parishes. He took away all the registers and records from the Churches in Bardez in order to verify their income and expenditure. He also took away the records of the *Confraria de Penha da França* because he wanted to ascertain if it was a Parish Church. The King continued to provide for the religious Houses. In February 1762, the St. Francis Frairy received grants that were worth three hundred and seventy two *xs*. In February 1763, it was allotted one hundred and thirty five *xs*. The King allotted five hundred *xs* to the frairs to enable them to baptize, dress and to sustain the converts. In 1765, the College of São Boaventura received one thousand *xs* per annum from the Public Treasury. The Hospices of Valverde, Reis Magos and Monte Guirim also received provisions from the King. The Archbishop and Viceroy confirmed the private donations that were bequeathed to the Order. In his letter of 18th January 1750, the Viceroy confirmed the donation that was made to the Parish and College of Pomburpa by Louisa da Madre de Deus. This property yielded one thousand, four hundred *pardaos* per annum. Since, the College did not function, the proceeds were used for the catechumenate, *fabrica* of Chapel, Church, Rector and for the maintenance of the groves. In 1763, the Frairy of St. Francis, Goa had several proceeds that are summarized in the following table:

Source	Tenants	Span of Payments	Amount
<i>Palmar</i> of Mercedes	Francisco Estrada and Francisco Martins	One <i>quartel</i> of three months	425:0:00
<i>Palmar</i> of Trende	Chondru Xette	One <i>quartel</i> of three months	200:0:00
<i>Palmar</i>	Gusmão de Sousa	One <i>quartel</i> of three months	234:0:00
<i>Palmar</i> of Santa Cruz and Cujira	Francisco Martins	One <i>quartel</i> of three months	156:0:00
<i>Palmar</i> of Panelim	<i>Administrato</i>	One <i>quartel</i> of three months	112:2:00
<i>Palmar</i> of Goa Velha	Tenants	One <i>quartel</i> of three months	062:2:00
4 portions of Arracks	Lourenco Fernandes	Four <i>quartais</i> of three months	045:0:00
<i>Palmar</i> of Phalesgas	Phelipe Dias da Cruz	One <i>quartel</i> of three months	030:1:00
<i>Palmar</i> of Uttorda	Diogo da Costa	One <i>quartels</i>	026:2:00
<i>Palmar</i> of Orlim	Tenant	One <i>quartel</i> of grains	024:0:00
Convent of Santa Monica			5000 xs
Convent of St. Agustine		produce	050:0:00 xs
Total			13612:4:61

Similar details are available for the College of Reis Magos. The authorities were not sure whether the Houses that were founded by the private donors were legally entitled to a Royal grant. The frairs argued that the King was responsible for their maintenance because they were responsible to the State. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the State asserted its responsibility over the mission. In the Decree of 1756, the King instructed the frairs not to lend the tapestries, silver and ornaments of the College, Rectory and Hospice of Valverde. All the frairs were entitled to a fixed amount depending upon the nature of their duties. In 1756, the deacons and subdeacons were paid two *tangas*. They were paid half a *xerafin* for performing the services, one *xerafin* to sing the vespers and two *tangas* to read the scriptures. He had two assistants who were

paid half a *xerafin* each. In addition to this, the frairs received gifts and stipends from the parishioners. There was a reference to Jozepha de Braganza, a widow of Lourenco de Sa e Souza of Choro who paid Frei Valentim de Souza twenty two *xs* to say thirty seven masses in memory of her husband at the College of São Boaventura. On 21st March 1749, Frei Pascoal Gomes de Lima of Siolim was given a *palmar* and *varzea* called Barazanachem Batto to say one hundred and twenty five masses. Caitano Lobrato Gameiro de Faria paid one hundred and eighty *xs* for two years as an interest for the money that was paid to recite three hundred masses.¹¹

In 1766, the frairs had to surrender nineteen Parishes to the secular clergy. The *fabricas* and *confrarias* of these Parishes possessed the inheritances that were entrusted to them by the faithful. In 1766, Manoel de Assumpção prepared five books on the possessions of the frairs in Bardez and Ilhas. For the sake of convenience these are presented in a Table:

Parish	<i>Confraria</i>	Donor	Nature of donation	Purpose of the yields	Date
Sra do Soccoro, Serula	Nossa Senhora do Soccoro	D. Duarte de Souza	An estate in Calangute that yielded 27 <i>xs</i>	For masses for his intension	7 th September 1730. It was renewed in 1755
Reis Magos	Santos Reis Magos	The deceased whose names were not known	An allowance	For fifteen masses to be said in their intension for one year	21 st May 1729
Penha da França	Sra Penha da França	Antonio da Silva Tavora	By verbal testament he left 3000 <i>xs</i>	Not specified	13 th October 1728

Calangute	São Sebastião	Esperanca de Souza	By a verbal testament she left 500 xs	The interest was to be used to say a mass and give alms worth 2 tangas in her parents intension	11 th December 1745
Pomburpa	Madre de Deus	Luiza de Madre de Deus	By an oral testament, she donated an arecanut grove.	The produce was apportioned into four parts, one the masses for her soul and her mothers soul, for the <i>fabrica</i> and for the poor.	5 th July 1730
Pileme	Senhora da Piedade and <i>Almas Santas</i>	Padre Lourenço Souza	By an oral testimony he donated one-sixth part of the big area called Somoleacho agor.	It was to be used to say masses for his intension	16 th May 1763
Parra	<i>Confraria de Boa Morte</i>	Some parishioners of the of Santa Anna	a certain donation	It was to be used to say eighteen masses a year for their soul	19 th May 1729
Moira	<i>Confraria</i> of Sra da Conceição	Pe. Miguel de Noronha of the Parish of Moira São Lourenco	The gains worth a hundred xs.	To be used to say twelve masses a year	31 st March 1729
	<i>Confraria</i> of Sra da Conceição	Francisco de Souza	by an oral testimony he gave proceeds worth 200 xs. proceeds worth 100 xs.	To say twelve masses a year	18 th March 1736
	Some <i>Confraria</i>	João de Souza		For six masses for his soul to be said every year	18 th April 1736
Nerul	<i>Confraria</i> of Nossa Sra dos Remedios	Isabel Espinosa	By an oral testimony a plot of land was donated	for masses for her soul	14 th October 1739

All these were certified and signed by the Royal Judge, Court of Goa, *Ouvidor Geral* and the *Ouvidor* of the City. From the above, it was clear that individual donors donated plots of land or cash.

to the *Confrarias*. These donations were managed by the *Confrades* who kept an account of the donations and the use to which they were put. These accounts were maintained till 1766, when they had to be handed over to the State.¹²

The financial matters of the Parishes were handled by the parish priests. However, the latter were directly dependent on the local Portuguese authorities for their sustenance. This was not the case with maintenance grants, which were provided by the *gaoncars*. The other Religious Houses were dependent on the State.

THE SPREAD OF THE MISSION IN THE *VELHAS*

CONQUISTAS: The frairs tried spread the mission outside Bardez because they were interested in creating a protective ring of supporters there. This mission was not safe. Frei Domingos de São Bernardino who went to preach in the mainland met with rebuffs because they had ventured beyond the *Padroado* land. But the frairs ventured there, as they were keen to ensure the security of Bardez. The Portuguese were afraid that the inhabitants of the villages that were located around Bardez would ally with the local invaders. It must be noted that many of these villages were recently incorporated into the *Estado* and most of the local rulers were against the Portuguese. The Portuguese had issued several Orders that prohibited the people of Bardez from going outside the Portuguese enclaves. On 25th October 1726,

the Viceroy stopped the Hindus from going beyond the borders of Bardez to celebrate the thread ceremony. Instead, the *gentios* who lived there were allowed to invite the *bottos* to Bardez for five days with prior permission of the authorities. The ceremony had to be performed behind closed doors at Cuncolim, Corjuem and Cumbarjua respectively. This was done to appease the Hindus so that they did not ally with the enemies. The above mentioned areas were located at strategic points and formed borders with the enemy territories. In 1746, the Portuguese captured Tiracol and Bicholim. The frairs worked in Bardez moved towards the extreme North of Goa and helped the Portuguese to consolidate their position there. This was evident from the letter in which Frei Baltasar de São Antonio informed the Viceroy, Conde de Alvar that five frairs worked in Reddi (Rary), Tiracol and Neulli and Champim and Piro in North and South Goa respectively. The North Eastern part of Bardez was a dangerous mission because it was threatened by the Bhonsles who had ceded Sakheli and Bicholi to the Portuguese. The former soon broke the Treaty of Cessation and raided the villages like Siolim and Tivim. They decided to invade Mapusa and overrun Bardez. However, the Portuguese unearthed the plan and Bardez was saved. The frairs served as Chaplains to the garrisons that were stationed there. In 1759, three frairs lived in the *praças* of Pary, Tiracol and Neulty and two served as Vicars in Piro and Champi. In 1755, one frair administered the sacraments to the garrisons that were

stationed in Tiracol and converted some people who lived in the land that was contiguous to the fort. The State supported them because the newly acquired *praças* had been temporarily ceded to the Portuguese and the frairs were very loyal to the Crown. In 1757, only one frair was stationed there because by then, the State was no longer dependent on the missionaries. In the meanwhile, the frairs consolidated the Portuguese possessions there and built an *Ermida* and a Hospice in the Fort of Chapora. This was intended to provide shelter to the Portuguese who were sent there. In a report of 23rd January 1760, the Provincial, Frei Manoel Eusebio dos Martyres stated that Tiracol, Piro and Champi were new Franciscan missions in the *Novas Conquistas*. However, the frairs who worked there were not given many facilities because these areas were beyond the jurisdiction of the *Padroado*.

Apart from serving the garrisons, the frairs converted the people and founded Parishes there. In a letter of 4th December 1760, Frei João de Madre de Deus wrote to the Viceroy that three frairs worked as parish priests in the Chapels that was built around the forts of Piro, Champi and Tiracol where they had converted some people. They baptised twelve infidels and converted a few others in the garrison towns. In another letter, the Provincial referred to three frairs who worked as parish priests in the *Novas Conquistas* and converted twenty to twenty four people every year. They continued to work there till 1763.

By then, the frairs had lost the confidence of the State authorities because the former was more interested in solving their problems with the seculars.¹³

By 1763, the Portuguese acquired Ponda, Cabo da Rama and Zambaulim. The frairs diverted their attention to those areas. They made the area safe for the Portuguese and built a Parish Church for the parishioners of Ponda and Zambaulim. It was dedicated to St. Anns and it was the only one there. The frairs said masses and administered the sacraments to the Christians that lived there. St. Anthony was declared as the Patron Saint of the Parish of Chapora because this area was brought under the Portuguese on the first Sunday of his *trezena*. In Ponda, the frairs raised a Parish and built a Chapel that was dedicated to St. Joseph on 15th April 1764. The Provincial of São Thomé and the Viceroy attended the first mass there. This Parish had one thousand, one hundred and twenty souls. Two thousand, seven hundred and six converts lived in Zambaulim. This indicated that the frairs converted the inhabitants of these areas and stabilized the State control over the newly acquired areas. They worked in the dominions that were hitherto under the *Bonsulo* and rulers of Sunda and served as Chaplains to the garrisons that were stationed in Cabo da Rama, Bicholim, Sanquelim, Piro and Champim. In January 1764, Frei Antonio de Nossa Senhora worked in Assnora.¹⁴

From the above, it is clear that the frairs played an important role in spreading the mission into *Novas Conquistas* that were geographically contiguous to their mission zone. The King supported this mission because he relied on the Portuguese frairs to consolidate his control over the newly acquired Provinces.

THE RELATIONS WITH THE STATE: The missionaries maintained cordial relations with the secular authorities. The King was the Supreme Prelate who used to communicate to the religious through the Viceroy.

The College of Reis Magos served as a residence for the Viceroys who arrived from Portugal to take charge of their office. The latter was authorised to appoint the Religious Superiors in times of emergencies. In a letter of 10th December 1701, the Viceroy requested the King to permit Frei Estevão de Jesus to occupy the post of the Commissary General who had expired. The religious helped the State authorities to take certain decisions. The Provincials attended the meetings of the *Conselho do Estado*. The frairs were deputed to serve the people in the Portuguese colonies outside Goa. Frei João de Assunção was sent to Bahia to teach the people the art of cultivating pepper and cinnamon for which he was paid four hundred *reis*. Two frairs administered the sacraments to the poor Christians in Malacca and Sião. In his letter of 30th December 1720, the Provincial requested the Viceroy_____

to send the religious from the Frairy of St. Francis, Goa to substitute them. However, the Viceroy refused to do so. Instead, he consulted the *Junta das Missoes*, sent four frairs from the other Houses, and placed them under the *Junta*. As such, the State tried to control the Religious Orders by placing the frairs under its direct control. The Mendicants could not even elect their Superiors because the Viceroy had usurped this right. Similarly, the religious had to be present when a new Viceroy was appointed. In a letter of 13th July 1723, the Provincials of the Agustinians, Jesuits, Franciscans and *Capuchos*, the Commissary General of São João de Deos, the representatives of the Congregation and the Chancellor of the *Estado* were instructed to be present in the Professed House at midnight to open the Letters of Succession.¹⁵

In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, clashes took place between the secular authorities and the religious in Bardez. The inhabitants complained against two Franciscan Rectors, Frei Pedro de Santa Maria and Frei Mathias de San Antonio. Both were accused of living a scandalous life. In a letter of 9 March 1717, the Counsellor of the Overseas Council requested the King to instruct the Provincial to cooperate with the authorities and to improve the state of affairs in the Frairies. The King did the needful, for in a letter of 16th January 1718, the Viceroy stated that the latter had helped him to serve God. The authorities often requested the frairs to live an exemplary life and to convert

the infidels. The Archbishop, Dom Ignacio de Santa Teresa also helped the local people to send their appeals to the Overseas Council because he was against the frairs.¹⁶

The frairs who worked as Chaplains in the newly acquired territories got involved in non religious matters and helped the political and military personnel when they were in trouble. In a letter of 9th May 1741, there was a reference to the *Capitão* who had been implicated in a military revolt and imprisoned in Aguada. The frairs who were in charge of the garrisons in the fort heard that he was behind bars and decided to help him to escape. At midnight, they released him and helped him to cross the River with a girdle of empty coconuts (*vanzanms*). They sent him to their Hospice at Valverde from where, he embarked on a British ship and left for Bombay. When the Viceroy heard this, he complained to the King and requested him to act against the frairs because it was a non religious matter. The King supported the frairs primarily because he needed their help. Frei Bernardino de Santa Maria, for instance, reported on the Sumatra mission. The frairs also served the King in different mission stations. Two missionaries from the Madre de Deus Province, Goa, worked in Siam and Achem. However, in Goa, the relations between the State and the frairs were not cordial and there was cases wherein the authorities had to take the help of the secular authorities to solve these problems. On 15th April 1736, the Viceroy stated that the *Ouvidor Geral do Crime* had

complained about Frei Jeronimo de Belem, who nominated Frei Lourenco de Santa Anna as the Vicar Provincial. His predecessor, Frei Domingos de São Bernardino had been imprisoned for disobeying his Superiors. The frairs were not happy with Frei Lourenco and the situation became so bad that Frei Jeronimo had to approach the General Prosecutor. The latter went to the Friary with the musketeers but he found all the doors shut. The frairs, who were inside stood on the window of the dormitory with some firearms, shouted out in an indecent language and rang the alarm as if they were attacked. The Prosecutor took the permission of the Judge and broke open the doors. But, by that time, those who were in the Frairy fled to the Patriarchal Palace. When the complaint reached the King, he issued a Royal Order and instructed the authorities to expel the leaders of the revolt from Goa. The Overseas Council also insisted on the arrest of those who were accused. On 12th January 1737, the Viceroy reported that Frei Antonio da Encarnação and Frei Francisco do Espirito Santo were exterminated but the others were not exiled. The Councillor, Bernardo Felix da Silva and the *Procurador Geral* of the Observants wanted all of them to be exiled. The King immediately sent a Royal Order but the Viceroy suspended it because he had to deal with the Maratha invasions. It must be noted that Bardez was susceptible to these invasions and the frairs helped the State to defend this Province. The other authorities did not understand

this and forced the King to hold a meeting with the Tribunal *da Mesa de Consciencia*. On 13th April 1739, the *Mesa* passed a resolution that the parish priests of Bardez should be given the right to decide about the Order. In course of time, the *Mesa* also realized that the frairs were the bulwarks to the State. Therefore, they decided to cancel the Order and instead of this, they decided to impose a control on the parish priests. The Portuguese decreed that no frair should be recruited as a parish priest till he had completed forty years of age. This was because, the authorities knew that they could rely on the older frairs. Moreover, the frairs who were recently admitted into the Order were not happy with the State. There was a reference to thirty three religious who were in charge of twenty four Parishes in Bardez. The State tried its best to control the parish priests of Bardez. When they realized that they could not control the older frairs either, they decided to recruit new parish priests. Hence, the King instructed the authorities to remove the frairs who were ignorant of the local language so that he could appoint new frairs and keep them under his direct control. The older frairs resisted this attempt. In the meanwhile, the Court in Lisbon passed an Order that authorised the Archbishop to expel the frairs who had been implicated in the revolt of 1736. This had an effect of a spark that burst and burnt the frairs. The frairs begged the Archbishop to revoke the Order but the Viceroy could not do this on his own. He referred the matter to *Junta da Relação* that was headed by

his friend. But, the King warned him to be just and cautious and the Archbishop realized that he had to expel the frairs. Finally, the Commissary General of the São Thomé Province agreed to accept the new Order. The latter was instructed to read and examine it at the Chapter. The frairs were divided into two factions and the Superiors were aware that protests were bound to occur. To avoid this, the Archbishop issued a *monitoria* entitled *Sanctum Sedem* that empowered the Provincial and the Definitor of the Order to excommunicate the frairs who disobeyed him. The Archbishop also issued another *Monitoria* by which he instructed the parish priests in Bardez to obey the Archbishop. The frairs were perplexed because they knew that the Pontifical Bulls had empowered the Commissary General to take all the decisions that were related to the Order. The Archbishop anticipated trouble and requested the Viceroy to instruct the Provincial and the King to control the situation. The Viceroy did this but, the Provincial was unable to control the frairs. In a letter of 31st January 1754, the Provincial invited the secular authorities to deal with the problems that took place during his tenure.¹⁷

While the relations between the frairs and the Archbishop were not cordial, it was paradoxical that they maintained good relations with the Home Government. The latter entrusted confidential matters to them. In a letter of 30th June 1756, the Guardian of St. Francis, Goa, stated that he was authorised to

open the Letters of Succession that were kept in the Treasury. The frairs were deputed to different parts of the Seaborne Empire to settle political disputes on behalf of the Portuguese Crown. Frei Gaspar Baptista went to Achin and Surat to settle the problems between the Portuguese and the Mogul officers. The State supported the frairs provided they were efficient. On 21st November 1745, the Archbishop, Lourenço de Santa Maria issued a *Pastoral* by which he instructed the Superiors to appoint efficient parish priests. It was assumed that the frairs were disobedient because the former had been lenient while appointing the frairs.. A number of soldiers had left the military and joined the Frairies. The Superiors had admitted them to make up for the shortage of priests for the mission. This was evident from a letter of 24th November 1754, in which the Provincial wrote to the Viceroy that the mission in Goa was deserted. The Frairy of Espirito Santo (St. Francis) had a House where eighty frairs, trainees and novices were trained for the mission in Goa and abroad. By 22nd January 1760, the number declined further and the Superiors were unable to send frairs to Manipur and Mandore. The Viceroy was also helpless in this regard. ¹⁸

The frairs were the official hosts to the Viceroys who were sent to Goa. The Chief Inspector, Catalani stated that Francisco de Tavora stayed at the College of Reis Magos when came to Goa in 1750. The Councillors of the City of Goa were summoned and

he was sworn in as the Viceroy there. The Portuguese instructed the frairs to make the necessary preparations to accommodate them. On 7th August 1761, Conde de Ega requested the Provincial to clean and white wash the room of the Viceroy in the College as the latter was expected shortly. The frairs helped the Portuguese and served as Magistrates, Professors in Theology and Philosophy, teachers in the Colleges, Rectors of the Parishes and Definitors. The frairs defended the privileges that were bestowed on them even at the cost of insulting the other religious. But, by then the seculars were empowered and many of them even went to Court against the frairs.¹⁹

INTRA GROUP PROBLEMS: The frairs did not constitute a homogenous group because the secular authorities had admitted *castiços*, novices and clerics to solve the problem of the shortage of manpower. These frairs did neither had experience nor maturity. The old frairs who had formerly held important offices could not adjust them. The local converts who studied at the Colleges of Reis Magos and São Boaventura aspired to enter the Order. But, the Portuguese frairs were strongly against this. This resulted in serious conflicts between the Portuguese frairs and Indian clerics.

The King wanted to assert his control over the Religious Orders and insisted upon the *Placet Regium*. The Viceroys were authorised to attend the Chapters. The latter intervened in the

elections and supported the frairs whom they preferred. The Papal Briefs and Royal Instructions were disregarded. The Chapters often failed and the Superiors were forced to appoint two Provincials and two Definitors to control the anarchy. After this, the frairs made groups and opposed each other. There was a reference to an ambitious *Capucho* of the Madre de Deus Province who claimed to be an Observant. He decided to pacify the disturbances in the Province and obtained two Decrees from the General of the Order and the Apostolic See respectively. According to these, he was authorized to send a delegate to Rome and to request the Superiors to take charge of the disturbances in the Province. The latter gave him the absolute power to control the disturbances. He was even empowered to nominate the parish priests as per the norms of the Order. This restricted the power of the Provincials who tried to promote their own interests by appointing unworthy frairs as parish priests. The frairs were generally divided into two factions. The dominant faction that supported the Superior who was in power and the other that opposed him. Both the groups were equally ambitious and lacked the Seraphic spirit of the Patriarch. The Cardinal Nuncio of Lisbon issued several Briefs to control the factional conflicts. But, as soon as they were implemented the opposition party questioned the validity of the Briefs and most of them had to be withdrawn as they were not approved by the Portuguese. In

such cases, the Provincial and the Superiors in Rome accused the frairs of living scandalous life and of disobeying God.²⁰

THE INTERNAL INVASIONS: The Province of Bardez was under the exclusive control of the Observants since the second half of the sixteenth century. Bardez, was bound by the *aldeias dos inimigos* to the North, North East and South East respectively. As such, it was most susceptible to invasions.

In 1627, the Bonsles declared their independence from the Sultan of Bijapur and established their capital at Sawantwadi. They ruled over a strategic area in the Konkan and often clashed with the Portuguese who were then expanding towards the North. In 1705, Quema Saunto Bonsulo II entered Goa and occupied the fort of Amona. The Portuguese defeated him and seized two forts from him. Three frairs accompanied the garrison that was sent against him. The *Bonsulo* retaliated and attacked the Province of Bardez from the North. In the course of this invasion, the Rectory of Revora was set on fire. But, it was soon rebuilt by Frei Francisco de Madre de Deus and Frei Domingos de São Bernardino.²¹

The Portuguese were against the Marathas because they tried to enter their dominions in North Goa. Frei Domingos da Piedade of the Madre de Deus Province was killed when he was returning from the North where he had gone on a visitation. The Parish of Revora was located along the main route to the *Novas*

Conquistas and could be reached through Tivim and Colvale respectively. The Ranés claimed that Revora had been officially handed over to them by the Portuguese for protection. But, the Portuguese refused to entertain them. The Ranés were disappointed and they began to attack the Portuguese who lived there. On 27th November 1732, the Rector of Revora, Frei Domingos da Anunciação complained to the Viceroy, Conde de Sandomil that one of his parishioners had died without receiving *extramanção* because the *merinho* who was guiding him to his house was attacked and beaten up by the Ranés who had occupied the New Conquests and migrated into Bardez. Four fairs and two soldiers were stationed in Revora to ensure the security of the parishioners who lived there. The parish priest complained about this to the King. The Viceroy also requested the Court to take action. Manoel de Cerqueira da Silva, *Geral do Crime*, was sent against Ranés. The King passed a Decree by which the Ranés were instructed to obey the Treaties that were signed with the Portuguese.

Between 1739 to 1740, the Marathas attacked several Portuguese strongholds except Daman, Diu and Chaul. They invaded Goa at a time when the Portuguese were fighting against their enemies in Europe. The latter were forced to take the help of the local people to fight the wars. In a letter of 23rd January 1739, the authorities requested the Provincial to send fifty men from Bardez to join the Portuguese garrisons. On 5th March

1739, the Marathas re-attacked Bardez and captured all the forts except Rachol, Aguada and Reis Magos. They passed through Bardez and attacked the Churches and converts who lived there. However, the religious motive behind this has to be ruled out.²²

The also frairs faced the wrath of the rulers of Sawantwadi. On 5th March 1739, Ramachandra and Jairam Sawant Bhonsle attacked Bardez. The Portuguese battalion could not defeat them and the threat persisted till 1740. In the course of these invasions, the houses of the inhabitants were robbed or burnt down, temples were demolished, fortresses and other defence centers that were located in the frontier areas were captured and the artillery of the Portuguese garrisons was looted. The Portuguese brought a battalion from Portugal and stationed it in Mapusa. In the battle that was fought between the Portuguese and the *Bonsulo*, the latter gained the upper hand. In 1741, the Viceroy came to Goa with reinforcements and ammunition from Portugal. He recovered the forts of Colvale and Corjuem that the *Bonsulo* had captured from the General of Bardez. From here, the Portuguese went against the Marathas. They proceeded to Chapora and seized it on 13th June 1741. The Marathas lost nearly five hundred men. On 11th October 1741, the *Bonsulo* was forced to sign a Treaty with the Portuguese. It was believed that Christians who lived in Parishes of Bardez had invited the *Bonsulo* to Bardez. They even handed over the silver of the Churches to him for security when he seized

the Province. They refused to listen to the frairs who requested them to send it to the Islands of Goa for safekeeping and preferred to hand it to the *Bonsulo* as they did not trust the Portuguese. When the Provincial, Frei Francisco de San Diego heard this, he warned the King that the parishioners of Bardez supported the *Bonsulo* and that they had gone to the extent of signing a Truce with the Marathas in the North to help the latter. The frairs defended Bardez and many of them died in the process. They also helped the fidels and rebuilt the structures that were destroyed by the Marathas. In fact, they did not even allow the enemy to enter the Churches that were under the Portuguese frairs. Soon, the invaders realized that could not interfere with the religion in these lands. The frairs handled the precarious situation till the Viceroy came with the arms. They united the Christians and motivated them to resist the enemy. The authorities realized that the religious defended Bardez from the enemy. Therefore, they were against the secular priests and tried to appoint young and efficient frairs who knew the local language and who could defend the Province of Bardez. They also tried their best to guarantee the security of the Christians who lived there. Many converts who lived on the borders of Bardez had migrated to the adjoining areas. Nearly two thousand, five hundred Christians migrated to Kittur while three thousand people from Bardez and Salcete took refuge there to escape the ravages of the invaders. In a letter of 2nd November

1746, Marquez de Castelo Novo stated that the *Bonsulo* succeeded in attacking the Province of Bardez because there were only four companies of Portuguese granadiers in Aldona. He clearly stated that the Marathas were helped by the local people who lived around Bardez. The latter even promised to help Bapogy Naique, the Maratha General to conquer Bardez.²³

The Portuguese were careful not to entrust the Province to the allies of the enemies. The situation became more dangerous because the people of Bardez had begun to support the Indian invaders against the Portuguese. The authorities were shocked because the converts forgot the instructions and faith formation that was provided by the frairs and sided with the enemies of the Portuguese. Hence, they Portuguese decided to substitute the frairs with the secular clergy who were loyal to the Portuguese and were able to control the local converts in Bardez.

CHURCH REBUILDING: In the eighteenth century, the Portuguese Seaborne Empire was threatened by the Marathas, Sawants and the Bhonsles. Hence, the Portuguese began to concentrate on the Churches because they served as defense outposts. They enlarged, modified, repaired and rebuilt the old Churches with the help of the *gaoncars*. The frairs took a lot of interest in the wellbeing of the Christians because they believed that they would help them to defend Bardez.

In 1705, the Church of Ucassaim that was burnt and destroyed by Quemo Saunto was rebuilt. In 1710, the Church of St. Alex, Calangute was enlarged at the cost of the *gaoncars*. In 1704, the Provincial gathered alms from the King and the converts from the North and Bardez to complete the Frairy. On 25th November 1713, Frei Francisco de São Iñez stated that the frairs had twenty six residences including two Hospices where only one frair lived. Most of the Churches were in need of repairs. In 1713, the Church of Colvale was rebuilt by the Rector at the cost of the village. It must be noted that the frairs reconstructed and repaired the Churches at a time when the Portuguese Empire faced its twilight because they were keen on pacifying the accusations that were against them. The Churches in Bardez were small, temporary structures and the frairs needed large and strong Churches that would enable them to accommodate the garrisons that were sent to Bardez to fight against the local invaders. The Big Parishes were subdivided to enable the frairs to exercise a direct control the converts and to prevent any alliance with the locals and the invaders. In 1720, Parra was made a separate Parish. Pilerne had its own Parish Church. The Parish of Mapusa was extended to cover new areas. The frairs also repaired the Rectories so that they were suitable for the soldiers. In 1741, the Church of Calangute was rebuilt at the cost of the villagers. In 1765, the altar and sacristy of the College of São Boaventura was repaired and rebuilt. In 1762,

the dormitory in the main Frairy was extended. The Provincial, Frei Antonio de Padua bought a piece of land from the Archbishop, Dom Antonio Taveira de Neiva Brum and constructed a doorway, dormitory and cells. The work was completed with the help of the local parishioners. In Pilerne, some cells were built for the parish priests. Hereafter, many Parish Churches resembled small prisons where the soldiers and reinforcements were hidden. The Rectories and cells were generally closed, private quarters of the frairs that were safe from the intruders. Some Churches were also intended to provide directions to the Portuguese soldiers who were new to the land. In Soccoro, a new steeple was raised on the Church. At Nerul, a Chapel was constructed on the land that was donated by Manuel Rodrigo Chaves.²⁴

KONKANI LANGUAGE : The frairs were subservient to the *Padroado* and were obliged to follow the instructions that were issued by the King. Hence, several frairs like Frei Domingos de São Bernardino studied Konkani and composed books in the *lingua naturais*. The parish priests and their assistants in Bardez preached in Konkani. In his report of 25th November 1713, the Provincial informed the Viceroy that catechism was taught in Konkani by the *linguas*. They later translated the homilies into Konkani to enable the parish priests to preach in a language that could be understood by the majority of the converts. The Masters

and Preachers were invited from the other missions to preach and teach in the local language. This was clear from a letter of 4th March 1713, in which the Provincial, Frei Francisco de São Ines informed the Viceroy that the *Oratorians Praepositus*, Frei Miranda was requested to send priests to the Parishes in Bardez during Lent so that they could preach in Konkani that was understood by the faithful. At the College of São Boaventura, the novices were taught Latin, moral theology, dogmatic theology and the local language. In 1714, the Secretary commented that the frairs had cultivated new plants in Bardez that outgrew and enabled the frairs to control their Parishes.²⁵

On 11th November 1728, the Inquisitor implemented a *Portaria* that reintroduced the *Alvara* of 1684 by which the frairs were instructed to teach and preach in Konkani. As soon as the Archbishop, Frei Inacio de Santa Teresa received the *Provisão*, he implemented it in all the Parishes of Bardez. The Viceroy, Civil Tribunals and the frairs were against this and sent their dissent to the Court. The King agreed to reconsider the *Provisão* and after a lot of deliberation, the Overseas Council instructed the Viceroy to appoint the secular clergy in the Parishes of Bardez because they were competent and worthy of doing parochial work. The authorities in Goa and the Royal Court were against this because they were in need of zealous missionaries who would defend the *Padroado* lands. Moreover, it was clear that the frairs did not neglect the language. The Provincial, Santa

Eyria stated that the Parishes in Bardez had thirty two Masters and Preachers who knew Konkani . Eleven frairs preached in the language on Sundays and feastdays when the Church was full of people and forty others heard and understood the confessions. On 12th April 1731, the Provincial Decrees that were issued by the Court empowered the Archbishop to control the frairs. He was authorised to examine the frairs in the vernacular language before they were appointed into a Parish. He was also instructed to give them a certificate if they knew it. If a parish priest in any of the Parishes of Bardez was found ignorant in the local language, he was sent to the Superior to be punished and the latter was authorised to nominate another frair who was more competent. On 23rd April 1732, the Archbishop was authorised to dismiss the parish priests who were ignorant of the language. Many religious were against this and tried to force the Portuguese to force the inhabitants to learn Portuguese. The Inquisitor complained that the *bottos* and *grous* influenced the natives because they could communicate with them. But, the King and the Archbishop argued that it was impossible to exterminate the mother tongue of the locals as they spoke this language since their birth. The Viceroy, Conde de Sandomil opined that even if the parishioners were forced to learn Portuguese, it would not allude the danger as the Hindus and *bottos* from the mainland who interacted with the Christians would learn Portuguese sooner or later. The frairs were determined to oppose the Decree

of 1732. They even made a representation to the Overseas Council and requested it to force the Goan native converts to learn Portuguese. But this decision was nullified by the Archbishop, Viceroy and other secular authorities in Goa. The Provincial of the São Thomé Province also supported them. In the letter of 19th January 1735, the Viceroy stated that the Pastoral Letter of the Archbishop did not stop the parishioners from studying Portuguese in the public schools that were founded in all the Parishes in Bardez. He stated that the people of Bardez could not afford to go to school to learn a language that would enable them confess or to listen to the teachings of the parish priests because they were poor and were forced to do manual work to survive. The Archbishop was aware of this and insisted that the frair should learn Konkani because the latter had a lot of spare time that they could devote to learn a new language that would enable them to carry on their mission.

However, it is doubtful whether this Decree was executed. In a letter of 16th April 1739, the Secretary, Manoel Caetano Lopes de Lavre wrote to the King that the Viceroy had complained that the Observants did not obey the *Portaria*. On the contrary, the latter forced the locals to speak Portuguese. The King immediately issued an *Alvara* and instructed the parish priests to learn the local language. The Superiors were warned to be strict while appointing the parish priests. In 1744, the Archbishop instructed them to nominate only those who had the ability to

understand the confessions of all the people. The Pope issued several Bulls that stated that the frairs had to know the local language so that they could administer the sacraments and handle the Parishes. The frairs were not convinced. They argued that Bardez was close to the *terras dos inimigos* and the inhabitants could go there and return within a day. But, the Archbishop was adamant and repeated his stand.²⁶

In 1745, the new Archbishop, Lourenço de Santa Maria changed this policy. On 21st September 1745, he made it compulsory for all the Christians to speak Portuguese failing which they would not be administered the sacraments. The brahmins and chardos in Bardez and Salcete were given six months while the others had to learn it within one year. He insisted that the parishioners of Reis Magos, Linhares, Pomburpa and Aldona had to learn the local language. The parish priests were authorised to examine the couples who wanted to get married in Portuguese and issue a certificate to them. The wedding *bands* were read only after the Rectors were sure that they knew Portuguese. The aspiring parish priests were also instructed to learn Portuguese before they said their first mass. The parish priests were very happy. They immediately volunteered to implement this Order in their Parishes. This was done to protect the converts from the local invaders and to enable the frairs to convince the converts to work for the *Padroado*. However, this policy did not continue for long. In Portugal,

Marquis de Pombal supported the local converts. The latter took advantage of this and appealed in favour of the local language. The King issued an Order in which he instructed the Archbishop, Neiva Brum to ensure that the priests knew the local language before they were ordained. The frairs were forced to take his instructions seriously. In his report, the Franciscan Examiner informed the Archbishop that forty one religious knew the language. The Portuguese speaking frairs were permitted to work only in six Parishes that were inhabited by the Portuguese speaking people. The remote Parishes that were susceptible to revolts and invasions were to be placed under those who knew the vernacular language. As a result of these legislations, the frairs concentrated on Konkani. Within a short period, fifteen frairs and three assistants learnt the language. The Observant Province in Goa had forty one frairs who knew Konkani. A few priests also preached in Marathi, an idiom that understood only by the intelligent natives. This seemed to be a plot against the local clerics. Since the native priests were trained in Portuguese, most of them were unable to even preach the Sunday homily in the local language. The infedils were completely ignorant of the Christian doctrine that was written in Portuguese and many of the converts were not even in a position to speak Portuguese. The Portuguese frairs studied Konkani as it was taught at the Frairy of St. Francis and at the Colleges of São Boaventura, Reis Magos and Pomburpa respectively. The frairs had also composed

several books in Konkani. When the authorities had instructed the converts to learn Portuguese, the frairs had ignored the local language. The Chairs of the local language had feel vacant and the Konkani books were destroyed and forgotten. However, this does not mean that the frairs completely ignored the same because they were not certain of the colonial policies. In his report of 28th November 1766, Frei Manoel da Penha da França stated that there were twenty eight frairs in the Parishes of Bardez who already knew Konkani. These included Frei Joseph do Egypto and Frei Joseph do Conceição were only thirty two years old.²⁷

From this, it was clear that the decisions regarding the Konkani language varied from time to time. Although the authorities threatened the frairs to dispossess them of their Parishes, the frairs did not bother to learn the language and succeeded in requesting the authorities to reverse the Order. Yet, they were cautious enough not to ignore it completely.

CONVERSIONS: The concept of conversions underwent a significant change because the frairs no longer concentrated on converting the people of Bardez. Instead, they paid attention to the *gentios* from the *aldeias vizinhos* who were allowed to settle down in the Portuguese dominions. The latter were given security provided they got converted. This was clear from the reports that were sent by the Superiors and the Viceroys. As

such, the frairs had their hands full because they had to look after the converts and convert those who had immigrated to Bardez. The Archbishop issued several Decrees by which he tried to bring the people of Bardez under the control of the frairs. In the *Pastoral* of 13th August 1721, the Vicars and parish priests were instructed to celebrate the weddings of the inhabitants of Bardez and Salcete in their presence. The frairs were members of the *Junta das Missoes* and the *Conselho do Estado*. They worked as army Chaplains, Inquisitors, Rectors etc. Frei Bernardino de São Domingos converted several people and spent his life in the *terra firme*. The frairs studied Konkani and used it to explain the faith to these immigrants. Frei Belchoir dos Reis composed the *Resolucoens Moraes Misselaniás* in which he discussed the Christian faith. The frairs entrusted several responsibilities to the old converts because they had been Christians for generations. The frairs founded an association of laymen and women called the Third Order that was attached to the Frairy of Old Goa. The *Confrarias* and *Fabricas* also consisted of lay people. These converts enabled the frairs to concentrate on the immigrants.²⁸

The methods that were adopted to convert the *gentios* remained the same. The authorities emphasised on the conversion of the non Christian orphans. In 1718, the Viceroy issued a *Portaria* by which he instructed the *Pai dos Christãos* of Goa to take the Hindu orphans to the House of Catechumens,

instruct them in the doctrine, baptize them and to look after them even after they were converted. The *Pai dos Christãos* was placed in charge of the *Casa dos Cathecumens* and had to look after the well being of the Christians in Bardez. Between 1719 and 1721, there were one lakh converts in Goa of which six thousand, two hundred and fifty nine lived in Bardez. The Portuguese and local, brahmin, orphan boys were taught to read and write in their College of Reis Magos. The Franciscan Colleges and Seminaries maintained a high standard. One such orphan was Antonio José de Noronha, *Bispo de Halicarnoso*. He was born in Goa Velha and lost his parents at an early age. His paternal grandmother kept him at the Franciscan Frairy in Old Goa from where he was sent to Reis Magos. In 1722, the House of Catechumens was shifted to Betim in Bardez. The Decree of 1754 had instructed the frairs to baptize the non Christian, illegitimate children. The Archbishop, Dom Antonio de Neiva Brum made provisions for this House, which was acknowledged, on an inscription that was found in the courtyard of the Church of Betim. The House was handed later over to the Jesuits but the frairs resisted this because it was located in their Province. The authorities never allowed the native orphans who lived in the *Casa* to interact with the inhabitants of Bardez. Frei Manoel de São Thomas, *Pai dos Christãos* was not permitted to bury the corpses of the neophytes who died there in the Church of Reis Magos although the House lay within the Parish because it was

improper to bury them in a Parish cemetery that was reserved for the inhabitants of that village. The problem was temporarily solved and the *Casa* was provided with a burial ground in a public Chapel of Our Lady of Victoria, Betim. No one else was allowed to be buried there and the frairs administered all the sacraments to the catechumens in the same place. The frairs had demolished nearly three hundred temples in Bardez but they could not convert the minds and hearts of the people. Alexander Hamilton stated that the frairs could not force the *gentios* to give up their idolatry and superstitions. The Franciscan chronicler, Antonio de Noronha stated that the local people did not get forced into Christianity. In 1731, the Inquisitor complained to the King that the laws that were passed by Dom Sebastião and those that were implemented by the Provincial Councils in Goa had caused an irreparable harm to the converts who lived in Nadora, Revora, Pirna, Assnora, Aldona, Salcete, Islands of Goa and in Bastora. The *gaoncars*, women and children there were arrested because they were unable to speak Portuguese. The authorities argued that the converts were influenced by the *bottos* and high priests of the *pagodas* who visited them, reminded them of their old religion and persuaded them to contribute for their *pagodas*. The Inquisitor believed that this would not have happened if the converts knew only Portuguese. The frairs favoured this because they did not want to learn Konkani and because they did not want their parishioners to

communicate with the local invaders. However, this was harmful to the mission. In a letter of 27th November 1737, the Provincial stated the frairs were unable to convert many *gentios* because they were not familiar with their customs. In such a situation, many frairs preferred to remain silent and isolated themselves from the mission. The Archbishop, Frei Lourenço de Santa Maria e Melo tried to improve the spiritual life of the people by organizing retreats. One such retreat was preached by a Jesuit, Fr. Achangelo. It was so successful that only the final day Holy Communion was distributed till three in the afternoon. He favoured the unity of the Christians and tried to avoid social interaction among the Hindus. In the *Pastoral* of 1745, he instructed the authorities to allow only eight non converts at a time to attend the wedding ceremony of their relatives and to limit the expenses to a thousand *xs*. The *gentios* who had immigrated into Goa were converted at *festas reaes*. But, many *Communidades* could not maintain the grandiosity of these celebrations. In a letter of 20th November 1755, Frei Baltasar de San Antonio informed the Viceroy some of the Parishes were poor that the inhabitants were unable to celebrate the divine services. In 1760, twelve people were converted in the twelve Parishes in Bardez and the number of converts in Goa exceeded seventy two thousand people. The authorities tried their best to maintain a hold over the converts and nominated the frairs to look after the Jesuits institutions including the Catechumenate of Betim. In

1762, several Europeans were baptized at the *Casa de Catechumenos*. Conversions were broad based but the admissions to the Catholic organizations were limited to the higher castes. There was a reference to two Confraternities that were dedicated to Jesus and Our Lady of Rosary respectively in the Church of San Diego, Guirim. The Rector asked a dying local lady to repeat "*Jezu Pau*". But, she pulled out of her delirium and stated "*Jezu, Jezu nam, Jezu tencho, nhoim amcho*". This indicated the caste exclusiveness that was maintained by the missionaries.²⁹

Though the frairs adopted a moderate policy to convert the *gentios*, the converts expressed a lot of resentment against the frairs. The frairs tried their best to quell down such expressions but the secular priests and the parishioners of some of the Parishes in Bardez collaborated to remove them from their Churches.

THE NATIVE PRIESTS: In the eighteenth century, the Portuguese authorities were against the religious. The Viceroy, Conde de Eveira was disillusioned with the frairs and informed the King about the scandalous life of the parish priests in Bardez. The Franciscan mission in Goa faced a crisis because the Superiors were unable to send novices from Portugal and the frairs were forced to recruit Indians into the Order. The Archbishop, Ignacio de Santa Thereza reported there were one hundred and twenty

two secular priests in Bardez. They helped the frairs in the Parishes and in course of time, they claimed equal rights with the religious. The Regulars addressed the *canarin* priests as black priests and believed that they were badly behaved drunkards who were not fit to be in the Parishes. The Archbishop was against these racist policies. By *Provisão* of 7th April 1728, he decided to nominate secular priests in the Parishes in Bardez as they were worthy of handling the parochial work. He also decided to appoint secular priests in Cabo and Parra because he felt that they were familiar with their duties. On 3rd October 1728, he went a step ahead and issued a *Pastoral* by which he favoured the appointment of capable, secular clergy in the Parishes in Bardez. In fact, the Parishes of Nerul, Anjuna, Linhares, Aldona, Revora etc. had regular Coadjutors who were nominated by their Superiors or Definitors.³⁰

The frairs were against the secular clergy and the latter were against the religious parish priests of Bardez. The Archbishop, Frei Lourenco de Santa Maria de Melo faced the major problem mainly because the local converts supported and confided in the secular clergy. On 21st January 1735, for instance, an institution called *Agonisantes* was founded at Malna (Pilerne) and handed over to the seculars. The frairs defended their position and in his letter of 9th February 1742, the Provincial, Frei Francisco de São Diego made it clear that the King had authorised them to work as parish priests. They

warned the Portuguese that it was dangerous to appoint the seculars because they knew the local invaders and were capable of allying with them and instigating the local Christians against the Portuguese. This is evident from a letter of 9th February 1746, in which the frairs complained that a local priest had helped the Marathas to invade the Portuguese territory. Moreover, the secular clergy respected the Sovereignty of the petty local Kings and went against His Majesty. Some frairs overtly expressed their hostility against the secular clergy. Frei Antonio de Encarnação, a parish priest in Bardez reacted violently towards his Curate who was a native priest when the Church was full of people. The Archbishop took immediate action against the frair because he was afraid that the parishioners would revolt against him. He appealed to the Court of the Overseas Council. The latter issued a decree that censured the conduct of the frair and instructed the Archbishop and the Provincial to punish him. The Rectors were accused of being virulent against the native clergy. The latter believed they were not respected by the parishioners because they were black and insolent. The authorities knew that the frairs were ignorant of the language and that they left the sacraments to the native clergy. The Provincial personally felt that the secular clergy were more learned and experienced than the frairs who lived a luxurious life and clung to their *Padroado* rights. Their approach had forced the locals of Bardez to go against them. The Provincials was aware of this and warned the

King that the native priests instigated the parishioners of Bardez against the Portuguese frairs. In 1752, the Archbishop personally visited the Parishes in Bardez and reported that several secular clergy who were trained by the religious and occupied the ecclesiastical posts abroad. The seculars were absorbed into the religious hierarchy after the suppression of the Jesuits. Frei Antonio de Padua, the Provincial was appointed to examine those frairs who were entrusted with the Parishes that formerly belonged to the Jesuits. The authorities realized that the secular Curates preached, heard confessions and instructed the converts but they were never considered to be capable enough to occupy the higher posts. This was clearly stated in the representation of the *Camara de Bardez* of 1765. The local preferred to have the local clergy because the religious were neither able to lead the flock nor hear their bleats. On the other hand, the native priests instructed and nourished the flock because they knew the local language. On 23rd April 1766, a Decree was passed in Lisbon by which the frairs in the Parishes in Bardez were to be removed. The Archbishop, Dom Antonio Taveira de Neiva Brum implemented the new Order and entrusted the Parishes to the seculars. From then onwards, the seculars were assigned most of the Parishes that were vacated by the frairs. Within one year, they were handed over to the secular priests.³¹

THE MADRE DE DEUS PROVINCE: The frairs of the São Thomé Province faced several problems but the Recollects of the Madre de Deus frairs did not have any problem mainly because they did not work in the Parishes and did not come into contact with the converts. In 1713, fifteen frairs lived in Cabo and the Province had thirty two frairs. Most of these frairs handled the mission outside Goa. This was clear from a letter of 30th December 1720, wherein it was stated that Frei João da Trindade and Frei João da Natividade founded Churches at Malacca and Tuticorin where they administered the sacraments to the Christians. The King kept a close watch on their activities and sent them periodic instructions. In a letter of 26th January 1745, the Provincial, Frei Bernardino de Jesus Maria briefed João V about their progress e in the mission. In another letter of 29th August 1747, the Provincial sent a report *in scriptis* about the mission of the Madre de Deus frairs. The frairs served the community and generally maintained their own dispensaries. One frair, Frei Martinho de Nossa Senhora do Monte do Carmo treated the sick and worked as a nurse in the Infirmary for many years. The frairs had a Hospice at Rachol that was dedicated to Nossa Senhora do Angels. This residence was founded in 1751 in the Jesuit Province in Salcete. It was opined that it served a Chapel for the Portuguese garrisons and was a part of the fortress that was located in the vicinity. A brother and a frair were placed in charge of it . Others believed that it was a residence for the frairs

who administered the sacraments to the garrisons who were stationed there to stop the Marathas who tried to enter Goa. On 8th January 1760, it was converted into a Regular Guardianate and Guardians were appointed in charge of it. It received the Royal approval at a Chapter and figured as a Hospice. The frairs were not legally entitled to work in it because Salcete was a Portuguese stronghold. But, the Madre de Deus frairs argued that they were not entrusted with the Parishes in Bardez. The Recollects maintained cordial relations with the Jesuits who confided in them. These frairs gave them shelter in Goa after the Suppression Decree was implemented. The Jesuits stayed with them frairs till they left for Portugal and revealed the secret of the *pedras cordeas* to the Provincial, Frei Manoel do Carmo Pacheco who prepared it in the pharmacy.³²

After 1759, the Portuguese and the local converts were against the Observants. Hence, most of the frairs who came to India made a profession at Madre de Deus, Daugim. Nearly seventy five frairs worked at Daugim, Pilar, Rachol and Cabo. Frei Francisco das Chagas, Frei Francisco da Piedade and Frei João da Piedade rose to high positions within the ecclesiastical hierarchy.³³

The Recollects handled many mission stations but they never worked as parish priest because they believed that they were the missionaries of the State.

THE FRAIRS AFTER THE SUPPRESSION OF THE JESUITS: The Jesuits came to Goa in 1542 as a strong arm of the *Padroado*. Thereafter, they took up the Province of Salcete and defended the *Estado* and the Church. The two were relatively autonomous but the King exercised his power over all the religious because he had entrusted His Provinces to them. The religious tried their best to preserve the authority, privileges and exceptions that had been entitled to them by the *Padroado*. The *Placet Regium* symbolized the authority of the Portuguese over the missions. The two cooperated with each other till 1759 when the liberal Prime Minister of Portugal, Marquis of Pombal was determined to reduce the power of the Cross.

In March 1759, he issued a Royal Decree that instructed the Jesuits to leave the Portuguese dominions. On 3rd September 1759, the Decree reached Goa and the Viceroy, Conde de Ega implemented it with a lightning speed and accuracy. He consulted the *Junta das Missoes* and set up a *Junta das administração dos bens que forão as Jesuitas* to deal with their properties and assets after their expulsion. The *Junta* decided to substitute them with the Franciscans who were the models of religious life. The Jesuits refused to leave their mission in Goa and the authorities were forced to resort to military force. All the Jesuit institutions and Houses were surrounded by the troops and the Jesuits were arrested and sent to the Houses of the Dominicans, Franciscans and Capuchins. They stayed with

these Religious Orders till they were shipped off to the goals in Lisbon. In his letter of 5th October 1759, the Viceroy instructed the religious to send them on the ship that was scheduled to leave on 17th December. The Jesuits who were taken to the *Collegio Novo* were placed under the Capuchins. The latter were sympathetic towards them and tried their best to minimize their sufferings. There was a reference to the Jesuit prisoners who used to throw a rope from the third floor to the Capuchins who used to send letters and other things to them. The Jesuits confided in the frairs and requested them to say the masses on their behalf.³⁴

After the suppression of the Jesuits in Goa, their properties, estates, rents and grants were confiscated and handed over to the Crown. The Archbishop appointed the other religious to handle their missions in Goa, Malabar, China and Japan. The frairs were entrusted with many of these missions. In December 1759, the frairs of the São Thome Province volunteered to substitute them. Some frairs went to the South and worked in Mysore. On 29th December 1759, a group of religious including eight Observants, six Recollects, two Augustinians, two Carmelite Tertiaries and an Oratorian traveled from Goa to Malabar. The frairs of the Madre de Deus worked in Malabar. In a report of 11th December 1760, five frairs were instructed to take over the College of St. Paul. By 27th January 1761, ten frairs lived there. In 1762, the Jesuits were expelled from Salcete and their

Parishes were handed over the seculars. The Jesuits were forced to give up their positions and the frairs were appointed as the Episcopal Examiners to examine the religious who volunteered to take over their Parishes. The frairs handled the mission well and the Portuguese felt that their behaviour was abhorrent to the precepts in the Gospel. The Archbishop, Dom Francisco de Assumpção e Britto was strict in making the new appointments and refused to hand over the Parishes to the religious who were not familiar with the language and customs of the land. The converts preferred the seculars and requested the King to expel the religious. Within a short period, similar accusations were levelled against the frairs in Bardez and petitions were sent to the King to replace them. In a letter of 23rd April 1766, the Portuguese took action and used efficacious and opportune methods to "save the sheep of the Lord from that hands of wolves and mercenaries". They decided to hand them to the secular parish priests who could nourish them with "the fruits of the doctrine and with edifying examples".³⁵

THE COMPLAINTS AGAINST THE OBSERVANTS IN THE BARDEZ

PROVINCE: From 1555 onwards, the frairs worked in the Province of Bardez where they converted souls and raised Churches without using the sword. The converts supported the frairs who in turn permitted them to enjoy their privileges. But, the former could not remain in a subordinate position for long. In the early

eighteenth century, the people of Bardez approached the *Junta das Missoes* and complained against the Franciscan parish priests who worked in the Parishes of Bardez. The matter was forwarded to the Viceroy who advised the King to take immediate action. The Overseas Council made two suggestions. It instructed the Superiors to appoint the experienced and well behaved frairs as parish priests because he felt that the frairs had neglected the ministry and damaged the souls of the converts. The Archbishop was instructed to visit the Churches periodically. These suggestions did not satisfy the frairs. In 1719, the authorities planned to hand over the Province to the Jesuits "who were modest and occupied with the propagation of the Gospel". The Provincials were responsible for the frairs in the Goa mission and most of them knew that the situation there was not very good. In a letter of 10th December 1720, Frei Clemente de Santa Irya informed the Viceroy about the disturbances that took place among the religious in the São Thomé Province. The frairs were generally divided into two factions. As the *Ad invincem Censuras* could not be legally implemented at a Chapter where the frairs were nominated as parish priests, the General requested the Apostolic See to nominate legitimate priests who would be respected in the Province. Accordingly, the Archbishop visited the Province and inquired into the shortcomings of the missionaries. As a vassal of the King, the latter was responsible to the secular authorities. The religious resisted his attempt to

intrude over their Superior. The Secretary of State was aware of the hostility and asked for Royal protection. He also requested the Apostolic See to help him to suppress any possible revolt. At the Provincial Chapter of 12th March 1716, the frairs got involved in a problem in which those who were elected into the office wanted to nullify the Chapter and to hold fresh elections for the Provincial Definitors. The Archbishop, Captain and *Junta da Fazenda* agreed to this but the frairs got split into factions. Pope Clement XI issued the *Exponi Nobis* the contents of which was summarized in an Apostolic Letter. It suggested that the Provincial Minister of São Thomé Province should be nominated in Lisbon while the Predicator and Commissary of the Mission had to be appointed from among those frairs who had worked in India through an Apostolic Decree. This was done to avoid the problems that took between Rome and Portugal and to put an end to factional politics. The people of Bardez forwarded several complaints about the frairs who worked there. In a letter of 29th March 1726, the Secretary, Andre Lopes de Lavre referred to five letters that contained complaints that were directed against the frairs of the São Thomé Province. The Viceroy, João de Saldanha de Gama warned the Provincial, Frei Clemente de Santa Eyria that many frairs were incapable of handling the mission and many Houses like the College of São Boaventura were unable to carry forth their responsibilities although they were given grants from the Royal Treasury. Frei Amadio Manoel de Jesuralem

complained to the King about the Province of São Thome "with tears cried out with the last emotions". The Provincial was inexperienced as he had spent twenty years in Portugal. There was no link between the Superiors of the Order and the King. For instance, the General of the Order did not know that the Pontifical Briefs could not be implemented without the Royal sanction. The frairs were accused of being unworthy and ignorant because they were not examined. Many of the frairs brought and sold the offices in the mission. After the death of the occupants, their offices were auctioned to the highest bidder. Frei Manoel de Graca complained that the General Baptisms that were hitherto occasions of pomp were stopped because the parish priests were unable to covert many *gentios*. On 22nd January 1724, Frei Ubaldo de Visitação stated that such scandals took place because the frairs had ignored the instructions of the King and the Viceroy. They even sold the patrimonies of their Churches at the auctions. In 1723, eleven thousand *xs* were sent for the sustenance of eleven missionaries in the South but the *quarteis* were not spent on the mission. In 1723, five hundred *xs* that were sent to conduct the General Baptisms were hoarded. In his letter of 23rd December 1723, Frei Manoel de Graca complained against the Franciscan Preachers and Confessors who were ignorant and knew less than what was learnt in the schools. Latin was ignored and among sixty frairs who lived in the Frairy, only two knew to speak the

language. Some observers complained about this to Rome. In a letter of 17th December 1726, the Viceroy complained that the frairs conducted elections that were useless because the final nominations were made by the Provincials who had their own preferences and often appointed unworthy frairs into the higher posts. In a letter of 20th January 1727, the King accepted the fact that the mission had suffered due to maladministration and temporal interests of the servants of God who were unworthy of a holy ministry. The frairs were interested in acquiring riches and committed excesses while performing the divine services. The Viceroy left the matter to the King and requested the *Junta das Missoes* to suggest improvements. He also requested the authorities to call the parish priests individually and warn them.³⁶

The authorities realized that most of the scandals took place because of the improper implementation of the *Provisoes* and *Alvaras*. In his letter of 6th January 1724, the Viceroy complained that the *gentios* in Bardez were permitted to conduct their marriage ceremonies in the temples in the Islands of Corjuem and Panelim with the help of the *bottos*. The King decided to take action and instructed the Viceroy to warn the parish priests against this. Some Jesuits, Franciscans and Dominicans were appointed to advise the parish priests. The Viceroy was against this because it went against the Goa Council (1585), the Council Decrees (1587), the Instructions of the King

to the Viceroy (1594) and to the *Pai dos Christãos*(1559) and the *Provisão* of the Viceroy (1613). But, some of the authorities supported this. The locals made clear it was impossible to them conduct their ceremonies in Panelim and Corjuem as this involved a lot of money. But, that was the only alternative as both these areas were contiguous to the *terra firme* and were sparsely populated. The Portuguese considered this to be a challenge to the Christian faith. In a letter of 11th November 1728, Custodio de Melo wrote against such weddings because the *botos* also conducted detestable sacrifices to appease the devil with rice, betelnuts and flowers that was thrown on the head of the groom. In a letter of 7th October 1711, Frei Manoel da Graca wrote against the worship of the *demonios huomo* and fire sacrifices mainly because the *Estado* would loose the *donativos* and other taxes. The *gentios* were few but constituted the dominant class. The matter was entrusted to the frairs because of the fear of an opposition by the unconverted brahmins. The *gentios* were separated from the Christians and certain areas were allotted to them for their ceremonies. In a letter of 10th November 1727, Frei Heironymo de Belem requested the King to give the *gentios* the Royal permission to celebrate the weddings in the *terra firma* as it would keep the converts away from the *ritos gentilico*. The King was also adviced to appease the *naiques* and *bottos* who were needed to defend the frairs and converts there.³⁷

The Portuguese in Goa directed the complaints of the local converts and *gentios* to the King. On 27th January 1729, the King was acquainted with the local sentiments and instructed the Archbishop to remove the frairs from the Parishes in Bardez and to replace them with the secular clergy. However, the Archbishop was afraid to do this. He wrote to the Provincial of the Order and to the parish priests. Both opposed this on legal grounds. Hence, the Archbishop instructed the *Ouvidor Geral do Crime* to inquire into certain serious appeals that were made by the parishioners of Bardez. The frairs were accused of breaking into the Treasuries and Tabernacles of the Churches. There was a reference to a Curate in the Parish Church of Nagoa who harassed the converts. The *Ouvidor Geral* inquired into this and found that it was true. The Archbishop published the report in his *Pastoral* and sent it to the King. There were also complaints that the frairs had usurped the wealth in the Churches. The Archbishop directed this complaint to the Provincial. On 26th January 1728, the Provincial sent him the names and ages of the Rectors in the Churches of Bardez.³⁸

The King favoured the secular clergy in the Churches of Bardez provided they lived a good life and had good habits. Based on this, the Archbishop, Ignacio de Santa Thereza issued a *Pastoral* by which he decided to appoint the secular clergy who were trained in the parochial ministry as the parish priests there. The Royal Order confirmed this ecclesiastical declaration. The

frairs who worked as Rectors in the Churches of Nellur, São Lourenço, Anjuna, Aldona, Revora etc. were dissatisfied as they would have to surrender the prosperous areas. But, the authorities were adamant and decided to implement the Royal Orders to solve the disturbances. The parish priests were instructed to fix the Orders on the Church doors in Bardez. But this was not done and the Archbishop complained about this to the King in his letter of 16th November 1728. The King and the Overseas Council insisted on the dismissal of the Regulars mainly because they wanted to recover the wealth of the Churches there. On 7th April 1728, the Overseas Council issued a *Provisão* that instructed the Viceroy to recover the wealth from the Churches in Bardez. The parish priests were instructed to follow the Orders of the King and the Archbishop. However, the Viceroy refused to cooperate with the King. On 4th January 1729, he stated that he did not have a record of the wealth of the Churches in Bardez. Moreover, he was unsure if the frairs could be expelled from the Parishes on the basis of a simple complaint that was made by the people of Bardez against two parish priests who worked there. The Archbishop was also against the interference of the State in religious matters. This was clear from his letter of 17th November 1728 in which he opined that Pontifical Bulls should be given to the Archbishop who were the co-sharer in the *Padroado*. The King argued that the Churches *in solidum* neither belonged to him nor to the frairs as they were

governed by an Ordinary that was instituted according to the Bull *Ordinarium licentia minime requista* of Pius V. The King clarified that he had not denounced the frairs in general. Instead, he only instructed the authorities in Goa to remove five frairs who had caused disturbances in the Province. The Archbishop was happy and requested the Viceroy to remind the King about the properties and palmgroves of the Parishes. The people continued to complain against the frairs. There was a case of one frair who did not even know to say mass. Others were accused of living an indecent life and yet others were accused of keeping the soldiers in the cloisters.³⁹

The Viceroy refused to take action and to implement the Orders of the King because he was more interested in ensuring peace in the Province. In a letter of 18th November 1728, he stated that he could not implement any decision unless it was deliberated upon. The Archbishop had misused his power to discredit the frairs and the Viceroy was not in a position to handle the problem. Hence, he requested the King to suspend the Royal Order. The King instructed the Franciscan Provincial to defend his frairs and to comment the *Provisão* of 1728. He decided to suspend the Order so that the authorities could delve into each case separately. On 1st April 1731, the authorities submitted their report on Frei Antonio do Espirito Sancto, Rector of Parra who had slapped his Curate in the Church. The Overseas Council decided to exile him from Goa. On 11th

December 1731, the Inquisitor complained that the Decrees of King Dom Sebastião and those of the Councils that were held in Goa were not observed. The local people continued to use the local language. The *gaoncars* of Pirna, Nadora, Revora, Assnora and Bastora were close to each other and spoke in the local language, went to the *bottos* and *gurus* of the temples, gave them alms, followed the local cult, decorated the temples, performed sacrifices and refused to pay their quit rents. But, the Inquisitor himself decided to wait for the decision of the *Juiz da Coroa* who also was also the Royal *Procurador*. On 19th December 1729, the King was informed about the *gentio* or Muslim merchants who performed the pagan rites in Goa. Many were imprisoned for interacting with the Christians and for settling down with their families in the Royal dominions. Dom João V instructed the Viceroy to forward all the decisions of the Archbishop and the frairs to the *Juiz da Coraa*. In his Resolution of 28th March 1730, the King informed the *Mesa da Consciencia* that he had decided to remove the frairs from the Churches in Bardez. The Inquisitor warned the King against the appointment of the *gaoncars* as scribes and against their voting rights. The latter acquired the paddy from the *varzeas* and paid their *bottos*. The King was adviced to keep separate villages for the Christians so that they did not interact with the *gentios*. The Viceroy was against these recommendations because it was impossible to remove them as they had been bred and brought up in Goa.

Moreover, many *bottos* and *gurus* knew Portuguese and interacted with the Christians of the *terra firme*. The *gaoncars* were deprived of their ancestral privileges and the poor people were harassed. This was a great risk to the security of the *Estado*. Hence, the Viceroy requested the King to instruct the *Procurdor* of the Crown to check the resolutions. By then, there was a list of complaints against the frairs in Bardez. For instance, the Rector of Nossa Senhora da Penha da França was accused of being regularly absent from his Church, Frei Estevao de Nascimento of Guirim was accused of living with concubines, Frei Nicolao da Natividade of Tivim was blamed of committing excesses and another frair was accused of robbing the furnishings of the Church. The Provincial was accused of appointing and promoting the frairs and of permitting them to occupy their office beyond their tenure. The authorities decided that those who were nominated as regular parish priests without the knowledge of the higher authorities were to be removed and those who did not know the local language were sent to learn it. No frair was permitted to raise Churches or Chapels without the permission of the Archbishop. The parish priests who were elected or nominated had to be confirmed by the *Juiz da Coroa* and had to obtain a license from the *Mesa da Consciencia*. In 1732, the King wrote to the Council, *Mesa da Conciencia Tribunal*, Archbishop and the Franciscan Provincial about the frairs who worked in the Parishes of Bardez. Nearly fourteen

cases were listed wherein the frairs were accused of bad habits, partialities and non-religious motives. In letter of 27th November 1732, the Provincial, Frei Domingos de São Bernardino countered these accusations and argued that in a religious organization some frairs were bound to be bad because they received only two *tangas* and five *reis* from the King with which they had to sustain themselves and their *merinhos*. The frairs who worked in Bardez faced several difficulties. The Rector of São Lourenço complained that he was not paid since two years and some others stated that they were not paid at all. Moreover, the frairs were placed under the Apostolic Judge. Hence, they had to maintain contacts with the political authorities. The Provincial was against the local converts and alleged that the *canarins* were slanderous, deceitful, ambitious and keen on removing the frairs from of the Parishes and substituting them with the local clergy who were their sons and relatives. In 1756, the *Camara de Bardez* forwarded a list of complaints to Conde de Ega. The *Senado de Goa* supported the *Camara* because the frairs had now become a public nuisance. One frair behaved badly towards four citizens and their sons on the street in the City of Goa during the procession of the Holy Sacrament in the Frairy of St. Francis, Goa. The *Camara* requested the *Senado* not to allow the frairs to attend the feasts, functions and processions. The *Senado* also accused the frairs of being lax, ignorant, and corrupt. The General of the Order and the other Superiors were informed that

the religious spirit of the saint had disappeared and everyone admitted that it was too late to reform or improve the frairs.⁴⁰

The secular clergy took advantage of this, got the support of the *Camara de Bardez* and dispossessed the frairs of most of their Parishes.

THE REMOVAL OF THE FRAIRS FROM BARDEZ: The first attempt to remove the frairs from the Parishes of Bardez was made by the Conde de Alvor. In his letter, he forced the Inquisitors of the Holy Office to take appropriate measures against the Churches and priests in the Parishes of Bardez. The complaints were listed methodically and presented to the *Mesa da Consciencia*, Viceroy, Tribunal and to the King. In a letter of 10th December 1765, the King referred to such letters that were sent to him by the Governor, Conde de Oneyras. In his letter of 23rd April 1766, the King made a reference to the Representation of the *Camara de Bardez* about the outrages, insults and injuries that the people of Bardez had endured because of the frairs who claimed the exclusive authority to serve as parish priests but ignored the *Expone nobis* of Pope Pius V and the Instructions of the King. The Holy Congregation of Regulars and the Bulls *Quamis ad Confrimadum do Sam Pontif Benedict XIV* of 24th February 1746 had supported the secular clergy. This was implemented in Goa but the frairs ignored it and continued to live with little fear for God or for the King. The frairs were not fit

to administer the Parishes and there were cases wherein they extorted money so that they could live a licentious life in the Houses of their mistresses. Most of the frairs were rich because they looted the Parishes. There were cases wherein the corpses were not buried because the family members could not meet the funeral expenses. The authorities believed that if the frairs were substituted with the secular clergy, the latter would at least be in a position to handle the mission because they were well educated, well behaved and of good moral character. Moreover, their appointment was essential to solve the grievances of the local people. The King concluded that the frairs worked on the land that was hired to them but they were unable to yield much fruit in the Parishes because they were incapable tenant farmers. Hence, the King decided to hire Pastors who could lead the herds to the pasture with good instructions and edifying examples.⁴¹

The King sent two Orders in 1759 and 1761 respectively. The Archbishop was instructed to execute the Orders of the King and the Governor was authorized to appoint the local clergy as the parish priests in Bardez so that they heard the bleats of the herds and grazed them. The King realized that the Superiors of the Order had lost their zeal and that the Rectors had become interested in material benefits. Hence, he decided that the best solution was to substitute them. The *Camara* argued that the secular clergy were experienced in the pastoral work because they had hitherto helped the frairs in their Parish work. The

Governor refused to blame the frairs and requested the King to cancel the Substitution Decree because he felt that the native priests were incompetent of handling the ministry. But, the King and the Court decided to implement the Decree. The frairs violently reacted to this and the authorities were forced to send the *Sargent mor*, Miguel de Arrois and the grenadiers to the Frairy. They were stationed in the fortress of Aguada that was half a league away and awaited for the right admonitions to go to the cloisters. The frairs raised various questions before the Judge. The Provincial wanted their case to be represented before a *Sindico*. Dom Francisco de Corte Real was entrusted with this task. He blamed the Provincial and four other frairs for the problems in the Parishes of Bardez. The Guardian of the Frairy was sent to the College of São Boaventura. In a letter dated 27th March 1767, the Governor, the Chief Judge and the *Ouidor Geral do Crime* decided to remove the Frairs from the Parishes in Bardez. In a letter of 14th July 1767, the decision was sent to the Minister General and the frairs had to leave the Province of Bardez for good. The Governor, Dom João de Mello lamented that the happy days when the frairs sowed the seeds of the Gospel, lightened up the darkness of paganism and erected altars were gone. The Province was now in a deplorable state because of the dissolute life and laxity of the frairs who were mercenaries rather than shepherds. The native priests were preferred because they understood the needs of the flock that they tended. They were

doctors of their own people as they understood their ailments and provided efficacious remedies.⁴²

The Decree of 23rd April 1766, that was issued in Lisbon instructed the frairs to relinquish their Parishes in Bardez and to surrender them to the local clergy. The latter were placed under the Nuntius in Lisbon and the Archbishop in Goa. The frairs left sixty thousand Catholics for the secular clergy to tend.⁴³

Notes and References :

- ¹ Jose Felner(ed.) *Op. Cit.*, 1868, pp.127-8; *Asentos* Vol. 7, pp. 49-57; T. R. de Souza, *Op. Cit.*, 1979, p. 27.
- ² *Bol. do Gov.* No. 68(1862); Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, 1906, p.3; Lopes Mendes, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p.75; *EHGLC* p. 412; *DHMP* Vol. V, pp. 473, 468-9; *ARF*, doc. 44, p. 61; C. C. Nazareth, *Op. Cit.*, 1927, pp.13-14.
- ³ *Bosq. Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 256; *EHGLC* p. 412, Civezza, *Op. Cit.*, 1859, p. 129, *DHMP*. Vol.V, p. 469; *ARF*. doc. 1, p. 61 of *MR*. Vol. 79, fl. 339.
- ⁴ *AHU* Doc. Avulsos, India Maço 5 cited in *AFP* p. 117; *ARF* doc. I, p. 61 from *MR* Vol. 79, fl. 339; Report 2, p. 69 of *MR*. Vol. 79, fl. 341; F. X. Gomes Catão, *Op. Cit.*, *BEAG*(1952), pp. 303-04; *Livro de Pazes*, No.1. fl. 266; *Bol. Off.*, No. 6,(1875), pp.28 and 133; No.1, p. 318.
- ⁵ *AHU*, Codice 449, fl. 132v, published in *ARF* Report 12, pp. 122-23; Report 2, pp. 67-68 of *MR*. Vol. 79, fl. 341.
- ⁶ *MR*. Vol. 79, fl. 339; *DHMP* Vol. V, p.465; F. X. Gomes Catão, *XCHR* Ms. p.8; F. X. Gomes Catão, *Op. Cit.*, *STVDIA*. Vol. 40 (1978), p.285;
- ⁷ *Bosq.*, Vol. I, pp. 292-93 and 153-54; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, *Voz* No. 37(1936), p.4; Rosario Alexio Braganza, *Op. Cit.*, 1926, pp. 19-20; Leopoldo Rocha, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 309-10; *DHMP* Vol. V, p. 469; *L^oM*. No.138A, fs. 250-52v.
- ⁸ F. N. Xavier, *Op. Cit.*, 1852, p. 15; *MR*. Vol. 106, fl. 326; Leopoldo Rocha, *Op. Cit.*, p. 250; *APO*. Vol. VI, Suppl. 11, p. 457; A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, 1961, p.139.
- ⁹ *Bosq.*, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 139; Ms. in the *Arquivo Pastoral de Aldona* cited by Leopoldo Rocha, *Op. Cit.*, p. 310; *XCHR*; Ms. p.108; F. X. Costa, *Legados Pios, que oneram os bens citados nos Conselhos das Ilhas, Bardes e Salcete e Momugao do districto de Goa*, 1960; Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p.241.
- ¹⁰ *ML*, Vol. I, pp. 237-38; *DHMP* Vol. V, pp.468-70; *MR*, Vol. 71, fl. 341; Gabriel de Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 233-36; *MR*, Vol. 79, fl. 341 in *ARF*. Report 2, pp. 71-78; Report 45, p. 63 of *MR* Vol.159D, p. 1128; Nazareth, *Igreja de Nerul*, p.7.
- ¹¹ *Bosq.*, Vol. I, p. 358; *O Heraldo* (18-5-1915); *ARF*, Report 44, pp. 71-78 of *MR*. Vol. 79, fl. 341; *Bol. do Gov.* N^o. 35, (1883) and N^o. 50,(1840); *Portario do Governo*, (24-11-1840); C. C. Nazareth, *Op. Cit.*, 1927, p. 181-83; *HAG:Papeis dos Conventos Extinctos*, Nos. 7511-12, (1762-73), fs. 7, 16, 17; *ARF*, Report 2, pp. 71-89; *MR*. Vol. 79, fl. 341; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, 1962, p. 108; *ML*. Vol. I, p. 265; *HAG:Assentos das Pencoes do Convento de São Boaventura*, *HAG*. N^o. 2133, fl. 10; F. X. Costa, *Op.*

- Cit.*, 1960, p. 160; HAG: *Assentos de Penções do Convento de São Boaventura*, f. 4; The detailed accounts regarding the income and expenditure of the Frairy of St. Francis and the College of Boaventura are stated in *MR* Vol. 143v, *fls.* 790-94, 796 and 799-800; The proceeds are stated in *Livro da Receita e despeza do Palmar de Sao Boaventura de Goa*, HAG. No. 1098, *fls.* 1-32. The State tried to control the proceeds of the Religious Orders. The recipients were instructed to sign the receipts. On 15th January 1767, the Guardian of Pomburpa, and Penha da Franca stated that the account books stating the amount of rice that was distributed to the converts and catechumens was certified by the Guardian, Provincial and the Recipients; *MR* Vol. 143B, *fl.* 759v.
- ¹² *Bol. do Gov.* Nos. 3-11 (1862). These accounts are published by J. A. Ismael Gracias 'Legados e Pensoes - A cargo das fabricas e confrarias de Goa em 1766' in *OP*, Vol. 10(1913) Nos. 3 and 4, pp. 62-3 and 83-6. These are originally taken from *MR*. Vol.138, *fls.* 35, Old Survey No. 1, *fl.* 80v; Survey No. 2, *fls.* 202, 330v, 232; New list no. 1, *fls.* 26 and 444, Old List No. 2, *fls.* 156v, 106v, pp.288-89 and 250-52; Till 7th February 1768, the frairs continued to administer the Bens in the six Parishes. On that day they had to hand over the Bens to the Secular priests; *MR* Vol. 143B, *fls.* 845-46.
- ¹³ A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, 1958, p. 63; Rui Gomes Pereira, *Op. Cit.*, 1978, p.121; Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 311 and Vol. II, p. 381; *MR*. Vol. 127B, *fl.* 263, *ARF*, Report 15, p. 130; João Machado, *Relação dos sucessos da India e Principio do Felissimo Governo do Estado, Ex Sr. Conde De Ega*, 1759, p. 3; *ARF*. Report 17, p. 135 and Report 15; *MR*. Vol. 127, *fl.* 262 also stated in Meersman Achilles, *Op. Cit.*, *Indica*, Vol. I, No.2(1964), p. 174; *ARF*. Report 19, p. 139; *MR*. Vol. 130B, *fl.* 422, Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 277; *MR*, Vol. 130A, *fl.* 342, Meersman Achilles, *Op. Cit.*, *Indica*. Vol. I(1964), p. 175; *ARF*. Report 23; *MR*. Vol. 133B, *fl.* 234, transcribed in *ARF*. Report 25 and 27, p. 157; *MR*. Vol. 118B, *fl.* 421; *MR*. Vol. 135B, *fl.* 523
- ¹⁴ These areas came under the Portuguese only in 1791; Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 311, Vol. II, p. 281; Meersman Achilles, *Op. Cit.*, *Extractum do AFH* Vol. 60(1967), p. 103; It contains a list of the Provincials of the São Thomé Province till 1835; *MR*. Vol. 138A, *fl.* 206v; 'Ordinaria do Convento de São Francisco de Goa', in *OP*. Vol. 9(1912).
- ¹⁵ The College of Reis Magos served as a residence for the Viceroy since 1666; Francisco de Assis Tavora arrived on 25th September 1750, the anchors were dropped at Agoada and twenty one guns boomed to salute him. The outgoing Viceroy Marquis Alorna sailed upto the fleet in his *manchia* and officially received Tavora with deep courtesy by offering him the seat of Honour. But he rejected it and sat to the left of Alorna till the College of *Reis Magos* where he stayed as a guest of the frairs. One conflict took place in 1756, on the feast day of Immaculate Conception that was celebrated in the Frairy of St. Francis, four members of the *Senado da Camara* were chosen to hold the rods of the canopy over Our Lady. However, the frairs were against this. During the procession, one of them violently wrenched the rods from their hands in the middle of the road. The Senate was insulted. The Provincial and Guardian of the frairs apologised on behalf of the frairs and promised to punish them for disobeying their Superiors. But, the Senate demanded a public reparation and went to Court; Michael Telles, *Op. Cit.*, 1906, p. 4; *BFUP*, no. 65, p. 117; *CL* p. 65; *Assentos*. Vol. V, pp.174 and 185; *MR*. Vol. 68, *fl.* 234; Vol. 86, *fl.* 436, *ARF*. Report 2, pp. 82-3; *ML*. Vol. II, p. 123; *DUP*. Vol. V, doc. no.3, pp.7-10.
- ¹⁶ *EHGLC*. doc. 43, pp. 287-88; Civezza, *Op. Cit.*, 1859, p. 148.
- ¹⁷ *DHMP*, Vol. V, p. 459; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, *OP*. 4 (1907) ; Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 237; *AHU. Doc. Avulsos*, India, Maço 242; *MR* Vol. 117, *fl.* 246; *ARF*. Report 6, p. 97; Report 2, pp. 82-83; *EHGLC*. doc. 60; pp. 380-1. This is translated in A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, 1958, p. 194; *EHGLC*. pp. 61-63, pp. 382-384; doc. 60, pp. 381-2; doc. 64, p. 385; docs. 67-71, pp. 388-97; *MR*. Vol. 126B, *fl.* 637.
- ¹⁸ *DUP* Vol. V, p. 16; J. F. Biker, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 176; A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, 1958, Cap. XXII, pp. 195-6; *MR*. Vol. 30, *fl.* 43v; Vol.36B, *fl.* 433; Vol.37, *fl.* 365; Vol.40, *fl.*110; Vol.47B, *fl.* 68; Vol. 127B, *fl.* 263 in *ARF*. Report 15, p. 130; Report 17, p. 136; HAG. *Livro de Missoes de Goa e Malabar*, Vol. 2488, *fl.* 21-32; *MR*. Vol. 132A, *fl.* 342, *ARF*. Report 32, p. 14; F. N. Xavier, *Instrucoes de Exmo Vicerrei Marquez de Alorna*, p.5; HAG. *Assentos do Junta das Missoes*, *fls.* 113, 116 and 34-95;
- ¹⁹ *MR*. Vol. 132A, *fl.* 342 in *ARF*. Report 36, p. 14; *AHU*. Caixa 108 in Maria dos Jesus dos Martires Lopes, *Epistolario de um Acoriano na India: Dom Taveira da Neiva Brum da Silveira (1750-1775)*, 1983, p. 59; A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, 1958, pp. 196-97.
- ²⁰ Meersman Achilles, *Op. Cit.* in *AFH*. Vol. 60 (1967), pp. 15-16; A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 188-89 and 196. The College of Reis Magos served as a residence for the Viceroy since 1666; Francisco de Assis Tavora arrived on 25th September 1750, the anchors were dropped at Agoada and twenty one guns boomed to salute him. The outgoing Viceroy Marquis Alorna sailed upto the fleet in his *manchia* and officially received Tavora with deep courtesy by offering him the seat of Honour. But he rejected it and sat to the left of Alorna till the College of *Reis Magos* where he stayed as a guest of the frairs. One conflict took place in 1756, on the feast day of Immaculate Conception that was celebrated in the Frairy of St. Francis, four members of the *Senado da Camara* were chosen to hold the rods of the canopy over Our Lady. However, the frairs were against this. During the procession, one of them violently wrenched the rods from their hands in the middle of the road. The Senate was insulted. The Provincial and Guardian of the frairs apologised on behalf of the frairs and promised to punish them for disobeying their Superiors. But, the Senate demanded a public reparation and went to Court; Michael Telles, *Op. Cit.*, 1906, p. 4; *BFUP*, no. 65, p. 117; *CLF* p. 65; *Assentos*. Vol. V, pp.174,185; *MR*. Vol. 68, *fl.* 234; Vol. 86, *fl.* 436, *ARF*. Report 2, pp. 82-3; *ML*. Vol. II, p. 123; *DUP*. Vol. V, pp.7-10.
- ²¹ S. K. Mhamai Kamat, *The Sawants of Wadi, coastal politics in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries*, 1984; Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 276-78; *DHMP*. Vol. V, pp. 461-62.

- ²² This incident took place between March 1704 to January 1706; *CL*, p. 262, *APO*. Vol. VI, p. 143; *ML*, Vol. I, pp. 224-25; *Anais* p. 30; *Assentos*. Vol. V, pp. 402-03, 528, 498, 506 and 545; *APO*, Vol. III, Tomo. I, Part V, p. 367;
- ²³ T.V Parvate (trans.), *Op. Cit.*, 1985, p. 188; S. K. Mhamai, *Op. Cit.*, 1984, p. 47; *Anais*, p. 6; This battle was ever since enacted on Carnival Sunday in the Chapel of the Holy Cross of Jesus the Redeemer at Angodd, Mapusa. This is called the feast of Suissos; Alexio Braganza, *Op. Cit.*, p. 12; Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 277; Ismael Gracias, *Op. Cit.*; *OP*. Vol. 18(1920), p. 290; T. B. Cunha, *Op. Cit.*, 1964, p. 83; *EHGLC*, doc. 66; pp. 387-88; *MR*. Vol. 130B, fl. 425; *L^oM*. N^o. 119, fl. 199; Balsemão, *Op. Cit.*, 1881, Part I, pp.82-85.
- ²⁴ *EHGLC* p. 412; F. X. Gomes Catão, *Op. Cit.*, *BEAG*,(1952), p. 303; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, *OP*. Vol. XVI(1919), p. 367; Civezza, *Op. Cit.*, 1859, p. 129, *DHMP*. Vol. V., pp. 464, 466 and 469; *MR*. Vol. 79, fls. 243 and 341; *ARF*. Report 2, p. 79; *Anais*, p. 149. F. X. Gomes Catão, *Op. Cit.*, *STVDIA*. Vol. 40 (1948), p. 185; *EHGLC* pp.412 and 416; *ML*. Vol. I, p. 248; *DHMP*. Vol. V, pp. 470-74; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, *Voz* Vol. 35 (1937), p. 278; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, in *Voz*, No. 10(1932), p. 106.
- ²⁵ Lopes Mendes, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 110-11; A. B. Braganza Pereira, *Ethnografia da India Portuguesa*, 1940, Vol. II, p. 199; *DHMP*. Vol. V, p. 473; *EHGLC*. Cap. CLXV; Civezza, *Op. Cit.*, 1859, p. 563; Manuel Nunes da Costa, *Documentação para a historia da Congregação da Oratorio de Santa Cruz dos Milagres do clero natural de Goa*, 1966, p. 415; *MR*, Vol. 79, fl. 339; A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, 1958, Caps. XIX and XXIV, pp.190-191,209, 328-29.
- ²⁶ T. B. Cunha, *Op. Cit.*, 1964, p. 27, Frederico D' Ayalla, *Goa Antiga e moderna*, 1887, p. 75; A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, 1958, Caps. XIX and XXIV, pp.190-191,209, 328-29; *ARF* Report 9; *DHMP*. Vol. V, p. 470; Jose Pereira(ed.) *Op. Cit.*, *JUB*, Sept(1967), *MR*. Vol. 101, fl. 676.
- ²⁷ *EHGLC*. doc. 65; A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, 1958, Caps. XIX, XXIV, LXXXIV-VII, pp. 191, 201- 213; *ML*. Vol. I, p. 265. *MR*. Vol. 132B, fl. 575; *Bol. do Gov*. Nos. 5, 6, 7 and 8 (1865); A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, 1958, p. 202.
- ²⁸ A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, 1958, pp. 202 to 204. These priests included Fr. Constanteno Alvares, the Judge of the Ecclesiastical Court and Parish Priest of São Bartholomeu, Choroa, Rev. Fr. Gabriel Fernandes Noronha, Licentiate and Judge of the Ecclesiastical Court and priest of San Mathias. *EHGLC*. doc. 82, No. 18, pp. 462-63; *MR*. Vol. 143B, fls. 775-787, these documents contain the names of the Parish priests, parishes in which they worked, their age and past record; *DHMP*. Vol. V, p. 501, *ARF*. Report 2.
- ²⁹ *EHGLC*. doc. 41, p. 28; *ML*. Vol. I, pp. 231-32; *APO*. Vol. VI, p. 407; Cunha Rivara, *Op. Cit.*, Cap. CLXV; *DHMP*. Vol. V, pp. 496, 406 and 408; Some of these Europeans included Jacob Felipe Évarta of Dinamarques, Christiano Nicolao of Kopenhagen, Phelippe Pedro of Dinamarques, Paulo George, J. Pedro Christiano of Jansé, Miguel Mane and Christiano from Holland, J. Pedro of Escoria etc.; Carlos Xavier, 'Europeanos baptisados no Casa dos Catecumenos', *BEAG*. No. 12(1950), p. 353; F. X. Vaz, O Veneravel Ordem Terceira da Penitencia em Goa, *OP*. Vol. IV(1907), p. 208; *Bosq.*, p.339; Ismael Gracias, *O Bispo do Halicamoso Dom Antonio Jose de Noronha*, 1903, p. 45; *Provisoes por favor da Christandade*, Vol. 9529, fls. 147-54; Lopes Mendes, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 211-342; A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, 1958, p. 208; *ARF*. Report 5, *AFPI* pp. 148-49; Braganza Pereira, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 294; *AHU*. India, Maço 102 stated in Maria de Jesus dos Martires Lopes *Op. Cit.*, 1996, p. 312; Leopold Rocha *Op. Cit.*, p.338.
- ³⁰ *MR* Vol. 86 A, fls. 32-56v; *ARF*. Report 13, p. 124; *MR*. Vol. 124A, fl. 249; Report 17, p. 135; *AHU*. *Doc Avulsos*, India, Maço 90 and 13, Report 25, and 27; Ricardo Telles *Op. Cit.*, *OP* Vol. I(1904); Leopold Rocha, *Op. Cit.*, p. 338.
- ³¹ A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, 1958, pp. 188-89; *MR*. Vol. 86B, fl. 32; Vol. 84B, fl. 335; *ML*. Vol. I, p. 229; Vol. II, p. 237; *BNL*. Cod. no. 179, fl. 11-13v cited in T. R. de Souza, The Portuguese in Goan Folklore, in Charles Borges and Feldmann(ed.), *Goa and Portugal: Cultural links*, 1999, p. 189; *APO*. Vol. VI, p. 156; *ML*. Vol. I, p. 225; *EHGLC*. doc. 66; *AHU*, India, Maço 35; A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, Cap. XXI, pp. 193-4 and 200; Charles Borges, 'Foreign Jesuits and native resistance in Goa', in T. R. de Souza (ed.), *Essays in Goan History*, p. 77 and 62; F. X. Vaz and P. da Costa, *Corpus Monumenta Goana Ecclesiastica*, *OP*. Vols. 3-4(1918), p. 8, Bt.2; Claudio Barbudor Monteiro, *Instruções que El Rei José I mandou passar ao Estado de India no ano de 1774*, 1841, p. 21; *MR*. Vol. 139, fls. 406-09; Gabriel de Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 234; *ML*. Vol. I, p. 372; F. X. Gomes Catão, 'Primeiros Vigaros coloados em Goa nas Igrejas de Bardez', *BEAG*, Vol. 11(1953), pp. 397-9.
- ³² *ARF* Report 45; Report 4; Report 10, p. 111; Report 7, p. 100; *MR* Vol. 120B, fl. 517; 117, fl. 246; *AHU*. *Codice* 448, fl. 26; Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*, *AFH*. Vol. 56(1963), p. 442; *CLFI*. pp. 148-49, 86, 311 and 303; *Mss of the Order in Ibid.*, p. 86; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, 1924, p. 4; C. C. Nazareth, *Op. Cit.*, 1927, p. 141; D. Feroll, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, 1951, Vol. II, p. 503; Gerson da Cunha, 'The origin of Bombay', *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1900, p. 287.
- ³³ *CLFI*, p. 30, The Chapters of the Madre de Deus Province were held regularly till 1793 and are stated in *CL*; Ernest Hull, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 232; Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*, *NZM*. Vol. 13 (1957), p. 208; Gabriel de Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 100; *CEO* Vol. I, Cap.10, p. 49.
- ³⁴ *HAG Regimentos e Instruções*, No. 1437, fls. 138-41; *Secretaria Termos*, no 659, fls. 41-3, 46, 52; P. Chagas, *Historia de Portugal no seculo XVIII e XIX*, 1879, Part V, pp. 123-26; *MR*. Vol. 132A, fl. 219; *Assentos do Junta das Missoes*, Vol. 1605, fl. 132; Ismael Gracias, *Catalogo dos livros de assentamentos da gente da guerra que veio do reino deste 1731 a 1811*, 1893, p. 18; Ian Clark *Op. Cit.* *ICHR*. Vol. 9, No. 2 (1974), p. 148.

- ³⁵ Ian Clark *Op. Cit.*, *JCHR*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (1974), p. 148; *MR*. Vol. 132B, fls. 327-65; D. Feroli, *Op. Cit.*, 1951, Vol. II, pp. 501-21; C. C. Nazareth, *OP*. Vol. VI(1909), pp. 201-08; Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*, *AFH*. Vols. 67-68(1974-75), p. 418; *MR*. Vol. 151, fl. 101; Vol. 132A, fl. 334; F. X. Gomes Catão, *Op. Cit.*, p. 10; *Livros das Moncoes das Provincias de Malabar e Goa*, Vol. 2488, fl. 42; Faria Y. Souza, *Op. Cit.*, 1945-47, pp. 48-49; A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, 1958, p. 200.
- ³⁶ The parish priest were accused of several crimes. In Guirim, Frei Damiao de São José pushed and slapped his curate in front of the people during the mass and claimed the exclusive right to read the wedding bands. In Soccoro, Frei Antonio de Graca insulted and assaulted his curate because he refused to obey his orders. In Colvale, Frei Antonio de Encarnacao refused to permit the curate to read out the bands and hear confessions, *ML* Vol. I, pp. 241-242; *EHGLC* doc. nos. 45-48, pp. 290-307; *CL*. pp. 258-316. The Franciscans who were sent as the advisers included Frei Domingos de São Bernardino, Vicar Provincial of the Observants, Frei Hieronimo de Belem, Provincial of Madre de Deus, and Frei Manoel de Graca, *Lente Jubiliado*.
- ³⁷ *EHGLC*. doc. 48, pp. 326-336.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, doc. 49, pp. 337-45, *Livro das cartas e ordens*(1726-28) dated 17th November 1728.
- ³⁹ *EHGLC*. docs. 49-52A, pp. 345-352; *Livros das cartas e ordens of 1726*.
- ⁴⁰ A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.* 1958, pp. 203-05; *EHGLC*. docs. 53-57, pp. 352-65; *MR*. Vol. 101B, fl. 1068; Fortunato Coutinho, *Le regime parossial das dioceses de rite Latin de l'Inde des origines (XVI secle) á nos jours*, 1958; *EHGLC*. docs. 58-59, pp. 365-80; *Ibid.* docs. 72-76, pp. 397-408.
- ⁴¹ *EHGLC*. doc 77, pp. 409-417.
- ⁴² The King had sent four copies one to the Conde de Ega on 26th March 1759 ordering him to entrust the Jesuit missions to other priests. The second instruction was sent to Conde de Oeyras on 2nd April 1761 in which he suggested how the missions in India had to be exercised after the expulsion of the Jesuits. The third was asking for information about the list of missionaries and establishments in the *Estado* and the fourth were in the form of Minutes for the Statutes for the College of the local clergy that was established in the city of Goa; *EHGLC*. doc. 78, pp. 410-17; A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, 1958, pp. 197-98 and 203-05; *Bol. do Gov.* Nos. 3, 11, p. 862.
- ⁴³ *EHGLC*, doc. 80, pp. 420-25; Ricardo Telles *Op. Cit.*, *Seperata de BIVG*. (1943), pp. 21-26; Mariano Dias, *Op. Cit.*, *BIVG* No. 177 (1997), p. 54. The Provincial constitutions for the São Thomé Province were drawn up in 1742 under the initiative of Frei Domingos de Louzada and Frei Thome da Conceicao, *IVG Ms.* No. M-10(b), 7535. These dealt with the training of the novices, fl. 3, the alms and stipends, twenty one points related to the duties of the frairs fls. 2-9; The Bulls and Briefs fls. 9-13. On 3rd May 1743 Statutes pertaining to the expenses on the divine services, Chapters, indecencies in the Churches, etc. were drawn *IVG Ms.* No. 10(a), 7534. On 8th April 1751, Frei Antonio de Jesus Maria drew up the Statutes relating to discipline and manners, fls. 17-26. Those relating to the masses, novenas, feasts, etc. were also included. On 18th May 1744, Frei Antonio de Santa Maria drew up statutes pertaining to claustrual discipline, fls. 15-27 and 27-37, those related to the Chapters were included in fls 37-44, while those related to the habit were drawn up in 1762 by Frei João de Madre de Deus, fls. 44-46.

CHAPTER VIII

THE
EXPULSION
OF THE
ORDER
(1766-1835)

CHAPTER VIII

THE EXPULSION OF THE ORDER (1766-1835)

In 1766, the frairs were officially expelled from their Parishes in Bardez. However, they tried to hold on to the five Churches that were donated or bequeathed to the Order. They were sure that they could sustain themselves there without being dependent on the authorities in Portugal and Goa. These Parishes included São Lourenço de Linhares, Nossa Senhora de Penhá da França, Reis Magos, Madre de Deus, Pomburpa and Nossa Senhora do Mar, Oxel.

THE CASES AGAINST THE FRANCISCAN IN BARDEZ: In 1759 and 1761, the King issued instructions that favoured the appointment of the local secular clergy in the Parishes of Bardez. The Archbishop, Dom Antonio Texeira de Neiva Brum da Silveira immediately invited the applications from the local clergy and handed over nineteen Parishes in Bardez to them on the basis of the Instructions that he had received from the King on 23rd April 1766.¹

The matter was still not resolved because the Governor and the *Meza* had not agreed to the decision of the Royal Court. In a letter of 13th December 1768, the Secretary of State argued that the authorities in Goa did not have the absolute powers to take decisions on such matters. The Minister Provincial of the

Observants took advantage of the delay and decided to reform the Order by taking action against those religious who had violated the sacred environment of the Frairy. The *Camara Geral de Bardez* was also against the Royal decision. In a letter of 7th February 1768, the *Camara* complained to the King that the decision was taken without consulting the local people. The relations of the frairs in the Frairies were not cordial. Frei Nicolao de Santa Rita, Guardian of the Frairy of St. Francis referred to an open fight inside the Frairy.²

In his letter of 2nd April 1767, the Secretary of State instructed the Provincial and Guardian to restore law and order in the Bardez but the latter entrusted this task to the Governor because it was beyond his reach. Since the condition did not improve, the Chief Judge was consulted. In a letter of 31st March 1767, the Governor blamed the Provincial for protecting his frairs. On 5th July 1767, the *Ouvidor Geral do Crime* reported that there were contradictory reports on the incident that took place in the Frairy on account of which the decisions had to be delayed. The frairs requested the Governor to inquire into the problem that involved Frei Caetano de Santa Maria who had helped some frairs to revolt. It was reported that Frei Caetano had called the frairs to his cell, asked them to write against the Provincial and instigated them to go against him. Frei Caetano was caught and punished by the Guardian who then sent him to the Provincial. The latter imprisoned him in the Novitiate where

he was not allowed to communicate with anybody. A frair tried to confess him by giving him cuts on his body. The other frairs who had supported him were also whipped. Frei Caetano complained about this to the Governor. The Provincial was discredited and forced to leave the Frairy. The Archbishop took advantage of his absence and removed the frairs. In his letter of 22nd January 1768, he wrote to the King that he had handed over some Rectories in Bardez to the seculars.³

In the absence of the Provincial, the Guardian had to take the decisions. In a letter of 22nd March 1769, the King and the authorities in Portugal instructed their subordinates in Goa that they should not allow the accused frairs to escape as it would become more difficult to handle the matter. The Secretary of State organized a Chapter to decide about Frei José de Sao Thomas, the Guardian of the Frairy of St. Francis who had insulted the Visitor General. The Visitor General warned the Provincial to avoid such incidents in future. The Secretary of State and the *Sargent Mor* stayed in the Frairy and attended the *matinas* at the Chapter. After Christmas, it was decided to imprison the Guardian in the Madre de Deus Frairy. At the following Chapter, the Judge was invited to deal with the following frairs:

- Frei Lucas de São Diego and Frei Manoel do Eusebio, the parish priests of Pomburpa who were accused of dishonesty, inefficiency and pride.

- Frei Nicolao and Frei Caetano de Jesus Maria who were accused of creating factions among the frairs.
- Frei Antonio de Padua and Frei Manoel do Rosario who were accused of revolting against their Superiors.
- Frei Jose de Santo Thomaz, Guardian of the Frairy of St. Francis who was blamed of bad conduct.
- Frei Mathias de Santa Rita and Frei Luis de Madre de Deus *mestiços* who were accused for being ignorant and insolent.

The decisions were signed by the Governor and sent to the King who was requested to issue a Royal Order. The four frairs Frei Lucas, Frei Manoel, Frei Caetano and Frei Jose were imprisoned. The Provincial was allowed neither to vote nor to preside over the Chapter.⁴

The Archbishop implemented the Expulsion Decree on the basis of Bull of Benedict XVI entitled *Quamvis ad Confirmadum* which authorised him to place the secular clergy in charge of the Parishes, provided they considered themselves to be the vassals of the King. The people of Bardez and the authorities were unhappy because of the frairs still exercised an indirect hold over the Parishes of Serula, Siolim, Colvalle, Verussa, Nagoa, Parra, Olaulim, Pilerne, Guirim, Cannaca, Tivim, Anjuna, Nerul and Sangolda. The frairs had reacted to the Expulsion Decree and submitted an *Apologia* to the Court in 1767, in which they cited their early efforts in the mission and the good reputation that

they enjoyed because of their discipline and peaceful approach. They also requested the authorities to give them some time to take their assets and to hand over the Parishes to the secular clergy.⁵

The Pombaline reforms favoured the local Christians. The secular clergy availed of this freedom to express their bitter inner feelings against the frairs. The *gaoncars* of Bardez argued that the privileges that were ensured to them by the *Regimento da Camara de Bardez* were denied to them since the last seventeen years. The Viceroy and the Archbishop wanted the secular clergy because they were not bound to any authority. Since most of the local inhabitants supported the seculars, the authorities felt that they had to appease them because their power and security was based on the support of the people. Hence, the King was forced to pass the Royal Order by which the frairs were removed from the Parishes in Bardez. On 23rd April 1766, the King instructed the Secretary of State to implement the *Alvara* of 26th March 1759 and the Instructions of 2nd April 1761. On 10th December 1766, an *Edital* was issued by which the nineteen Parish Churches were transferred to the secular clergy. On 20th December 1766, the Governor furnished an account of the income and expenditure of the *Comunidades de Bardez*. In this, it was evident that the *Comunidades* had given life to the Parishes by building the Churches and sustaining nearly thirty frairs who lived there. The first eleven August Monarchs of

Portugal had endowed some of the Churches in Bardez with their Royal piety and these Parish Churches were *pleno jure* indebted to the King. The local people were unhappy with the frairs but they could not appeal against them to the State or to the Superiors directly because all of them defended their *Padroado* priviledges. Hence, they decided to take recourse to clandestine means and blamed the frairs of scandals, ignorance of the local language, laxity, corruption and disobedience. The representatives of local people argued that since many of the Parish Churches were built and maintained by the *Comunidades*, they should be handed over to the local clergy. The latter were best suited for this mission because they had the ability to serve the parishioners, they obeyed the authorities in Rome, Portugal and Goa, they were decent and well behaved, they had little power over the local authorities, they were not dependent on the State, they sustained on the alms of the local people and their Churches would be maintained by the *Comunidades*.⁶ The local people were confident that the secular clergy could look after their own religious needs without any assistance from the religious. Moreover, the local clergy were organized and empowered to handle the Parishes in Bardez.

THE COUNTER REACTIONS BY THE FRAIRS: The frairs refused to vacate the Parishes that they had founded and maintained for over two centuries. They were not ready to abandon the revenue

yielding Province of Bardez where the people had the capacity to sustain the religious even when the King had ignored his responsibilities. When the Expulsion Decree was implemented in Goa, the frairs sent an Exponent that included the following claims:

- The frairs had instructed the people of Bardez in the Christian doctrine and baptized them at the General Baptisms at the cost of the Royal Treasury. They spent nearly sixty *pardaos* on them.
- The frairs worked in Bardez and in eleven missions in the South where they had replaced the Jesuits.
- The Observants worked in Bardez for more than two centuries.
- The frairs worked for the spiritual well being of the local people and for the political security of the *Estado*. They had served as Chaplains on the ships, administered the sacraments to the garrisons, accompanied them on dangerous military expeditions, protected the soldiers and ammunition in their Frairies and motivated the soldiers to work for the safety of the *Estado*. Frei Pedro da Encarnação was imprisoned, chained and made to work in the fitters by the Marathas, Frei Manoel do Rosario was sent against the enemies, Frei Manoel de São Diego was sent by Conde de Sandomil against the Bonsulo. He was imprisoned but escaped with nine cuts on his body. Frei Manoel de São

Domingos, Rector of Tivim were imprisoned by the Marathas. The enemies were aware that the frairs were the soldiers of the Portuguese and that they stored the weapons there. On one instance, an enemy left a burning boat on the River. The boat sailed close to the Royal warehouse and was a threat to the Frairy. Apart from this, the frairs served as confessors and advisers to the Viceroy. Frei Manoel de Encarnação died in the expedition in Pernem. Frei Francisco de Santa Roza was a Chaplain on the warship of Jose Placido de Matos in the same expedition. The frairs also helped the Portuguese in the expedition against Danda Rajapuri who attacked Goa. The proceeds of their Churches were handed over to the authorities to help them to avert such dangers.

- The frairs still maintained five parishes in Bardez and the Order had forty Definitors, four Lectors in Theology, one Guardian in the Frairy of St. Francis and four Preachers.
- The frairs lived an exemplary life and promoted the peace and unity among the parishioners. They also trained them to be prompt and intelligent so that they could serve the Republic.
- The Archdiocese was a product of the sweat and hard work of the frairs. Some Parish were entrusted to them by the *Padroado*.

- The Parish Churches that were administered by the local clergy were not peaceful because their administrators were inefficient and inexperienced unlike the frairs who were highly qualified. Many frairs had occupied high positions in the Holy Office. They were officially examined and nominated there as per the Royal Instructions and Papal directions. The frairs also worked in the distant Parishes. In Goa, fifteen parish priests knew the local language and the Order had forty one frairs who knew the language and who could be sent to Bardez.
- The frairs had the capacity to support the co-frairs, to give alms to support the poor and to the converts. In Goa, they spent nearly three hundred *pardaos* or ninety thousand *reis* on the faith. This was procured by the Royal Treasury or from their benefactors.
- There was no evidence that the frairs rested in their Frairies and Hospices because the King had hailed their efforts and honoured them with great benefits for nearly two and a half centuries.
- The frairs commanded great respect as parish priests. Pope Gregory XI had authorised them to occupy the office of parish priests by the Bull *Inscrutabili Dei Providentia*.⁷

In the Exponent, the frairs clearly stated that they owed allegiance to the Pope, King and other authorities in Portugal and

Goa. They had rendered religious and military help for the security of the mission and that of the *Estado*. The faith formation of the converts was strong and the frairs were sure that the latter were strong supporters of the Christian religion. The Exponent proved that it was very difficult for the Portuguese to replace the frairs because they had a long record of success. But, the authorities could not disappoint the *Camara de Bardez* because it ensured their existence in Goa. Hence, the King was forced to implement the Decree of 23rd April 1766.

The local people of some of the important villages in Bardez wanted to expel the frairs. These villages were inhabited by the brahmins whose relatives had been trained as clerics. Many of these clerics aspired to join the Religious Orders. The villagers had accepted the Portuguese education and were aware of their traditional socio-economic and cultural privileges that had been appropriated by the frairs. In an appeal dated 4th December 1766, the *Junta da Camara Geral* requested the King to remove the Observant parish priests from all the twenty four Parishes in Bardez and to place them under the secular clergy who were familiar with the customs and language of the land. This was signed by many *gauncars* of the village. On 3rd December 1766, the *gauncars* submitted their complaints to the Archbishop who in turn directed these complaints to the King. The complaints were verified by the Secretary of State on 10th November 1769. He stated that, the *gauncars* constituted the village and if the

villagers were unhappy, they would go against the frairs. In the meanwhile, the King tried his best to extract information about the clerics and the extent to which they could serve the church in the *Estado*.⁸

The Archbishop and King decided to substitute the frairs with the local clergy as a desperate move to save the last vestiges of the *Estado* from a popular revolt.

THE REMOVAL OF THE FRAIRS FROM BARDEZ AND THEIR REACTION: The Substitution Decree was passed in April 1766, but the actual hand over was delayed because the authorities decided to implement a time bound programme of action and to hand over one Parish at a time to the secular clergy. In a letter of 19th January 1767, the Provincial wrote to the Board of Governors that apart from the Parish Churches of Soccoro and Moira, the others were still under the frairs. The Provincial had to obey the Decree and implement it. In a letter of 24th January 1768, he stated that only six religious worked as parish priests in Bardez. This implied that most of the Parishes were already under the local clergy. The native clergy found it impossible to maintain the grandiosity of the Churches and services because they did not have a regular source of income. Moreover, the authorities reduced the amount that was allotted by the State Treasury for the mission to half. The members of the *Camara* were bent upon ousting the latter because they wanted to regain

their control over the socio-economic aspects of their land. The Recollects did not have this problem because they did not try to acquire landed property and did not interfere in the customs of the people. However, the King tried to inquire into their mission. This is evident from a letter of 27th January 1767, in which Frei João de Santa Catharina, Provincial of the Madre de Deus Province wrote to the Board of Governors that the King had requested him to send a report about the mission in Goa.

The frairs were disappointed by the Substitution Decree and tried to give vent to their anger by getting involved in intrigues and conflicts. The Secretary of State, King, Minister Provincial and the *Mesa da Consciencia* did not want to get involved in an internal conflict. The *Mesa* and the Secretary requested the King to inquire into the matter because it was a political matter that involved him. The Tribunal clearly stated that the King was responsible for the Parishes in Bardez because he was the head of the *Padroado* missions. Finally, the King had bowed down to these pressures and favoured the secular clergy. This decision was communicated to the Overseas Council. On 7th April 1769, the decision was forwarded to the Minister Provincial. The King took this decision because he realized that villagers were happy with the meritorious service that was rendered by the clerics to preserve the peace in the *Estado*. The King also found that the clerics were prudent, well examined and obedient to the Royal authorities. The Minister Provincial of the Order was

forced to admit that the latter could improve the deplorable state of the Christian herds who suffered because of the laxity of the mercenaries who constituted the Order. In the late eighteenth century, the frairs who worked as parish priests were generally novices who were ordained and sent from Portugal to look after the mission. These novices found it difficult to adjust to a new land without proper formation and experience. On the contrary, the local clergy were older and more experienced to handle the high administrative posts. The seculars were determined to overthrow the frairs and coordinated with the *Camara* to do so. In fact, the local clergy succeeded in their appeal mainly because of the support that they got from the *Camara Geral de Bardez*. In a Representation of 30th January 1770, it was evident that the *Camara Geral* was also supported by the *Procuradors*. Pope Pio V had issued the *Exponi Nobis* by which he intended to replace the religious parish priests in Bardez by the secular clergy because they were larger in number and were more suited to occupy the Church Offices. Pope Benedict XIV in the *Quamvis ad Confirmandum* had also stated that the Parishes should not be entrusted to the frairs because they were ignorant of the local language. The authorities were happy with the expulsion of the frairs from nineteen Parishes in Bardez because they knew that the frairs who lived there brought dishonor to the Order and to the State by living a luxurious and material life. They even auctioned the posts for money at Chapters and Congregation and

formed factions to overthrow the qualified candidates who were elected. Hence, neither the secular nor the religious authorities supported the frairs.⁹

The Substitution Decree reached Goa in the monsoon of 1766. The Archbishop was instructed to entrust the Parishes in Bardez to the secular clergy *in perpetum*. The frairs opposed this and argued that the five Parishes that were donated to them by individuals should remain under them because it was their duty to fulfil the responsibilities that were entrusted to them by their benefactors. The Substitution Decree had deprived them of their parochial obligations in the Parish Churches but it had not invalidated or cancelled their right of being the perpetual caretakers of the Churches that were handed over to them. Moreover, the King could assert his rights over the *Padroado* Parishes and not over their private Parishes as the latter belonged to the Order.

The benefactors of these Parishes had left an inheritance for frairs on which they could subsist without being dependent on the Royal grants. The frairs ignored the *Comunidade of Bardez*, *Procuradores* of the *Camara* and the Archbishop and appealed directly to the King because they were responsible to him. They argued that their presence in the five Parishes was important for the security of the Christian religion and of the Portuguese in Goa. In January 1770, some parishioners of the Parishes that were located on the borders of Goa stated that they

were afraid of the local invaders and the non-converts who lived in the fringes of their land. They did not feel safe under the secular clergy who had little or no genuine support from the State. They clearly stated that the allegations of the *Camara* were fabricated. On the contrary, many *gaoncars* praised the frairs for being capable and efficient in handling the spiritual duties that were entrusted to them in Goa, Canara and in the North where they fought against the wrath of the infidels to promote the glory of God and for the security of the *Estado*. The converts believed that they would never be safe without the support of the King and this Royal support could be procured only by the frairs because they were very close to him. The scandals on the pretext—of which the frairs were removed were also found in the five Parishes of the Dominicans and in the other two that were administered by the Augustinians in the Islands of Goa.

The authorities in Portugal replaced the frairs because of security reasons. In 1771, Peshwa Madhav Rao had founded his capital at Poona. He was at a war with Haider Ali, the ruler of Mysore. Though the Portuguese remained neutral, the Marathas wanted a passage through Goa. The Portuguese overtly refused such help but some frairs like Br. Leandro da Madre de Deus, an expert in medicine went to assist the Peshwa at Poona who was seriously ill. The finances of the Portuguese were badly struck because of the war and the local people now felt that they were capable of being autonomous because they raised money and

sustained the Parishes in Bardez. They condemned the frairs for misusing the funds of the *Comunidade*. At this time, nearly one hundred and twenty two frairs lived in the *Estado*. The frairs in Goa accepted the Expulsion Decree and left the nineteen Parishes in Bardez. However, the King could not take a decision about the five Parishes as they were beyond his jurisdiction. In a report of 29th January 1770, the Provincial of the São Thomé Province, Frei Faustian de Santa Anna wrote to the Governor that the frairs still administered five Parishes in Bardez because the King had agreed that they were bestowed on them by the founders. They also occupied a few other Houses. In a letter of 18th January 1772, the Provincial informed the Governor that they were allowed to remain in the two Hospices of Nossa Senhora dos Desemparados, Monte de Guirim and of Nossa Senhora da Saude, Valverde, where they conducted the divine services using the alms that were left behind by those who had established them. The College of Reis Magos got funds from the Royal grant that was made by Infant Dom Henrique. In another letter of 5th February 1772, the Governor stated that the frairs were allowed to remain in the Frairy of St. Francis, Old Goa and in the College of São Boaventura. In that year, there were one hundred and six frairs in different parts of the *Estado*, of which forty frairs served in the Frairies, ten worked at the College of São Boaventura and one looked after the Hospice at Monte de Guirim.¹⁰

The authorities were not happy with this decision because they wanted the frairs to be deprived of the parochial rights over the five Parishes that were donated to them. This was evident from a letter of 18th February 1772, in which the Governor wrote to the Secretary of State, Martinho de Melo e Castro that the *Camara de Bardez* wanted all the Parish Churches to be handed over to the secular clergy in perpetuity. However, the frairs clung to their privileges and produced all the documents that legally confirmed their right to possess the five Parish Churches. The Archbishop was disappointed. He stated that the institution called the Church was not created in Asia to accommodate the frairs but to house better pastors who zealously looked after their herds and taught them the true doctrine. The *Camara Geral* stated that the frairs were ignorant of the local language. But, the frairs stated that they had studied the language, worked as Syndic Masters and even had introduced a Chair in the Konkani language.¹¹ In this manner, the frairs defended their claim over the Goa mission. Some parishioners complained against an assistant parish priest who forcibly collected the gifts from the parents of the local brides. He also demanded piglings and chickens as Easter blessings. The *Camara Geral da Provincia de Bardez* accused the frairs of innumerable *insolencias*. But, the frairs continued to occupy these Parishes by virtue of their right till 1835.¹²

THE REACTION OF THE *COMMUNIDADES* TO THE EXPULSION OF THE FRAIRS: The local people were happy that the frairs were expelled from the nineteen Parishes in Bardez. However, within a short time the *Comunidades* of many villages coordinated with the *Procurador Geral* of the São Thomé Province and requested the King to restore their Parishes to the frairs. In February 1767, the *gauncars* of Sangolda appealed in favour of the frairs because they found that the local clergy were timid, weak and irrational. By, 1768, the *gauncars* of fourteen other villages followed suit. The *Procurador Geral* praised the frairs for spearheading the mission in Bardez for nearly two and a half centuries. The *gauncars* of Mapusa also spoke against the decisions of the *Camara* as being a *dilivio de huns homens*.¹³

The parishioners of Bardez realized that a close alliance between the Cross and the Crown was also an alliance between the Portuguese secular and religious arm. The secular clergy were not in a position to coordinate with the Portuguese and the local converts felt threatened by the impending invasions. Though the Governor put up a spirited defense in favour of the frairs, he was more interested in maintaining discipline, law and order in the Province of Bardez and supported the secularization of the Parishes there. The Archbishop also supported the native clergy for a similar reason. The frairs who revolted against the Superiors were arrested and imprisoned. A new Provincial was nominated and the Order in Bardez was placed under the

Archbishop. Some frairs were tried by the *Mesa da Consciencia* and exiled to Portugal. The latter was cautious not to spare even the timid and diligent frairs as they were beyond their control. The Archbishop prepared a detailed report of the complaints that were leveled against the frairs. By the next year, some of those who were the prime accused had escaped fled from the *Estado*. The King instructed the authorities in Goa to capture them and send them to Lisbon. The others were sent to the Archbishop who was the sole authority to confer the punishments. Towards the end of 1772, the Secretary of State, F. X. Mendonça instructed him to issue an Order by which the frairs had to relinquish all their Parishes in Bardez to the secular clergy. As such, there was no clear instruction about the five Parishes. Only a hundred and six religious were allowed to remain in Goa.¹⁴ ———

The authorities decided to leave the five Parishes in the hands of the religious for several reasons. Oxel, Reis Magos, Pomburpa, Penha de Franca and Sinqerim were strategic villages. Most of them had military outposts or were close to the place where the garrisons were stationed. Reis Magos had a fort. Moreover, the frairs had proceeds and properties in all the five villages. Hence, they claimed that the five Churches in Bardez belonged to the Order and not to the *Padroado*. These Parishes were not as stabilized as compared the other nineteen where the Portuguese could depend on the converts for the security of the land.

THE FRANCISCANS IN THE PARISHES OF OXEL, LINHARES, REIS MAGOS, PENHA DE FRANCA AND POMBURPA: The shameless and open accusations and counter accusations between the frairs, native clergy and the Portuguese authorities defamed the religious. However, they desperately clung to five Parishes that they referred to as *Casas, Conventuais, pertencentes, legados, donativos* etc. Between 1766 to 1772, Goan secular priests were appointed and all the Parishes in Bardez except seven Churches, Hospices and Chapels were handed over to the seculars. The secular clergy were unable to maintain the Parish Churches without the help of the State. In a report of 24th January 1768, the Provincial stated that all the Parish Churches were not equally grandiose and ornate but the priests did conduct the divine services there. The frairs refused to surrender the Churches and Houses that were bequeathed to them by the founders and claimed that the land and the Residencies belonged to the Order. The people of Bardez were happy with the decision to remove the Franciscans from the Parishes and now decided to get rid of the white regulars from Bardez. In 1770, they appealed in favour of the appointment of well qualified native clergy in all the Parishes in Bardez. They wanted the authorities to establish a Seminary in Bardez to train the latter. The King supported this move and declared that the five *legados* should not continue to remain under the religious.¹⁵

In 1770, the Captain General gave an account of the foundation and assets of the College of Reis Magos, College of Penha de Franca, College of Madre de Deus, Pomburpa, Hospice of São Lourenço and the Church in Oxel. The frairs defended their claims over these Houses with the testimonies by which they proved that the Houses were not dependent on the Royal *Padroado* because they had bequests and donations that could be used to sustain the frairs who lived there. The frairs made it clear that the Houses were not given a parochial status at the time of foundation as that they were bequeathed to them. However, the King argued that the Houses could not belong to the Order because the frairs took a vow of extreme poverty and followed the *Regula* by which they could not own property. Moreover, till the Council of Trent, the Popes had prohibited the ownership of wealth by the religious. The Council of Trent permitted the Mendicants Orders to possess Monasteries and Houses but it was against the inheritance of moveable properties, *legados*, *donatos* and *cesaes*. The frairs could neither receive a permanent tribute nor a fixed amount of money per anum for their sustenance because the Rule stated that they should live on alms that had to be collected and spent everyday for the wellbeing of the faithful. Pope Clemente V had prohibited the acquisition and possession of proceeds and the extension of the Churches, Chapels and Convents. The frairs were not allowed to acquire land or money directly from the benefactors. They had to

be first approved by a *Sindico*. The frairs were entitled to voluntary, manual alms and not to inheritances that the donors testified in writing as terms like donations and testimonies were opposed to the Rules of the Institute that were approved by the Apostolic See and passed by the Council of Viennese and Tridentino. Their claims over the five Parishes were further invalidated because the donors had specified that these Churches were intended to be Private Churches that were formerly called *Reitorias* or *Ermidas*. However, they were later converted into Parish Churches to serve the converts of that area. This was done because the concept of Private Church or Churches that were primarily intended for the donors was intrinsically opposed to the Canonical Decrees. Moreover, though such Churches were not entitled to certain benefits like the *ordinarios*, the five Churches enjoyed such benefits. As such, these Churches were opposed to the norms of *Padroado* and to the *Instituto* of the frairs. Hence, the authorities insisted that the Parishes should be handed over to the secular clergy. But, the frairs further argued that they had promised the benefactors to fulfil certain obligations in perpetuity. Fr. Pedro Manoel Godinho, for instance, gave a lot of money to the frairs in Oxel as a stipend for the masses that were to be said in perpetuity for his intention. Similarly, the Cardinal King, Dom Henrique allotted a plot to the Church of Reis Magos. Luiza da Madre de Deus wanted the proceeds of her *palmar* to be used for the *fabrica* and

for the collegians respectively. Donna Anna de Azavedo instructed her Confessor, Frei Afonso do Nascimento to give her money to the *Confraria* of Nossa Senhora de Penha da França and to build a Church. The founder of São Lourenço de Linhares gave the *Ermida* to the frairs because felt that they needed some time for privacy and meditation. From this, it was clear that the five Parishes had inherited rich patrimonies. However, the authorities felt that the frairs were only the administrators of the same and that there was no way by which the Order could claim an ownership over these Parishes.¹⁶

The Provincial stated that the frairs who lived there were self sufficient because they were entitled to the *bens*. These inheritances yielded a lot of money to the frairs. In a letter of 29th December 1779, the Provincial of the São Thomé Province reported to the Governor that the College of Reis Magos was inhabited by two religious who received a *subsido* of *eight xs* from the *Camara Geral* of Bardez. The House was entitled to five hundred *xs* from the mass stipends and the proceeds of a *varzeas* that the King had given to the Chapel of Santissimo Sacramento. The foundress of the Hospice of Nossa Senhor Penha da França had left an inheritance that yielded four hundred and forty four *xs*. This was sufficient to sustain the two frairs who lived there. The Church of Madre de Deus, Pomburpa received a *rendimento* of two hundred and fifty *xs* and had *varzeas* that yielded three hundred *xs*. The Hospice of Nossa

Senhora de Saude had two religious who lived on an annual *rendimento* of one thousand, three hundred xs in the form of mass stipends for the masses to be said in memory of Balthesar de Sa. All these grants were confirmed by the *Junta da Fazenda*. It must be noted that the King had hitherto recognized the frairs, as the Rectors of these Parish Churches through the Royal Letters and *Inventarios* but, now disowned them.¹⁷

The Archbishop who was *de facto* head of the missions was a Reformist. He instructed the Governor to oust the frairs because they did not follow their Rule. In 20th January 1772, the Archbishop received Royal Instructions that authorized him to hand over these Parishes to the local clergy. But, the latter was forced to suspend the implementation of the Instructions because the frairs had appealed against them to Lisbon because they observed that they did not refer to the five Private Churches.¹⁸

In 1775, the new Archbishop, Dom Francisco de Assumpção e Brito, a protegee of Pombal, came to Goa. On 11th February 1775, he implemented the legislations by which the frairs were to be removed from all the Parish Churches. On 2nd June, a decree was passed to that effect. By 5th August 1775, the frairs were aware that they could not remain there any longer. In his letter of 23rd September, the Governor instructed the Provincial to hand over the Parish Churches of Oxel, Linhares and Reis Magos to the seculars within three days. There was a reference to an old book that recorded the Decrees pertaining to

the Church of Reis Magos. In 1776, a secular priest was appointed at Reis Magos, Pomburpa, São Lourenço and Oxel respectively. These priests were confirmed in 1779. The frairs were allowed to retain two Hospices namely the Hospice of Desemparados, Monte de Guirim and that of Nossa Senhora da Saude, Valverde. In 1797, two frairs and one Tertiary lived there. According to a report of 25th November 1804, the Hospice in Valverde was inhabited by one frair. Since it was donated by a rich, noble woman, the Bulls, Briefs, *Rescriptos*, Royal Instructions, *Alvaras*, Resolutions and Provisions could not replace them and the founder the frairs continued to remain there till 1835. They celebrated more than a hundred masses per year for the soul of their founder and served the wounded and sick frairs who worked in the City of Goa.¹⁹

By 1776, the frairs lost all their Parish Churches but continued to occupy two Hospices, one Frairy and a College till 1835. The Portuguese took this drastic step because they were threatened by a hydra of nativism that engulfed Goa. This was manifested in the form of sporadic revolts that took place in different parts of Goa in the post Pombaline Era. The Portuguese were not in a position to control this.

THE THIRD ORDER IN MONTE DE GUIRIM: The Oratory that was located on the hill Monte de Guirim of was surrounded by rich agricultural land. The Mendicants who lived there were

dependent on alms that they collected from the surrounding areas. Monte de Guirim was almost equidistant to the Parishes that the frairs had founded there. The *Pai dos Christãos* of Bardez also had his residence there.

When the Substitution Decree was implemented, the frairs refused to surrender their House at Monte de Guirim because it was an Infirmary and Hospice. In 1770, the Commissary of the Third Order performed the divine services there. In 1779, one Tertiary and some priests lived there. The Archbishop, Dom Antonio Neiva Brum had warned the frairs that they would not be allowed to administer the properties of the Hospices, as it was incompatible to the Rule. The frairs in Valverde obeyed him and surrendered their properties and endowments to an Apostolic *Sindico*. Similarly, the frairs at Monte de Guirim handed over their assets to the lay members of the Order called Tertiaries. Between 1780 to 1812, eleven Commissaries of the Third Order lived there. In 1812, this post was nullified at a meeting of the Definitional. In a report of 1804, it was stated that no religious lived there. The roofs and walls of the Hospice were about to collapse and it was inhabited by one oblate *donato* who lit the lamp in the Chapel.²⁰

IN THE MISSION FIELD: After the Substitution Decree was passed, the frairs were forced to leave the Parish Churches in the Province of Bardez. Except in Valverde where one frair lived till

1804, all the other Parish Churches were handed over to the secular clergy. Their Franciscan mission in Goa was predominantly controlled by the Recollects who had their Houses at strategic points like Cabo and Daugim. From here, they kept a watch over the enemies of the Portuguese. In 1799, the British had occupied the forts of Agoada, Cabo and Marmagoa to help the Portuguese against the French who had entered the Indian waters. The British lived in Cabo for a long time for there was a reference to their cemetery there.

There was a lot of tension in Goa because the Substitution Decree was not clear about the Provincial and his duties. Frei Mathias de Santa Rita was not allowed to complete his term and the Province of São Thomé was entrusted to two Provincial Vicars. Though they attended the meeting of the *Definitorium* on 27th December 1769, the proceedings were not regarded as valid and the authorities instructed the frairs to destroy the reports. The Vicars resigned voluntarily and Frei Luiz da Encarnação took over as the Vicar Provincial. Frei Mathias was dismissed mainly because he had raised his voice against the Decree. The Provincials exercised some power till 1787 after which, the *Padroado* missionaries were placed under the *Nuntius* in Lisbon who was responsible to the *Nunciature* in Rome. In Goa, his powers were sub-delegated to the Archbishop. The Religious Superiors did not want to be placed under Rome and there were misunderstandings and doubts about the Decree. The Portuguese

frairs refuted the Decree because they did not bear the *Placet Reguim*.²¹

The Franciscans administered several Houses in Goa and outside. The House of Catechumens, Betim, was administered by one frair and three seculars. In a letter of 1788, the Archbishop requested the frairs to take over the mission in Raichur. The frairs had a high standing in the religious hierarchy. On 13th February 1812, Frei Manoel de São Galdino occupied the See as the twenty third Archbishop of Goa. He tried to improve the spiritual formation of the secular clergy by sending them on retreats and by inviting the European religious as members of the Faculty in the Seminaries. In the Seminaries, the secular clergy were trained to handle the Parishes and to fulfill their duties as parish priests. Since they were untrained in this duties, the religious responsibilities like preaching and confessions on Easter and on Christmas day were temporarily handed over to the priests who were brought from outside. The frairs had left a vast mission field for the secular clergy. The statistics of 1810 stated that there were eighty two thousand and seventy one Christians in Bardez. These included a few *gentios* and *mouros*. In 1817, there were seventy thousand and fifty three Christians there.²²

THE MADRE DE DEUS PROVINCE - THE RECOLLECTS AT PILAR, DAUGIM, RACHOL AND CABO: The Observants were

actively involved in the mission as parish priests, Rectors, Bishops, Archbishops, Synodic Examiners, State Representatives etc. The Recollects lived a comparatively cloistered life. Their Houses were located far away from the villages and they were not directly involved with conversion, evangelization and other religious duties.

The Madre de Deus Province in Goa consisted of four Houses, which the frairs occupied till 1835. This was clear from the statistics of 1770, 1779, 1784, 1800, 1804 and 1810. Some of the frairs like Frei Manoel de Santa Rita and Frei Jerome de Jesus Maria Jose were well versed in the local language. The Houses at Daugim and Pilar served as Supply Frairies where the frairs were trained and sent into the mission field. In a report of 7th January 1820, Frei Joaquim de Santa Rita, Provincial of Madre de Deus stated that his frairs worked in the missions in Goa, Chaul, Daman, Diu, Macau and Mylapore. In another report of 27th February 1833, Frei Joaquim de Santa Rita, Provincial reported that the Recollects worked in Daman. Though they lived an overtly cloistered life in their Houses, there were accusations that they were materialistic in their Frairies. In 1799, the Provincial was compared to a merchant because he filled his cell with rich and wonderful stuff. The cloister was periodically disturbed with the tumult of the local people who bought paddy from there. It must be noted that the Houses of

the Recollection had several properties. The frairs sold the yields of these properties for their sustenance.²³

The *Padroado* authorities controlled the Recollects and requested them to send periodic reports about their mission in Goa. However, the frairs rarely complied with their request. In a letter of 27th January 1767, the Provincial, Frei João de Santa Catharina wrote to the Archbishop that he could not do so as it was difficult to communicate with them. On 30th December 1779, the Provincial, Frei Francisco da Encarnação sent a list of the Houses and Frairies in his Province. The Madre de Deus Frairy, Daugim received an annual income in the form of mass stipends, *congruas* and the alms of the faithful. The Portuguese authorities and the Archbishop wanted to check on the proceeds of the Frairy although it was not totally dependent on the *Estado*. The House at Daugim had twenty two professed frairs and nine Tertiaries. Cabo was inhabited by forty religious and one lay man who were paid a Royal stipend of sixty *xs* per annum. It also had a *Sindico* that looked after two Chapels. Pilar had a family of five frairs and a *Sindico* that administered one Chapel and a *Morgado de Dandim* that was given to them by Dom Christovão de Mello Souza. The Hospice of Nossa Senhora dos Anjos had a family of four religious and one convert. It had a *Sindico* that looked after two Chapels and two funds of two thousand *xs* that were kept aside to celebrate the feasts of Nossa Senhora do Rosario and *Porcuincula*. The Madre de Deus Frairy, Daugim

received nine hundred and ninety *xs* and one *tanga* and Cabo received sixty *xs* from the Royal Treasury. The other two Houses that were located in Ilhas and Salcete respectively were dependent on the Order, as they were located in the areas that were beyond the territorial jurisdiction of the frairs. It was interesting to note that the House at Rachol was dependent on the properties that were donated to the frairs by the military personnel while Cabo received most of its income from the sailors who embarked there. Since they were in the *Padroado* lands, the King was interested in their mission. In a letter of 23rd January 1789, Frei Jeronymo do Jesus Maria, Provincial sent an account of the Recollects in the Province. The receipts came in the form of pensions, yields, alms, donations, mass stipends, grants, burial fees etc., while the expenses were incurred on eatables, for the treatment of the sick, the habits of the frairs, bells, maintenance costs etc. In 1817, the House at Cabo incurred an expenditure of one hundred and seventy two *xs*, two *tangas* and twenty *reis*. In January 1766, the Convent of Madre de Deus incurred an expenditure of eight thousand and two *xs*, one *tanga* and twenty eight *reis*. In 1767, it increased to eleven thousand, nine hundred and ninety one *xs*, four *tangas* and twenty six *reis*. This indicated that the income and expenses of the Houses of Recollection were not uniform. The income increased during the feast days. A important source of income for the Frairy were the alms that were procured from the *Irmãs Confrades* of the

dormitories of Madre de Deus, Santo Augustino, San Salvador, Santa Ana, Purificação, *Officiana do Coro* and the *Casas do Senhora de Monte*, Nossa Senhor de Mar and São Creio. Those in the dormitories contributed one hundred and eight *xs* and three *tangas*. In 1766, the receipts were two hundred and thirty seven *xs* and three *tangas* and the expenditure on one feast was one hundred and fifty five *xs* and fifty one *reis*. In 1779, the frairs who lived there received two hundred and forty six *xs* and eighteen *reis* and spent three hundred and twenty nine *xs*, three *tangas* and forty five *reis*. In January 1804, they received mass stipends for fifteen masses.

The Portuguese authorities tried to control the Recollects in Goa. On 22nd August 1800, the Regent, Dom João issued a Decree by which he instructed the Governor, Dom Francisco Antonio da Veiga Cabral to send the details related to the Order. The Provincial submitted a report that was based on a chronicle in which he stated that the Recollect Order was founded in Goa by an Archbishop with the permission of King, Dom João III. The Recollects argued that they were independent of the *Authoridade da Sé Apostolica* and owed allegiance to the King of Portugal. They did not possess properties and depended on alms or on mass stipends. They lived a cloistered life and devoted their time to prayers, hymns, *matinas*, *lauds*, and Conventuals masses and to mental prayers. They worked in the remote missions without and *ordinarios* from the Royal Treasury. They also helped the

parish priests to administer the sacraments, served as Chaplains on the ships and helped in the regiments. In 1622, the Papal Bull and Royal Decrees permitted them to raise a Province. Based on these, the Recollects claimed their legal ownership over their Houses and refused to surrender them till 1835.²⁴

THE COLLEGE OF SAO BOAVENTURA: The College was a Seminary and a Supply Frairy where the missionaries were trained and sent to the different Portuguese colonies. As such, the College catered to the Order and not to the converts.

The statistics of 1779, 1797 and 1804 indicated that the frairs, clerics, novices, lay brothers and Tertiaries lived there. The main expenses included the maintenance costs, sustenance of the frairs, provisions for the frairs, sickness allowances, food expenses etc. In 1779, the Chapels in the College had a total income of thirteen thousand, seven hundred *xs*. The frairs were allowed to possess the College long after the Substitution Decree because it was founded by Frei Miguel de São Boaventura and improved by Dom Afonso VI. The College was entitled to a Royal grant of one thousand *xs* per anum by an *Alvara* of 6th April 1617, mass stipends for the masses to be said in memory of the white soldiers of the legion of volunteers who were killed in Ponda and to alms. Hence, the College was more or less self sufficient and also had a Royal permission. However, by the second decade of the nineteenth century, the College no longer retained its

former glory. This was clear from a description of Cottineau who stated that the College of São Boaventura was big and had a large number of professed members who studied Philosophy and Divinity. But of late, the Master had been transferred to the lay Convents and the College was inhabited by two priests and a lay brother who maintained it. The frairs surrendered the College to the State in 1835.²⁵

THE FRAIRY OF ST. FRANCIS, GOA: The Frairy of St. Francis of Assisi was the Provincial House of the Observants and the epicenter of their mission works in the *Estado da India*. When the Substitution Decree of 1766 was implemented, the Observants refused to surrender it because it was confirmed by the Bulls of Clemente VIII, Gregory XV and Urban VIII and by the Royal Decree of Dom Manuel who had given the frairs the permission to found Convents and Colleges in Goa. The Frairy had less than twelve frairs who depended on alms that were collected without harming the interests of the religious who lived in the surrounding Houses. The Frairy was entitled to an *ordinario* that was confirmed by *Cum alius* of Gregory XV who had permitted them to build a Public Chapel where they could celebrate masses. The *Romanus Pontifex* had permitted them to appoint a Guardian in charge of the frairs. The statistics of 1770, 1779, 1804 and 1810 indicated that the frairs lived there. They depended on their own endowments and legacies. Being the Mother House, it

was given the task to administer the legacies of Penha da França and Reis Magos. The frairs remained in the Frairy till 1835. This was evident from a list of Parishes that was submitted by the Provincial. The College was also entitled to the alms from the faithful, funeral charges and mass stipends. However, their proceeds rarely exceeded thirteen thousand *xs*. The benefactors of the Frairy had left cash that yielded an interest of sixty nine thousand, nine hundred and seventy seven *xs* in *tangas*. From the financial statements, it was clear that the Frairy did not have a regular source of income nor *bens de Raiz*. The last Custodial Chapter was held on 17th January 1830 and the last meeting of the *Definitorio* was held on 21st March 1833. The travelers who visited Goa in the first half of the nineteenth century stated that the Frairy was neglected. Cottineau stated that the frairs were poor and went about begging as per the Rules of the Order.²⁶

THE REACTION OF THE *COMMUNIDADES DE BARDEZ* TO THE SUBSTITUTION DECREE: The *Comunidades de Bardez* had several complaints against the frairs. They had accused them of corruption, disobedience laxity, ignorance etc. Besides this, they accused them of exploiting the services of the secular clergy and of depriving them of the *congruas and ordinarios*. The *Camara* requested the authorities to substitute the frairs with the secular clergy. These complaints were summarized in a Representation. On 26th January 1766, the latter was forwarded

to the Archbishop who acted and requested the King to issue the Substitution Decree. The King issued the Decree and by 1767, the Parishes in Bardez were entrusted to the secular clergy.²⁷

Thereafter, the Franciscans accused the King of being anti-religious. They argued that the frairs had rendered great service in the missions as true pastors and proper soldiers. In his letter of 18th November 1769, the King justified his stand and stated that he was forced to act on the appeal that was forwarded to him by the *Camara*. This *Regimento* had proved that the local people were not happy with the frairs. Moreover, the Archbishop who had visited Bardez on four occasions in the last seventeen years was not happy with the Rectors who burdened the local people to build edifices. The Representation of the *Camara* was clandestine because the latter was aware the Parishes were *pleno jure* under the *Padroado*. From the appeals that were forwarded between 1755 to 1767, it can be concluded that the *gaoncars*, especially those of the important villages of Parra, Candolim, Aldona, Sangolda, Pomburpa and Serula had requested the authorities to remove the frairs. On 4th December 1767, the *Camara Geral* of Sangolda signed a petition against the frairs. It is interesting to note that the *Camara* that had hitherto sustained the frairs now went against them. On 10th January 1767, the King instructed the Provincial to give him a list of the twenty four Parishes and the year of their foundation. The King also tried to collect the testimonies from the leading officers of the *Estado* regarding the

seditions, disorders and encounters between the Portuguese and the local clergy, the money that the frairs collected from the *Comunidades*, the frairs who went from door to door collecting alms from the inhabitants of the City, Islands and Provinces in Goa and about the Frairy of St. Francis and the Colleges of São Boaventura which were dependent on the locals. The leading military officers like Manuel Raposo de Amaral, the *Sargent Mor* of the Infantry of Bardez, João Manuel da Silva Leitão, Sr. Clemente Freira da Silva, Colonel. Henrique Carlos Henriques, *Sr. Sargent Maior*, Joze Pacheco de Carvalho, *Sr. Dom Lopo Jose de Almeida*, *Dom Rodrigo de Castro*, the Captain of the grenadiers, Manuel Preto, Fernando da Cunha Texeira etc. sent their replies to the questions that were posed by the King. All of them spoke highly about the achievements of the frairs but admitted that they had lost their zeal. This could be seen in the decline in the number of baptisms. They admitted that the frairs went around collecting alms from the people to celebrate their feasts and though the Guardians of the Colleges of Madre de Deus, Pomburpa and Nossa Senhora da Penha da França had handed over their account books to prove that rice was distributed to the new converts and catechumens, the informers were not sure whether the frairs actually spent the Royal Provisions on the new converts. They also asserted that the Frairy and the Convent were useless. The majority opined that the local clergy were better because they were well acquainted with the local

conditions and were better suited to the times. This does not mean that the accusations that were made by the King and his subordinates were always true. In a report of 28th November 1760, the Secretary of the Province of São Thomé was able to prove that every Parish in Bardez had a frair who knew the local language. On 19th February 1767, Frei Christovão de Santa Rita certified that the thirty nine Observants in Bardez knew the language and were appointed as Diocesan Examiners. Despite their earlier efforts, the political authorities in Portugal and in Goa had a bad opinion about the frairs. In one such letter, the Archbishop wrote in favour of the local clergy.²⁸

The *Camara Geral de Bardez* was against the frairs. However, some of the *Comunidades* were still in favour of the frairs. There are several documents in the Goa Archives in which the members of some of the *Comunidades* in Bardez wrote in favour of the frairs and condemned the authorities for expelling the frairs from Bardez without taking them into confidence. The *gaoncars* of Serula and Siolim praised the frairs for their zeal and criticised the King for going against the *Regimento Memorial do Camara Geral* by which the Portuguese could not take any extraordinary decision in the Village Council without taking the members into confidence. The villagers of Socorro praised them because they converted the *gentios* and got rid of idolatry in Bardez. The villagers of Colvale felt that it was an illegal decision while those of Nagoa condemned the local

clerics for being ignorant and incapable of handling the Parishes. The *gaoncars* and *vangors* of Parra Pilerne, Guirim and Cannaca opined that the authorities neither sought the consensus of the villagers nor checked the registers. The *gaoncars* of Tivim, Mapusa and Nerul opined that the accusations were fabricated by some members who were indirectly supported by the secular clergy. In brief, the *gaoncars* of almost all the villages were against the procedure that was adopted to replace the frairs. It is interesting to note that these testimonies were signed by the leading *gaoncars* of the main villages in Bardez. The *gaoncars* got together and made a Representation to the King on 18th January 1767. In this, they requested the King to revoke the Order of 23rd April 1766 as it was done in their name without their approval or consent. The Archbishop raised several questions pertaining to their substitution but left the final decision to the King.²⁹

The political situation in Portugal was liberal, secular and anti-clerical. There was a virtual shortage of frairs in Portugal. This was clear from a letter of 3rd January 1789, in which the Provincial of the São Thomé Province stated that the frairs had not come from abroad since the last quarter century. The religious authorities in Rome favoured the admission of the local clerics into the Order. In 1790, the Portuguese Government stopped the foreign religious from coming to India. Dona Maria I instructed the Religious Orders to seek vocations from among the Indians. The Provincial, Frei Nicolao de Santa Rita also realized

that it was impossible for the Portuguese to send European religious to the *Estado* and requested the Queen to permit the Regular Orders to admit the locals to carry on the mission. But Portugal had other plans. They decided to expel the Religious Orders altogether and to hand over the mission to the secular clergy. In the Decree of 1835, it was decided to suppress all the Religious Orders in Goa and to expel them from the mission field.³⁰

SUPPRESSION OF THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS AND THE

FRANCISCAN ORDER IN GOA: Marquis de Pombal was against the Religious Orders especially the Jesuits and favoured the appointment of the local people into the administrative and religious posts. But, the religious and their representatives were against this. In 1828, a Civil War broke out in Portugal. The King, Dom João IV died and Dom Pedro IV obligated the throne in favour of Dona Maria who ruled with the help of her uncle Dom Miguel. By 1833, Dom Miguel was overthrown and the Government in Portugal was handed over to the free masons. The Apostolic Nuncio, Cardinal Justinian was instructed to leave Portugal and the Portuguese tried to cut off all the diplomatic relations with Rome. The *Mulla Praeclare* entrusted the Archbishop with absolute powers over the missionaries. But, the apostolic missionaries owed their allegiance to their Superiors in Rome refused to pay any heed to the *Placet Regum*. The religious

in Goa defended their claims based on the Papal Decrees but, the *Padroado* authorities refused to accept them. This resulted in a Schism in Goa. In 1832, the Perfect of the *Propoganda*, Cardinal Pedicine went as an Ambassador of the *Padroado* mission to the Holy See and informed the Pope about the Schism. Portugal clung to its decision and tried to gain a hold over the religious affairs through the Archbishop. In 1833, the King, Dom Miguel presented a candidate for the Archdiocese of Goa but, the Pope delayed the appointment. In the meanwhile, Dom Pedro assumed power. He was against the Holy See because it had recognized his brother as the King. He ordered the Nuncio to leave Portugal and suppressed all the Religious Orders in the Portuguese colonies. The Perfect of the *Propoganda* intended to free the Church from all its political bonds. The Bishops were dismissed and the Archdiocese was vacant from 1831 to 1834. The Portuguese Prime Minister, Joaquim Antonio de Aguiar was also against the Religious Orders. On 28th May 1834, he passed an Order in Portugal by which all the Religious Orders in Goa were expelled. The Pope retaliated against this and issued two Consistories but, the latter did not pay heed to this. On 24th March 1835, the Decree was executed in Goa.³¹

After the expulsion of the Religious Orders from Goa, the São Thomé Province officially existed till 1858 but their properties and assets were taken away by the State. The House of Nossa Senhora do Cabo was used as a summer residence by

the Archbishop. On 10th June 1866, it was handed over to the Governor General by a Court Order. The Convent of Nossa Senhora do Pilar continued to remain under an old Franciscan caretaker. In 1855, it was handed over to the Carmelite Tertiaries of Chimbel. Some frairs continued to live in Goa with the permission of the Bishop or the Portuguese authorities. The last Definitor of the Order, Frei Feleciano de Santa Rita died in Goa on 5th July 1830 and was buried in the Chapter. Frei Salvador da Assunção and Frei Maurelino do Espirito Santo left Goa on 28th September 1834. In 1835, there were fifty eight Observants and Recollects in Goa. While most of the frairs went back to Portugal, some of them went to the adjoining mission stations. Frei Vincente de Santa Catharina went to Malay, Frei Francis de Assisi went to Calcutta and Frei Francisco de Dolours went to Mylapore. At the time of their expulsion, the Observants owed four Houses, which had twenty seven inmates. They surrendered ninety four thousand, six hundred and thirty one *xs* as funds and six hundred and thirty eight *xs*, two *tangas* and thirty *reis* as rents to the State. The Recollects had seven Houses with three inmates and they surrendered eighty six thousand, seven hundred and ninety seven hundred and ninety three *xs* and nine hundred and eighty *xs* as funds and rents respectively. The movable and immovable assets of the college of São Boaventura valued 64:817:4:2634 and those of the Frairy were worth 320:417:2:19 4/16. These included tapestries,

furniture, properties allowances, ornaments, shares, books, watches etc.³²

The expulsion of the Franciscan Order put an abrupt end to the activities of missionary Order that had grown and flourished in different parts of Goa for nearly two hundred and eighteen years. In the later half of the eighteenth century, the frairs were unable to maintain religious discipline, the Church officials ignored the religious and the Government was no longer interested in maintaining his *Padroado* privileges. The situation was so bad that the King and the Pope began to think in terms of secularizing the religious. Finally, the Franciscan mission was subverted to the State.

Notes and References :

- ¹ CEO Vol. I, Cap. 54, p. 278; A. K. Priolkar, *Op. Cit.*, 1958; p. 200; EHGLC doc. 87, p. 418; doc. 79, p. 420.
- ² EHGLC doc. 79, p. 420; As the record keeper of the Province of São Thomé, Goa, Frei Antonio da Padua copied the documents pertaining to Bardez and signed them; Civezza, *Op. Cit.*, 1859, p. 431; EHGLC doc. 80, p. 422; MR Vol. 142, ff. 617-786.
- ³ In a letter of 19th March 1767, the Secretary of State Henrique Jose de Mendanha Benevides Cirne wrote to Dom Francisco de Siva Corte Real that it was clear that the *Sindico* could be entrusted with the power to look after the frairs; *Crente nos.* 1337, 1338 and 1339; EHGLC doc. 80, pp. 420-28.
- ⁴ EHGLC. doc. 81, pp. 428-38.
- ⁵ *Ibid.* doc. 92, p. 465 and p. 442; *Assentos do Camara Geral do Bardez*, in EHGLC. doc. 83, p. 444.

- ⁶ The letter of the King is stated in *EHGLC doc. 87*, p. 418; That the Parish Churches of Bardez were sustained by the *Comunidade* is clear from the letter of the Governor dated 20th December 1766; *Ibid.*, p. 445 and that of the Archbishop.
- ⁷ This exponent was attested by Lopo Jose de Almeida. This amount of sixty *pardaos* was spent on the College of Penha da França. Their work in the different mission stations is evident from the document in the *Livro da Fazenda* dated 1766-67; In Bardez itself, the frairs looked after several military outposts like Cabo, Daugim, the City of Goa, Reis Magos etc. This is clear from the descriptions of these Houses that are provided by the foreign travelers. Between 1736 and 1739, they took part in the war in Bacaim where they participated directly in the military operations and administered the sacraments to the soldiers of the King of Portugal. They also worked for the sentry, embarked on ships and motivated the commanders. Some even suffered at the hands of the enemies. From this, it is clear that the frairs also served the Crown in a better way than they catered to the Cross. Frei Pedro was later released by the Marathas but he did not live long after that. During the tenure of the Conde de Sandomil and Marquiz do Lourical, they had a shortage of soldiers. Hence, the frairs helped them to fight the enemies. Their help in this regard was testified by Dom Rodrigo de Castro. Frei Francisco died after eleven months in the infirmary. This was a great loss to the Frairy of St. Francis, Goa as the three *Lectors Jubilados* and the two theologians died. This was testified by the Secretary of the Province. Felipe de Valladares signed the document that tried to prove their exemplary life. The work in one of the villages is certified by the *escrivão* of Serula. In a letter to the authorities, the Examiner and the Archbishop stated that there were forty one frairs who knew the local language. Of the twenty four parish priests who worked in Bardez fifteen instructed the people in the local language. All this is clear from the letter that was certified by the Secretary. The Examiners in the language stated that forty one religious could preach in the local language and some others were able to speak in the Maratha language that was common in the far away areas. *EHGLC pp.207, 351 and 442-6*. The frairs who passed the examination in Konkani are stated in *MR. Vol. 143B, ffs.775-87*; the others who knew Konkani are stated in *MR Vol. 144B, ffs.632-35v*; F.X Gomes Catao, 'Examinadores Synodaes do Arcebispado de Goa' *BEAG Vol. VII(1948)*, p. 343.
- ⁸ *EHGLC doc 82*, pp. 460-65; pp. 441-42; *MR Vol. 143B, fl. 495*.
- ⁹ *EHGLC doc 82*, pp. 441-42; *ARF Report 33*, p. 178; *MR Vol. 140B, fl. 421*; *Vol. 142B, fl. 599* in *ARF Report 35*, p. 183; *MR Vol. 140B, fl. 425* in *ARF Report 34*, p. 179; *EHGLC doc 83*, p. 466-69; *EHGLC doc. 85*, pp. 476-77.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*; P. S. S. Pissurlencar (ed) *Arquivo da Escola Medical, Serie 1*, (1927), pp. 61-68; P. S. S. Pissurlencar, *Um frade na Corte de Punem*, *BIVG. No. 24(1934)*; pp. 25-51; *AHU, India, Maço. 134, 1770*; *EHGLC doc. 84*, p. 470; *MR. Vol. 142B, fl. 599*, in *ARF; Report 35*, p. 183; *Report 40*, p. 197 from *MR. Vol. 149A, fl. 19*; *EHGLC. doc. 84*, pp. 472-474.
- ¹¹ *MR Vol. 149A, fl. 19*; *Vol. 148B, ffs. 577-78^v, 579-81^v*; *EHGLC. doc. 85*, pp. 479-80; *MR. Vol. 143B, ffs. 505-507*.
- ¹² *AHU. India, Maço, 134, 1770* in Maria de Jesus dos Martires Lopes, *Op. Cit.*, 1996, p. 170; *VP. Vols. VII-VIII, fl 86^v*; *MR. Vol. 132A, fl 2-8*; *Vol. 139, fl. 406* contains a Representation of the *Camara Geral da Provincia de Bardez, fl. 407* includes a copy of the complaints that the *Camara* sent to the King.
- ¹³ *MR. Vol. 143B, ffs. 841-42*; *AHU, India, Maço, 85*; *BNL. Caixa 1, Ms. 4, ffs. 3-3^v*, in Maria de Jesus dos Martires Lopes, *Op. Cit.*, 1996, p. 177.
- ¹⁴ Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 237; *MR. Vol. 143, fl. 243*; *Vol. 157B, fl. 348*; *Vol. 148A, ffs. 253-54^v*; *Vol. 137, fl. 154-61*; *EHGLC. doc. 84*, p. 472.
- ¹⁵ *ARF. Report 22*, p.145-52; *MR Vol. 148B, ffs. 537-38*; *ARF Report 33*, p. 178 of *MR Vol. 140B, fl. 421*; *Report 35*, p. 183 of *MR Vol. 142B, fl. 599*; *MR Vol. 148B, ffs. 532-35 and 578*.
- ¹⁶ *MR Vol. 148B, ffs 537-38 and 577-80*; *ARF Report 38*, p. 191 from *AHU. Doc, Avulsos, India Maço 85*; *Report 40*, p. 197 of *MR Vol. 1491, fl. 19*; This right of ownership of properties is clear from the *Exeptis Fratrum San Francisco qui Minorum de Observantia Vocantur*. Clemente V had decreed several provisions regarding alms; The provisions relating to inheritances were clarified by Cardinal Petra at the Holy Congregation of the Council held on 6th July 1609; The Parish Churches were entitled to certain privileges. This was specified by the Decrees of the Tridentine Council namely the *Statuit Sancta Sinodus ut Ecclesiastica Beneficia quoe curam animarum ec primaeva eorum institutione aut aliter retinet maeva deinceps in Simplex Beneficium*, Sec. 25, Cap. 16; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit. Separata do BIVG* (1943), pp. 21-25.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid, Tribuna(1922)*; *ARF Report 44*, pp. 218-19 of *MR Vol. 159D, fl 1124*; their right over the five parishes is testified in *MR. Vol. 149A, fl. 19* in *ARF. Report 40*, p. 197; *Report 41*, p. 200 of *MR, Vol. 151, fl. 98*.
- ¹⁸ The tenure of the Archbishop Neiva Brum, has been studied by Maria de Jesus dos Martires Lopes, *Epistolario de um Acoriano na India Dom Taveira da Neiva Brum da Silveira (1750-75)*, 1989; *MR. Vol. 159D, fl. 1124*; *ARF Report 44*, pp. 217-19.
- ¹⁹ The legislations were implemented by the Archbishop on 11th February 1775. The letter of the Governor is found in *Tribuna nos. 131-133*; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, 1922, pp. 21-25; this old book is dated 28th November 1776 and is signed by Frei Henrique de Santa Anna *O Crente No. 1814*; F. X. Gomes Catão,

- Op. Cit.*, BEAG Vol. VII, p. 402; Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 227; *Bol. do Gov.* no. 68(1862); Ricardo Telles *Op. Cit.*, *OP* Vol. 5(1908), p. 269; Fr. João Alvares, the first secular priest in Pomburpa was later implicated in the uprising of 1787 and sent to Portugal as a prisoner. J. H. da Cunha Rivara, *A Conjuração de 1787 em Goa*, 1875; *ARF*. Report 44. Appendix 5, pp. 429-31; *MR* Vol. 177A, fl. 37, Report 79, pp. 319-20 of *MR* Vol. 184B, fl. 467; Nazare, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 139-41.
- ²⁰ *ARF*. Report 38, fl. 191 of *AHU. Doc. Avulsos*, India, Maço; Report 44, pp. 218-19, of *MR*. Vol. 159D, fl. 1124; Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 237; Ricardo Telles, 'Memórias do Convento da Madre de Deus, Daugim', *OP*. Vol. VII(1910), p. 11; *Tribuna*(1922); J. A. de Kok, 'Frairs Minor in European Society', in Don Peter (ed.), *Op. Cit.*, 1983, p.57; F. X. Vaz, *Op. Cit.*, p. 230, give the names of the Commissaries of the Third Order; *ARF* Report 79, *MR*. Vol. 184B, fl. 467; *MR* Vol. 131B, fl. 390.
- ²¹ Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, 1922, p. 57; *MR*. Vol. 179A, fl. 182; Vol. 140B, fl. 42; Vol. 149A, fl. 69; *EHGLC. Cap. XC*; *ARF*, Appdx.5, p. 430; A list of Provincials for the São Thomé Province till 1835 is stated along with other details by Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*, *Extractum de AFH*, Vol. 60(1967), pp. 30-31. They continued to hold office till 1834 when the Religious Orders were suppressed from Goa. This is stated by Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*; *AFH* Vol.54 (1961), pp. 418-27; *OP*. Vol. 8, 1911, pp. 252-69; Cottineau, *Op. Cit.*, p. 74; J. B. Amancio Gracias, 'Ingleses em Goa as ocupação de Goa pelas tropas Britanicas', Goa, 1934, pp. 1-11; Ismael Gracias, 'Ocupação de Goa pelas tropas ingles (1799)', *OP* Vol. 5,(1907), pp. 311-19.
- ²² J. B. Gracias, *Op. Cit.*, *OP*. Vol. 2 (1905), p. 42; *MR*. Vol. 169A, fl. 230; A brief background to the life of Archbishop Galdino is found in *HC* Vol. VII, pp. 205 and 245; *MR*. Vol. I, pp. 379, 333 and 337; Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*; *AFH*. Vol. 72(1979), p. 174; *MR*. No. 190C(1810-1811). *Mappa da populacao d'aldeias da Provincia de Bardez d'Estado da India*, fl. 848.
- ²³ In 1770 there were six frairs in Pilar including a Tertiary; A list of Guardians who worked there between 1790-1835 is stated by *CL*. p. 59; In 1779 there were one hundred and eighteen frairs in the *Madre de Deus* Province, fourteen lived in Cabo and six in Pilar; *ARF*. Report 45, p. 217; *MR*. Vol. 159D, fl. 1126; In 1784, seventy five frairs worked in the Province. Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, 1906, p. 10; In 1800 there were fifty two frairs in all the three Houses in Goa. These included fathers, brothers and clerics, Ernest Hull, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 232; Ricardo Telles, *Examiner* (1910), p. 473; In 1804 there were sixty five frairs in the Province, 18 frairs, 15 clerics, 11 brothers and 2 lectors in Goa; *MR*. 184B, fl. 480; In 1810 there were three frairs at Cabo and four at Pilar. Achilles Meersman, 'A list of Franciscans in India of the year 1810', pp. 421-22; A list of frairs who worked in Goa are published in *ARF*, Appendix V, pp. 425-27; *MR* Vol. 177A, fl. 37; *MR* Vol. 50, fl. 74; 176A, fl. 109; *MR*. Vol. 197C, fl. 851; Vol. 209, fl. 186; Vol. 147, fls.298-402.
- ²⁴ *MR* Vol. 140B, fl. 425 cited in *ARF*. Report 34, p. 179; The Royal Treasury paid the frairs at Daugim ninety nine *Xerafins* and one *tanga* per anum. The *Sindico* of the Chapels received mass stipends that were given to the frairs. The Archbishop, Dom Gaspar de Ornelas had instituted a *vazoa* in Ella to the *Madre de Deus* frairs that yielded four hundred and sixteen *xs*. Others like Luis de Madeira, Domingo Roiz - The Adjutant General, Maria de Macedo etc. instituted a certain amount to the Frairy as mass stipends; *MR*. Vol. 159D, fl. 1128; *Assentos*. Vol. V, p. 657; *MR*. Vol. 170A, fl. 109 in *ARF*. Report 55, p. 257; *MR*. Vol. 170A, fl. 109; Detailed accounts of the receipts and expenses of the *Recollect* House at Cabo is found in *Receita do Convento do Cabo*, Vol. I, HAG. No. 9461, (1816-44), Vol. II, No. 9470, 1844-48, fls. 1v-8v; *Ibid.* No. 9469 (1816-35), fls. 1-66; *Livro da despeza do Convento do Nossa Senhora do Cabo* (1817), HAG. No. 9471(1180), Estante 2, Caixa 2, Coluna 1, fls. 1-142; *Ibid.*, fls. 26-27; At the time of the suppression decree on 15th October 1835 the frairs there spent 76:1:00, *Ibid.* fl. 141v-142; For the finances of the Convent of Madre de Deus, Daugim, one may refer to *receita e Despeza do Convento de Madre de Deus* (152-72), No. 8010; fls. 205 and 261v; *Contos do Convento de Madre de Deus*(1752-72), HAG. No. 8010; No. 7889, (1784-1835); No. 9503 (1772-1835); No. 8008, (1790-98);(1793-1830), No. 8011(1230), *Estante* fls. 12-13v (1799-1835), Caixa 3, Coluna 4, No. 7890 (1728-83); No. 8009, fls. 201-06, 301-301v and 330v-331(1806-34), No. 9504; *Pençoes do Convento de Madre de Deus*(1836), HAG. No. 1923; *Inventario do Convento de Madre de Deus*. HAG. No. 2133 (1836); *ARF*. Report 78, pp. 311-15; *MR*. Vol. 184B, fl. 480; *L.M.* Vol. 184B, fls. 480-82; *CEO*. Vol. I, Cap. 39, p. 204; The life and objectives of the Recollects of Portugal is mentioned by Antonio da Piedade, *Op. Cit.*
- ²⁵ In 1779 there were eight frairs, *MR* Vol. 159D, fl. 1124; In 1797 there were twelve frairs there including a Guardian, Master, priests, clerics, and three Tertiaries; *ARF*. Appdx. V, p. 425; *MR*. Vol. 177A, fl. 37; In 1804 there were six frairs including a guardian; *ARF*. Report 79; In 1810 only three frairs lived there; Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*, *AFH* Vol. 54 (961), pp. 421-22; The proceeds of the college are found in *Assentos do Convento do São Boaventura* (1771-1818), HAG.No. 852, *Estante*, Caixa 7, Coluna 2, fls. 5 and 6; The receipts and expenses are also found in *Contas do Collegio de São Boaventura* (1815-1834), No. 8022, *Livro da receita de despeza do Convento e Collegio de São Boaventura*, Vol. I(1783-1828), No. 8006, the receipts are found in No. 9506 (1845), No. 1903, *Estante*, Caixa 2, fls. 11-67; The mass stipends are included in *Missas da Convento de São Boaventura* (1832), HAG. No. 4509; *Livro das Contas*, in 2 Vols. (1809-1835). HAG. Nos. 9505 and 9506; *Inventarios do Convento e Collegio de São Boaventura* (1836), HAG.No. 2128; *MR*. Vol. 184B, fl. 467; Cottineau, *Op. Cit.*, p. 37.
- ²⁶ Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, *Separata do BIVG* (1943), p. 21; A report of Frei Jose da Conceição stated that there were frairs there, *MR*. Vol. 144B, fls. 632-35; In 1779 there were forty five religious; *MR* Vol. 159D, fl. 1124; In 1804 the number decreased to and seventeen frairs and four lay brothers and by 1810 there was one guardian, sixteen priests and one lay brother there; *MR* Vol. 144B, fls. 635-34v; *Creto*. nos. 1345 and 1348; *MR*. Vol. 165A, fl. 4 contains a list of priests and frairs who occupied the

- parishes in 1783. Another list was sent on 18th February 1793; *MR* Vol. 174A, fl.17 in *ARF*. Report 44, pp. 217-18.
- ²⁷ Some of these are listed in a letter of the Archbishop to the King. *MR*. Vol. 132A, fls 2-8; *MR* Vol. 86A (1719-21), fls. 34 and 36; fl. 279; fl. 334; Vol. 139 (1758-1767), fls. 406-407, fl. 424; Vol. 138A (1636-1766), fls. 106-108; fls 195v-207; *MR*. 144A (1766-70), fls 138-138v; *MR* 148B (1750-58), fls. 532-580; Vol. 142B (1764-68), fls. 617-620v; *MR*. Vol. 139, fls. 406-95; Vol. 143B (1681-1770), fls. 465-68; Around this time, the frairs made an attempt to reform the Order by a Brief date 8th May 1784 by which a Visitor General was to be appointed. The Provincial Minister received it on 5th June 1756. Three days later it was sent to the Archbishop. The authorities expressed the dissatisfaction over the life of the frairs. This prompted the authorities to impiement the Brief in Goa on 4th December 1788. it was confirmed on 12th April 1788 and sent to the Nuncio; J. A. Ismael Gracias, 'Reforma da religiao Franciscana no seculo XVIII', *OP* Vol. 7(1910), pp. 254-67. But this plan did not succeed.
- ²⁸ *MR*. Vol. 143B, (1681-1770), fls 584-85; fls. 595-97; fl 599. The expenses that the *Comunidades* incurred for religious purposes is evident from the *Livros das receitas e despezas* and from the income statements of the Frairy and college; *MR* Vol. 143B, fls. 737- 739v; 790- 799. The local clergy were supported by the *Carta Regias* of 26th March 1759 and 2nd April 1761; *MR* 143B, fls. 619-629; fl. 731-35; fls 738-40v; fls 741-779 and 805-824 includes the opinions of leading military personnel; fl. 775 and 789 state the names of the frairs who knew Konkani; *Livro das Cartas de Sua Magestade*, 1628, fl. 33 in *MR*. 143B, fl. 831v.
- ²⁹ *MR* Vol. 143B, fls. 847-877; fl. 879; A list of questions raised by the Archbishop are listed in *MR* Vol. 143B, fls. 879-85v, but except for a few folios the others are illegible.
- ³⁰ *AHU* Maço 7; Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*, *AFH* Vol. XXXI (1938), p. 375; *MR* Vol. 170A, fl. 105; *MR* Vol. 173, fl. 173; Achilles Meersman, *Op. Cit.*, *NZM* Vol. 13(1975), p. 34; Ricardo Telles *Op. Cit.*, *OP* Vols. VII and VIII, p. 257; Agapito Lourenço, 'O Clero de Goa atraves do tempo', *BIVG* Vol. 96(1971), pp. 121-125 and 32; Earnest Hull, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 325; Gabriel Saldanha, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, p. 360; Amaro Lobo, *Op. Cit.*, p. 283.
- ³¹ The Chair was handed over to a Camaldolese monk and a Perfect of the Propaganda Gregory VI; Agapito Lourenço, *Op. Cit.*, p. 66; Fortunato Almeida, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 154; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, *OP* Vol. IV(1907), p. 73; In the Goa Archives there are several inventories like the *Inventario Geral da Provincia Observantes do N. P. São Francisco ordenado na visita de Setembro de 1787*, No. 823. *Inventario do Convento de São Boaventura*, HAG. No. 2128. *Livros das diversos inventarios (1759-1862)* it includes the list of things in the Convent at Pilar. *Relação dos livros dos conventos extinctos escolhidos e entregues a Bibliotheca Public de Panjim (1842)*, HAG. No. 2750; *Arrematação dos livros do Extinctos Convento de São Boaventura(1842)* etc. These contain a list of things in the Recollect and Observant Houses in Goa.
- ³² Lemmens, *Op. Cit.*, p. 103; Gabriel Saldanha, Vol. II, pp. 21, 47 101 and 141; Ricardo Telles, *Op. Cit.*, 1922, p. 12; *ML* Vol. II, p. 264; J. J. C. Kok, *A General statistical and historical report*, in T. R. de Souza, *Op. Cit.*, 1994, p.60.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

This study on the Franciscans in Goa (1517-1835) fills a noticeable gap in the history of the missionary Orders in Goa. The missionary endeavours of the frairs in Goa were not seriously considered by the scholars. In this thesis, an attempt is made to tap the sources and to write the history of the Franciscans in Goa. The sources include official reports, Papal Bulls, Royal Decrees, revenue accounts, and travel accounts, chronicles and missionary reports. We have presented a comprehensive picture of the institutionalization of the Observants and the Recollects in Goa, their capacity to sustain the mission, their relations with the Crown, their attempts to improve and extend the mission, their attempts to convert the local people and their encounters with the natives. This is done within a historical and historiographical framework. The approach is empirical and analytical in nature and an effort is made to present the data in the proper historical perspective.

The frairs who worked in the Goa mission did not constitute one homogenous group. Though they included the Europeans and later the Eurasians, they were divided on the basis of the extent to

which they observed the Rule of the founder and abided by the Three Vows that were prescribed for the frairs. The Observants were the first to institutionalize themselves in Goa with the blessings of the *Padroado* authorities. The frairs had modified their lifestyle to serve in the apostolic mission of the Church ever since the medieval period. Therefore, when the Portuguese sought Chaplains to accompany them to the East, the Observants were selected because they belonged to a leading, institutionalized Order and had the zeal, determination and experience to venture overseas. The Observants handled the Goa mission till the late sixteenth century. The Archbishop, Dom Gaspar de Leão Pereira decided to establish a Frairy for the Recollects. The Recollects lived a Conventuals life and most of their Houses were located far away from the main cities. This leads us to conclude that the Recollects were brought for the security of the mainland Provinces. The descriptions that are provided by the administrative records and travelogues give us a picture of a defence outpost rather than a Religious House.

In the second half of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese acquired Bardez and Salcete. They did not have sufficient manpower to defend and protect these lands. Hence, they decided to hand them over to the frairs who were then the strong and reliable allies of the Portuguese. The Chapel at Reis Magos was

typical fortress and the frair there, performed the duties of a chaplain, diplomat and a protector. The Portuguese ships anchored close to it and the Portuguese Viceroy lived there or even took refuge there. The *caixas* that contained Royal grants and Royal *Alvaras* were also kept there or at the Frairy of St. Francis, Goa. The dead bodies of the Portuguese administrators, Religious Superiors and benefactors were buried in the cloister or in the main body of the Churches. As the Portuguese moved into the periphery, the Church building activities also progressed in concentric semicircles.

The Franciscan missionaries, primarily those who inhabited the Frairies, Colleges, Hospices, Seminaries and other Religious Houses depended on Royal alms. This study explains a gradual but definite shift in the Portuguese pattern of financing the mission in Goa. Till the end of the sixteenth century, Portugal supported the mission. Later, the authorities supported the Religious Houses and frairs but not the Parish Churches. This was because the frairs were permitted to appropriate a share in the agrarian surplus. Such a share was easily procured because the frairs had converted and allied with the chief *gaoncars* and other influential men. The local converts were left in a religious vacuum after the destruction of their temples. They also contributed their mite to the Churches, whose Patrons and Patronesses replaced

their Gods and Goddesses. The Kings of Portugal went a step ahead and decreed that all the former temple lands should be made over to the Church. Following such legislations, the system gradually became self supporting to an extent that the frairs gained the upper hand in the agrarian relations. They not only became the beneficiaries of voluntary donations but also began to request and subsequently force the local people to finance the mission. It is interesting to note, that many Churches in Bardez were built at the expense of the *Communidades*. However, this did not last long. By the late eighteenth century, the natives alongwith the secular clergy began to resist the calumnies of the frairs. The *Communidades* and the *Camara Geral* of Bardez became the strongest opponents of the frairs in Goa. However, it was paradoxical that the same institution supported them later without any success.

The study indicates that the frairs founded and extended the mission in Goa. After the arrival of the Jesuits, they also adopted the so called militant policies that were prescribed by the Popes and the Kings of Portugal. Bardez, that was their exclusive mission zone since 1555, faced the consequences of the Counter Reformation. The dictates of the Council of the Trent were adapted to the local situation by the Provincial Councils. As a result of this, the Cross triumphantly marched into the mainland of Bardez.

The statistics and baptism records indicate that several people were converted at public celebrations called General Baptisms. The catechumenates were founded to instruct them in the new faith. It is important to note that the records that dated back to a time when missionary activities were at a climax were not as rosy as compared to the later years of the sixteenth century when the mission in general was stagnant and the Portuguese Seaborne Empire was facing its twilight. This indicates that the chroniclers who wrote during this time exaggerated the real situation to create a favourable impression among the authorities. They tried to counter the high sounding reports that were sent by the other Religious Orders and to defend themselves from their accusations.

The Rectories were intended to be epicenters from where the frairs could evangelize the surrounding areas whereas the Frairies were meant to be training centers where the frairs could be trained and sent in the missionary fields like Ava, Pegu, Burma, Siam, Salcete, Bombay, Tuticorin, Travancore and in the other areas. The Hospices served as *recluse* houses where the frairs could rest for a short time after having worked in the mission. The Houses of Recollection, popularly called the Convents were inhabited by the Recollects who lived a life of seclusion and prayer. These Houses were manned by frairs, who were recruited, ordained and sent by the Patron of the Missions. However, when the Portuguese were no

longer able to do so on account of shortages in manpower and due to financial constraints, Novitiates, Colleges and Seminaries were founded in Goa where the novices were trained and allowed to take vows as priests. Till the early seventeenth century, only the Portuguese could enter the Religious Orders but later the Papal Bulls forced the Portuguese to permit the admission of the Indians into the Order. These local clerics were subsequently used as interpreters and assistants who helped the frairs in the mission. Though these local clerics were largely responsible in helping the frairs to extend the mission, they were never allowed to rise to high positions. In course of time, the authorities began to face another problem. There were allegations that many frairs who had retired from high positions used the Rectories as houses of relaxation. Moreover, many young men from Portugal who came as soldiers tried to enter the Religious Orders in which the living conditions were much better than the barracks. This threat came at a time when the Portuguese needed soldiers to fight against the Marathas, *Bonsulo*, *Idalcao* and other local invaders. Hence, the authorities warned the frairs not to admit them into the Order.

The extension and progress of the mission in Goa directly depended on the support from the Portuguese King. The *Padroado* obligations empowered the King to take decisions with reference to the missions and missionaries. This can be seen in the attempts

made by the frairs to gain a hold over the Professed House of Bom Jesus. The former forced the authorities to convert this into a Nunnery for the members of the Second Order. The Jesuits were able to influence the authorities because they occupied high positions in the Portuguese politico-religious system. The frairs played an important role in the decisions of the Council of States and other such political bodies. The Viceroys were aware of this. Hence, they tried their best to appoint their own candidates as the Provincials of the Religious Orders.

The study of the Franciscan Order in Goa indicates that their mission in Goa was not static. The frairs made constant attempts to extend the mission into different lands, to evangelize and convert the local people, to provide them with religious structures and a new folk cult. The concept of the Great Tradition of Christianity gained the better hold of the Little Tradition and this was possible because of the hierarchical setup. The frairs in Goa sought autonomy from the Mother Province as they felt that they were self sufficient in human and financial terms. The emergence of the hierarchy in Goa was directly related to the success of the frairs. By the seventeenth century, both the Recollects and Observants were able to get the sanction of their Superiors as well in this regard. Though the Order in Rome supported this move, the Mother Province of Portugal did not do so because they were

bent upon getting the goodwill of the Portuguese authorities who were trying their best to keep the missionaries in Goa under their control.

The arrival of the frairs to Goa and their subsequent attempts to convert the people and Christianize the lands is of great significance to the history of the Christian Mission in Goa. This is because their arrival coincided with the heydays of expansion, when Portugal was bent upon creating a strong bulwark for their seaborne enterprise in Goa. They intended to make Goa the centre of the *Estado da India*. The frairs laid strong foundations for the future missionaries who were sent to Goa. It is interesting to note that the pioneer of the frairs in Goa, Frei Antonio do Louro was able to impress upon the authorities the need for founding a House in the City of Goa for converting the local inhabitants and for creating a *bairro* for the Christians. In the early sixteenth century, the periphery of the Islands of Goa were enemy lands. Hence, a Portuguese- friendly settlement was needed to shelter the Portuguese people and the garrisons that were needed to defend the newly acquired lands. As the territorial borders of Goa extended into Bardez and Salcete, the frairs, Jesuits and Dominicans were entrusted with the task of making the conditions in these Provinces suitable and friendly for the Portuguese. Hence, the acquisition of Goa was not merely an

achievement of the Portuguese soldiers but a collaborative effort of both the secular authorities and the religious. The role of the frairs in protecting and defending the strategic mainland is seen in the fact that many of their Houses were located at important points. Hence, even the Recollects were supported despite the overtly contemplative lifestyle.

The Province of Bardez had an agrarian surplus, which enabled the frairs to maintain the mission without procuring alms from the King. This was true of certain villages like Serula and Moira that were inhabited by the Brahmins who depended on the primary producers. This surplus was diverted to the missionaries by a Royal *Alvara*. The documents pertaining to the *Padroado* missions help us to reconstruct the relations between the local converts and the frairs on one hand and the *Padroado* authorities and the missionaries on the other. The frairs could survive only with the willing and active cooperation of the State and the latter could consolidate their possessions on the mainland in collaboration with the frairs. The extension and progress of the mission depended on this close alliance between the Cross and the Sword that swiftly possessed the souls and the wealth of the East. The authorities depended on the locals for the security of their land and for the stabilization of the mission. This is clear from the clarion appeals of the General Assembly of Bardez that resisted the

extraction of money from the converts. The triumphant march of Christianity was often blockaded by the local people who resisted often spoke against the frairs.

Individual frairs made efforts to implement the decrees of the Provincial Councils, the Royal *Alvaras* and the proceedings of the State Councils. These were directly related to the need of the times and are most evident from the decision to suppress the Konkani language. This was done to avoid any collaboration between the converts, Marathas and the *gentios*. This decree was revoked by the Portuguese who stated that conversions had to be genuine. This was impossible unless the frairs learnt the local language. This criterion was capitulated upon when the authorities decided to replace the religious by the seculars.

The Franciscan Order gained a hold over Goa, Bardez and a few adjoining areas. The establishment, expansion, progress and decline of the Order coincided with the political developments in Portugal. The mission was a State sponsored enterprise and the religious system was closely linked with the political system of the Portuguese in Goa. However, this was not always the case especially in Bardez, where many of the Church structures either were built at the expense of the *gaoncars* or were bequeathed to the frairs. In Penha da França, for instance, the benefactress had even provided for the maintenance of the frair. Therefore, when the

Order was expelled from the Parishes in Bardez, the frairs were able to cling to these Churches without being dependent on the secular authorities or on the people, both of whom were against the religious.

The frairs were a part of the colonial enterprise. Hence, their Frairies and Parish Churches were often used to defend the Portuguese lands. This was especially the case with Bardez that was susceptible to invasions by the local rulers. The Churches in Aldona, Reis Magos, Cabo, Rachol, Daugim and Aguada were located at strategic points. It was primarily because of this that the authorities were strongly against the native priests. However, the latter remained in a subordinate position only for a short period of time. After 1622, the authorities in Rome began to support secular Indian priests. The seculars took this opportunity to empower themselves and to speak against the religious. This phenomenon of self empowerment found a clear expression in the attempts of Matheus de Castro, who was an orphan trained in a Franciscan institution. But surprisingly, the Portuguese were against this because it would threaten the security of their land. The former was afraid that if the Parishes were handed over to the seculars, they would collaborate with the enemy who belonged to the same land. The risk was greater because the seculars were not happy. Besides severe restrictions on the Indianization of the

clergy, the authorities also tried to stop the use of the local language among the inhabitants in Bardez lest they communicate with the Marathas and other local enemies. It must be noted that most of the parish priests in Bardez were also the caretakers of their Parishes. Hence, it is paradoxical that during the invasions the frairs built more Parish Churches.

In the seventeenth century, the authorities in Portugal and Goa, Religious Superiors and the converts spoke highly about the frairs. This was because of three reasons: the local people had accepted the new religion and were bound to the new system to which they owed allegiance. There was little or no empowerment to resist the Portuguese even if they wanted to. The religious were an asset to the *Estado* because they maintained harmony among the inhabitants of the Parishes and checked any external threat. There was little or no upward mobility of the people. Though the frairs converted those who belonged to the predominant classes in the chief villages, they did not interfere with their social privileges. Therefore, that the inhabitants of one village in Bardez came forward for conversion *en masse*. When the Brahmins of Moira realized that the frairs had gained the upper hold in the adjoining villages, they tried to protect their privileges by being converted. The Church was a symbol of the defence of their social position. Similarly, several *gaoncars* got converted and in many villages, the

Comunidades supported the Church and collaborated with the frairs. This trend changed in the seventeenth century and became more obvious in the eighteenth century, when the secular authorities stabilized their power in Goa. They did not need the services of the frairs who became a burden on the State. The State now supported the locals. The liberal policies of Marquis de Pombal enabled the locals to express their anti-Portuguese sentiments against the foreign frairs. The reports of this period are sufficient to compile a *chronique scandeleuse* of the frairs in Goa.

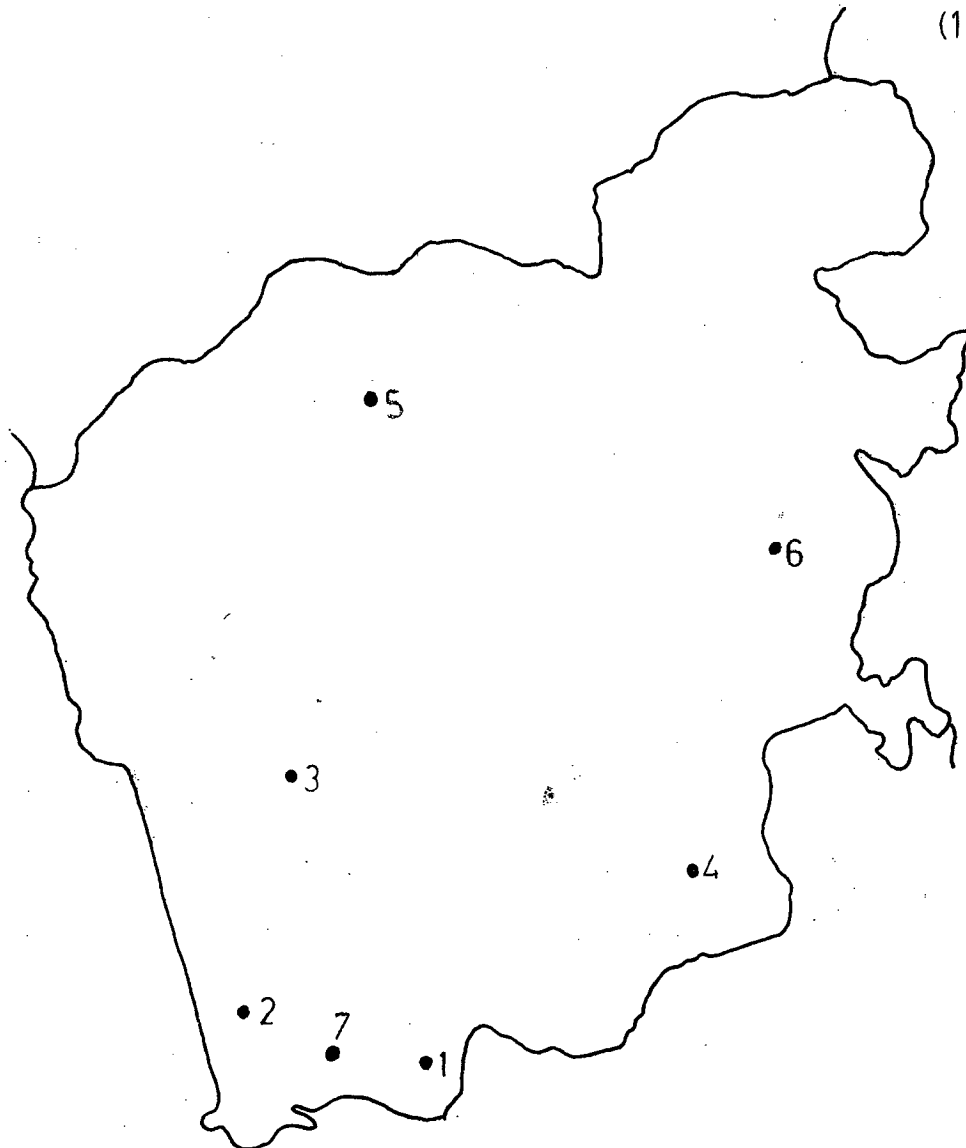
The frairs were brought into Goa as a part and parcel of the ethos generated by the Spirit of Discoveries. The Order had appealed to the medieval political and religious sensibilities that were predominant in Europe. Gradually, the frairs settled down in the strategic areas in Goa and owed full allegiance to the Supreme Lord, Roman Pontiff and to His Majesty. The tale of a general intolerance to the local religious and the record of callousness, cruelty, tyranny and injustice against the *gentios* were given a literate twist. The evangelists were eulogized as being the pioneers of the missionary enterprise in the *Estado* as their efforts went a long way in making the Christian Century. Though there were periodic accusations against them for being unconventional and limited to the choir and to the routine Parish work, it is important to note that the frairs worked in Goa within an institutionalized

setup between 1517 to 1835. Hence, a study of the Order in Goa gives us a holistic image of the working of a mission in general.

The missionary waves washed away the unchristian elements from Goa but the converts did react to the breakdown of the structures, symbols, values and the whole system that they abided to before the Portuguese tried to Christianize them. As far as conversions in Bardez were concerned, it is opined that the frairs were generally docile and peace loving because of their faith formation. However, they were able to harness the local resources by integrating their mission with the primary producing communities. As such, the methods that were operating beneath the overall garb of evangelization were something more than simply being religious. In the social field, the frairs were able to appropriate the agrarian surplus by giving the dominant converts a position of power that they yearned for. The frairs helped the State authorities and in many cases, their Frairies became a shelter for the political exiles the invitees of the State and other Portuguese. They were able to do this without arousing any suspicion or tension. Hence, they remained the pampered children of the authorities for a long time as Arnold Toynbee stated; "... under the law of God or the laws of nature, man is free to make choices and pursue objectives ...".

MAPS

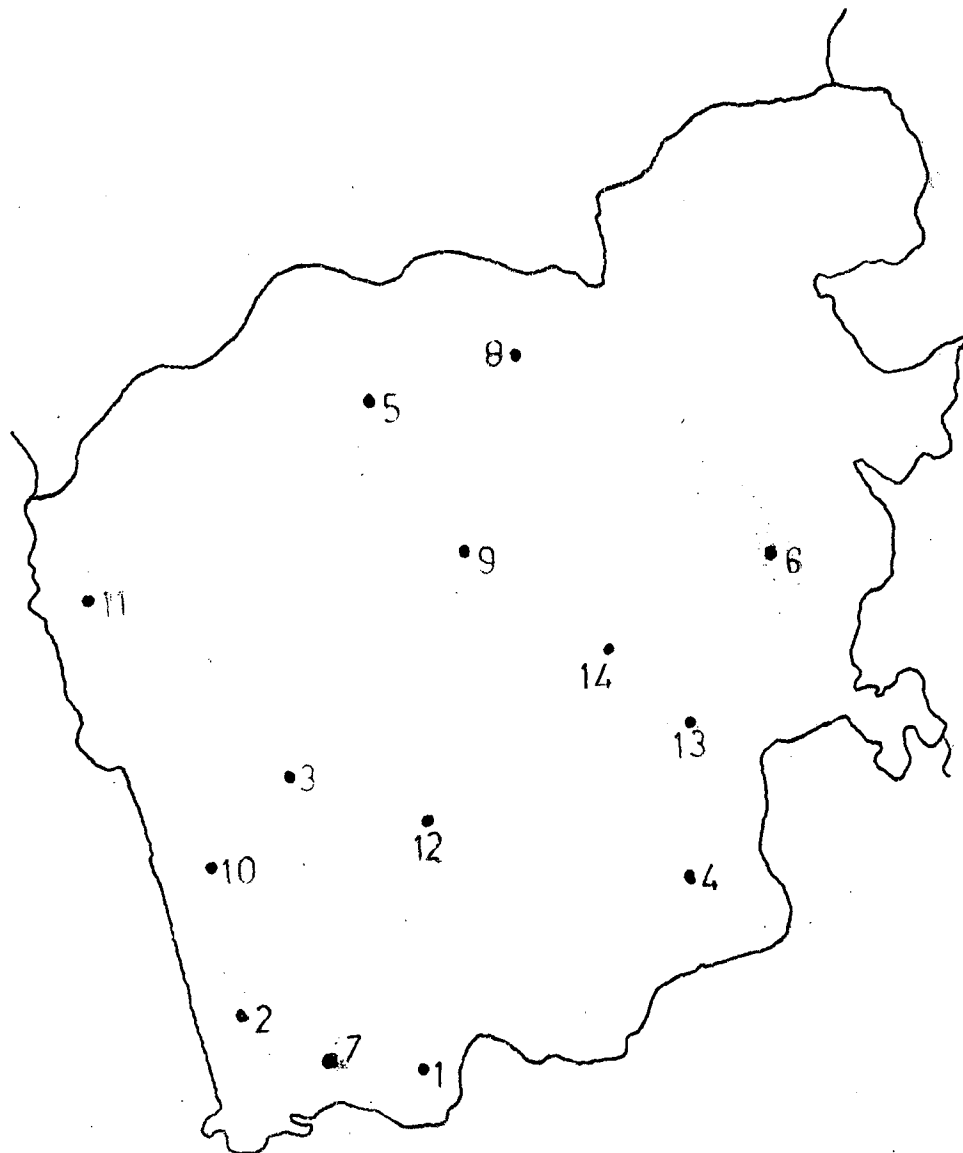
PARISHES IN THE PROVINCE OF BARDEZ
(1542-1582)



- 1-REIS MAGOS (1555)
- 2-CANDOLIM (1560)
- 3-NAGOA (1560)
- 4-SALVADOR-DO-MUNDO (1565)
- 5-SIOLIM (1568)
- 6-ALDONA (1569)
- 7-NERUL (1569)

SCALE : 1CM = 1KM

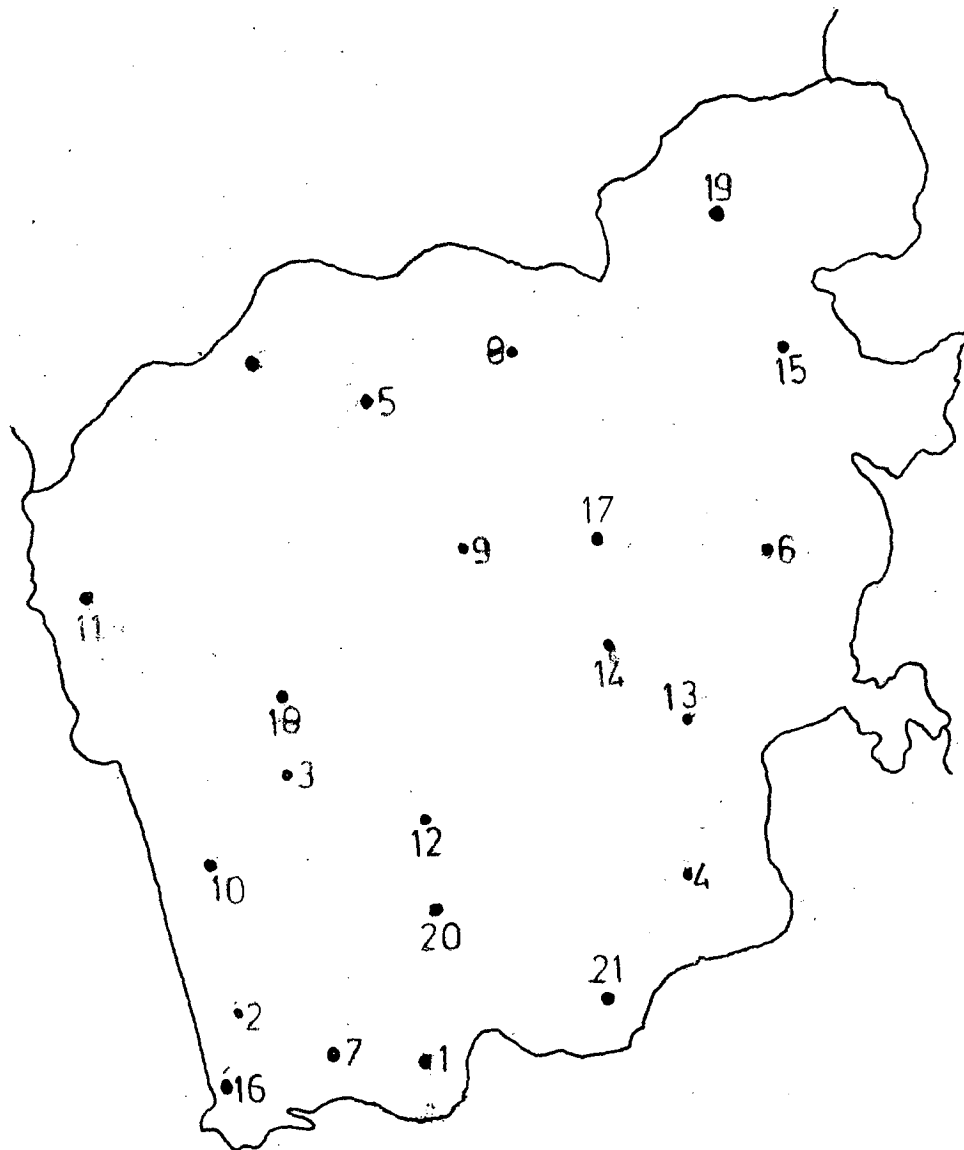
PARISHES IN THE PROVINCE OF BARDEZ (1583-1622)



- 1-REIS MAGOS (1555)
- 2-CANDOLIM (1560)
- 3-NAGOA (1560)
- 4-SALVADOR-DO-MUNDO(1565)
- 5-SIOLIM(1560)
- 6-ALDONA (1569)
- 7-NERUL (1569)
- 8-COLVALE (1591)
- 9-MAPUSA (1594)
- 10-CALANGUTE (1595)
- 11-ANJUNA (1603)
- 12-SANGOLDA (1604)
- 13-POMBURPA (1604)
- 14-UCASSIAM (1621)

SCALE : 1CM = 1KM

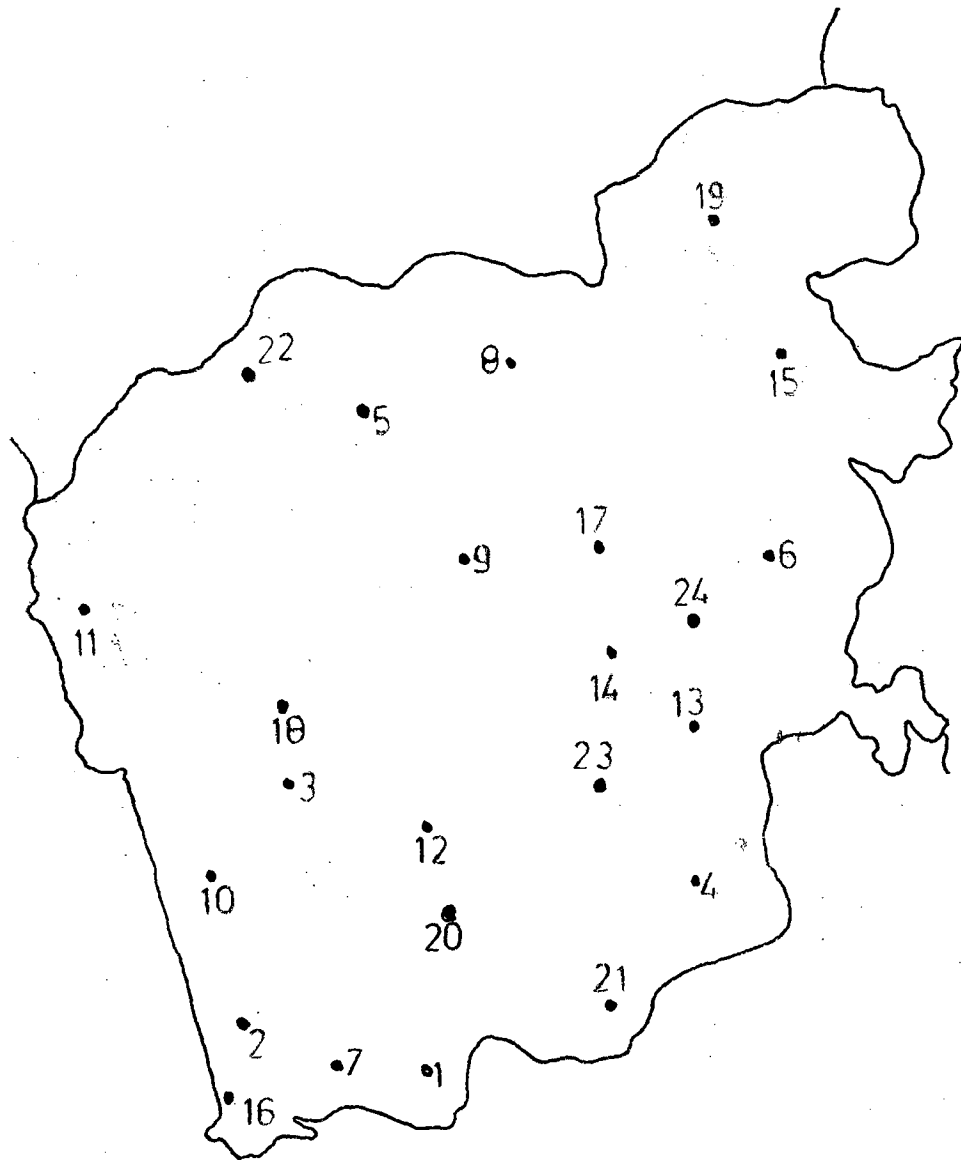
PARISHES IN THE PROVINCE OF BARDEZ (1622- 1657)



- 1- REIS MAG OS (1555)
- 2- CANDOLIM (1560)
- 3- NAGO A (1560)
- 4- SALVADOR-DO-MUNDO (1565)
- 5- SIOLIM (1568)
- 6- ALDONA (1569)
- 7- NERUL (1569)
- 8- COLVALE (1591)
- 9- MAPUSA (1594)
- 10- CALA NGUTE (1595)
- 11- ANJUNA (1603)
- 12- SANGOLDA (1604)
- 13- POMBURPA (1604)
- 14- UCASSAIM (1621)
- 15- TIVIM (1623)
- 16- LINHARES (1633)
- 17- MOIRA (1636)
- 18- PARRA (1649)
- 19- REVORA (1653)
- 20- PILERNE (1658)
- 21- PENHA-DA-FRANCA (1629)

SCALE : 1CM = 1KM

PARISHES IN THE PROVINCE OF BARDEZ (1657-1700)



- 1-REIS MAGOS (1555)
- 2-CANDOLIM (1560)
- 3-NAGOA (1560)
- 4-SALVADOR-DO-MUNDO (1565)
- 5-SIOLIM (1568)
- 6-ALDONA (1569)
- 7-NERUL (1569)
- 8-COLVALE (1591)
- 9-MAPUSA (1594)
- 10-CALANGUTE (1595)
- 11-ANJUNA (1603)
- 12-SANGOLDA (1604)
- 13-POMBURPA (1604)
- 14-UCASSAIM (1621)
- 15-TIVIM (1623)
- 16-LINHARES (1633)
- 17-MOIRA (1636)
- 18-PARRA (1649)
- 19-REVORA (1653)
- 20-PIERNE (1658)
- 21-PENHA-DA-FRANCA (1629)
- 22-OXEL (1622)
- 23-SOCCORO (1667)
- 24-NACHINOLA (1679)

SCALE : 1CM=1KM

APPENDICES

APPENDIX - I

List of Hindu Temples in Bardez	
Aldona	The images were transferred to Marcela. The main ones included Bhagvati, Ravalnath, Bhutnath, Narayana, Santeri, Sidnath, Dadda, Satti and Fulnath.
Anjuna	Vetall, Santeri and Bhagavati.
Arpora	Santeri Vetall, Vanadevta and Chourungo.
Calangute	Santeri, Sittallnato, Saptanato, Brahmanath and Vetall.
Candolim	Naranna, Santeri Bhairao, Gagarespor and Rovolnato.
Colvale	Ravalnath Bhairao, Ramnato, Dadd and Gautama.
Mapuca	Santeri and Ganes.
Moira	The images were transferred to Mulgao, The main ones were Ravalnath Santeri, Madev, Rampurus, Vantepurus, Satpurus, Dadd, Nerul Santeri, Khetrapall, Ravalnath and Vetall.
Oxel	Santeri was transferred to Chopdem, Pernem.
Parra	The images were shifted to Advolpale, Bicholim. Deu and Rampurus.
Pilerne	The images were shifted to Naroa, Bicholim. Santeri Ravalnath, Ramnath Bhairao, Bucadev, Vetall and Hemanath.
Pomburpa	Malicarjuna Ravalnath Grampurus Sateri (transferred to Mulgao) Vanadevta Somnath and Ganes.
Revora	Kelbadevi.
Siolim	Santeri Satti Ganês Ravalnath and Kelbadevi.
Serula	Vetall Naranna Vanadevta Ravalnath Vodli Vanadevta, Sidnath, Malcumi (Mahalaxmi) Gramurus, Somnath, Vir Caliapurus, Khetrapall Santeri Naganath, Mahalanath, Bhagarati, Mahacali and Gopesvor.
Tivem	Ravalnath, Somnath, Vetall and Purvachari
<p>Source: Pissurlecar P. P., <i>Tombo das Rendas que Sua Magestade tem nas terras de Salcette, Bardez e nesta Ilha de Goa</i>, BIVG 67(1951), pp. 50-2; Valentin Correia, <i>Tomo de Bardez; Livro de Afforamentos</i>.</p>	

List of Franciscan parish priests in the Churches of Bardez in 1765.	
Aldona	Frei João de Sata Quiteria.
Anjuna	Frei João da Madre de Deus.
Calangute	Frei Alexandre da Piedade
Candolim	Frei Luis da Madre de Deus.
Colvale	Frei Vincente de Madre de Deus.
Ermida da Senhora da Saude de Valverde	Frei Alexandre de Nossa Senhora do Bom Successo.
Ermida des Desemparados do Monte de Guirim	Pe. Jose Xavier de São Francisco.
Guirim	Frei Antonio da Paixão.
Guirim	Frei Antonio da Paixão.
Mapuca	Frei Manoel Eusebio dos Martyres.
Moira	Frei Jose de Jesus Maria.
Nachinola	Frei Felix de São João.
Nagoa	Frei Manoel de Jesus Maria.
Nerul	Frei Manoel de Santa Clara.
Oxel	Frei Thomas de Santa Luiza.
Parra	Frei Manoel de Santa Maria.
Penha de Franca de Verlosa	Frei Lucas de São Diogo.
Pilerne	Frei Manoel do Rosario.
Pomburpa	Frei José da Conceição.
Revora	Frei Henrique de Santa Anna.
São Lourenço de Linhares	Frei Estacio de Christo.
Serula	Frei Bernardo de Santa Rita.
Siolim	Frei Christovam de Santa Rita.
Socorro	Frei Francisco de São Joaquim.
Tivim	Frei João do Espirito Sato.
Ucassaim	Frei José de San Antonio.
Source: MR. Vol. 138B, fl.400.	

APPENDIX - III

List of Secular Priests who replaced the Franciscans from 1766 to 1767.	
Aldona	Pe. Agostinho Correia de São Mathias.
Anjuna	Pe. Raphael Fernandes de Noronha de Sao Mathias.
Calangute	Pe. Damião Caetano Deodato de São Matias.
Candolim	Pe. Manuel Cardoz de Taleigao.
Colvale	Pe. Lourenço de Bragança de Piedade.
Guirim	Pe. Jose Manuel de Menezes da Piedade(appointed after 1776).
Linhares	Pe. Caetano Francisco da Silva de Serula. (appointed after 1776)
Mapusa	Pe. Francisco Furtado de Pomburpa.
Moirá	Pe. Baltasar de Souza de Margao.
Nachinola	Pe. Pedro Coutinho de Sao Mathias.
Nagoa	Pe. Caetano Rodrigues de Bacaim
Nerul	Pe. Jeronimo Salvador da Costa de Margao.
Oxel	Pe. Clemente Lobo de Sata Inês(appointed after 1776).
Parra	Pe. Francisco Pinto de Saligao.
Penha da França	Pe. João Xavier de Menezes de São Matias.
Pilerne	Pe. Miguel Alvares de Pilerne.
Pomburpa	Pe. João Alvares de Pilerne(appointed after 1776)
Reis Magos	Pe. Caetano Antonio Lobo de Pomburpa(appointed after 1776).
Revora	Pe. João Francisco Goncalves da Piedade.
Salvador do Mundo	Pe. Felix Fernandes de Sao Mathias.
Siolim	Pe. José Nazario Fernandes de São Bartholomeu.
Soccoro	Pe. Lino Colaço de Rachol.
Tivim	Pe. Caetano José Rodrigues de São Bartholomeu.
Ucassaim	Pe.. Baltazar de Sequeira de Santa Igenes.
Source: F.X Gomes Catao,' Vigarios Colodos de Bardez.' BEAG. Vol. 11(1953), pp. 399-403.	

Offices, Institutions and Concepts related to the Religious Orders	
<i>Apostolic</i>	A modern title used for the first period in the history of the Christian Church.
<i>Apostolic Constitution</i>	A collection of ecclesiastical laws.
<i>Apostolic Delegate</i>	A person appointed by the Pope to keep the Vatican informed of the ecclesiastical matters in the territory that is assigned to him by the Holy See.
<i>Apostolic See</i>	The See of Rome.
<i>Appeals</i>	An application from a lower to a higher ecclesiastical court.
<i>Archbishops</i>	Patriarchs and holders of outstanding Sees of the Latin Church.
<i>Archdeacon</i>	A cleric having a defined administrative authority delegated to him by the Bishop
<i>Archdiocese</i>	A group of dioceses under an Archbishop
<i>Asceticism</i>	A system of practices to combat vices and develop virtues
<i>Assemblies</i>	Meetings of the representative of the Catholic clergy.
<i>Auto da Fé</i>	The ceremony of the Spanish Inquisition at which after a procession, mass and sermon, the sentences against the heretics were read and executed .
<i>Baptism</i>	A sacramental rite which admits a candidate into the Christian Church.
<i>Bishop</i>	They are elected by the Pope and receive consecration at the hands of an Archbishop and two other Bishops to rule a particular diocese within an Archdiocese. They have the power to confer holy orders and to administer the rite of confirmation. His insignia included a throne, a <i>mitre</i> , a pastoral staff, a pectoral cross, a ring and a <i>caligae</i> .
<i>Breviary</i>	A liturgical book containing the rites to be recited in the Divine office of the Church.
<i>Bull</i>	A written mandate of the Pope that is sealed with the Popes signet.
<i>Bullarium</i>	A collection of Papal Bulls.
<i>Canon</i>	The list of inspired books which the Church recognized.
<i>Canon Law</i>	The body of ecclesiastical rules that are imposed by an authority in matters of faith and discipline.
<i>Capuchins</i>	An offshoot of the Franciscan Order founded by Matteo di Bassi of Urbino in 1552. The followers intended to return to the primitive simplicity of the Order. They wore pointed cowls, sandals and kept a beard. The official title used by them was <i>Ordo Fratrum Minorum S. Francisci Capuccinorum</i> .
<i>Cardinal</i>	A title first applied to a priest who was permanently attached to a Church. They formed a College.
<i>Catechism</i>	Oral instruction on the principal christian truths given to children and adults before baptism.
<i>Catechumens</i>	Those undergoing a pre-baptism training.
<i>Cathedral</i>	The Church that contains the official seat of the Bishop of a Diocese.
<i>Cell</i>	The private room of a religious.

<i>Chancel</i>	A sanctuary or part around the altar.
<i>Chancellor</i>	(diocesan) The chief representative of the Bishop in the administration of the temporal affairs of the diocese.
<i>Chaplain</i>	A priest who is in charge of various Catholic institutions. They are appointed by high ecclesiastical authorities.
<i>Chapter</i>	An assembly of the members of a religious house responsible for an ecclesiastical institution.
<i>Choir</i>	The part of the Church containing the seats for the clergy.
<i>Clerics</i>	The candidates for the Holy Orders who are admitted and incardinated into the Diocese.
<i>Clerics (regular)</i>	Certain clergy who take the religious vows, live in the community and take part in active pastoral work.
<i>Congregation</i>	A religious society or community
<i>Consistory</i>	An Ecclesiastical Court.
<i>Contemplative</i>	Non-discursive prayer both vocal and mental
<i>Convent</i>	A building in which a group of religious live as a community.
<i>Conventuals mass</i>	A public mass sung in religious communities that is attended by the whole community.
<i>Conventuals</i>	A branch of the Franciscan Order that favoured the accumulation and common holding of property. They were approved by Pope John XXII in 1322.
<i>Curate</i>	An assistant or unbeneficed clergyman.
<i>Deacon</i>	The rank in the christian ministry below a priest.
<i>Discipline</i>	Observance of ecclesiastical laws and customs that regulate the life of the religious.
<i>Divine service</i>	Term relating to choir, offices like <i>matinas</i> /morning prayers.
<i>Evangelical</i>	A term applied to the Protestant Churches who base their teaching on personal conversion and change of faith.
<i>General</i>	A term used for the head of a congregation. The head of the friars was called a Minister General.
<i>General Assembly</i>	The highest Court of an Order.
<i>General Chapter</i>	A canonical meeting of the heads and representatives of a religious Order. This is held to elect the new superiors or to discuss matters relating to the Order.
<i>General Councils</i>	Assemblies of the representatives of the Order of the whole world.
<i>Gentiles</i>	Non-Jews.
<i>Hagiography</i>	The writing on the lives of the Saints.
<i>Holy Office</i>	The <i>Sacra Congregatio Romanae et Universalis Inquisitionis Seu Sancti Officie</i> or the final court of appeal in trials of heresy established by Paul III in 1542.
<i>Holy See</i>	Refers to the residence of the Pope at Rome.
<i>Aateral Councils</i>	Meetings held in Rome.
<i>Lauds</i>	Traditional morning prayers.
<i>Martyr</i>	Those who undergo hardships and die for the faith.
<i>Novice</i>	A probationary member of a religious community. During this time he wears the habit and follows the rule of the community.
<i>Nun</i>	A member of a Religious Order of women living under the vows.
<i>Obedience</i>	The moral virtue that inclines the members to carry out the will

	of their lawful Superiors.
<i>Observants</i>	The frairs who claim to observe the rule of St. Francis.
<i>Office (divine)</i>	Daily public prayer in the Church in which all the priests have a special obligation to recite.
<i>Papal Legate</i>	A personal representative of the Holy See, who has been entrusted with its authority.
<i>Parish</i>	An area under the spiritual care of a priest.
<i>Pastoral letters</i>	Official letters addressed by a Bishop to all the members of a diocese.
<i>Pastoralia</i>	The principles regulating life and conduct of a parish priest.
<i>Patriarch</i>	A title for the Bishops.
<i>Poor Clares</i>	The second Order of St. Francis founded by St. Francis and St. Clare between 1212 to 1214. The members are strictly contemplative and have the strictest enclosures and austerities. They wear a black veil and cloth sandals.
<i>Prior</i>	The head or deputy of a monastery.
<i>Professed frairs</i>	Those members who took the vows necessary to embrace religious life.
<i>Province</i>	A group of dioceses territorially contiguous that form an ecclesiastical unit.
<i>Provincial</i>	Who exercises authority over all the Houses of the Order within a given area. He is elected by a Provincial Chapter and approved by a General Chapter.
<i>Recluse</i>	A person who lives apart from the world for religious meditation.
<i>Recollection</i>	A renunciation of all avoidable dissipations and a concentration of the soul on the presence of God.
<i>Recollects</i>	A reformed branch of the Franciscan Order.
<i>Rector</i>	A parish incumbent whose are not impropriate.
<i>Roman Congregation</i>	The executive branch of the Roman Curia that is responsible for the administration of the Roman Catholic Church.
<i>Sacristan</i>	An official in charge of the things that are used for divine worship
<i>Scapular</i>	A short cloak worn over the shoulders and hanging in front and behind.
<i>Secular clergy</i>	Priests living in the world who are not bound by vows.
<i>Te deum</i>	A latin hymn to the father and the son.
<i>Tertiary</i>	Member of the Third Order an association of lay people who live in the world and strive for christian perfection according to the rules of the Holy See.
Source: F.L Cross (ed.) The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church.	

APPENDIX - V

Parishes	Local Priests	White Men	Local Converts	Captives / Slaves	Hindus	Muslims	Portuguese Priests	Total Christian Population
Reis Magos	0	78	2013	89	550	301	0	3031
Nellur	11	43	1622	136	222	18	5	2057
Sao Lourenco de Linhares	0	47	438	0	6	0	0	491
Candolim	29	31	3107	66	71	0	2	3306
Calangute	15	0	3900	62	177	0	0	4154
Nagoa	23	0	3551	19	79	0	0	3672
Parra	14	0	2655	03	34	0	0	2706
Guirim	5	0	2310	5	5	0	0	2325
Pilerne	20	8	1896	24	0	0	2	1950
Penha de Franca	10	44	2022	88	621	64	0	2849
Pomburpa	18	10	1915	33	1911	60	0	3947
Aldona	4	0	3372	0	63	0	0	3439
Moira	6	0	823	0	0	0	0	829
Nachinola	5	0	606	4	15	0	0	630
Ucassaim	2	0	1662	1	9	0	0	1674
Mapusa	4	0	5183	2	509	10	0	5708
Tivim	0	4	2715	5	317	0	0	3041
Revora	1	0	1866	0	648	0	0	2515
Colvale	3	2	1377	4	562	2	0	1950
Oxel	2	0	889	0	613	0	0	1504
Siolim	6	0	3181	16	481	0	0	3684
Anjuna	14	1	4465	16	422	0	0	4918
Serula	441	0	2284	25	45	0	0	2795
Salvador do Mundo	34	3	2613	57	66	0	0	2773
Total Population	667	271	56465	655	7426	455	9	65948

Source: MR No. 86A(1719 to 1721), ffs. 32-56v.

APPENDIX VI

The Reports of the Pastoral Visits conducted by the Archbishop in the Parishes in Bardez			
Parishes	Complaint	Date of the Visit	Punishment
Reis Magos	<p>Against Bento Prestrello, a white man and Captain of Timor who had illicit relations with Anna behind closed doors. Anna de Souza was accused of usury.</p> <p>Felicio da Costa was accused of drunkenness.</p> <p>Pedro Rodrigues was suspected of having illicit relations with a <i>Cafra</i> Eugenea Lourença of Verem who was the wife of Pedro Lobo of Anjuna</p>	1 st October 1760	He was given refuge at Chimbél and had to pay eight <i>xs</i> to the Judge.
Pilerne	<p>Dionizio de Albuquerque was held for drunkenness</p> <p>Maria, wife of Manoel Roiz of Marrá lived a licentious life.</p>	16th October 1760	He was given refuge at Chimbél and had to pay eight <i>xs</i> to the Judge.
Nerul	<p>João Baptista Mendes was held for drunkenness.</p> <p>Antonio Pinto of Fortovaddo was accused of living a licentious life with Esperanca Pires, wife of Sebastião do Santos.</p> <p>Manoel da Silva who lived in <i>Padre Leite</i> plot was accused of prostitution.</p> <p>Vithoba Sinai of <i>Palmar da Ordem Terceira</i> had illicit relations with Bargi Fondu Chatim.</p>		<p>He had to pay six <i>xs</i> and was sent to Chimbél.</p> <p>He had to pay a fine of five <i>xs</i>.</p>
Candolim	<p>Bisulea of Orda and Gila Naique were accused of usury.</p> <p>Domingos Cardozo of Escrivão Vaddo was accused of having illicit relations with Monica of Serula.</p>	21 st October 1760	<p>They had to pay six <i>xs</i> and three <i>reis</i> to the Judge and three to the <i>Merinho</i>.</p> <p>He had to pay five <i>xs</i> that were sent to São Boaventura.</p>

Calangute	Telles Paes of Gavores was accused of illicit relations with Maria Frz, wife of a soldier Salvador de Souza was accused of the same.	23 rd October 1760	
Nagoa	The barber, Jacinto of Arpora was blamed for prostitution. Sebastião de Souza was accused of not attending mass decently. Jacinto de Souza and Gabriel Viegas were accused of illicit relations. Esperanca de Souza was charged for usury. Caetano de Saldanha of Saligao was accused of collecting paddy in cash. Manoel Vicente de Cunha, <i>Escrivão</i> and Pedro Monteiro, toddy tapper were held for not hearing mass on days of obligation.	23 rd October 1760 20 th October 1760	They had to pay six <i>xs</i> . She had to pay fifteen <i>reis</i> . He had to pay four <i>xs</i> .
Parra	The Curate, Pe. Innocencio Luiz stated they were not many problems.		
Anjuna	There were cases of concubinage. Malu Chaty was blamed of usury and scandals while dealing with rice. Manoel De Souza, Administrator of the Chapel of Our Lady of Health was blamed of not fulfilling his obligations in a satisfactory way. Two locals, Custam Naique and Govinda Chatim were blamed of spending the night with two Christians, Simão and Goncalo Rodrigues.		He had to pay twenty four <i>xs</i> . They had to pay two <i>xs</i> that were to be used for pious work.
Siolim	Boaventura da Gama of Nagoa and Lourenço de Souza were accused for breaking the rules of the Church.	2 nd October 1760.	
Oxel	No scandals were reported.		
Colvale	Maria Fernandes was blamed of not hearing mass on days of obligation. Luis Pereira was held for drunkenness. Vessu Camotim, Vessi Chari and Matamo Sinai were held for living with the Christians		The had to pay two <i>xs</i> .

Revora	No case was reported		
Tivim	<p>Roza, a spinster from Salcete and Victoria of Calangute who lived on the border of Moira in the <i>palmar</i> of João Correa Lobo of Pomburpa were accused of illicit relations.</p> <p>Barbara Lobo, <i>sudra</i>, wife of Diogo de Souza of Danua was blamed of illicit relations.</p>	6 th November 1760	
Mapusa	<p>Venuu Sinai of Combarjua was blamed of usury.</p> <p>Pascoal Coutinho, a soldier of the Fort of Chapora and his wife Rita Maria de Valadares were held for living with Manoel, a Portuguese Sargent.</p> <p>Marianna of Corlim was blamed of prostitution with Pedro Jansen, a Portuguese.</p>	8 th November 1761	
Ucassaim	<p>Suzana, wife of Jeronymo de Souza of Bastora was held for not hearing mass on days of obligation.</p> <p>Luis Francisco and Joanna de Menezes were blamed of the same.</p> <p>Francisco Paes was held for not participating in the Stations of the Cross and for going to the pulpit without the permission of the preacher.</p>	10 th November 1760	She had to attend catechism in the Church for one month.
Pomburpa	<p>Cosme da Silveira was accused of drunkenness.</p> <p>Jose Pedro of Cantorli who lived in the <i>Palmar</i> of Texerira was accused of having illicit relations with a Brahmin.</p> <p>Beatriz of Golname was accused of participating in the festival of the <i>Cafres</i>.</p> <p>A spinster, Magdalena de Souza of Jeconi was accused of illicit relations with Babugea Chatim</p>		
Aldona	Victoria de Souza of Sonarvaddo was blamed of giving <i>alcouce</i> in her House.	3 rd January 1761	
Moira	<p>Manoel Pereira of Povoação was accused of illicit relations with Margarida Lobo, a brahmin.</p> <p>Diego de Souza was accused of</p>		

	living separately from his legal wife Simoas de Mello.		
Nachinola	No complaint was sent.		
Guirim	Antonia de Rorz of Parzeta, daughter of Francisca de Souza of Nellur and Antonio de Almeida were accused of prostitution. Anna de Souza of Angarchovaddo was blamed of illicit relations with Marques, Adjudante of Bardez. Fotiea Porobu of Morada, Sangolda was held for usury. Antonio Caetano Lobo and Celestino Pereira were held for helping the locals.		
Soccoro, Serula	Antonio Lobo was accused of staying in the house of Amona Camotim of Dossurvado. Sebastião Menezes of Vaddem was held for causing disgrace to his brahmin family.		
Salvador-do-Mundo	Manoel de Abranches was blamed of drunkenness. João de Sousa and Francisco Xavier de Miranda were accused of preaching on the pulpit.		
Source: VP Nos. 9-10 (1964-6), fl. 7; <i>Ibid.</i> , Nos. 5-6(1754-60), fls. 12-14, 21, 37-38, 41, 52, 55, 66-67, 72, 75, 80, 90, 92, 100, 102, 110, 117, 123, 132, 138, 155-56, 161 and 164-65.			

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

UNPUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES

I. HISTORICAL ARCHIVES OF GOA

- Arrematação dos livros do Extincto Convento de São Boaventura.*
Assentos das Penções do Convento de São Boaventura.
Contas do Collegio de São Boaventura.
Contos do Convento de Madre de Deus.
Inventario do Convento de Madre de Deus.
Inventario do Convento de São Boaventura.
Inventario Geral da Provincia do Apostolo São Thomé.
Inventario Geral da Provincia Observantes do N. P. São Francisco ordenado na visita de Setembro de 1787.
Leis por favor da Christandade.
Livro da receita de despesa do Convento e Collegio de São Boaventura.
Livro da despeza do Convento do Nossa Senhora do Cabo.
Livro da Receita e despeza do Palmar de Sao Boaventura de Goa.
Livro das Pazes
Livros dos Reis Vizinhos.
Missas da Convento de São Boaventura.
Monções do Reino.
Papeis dos Conventos Extinctos,
Papeis dos Coventos Extinctos
Penções do Convento de Madre de Deus.
Penções dos Collegio de São Boaventura.
Regimentos e Instruções.
Relação dos livros dos conventos extinctos escolhidos e entregues a Bibliotheca Publica de Panjim.

II. ARCHIEPISCOPAL ARCHIVES, PANAJI

Visitas Pastoral

III. IVG MANUSCRIPTS

- Chagas Boaventura da**, *Tratado dos Privilegios de que gozam os religiosos Mendicants IVG.* Ms. no. 29, fls. 1-372.
- Lonzada Domingos de e Conceição Thome de**, *Constituições Provinciaes que fizerão em Capitulo que se celebrou aos dez do Dezembro, 1742, IVG.* Ms. no. M-10 (a), fls. 1-14.
- *Constituições Provinciaes da Ordem Thome de Goa que se celebrou no Convento do Spirito Santo, Goa, 15th November 1742, IVG.* Ms M-10 (b), fls. 1-26.

IV. XCHR MANUSCRIPTS

- Catão F. X.**, *Igrejas de Bardes; noticia historica da sua fundação e Relação completa dos seus Vigarios, Mss 279;*

-Legados Pios que oneram os bens sitados nos Conselhos das Ilhas das Bardes, Salcete e Marmagao do districto de Goa.

PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES

I. CHRONICLES

Deus Jacinto de, *Vergel das plantas e flores da Provincia da Madre de Deus dos Capuchos Reformados na India Oriental*, Lisboa, 1690.

Gonzaga Franciscus, *De Origine Seraphicae Religionis Franciscanae subsque progressibus*, Romae, 1587.

Miguel da Puificação, *Relação Defensiva dos filhos da India e da Provincia do Apostolo Sao Thome*, Barcelona, 1640.


Monforte Manuel de, *Chronica da Provincia da Piedade : Primeira Capucho de toda a Ordem e regular Observancia do nosso Seraphico Padre São Francisco*, Lisboa, 1696.

Santa Eyria Clemente de, *Noticia do que obravas os frades de São Francisco, filho da Prvincia do Apostolo São Thomé no Serviço de Deos a de sua Magestade que Deos guarde depois que paçavão a esta India Oriental.* The work is found in the *Biblioteca de Ajuda de Lisboa (BAL), Funda Geral*, No. 177 in 2 copies, fls. 1-32 and fls. 38-68 and is transcribed in *DHMP*. Vol. V (1551 to 1554).

Soledade Fernando de, *Historica Seraphica Chronologica São Francisco da Provincia de Portugal*, Vol. III.

Trindade Paulo da, *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, Felix Lopes(ed), Vols.I-III.Lisbon, 1962-67.

II. PUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

Albuquerque Afonso de, *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque*; 7 Volumes, Academia  Sciencias de Lisboa, Lisboa, 1884-1935.

Albuquerque Braz de, *Commentarios do Grande Afonso de Albuquerque*, Coimbra, 1922.

Aubin Jean, 'Orçamento do Estado da India de Antonio de Abreu (1574)', *STVDIA*, Vol. 4, 1959, pp. 169-298.

Biker Julio Fermino Judice (ed.), *Collecção de tratados e concertos de pazes que o Estado da India Portuguesa fez com os Reis e Senhores com que teve relações nas partes de Asia e Africa Oriental deste o primeiro da Conquista até ao fim do Seculo XVIII*, 14 Volumes, Imprensa Nacional, Lisboa, 1881-1887.

Bulhão Antonio de, *Documentos Remetidos da India ou Livro das Monções*, Academia Real das Sciencias, Lisboa, MDCCCLXXX.

Bulhão Pato Antonio Raymundo de, *Documentos Remetidos da India ou Livro das Monções*, 5 Volumes. Tipographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, Lisboa, MDCCCLXXX.

Cunha Rivara J. H. da, *Archivo Portugues Oriental*, 10 Volumes, Imprensa Nacional, Nova Goa, 1857-1876. It is divided into 6 Fasciculos, 10 Parts and Supplements.

- *Ensaio Historico da Lingua Concanim composta para Pe. Thomas Estevao*, 2nd edn., Imprensa Nacional, Nova Goa, 1857.

- *O Chronista de Tissuary*, 1868.

Documentação Ultramarina Portuguesa, 5 Volumes, Centro de Estudos Ultramarinos, Lisboa, 1960-1967.

Felner Rodrigo José de Lima (ed.), *Subsidios para a historia da India Portuguesa*, Royal Academy of Sciences, Lisboa, 1868.

Gune V. T., *Assentos do Conselho da Fazenda*, (1613-1617), Vol. I, Part I, Government Printing Press, Panaji, 1979.

Jordão L. M.(ed.), *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae*, 3 Vols, 2 Appendices, Lisbon, 1868-1879.

Linhares Conde de, *Diario de 3o Conde de Linhares, Vice-rei da India*, 2 Volumes, Biblioteca Nacional, Lisboa, 1937-1943.

Lopes F. F., *Missoes Franciscanas na India Oriental em 1595 : Casas, pessoa e legislação*, *Arquivo Ibero Americano*, Vol. II (1914).

- Os Franciscanos no Oriente Portugues de 1584 ate 1590, *STVDIA* Vol. 9, (1962).

Marcellino Civezza, *Historia Universalle Franciscanes d' apres de traduit de missions*, Paris, 1899. It contains a topic entitled *Fundações dos Conventos, Colegios e reitorias da Provincia Missionaria Franciscana do Regular Observancia de Nossa Padre São Francisco do Apostolo San Thomé no districto de Goa(1722)*, Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa.

Meersman Achilles, 'Statutes of the Franciscan Province of St. Thomas, the Apostle in India 1686-1697', *STVDIA*, Vols. 13-14, Jan-July 1964.

- 'A list of Franciscans in India in the year 1810', *AFH*, Vol. 54, 1961.

- 'Some eighteenth century statistics of the Archdiocese of Goa and of the Diocese of Cochim', *ICHR* Vol. I, No. 2 (1968).

- 'The Chapter lists of the Madre de Deus Province in India (1569-1790)', *Separata do STVDIA*, Julho, 1960.

- *Annual Reports of the Portuguese Franciscans in India (1713-1833)*, Centro dos Estudos Ultramarino, Lisboa, 1972.

Pereira Braganza A. B. de, *Arquivo Portugues Oriental: Historia Administrativa (1600-1699)*, Tomo IV, Vol. II, Part I, 10 Volumes, Tipographia Rangel, Bastora, 1937. The above mentioned work contains the *Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoações do Estado da India Oriental*, by Antonio Boccaro, 1631-1643.

Pissurlencar P. S. S.(ed.), 'Tombo de Rendas que sua Magestade tem nas terras de Salcete, Bardez e neste Ylha de Goa', *BIVG* Nos. 66 (1950), 67 (1951).

- *Regimentos das fortalezas da India*, Tipographia Rangel, Bastora, 1951.

- *Assentos do Conselho do Estado*, 5 Volumes. Tipographia Rangel, Bastora, 1953-1957 and 1972.

Rego Silva Antonio de, *Documentação para a Historia das Missoes do Padroado Portugues do Oriente*, 12 Volumes, Agencia Geral das Colonias, Lisbon, 1947-58.

Schurhamer G., 'Carte inedita sobre a fundação do Convento de São Francisco de Assisi.', *BIVG* Vol. 74(1957).

Vaz F. X., 'Um Manuscrito do convento de São Francisco de Assiz de Goa.. A veneravel Ordem Terceira da Penitencia em Goa', *OP* Vol. 4, (1907).

Waddingo Lucca M.R., *Annalees Minorum: seu trium Ordinum*, São Francisco Institutorum, Tomos I-XXV, Ad Claras Aquas, Quaracchi, 1951.

Wicki Iosephus, *Documenta Indica, Apud Monumenta do Historica Societus Iesus*, Romae, 1948.

- *O Livro do Pai dos Christaos*, Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, Lisboa, 1969.

III. TRAVELOGUES

Afonso John Correia (ed.), *Intrepid Itinerant; Manoel Godinho and his journey from India to Portugal in 1663*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1990.

Baldens Phillip, *A true and exact description of the most celebrated East India, coasts of Malabar and Coromandel and also the rise of the Islands of Ceylon with their kingdom and Provinces and of idolatry of the pagans in the East Indies*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1996.

Ball V. (trans.), *Travels in India by Jean Baptiste Travenier*, Vol. I, Oriental Books Reprint Cooperation, New Delhi, 1977.

Barros João, *Decadas de Asia -de feitos que os Portugueses fizeram no descobrimento e conquista dos Mares e terras do Oriente*, 8 Volumes, The Royal Press, Lisbon, 1777-1778.

Boxer C. R., 'Second thoughts on Goan historiography', in Afonso Correia John (ed.), *Indo Portuguese History: Sources and problems*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1981.

Burnell Arthur Coke (ed.), *The voyage of John Huyghen Van Linchoten to the East Indies*, Asian

- Educational Services, New Delhi, 1988.
- Castanheda Fernão Lopes de**, *Historia do descobrimento e Conquista da India pelos Portugueses*, 9 Volumes, Imprensa da Universidade, Coimbra, 1924-33.
- Catz Rebecca**, *The Travels of Mendes Pinto and Fernão Mendes Pinto*, University of Chicago Press, 1984.
- Collis Maurice**, *The Land of the Great Image being experiences of Frair Manrique of Arakan*, Faber Pvt. Ltd., London, 1942.
- Commissariat M. S.**, *Mandelslos Travels in Western India (1638-1639)*, Oxford University Press, London, 1931.
- Cortesão Armando (ed.)**, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires and the book of Francisco Rodrigues*, Vol. I, University of Lisbon, 1978.
- Couto Diego de**, *Decadas da Asia*, Office of the Royal Press, Lisbon, 1778-88.
- Crooke William**, *A New account of East Indies and Persia being nine years travel of John Fryer (1672-1678)*, Vol. II, Asian Educational Services, London, 1913.
- de Souza T. R.**, Voiceless in Goan historiography, in Afonso Correia John (ed.), *Op. Cit.*, 1981.
- Fawcett Charles (ed.)**, *The travels of Abbé Carre in India and the Near East*, Vol. I.
- Golubovich Girolamo P.**, *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica della terra Santa e dell'Oriente Franceseano*, Collegio de São Boaentura, Quarrachi Tomo I, Part I, 1928.
- Greenlee William Brooks (trans.)**, *The Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, MCMXXXVIII.
- Grey Edward**, *The travels of Pietro della Valle in India*, 2 Vols, Hakluyt Society, London, 1982.
- Johnston Harry**, *Pioneers in India*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1993.
- Lancelot C. Sheppard (trans.)**, *Goa Rome de l'Orient*, Arthur Baker Ltd., London, 1957.
- Ley David Charles (ed.)**, *Portuguese voyages (1498-1663)*, J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., London, 1960.
- Sen S. N.(ed.)**, *Indian Record Series: Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, National Archives of India, New Delhi, 1949.
- William (ed.)**, *Manucci Nicolao's Storia do Mogor en Mogul India (1653-1708)*, Vol. III, Irvine edition, India, 1966.

PUBLISHED BOOKS

- Almeida Fortunato de**, *Historia da Igreja em Portugal*, Tomo III, Parte II, Imprensa Academica, Coimbra, 1915.
- Alwaye Dominic**, *The Latin mission under the jurisdiction of the Propoganda (1637-1838)*, in E. R. Hambye and Perumail (ed.), *Op. Cit.*, 1972.
- Araujo Maria Benedita**, *O Pay dos Christãos: contibuição para o estado da cristianização da India*, CIHMPEC-II.
- Aspurz Lazaro Iriarte de**, *Franciscan History: The Three Orders of St. Francis of Assisi* (transl. from Spanish by Patricia Ross), Franciscan Herald Press, Chicago, 1983.
- Ayalla Fredrico d'**, *Gôa Antiga e Moderna*, Lisboa, 1887.
- Bacelar e Oliveira J. P.**, 'Arrest, Spoilation and exile of the Goa Jesuits according to Fr. Caeiros, "De Exilio"', in de Souza T. R.(ed.), *Indo Portuguese History: Old issues, new questions*, Concept, New Delhi, 1985.
- Baiao Antonio**, *A Inquisicao de Goa (1569-1630)*, Vol. II, Coimbra, 1930.
- Balsemao Pinto Eduardo Augusto de Sá Noguera de**, *Os Portuguezes no Oriente, feitos gloriosos practicados no Oriente*, Parts I-III, Imprensa Nacional, Nova Goa, 1881.
- Bayly Susan**, *Saints, Goddesses and Kings. Muslims ad Christians in South Indian Society (1700 to 1900)*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1989.
- Borges C. R. and Helmut Feldmann (ed.)**, *Goa and Portugal - their cultural links*, XCHR Series

No. 7, Concept, New Delhi, 1997.

Borges C. R., 'Religious Orders and the Estado da India in Goa: A balancing act', in P. P. Shirodkar(ed.), *Goas external relations*, Rajhauns, 1992.

Borges Charles, *The Economics of the Goa Jesuits, (1542-1759)*, Concept, New Delhi, 1994.

Boxer C. R., *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire (1415-1825)* Plumb J. H (ed.), Hutchinson Company Ltd., London, 1969.

- *The Portuguese India in the mid seventeenth century*, Oxford University Press, 1980.

- *The Church and Iberian expansion 1440 to 1770*, John Hopkins University Press, Ballimore, 1978.

Braganza Alexio Jeronimo Rosario do, *A Igreja de Mapuca*, Tipografia Rangel, Bastora, 1926.

Burn Robert I, *Christian and Jews in the Crusader kingdom of Valencia - Society in Symbiosis*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 1984.

Castelloe M. Joseph (trans.), *The letters and instructions of Francis Xavier*, Sahitya Prakash, India, 1993.

Catão Gomes F. X., *Freguesia de Pilerne; no Tricentenário da fundação da sua Igreja (16558-1758)*, *Esboco historico Arquelogico*, 1958.

Civezza Marcellino de, *Historie Universalle des Missions Franciscaines d'apres de TRP Traduit de l'italien par Pe. Victor Bernardin de Rouen, OFM de la Provincia de France, 4 Parts, Tome II, Asie-Indes*, St. Joseph, Paris, 1899.

Clark Francis X., *An Introduction to the Catholic Church of Asia*, Atenco University Publications, Manila, 1987.

Coleridge Henry James, *The life and letters of St. Francis Xavier*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1997.

Costa F. X. da, *Arcepiago Legados Pios que oneram os bens citados nos concelhos das Ilhas, Bardez, Salcete e Mormugao do districto de Goa*, Tipografia Rangel, Bastora, 1960.

Costa F. X. de, *Anais Franciscanos em Bardes*, Tipografia Sri Saraswati, , Nova Goa, 1926.

Cottineau Kloguen Dennis I de, *A historical sketch of Goa: the metropolis of the Portuguese settlements in Goa*, Asian Educational Services, Delhi, 1995.

Cruz Maria Agusta Lima, 'Notes on Portuguese relations with Vijaynagar (1500 to 1505)', in Subrahmanyam Sanjay (ed.), *Sinners and Saints: the successors of Vasco da Gama*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1998.

Cummins J. S., *Jesuit and frair in the Spanish expansion to the East*, Variorum Reprints, London, 1986.

D'Costa Anthony, *The Christianisation of the Goa Islands (1510-1567)*, St. Xaviers College, Bombay, 1965.

D'Sa M., *History of the Catholic Church in India, (52-1662 AD)*, Vol. I, B.X. Furtado and Sons, Bombay, 1910.

Dauril Alden, *The making of an enterprise(The Society of Jesus in Portugal, its Empire and beyond), 1540-1750*, Stanford University Press, California, 1996.

David M. D. (ed.), *Asia and Christianity*, Himalaya Publishers, Bombay, 1985.

- *Western colonialism in Asia and Christianity*, Himalaya Publishers, New Delhi, 1998.

Duncan Nimmo, *Reform and division in the Medieval Franciscan Order (1226-1538)*, Capuchin Historical Institute, Rome, 1987.

Dutch Franciscan Provincialate (eds.), *Dutch Franciscans and their missions*, Vol. 1, Netherlands, 1994.

Fortini Arnaldo, *Francis of Assisi* (transl. from *Nova Vita di San Francesco* by Moak Helen), Crossroad, New York, 1981.

Francesco d'Assisi: nella Storia, Vol. 1, *Congresso di Studi Secoli XII-XV*, Instituto Storico du Cappucini, Roma, 29 Sept-2 Oct. 1981.

Freitas Jeronimo Simao do, *R Sovenir do Terceiro Centenario da fundacao da Igreja da Parra*, Tipografia Rangel, Bastora, 1949.

- Godinho Ino**, *The Padroado of Portugal in the Orient (1454-1860)*.
- Gracias Caetano Velho**, *Goa e seus Monumentos e Religios da antiga*, Tipografia Central, Nova Goa, 1931.
- Hambye E. R. and Perumalil H.M (ed.)**, *Christianity in India. A History in Ecumenical Perspective*, Prakasan Publishers, South India, 1972.
- Heras H.**, *The conversion policy of the Jesuits in India*, Studies in Indian History of the Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay, 1933.
- Holzafel Herbert**, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, Antonio Tibesar OFM and Brinkmann Gervase(transl.), St. Josephs Seminary, Illinois, 1948.
- Hortart Francois and Lemercinier Genevieve**, *Genesis and Institutionalization of the Indian Catholicism*, Iolanda Rendel(transl.), Universit  Catholique de Louvain la Neuve, Sri Lanka, 1981.
- Huber Raphael M.**, *A documented History of the Franciscan Order (1182-1517)*, Milwauker, Washington DC, 1944.
- Hull Earnest**, *The Bombay mission with a special study of the Padroado question (1534-1858)*, Vol. I, pp. 37-28.
- India and its mission*. The Capuchin Mission unit, Cumberland, Maryland, Macmillan Ltd. New York, 1923.
- Johnston Puthenpurackal J.**, *Indian Capuchin Research Forum Vol. I*, Dharmaram, Bangalore, 1991.
- Kierkels Leo P.**, *Apostolic Delegation of the East Indies (1884-1934)*, Belmont, Bangalore.
- Latourette Kenneth Scott**, *A History of Christianity - Three Centuries of Advance (1500-1800 AD)*, Vol. III, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1939.
- Laurance C. H.**, *The Frairs: the impact of the early mendicant movement on western society*, Longman, London, 1994.
- Lemmens Leonhard P.**, *Die Heiden missionem des Spatmitte latters (festschreft zum Sieben hunder jubilaum dei Franziskoin ernission (1219-1919)*, Mitzwei Karten Munster in Westfalia, 1999.
- Lobo Amaro Pinto**, *Memoria Historico Ecclesiastica da Arquidiocese de Goa (1533-1933)*, Tipografia de A Voz de S o Francisco Xavier, Nova Goa, 1933.
- Lopes Maria de Jesus dos Martires (ed.)**, *Epistolario de um Acoriano na India Dom Taveira da Neiva Brum da Silveira (1750-1775)*, Universidade dos Acores, Delgado, 1983.
- *Goa Setecentista: Tradi o e Modernidade: Colec o, estudos e documentos*. Centro dos Estudos dos Povos e cultura, Lisboa, 1996.
- Luciano Petech**, *L'Francescani nell Asia central e Orientale nel seculo XIII e XIV*, Societa Internazionale di Studi Francescani Espansione de Francescanesimo tra-Occidente e Oriente nel Seculo XIII, Assisi, 1979.
- Machado Jo o**, *Rela o dos successos da India e Principio do Felissimo Governo do Estado, Ex Sr. Conde De Ega*, 1759.
- Maffei Petrus**, *Historiarum Indicarum*, Bergamo, 1747.
- Maltaso Jos **, 'Raizes de Misiona o Portuguese', *CIIMPEC*, Vol. 1.
- Martin Ferreira Jose F.**, *Historia de Misericordia de Goa(1520-1620)*, Vol. I, Nova Imprensa Nacional, 1910, Vol. II (1621-1910) 1912.
- *Historia da Misericordia de Goa(1691-1910)*, 1912.
- Mascarenhas Myra Pinto**, 'Pombaline Era in Goa (1750-1777)', Unpublished MA Thesis offered to Bombay University, 14, September, 1977.
- Masseron Alexandre and Habig Marion. A.(ed.)**, *The Franciscans: St. Francis of Assisi ad his Three Orders*, Franciscan Herald Press, Chicago, 1959.
- Matos Artur Teodoro de**, 'Assets and Income of the Religious Orders in Goa at the end of the sixteenth century', in Souza T. R de., *Discoveries, Missionary Expansion and Asian Cultures*, Concept, New Delhi, 1994.
- Meersman Achilles and Peires E.**, *Early Christianity in Ceylon: a 17 century narrative*, Bishop House Catholic Press, Colombo, 1972.

- Meersman Achilles**, *The Ancient Franciscan Provinces in India (1500-1835)*, Christian Literature Social Press, Bangalore, 197.
- *The Frairs Minor at Franciscans in India (1291-1942)*, Rotti Press, Karachi, 1943.
 - 'Development of the Church under the Padroado from the death of St. Francis Xavier to the eclipse of the Portuguese in the seventeenth century', in Hambye E.R. and Perumalil H.C.M.(ed.), *Christianity in India: A History in Ecumenical Perspective*, Prakasham, South India, 1972.
 - *Historia Missionum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum (Vol. I) Asia, Centro Orientalis et Oceanic*, Secretariat Missionum, Romae, 1967.
 - *The Frairs Minor or Franciscans in India (1291-1942)*, Rotti Press, Karachi, 1943.
 - *The Franciscans in Bombay*, St. Anthonys Frairy, Bangalore, 1957.
 - *The Franciscans in the Indonesian Archipelago*, Paris, 1967.
- Melo Carlos Merces de**, *The Recruitment and formation of the native clergy in India (16. - 19. centuries) A Historico Canonical study*, Agencia Real do Ultramar, Lisboa, 1955.
- Mendonca Delio**, *Conversions and citizenry, Goa under Portugal (1510-1610)*, Concept, New Delhi, 2002.
- Moorman John**, *The history of the Franciscan Order: from its origins to the year 1517*, Oxford University Press, 1968.
- Moraes G. M.**, *A History of Christianity in India, from early times to SFX (AD 52 - 1542)*, Manaktalas, Bombay, 1964.
- Morcira Montes Antonio**, *Discourse Inaugral do President no CIHMEC*, Universidade Catholica, Portugal, 1993.
- Nazareth Casmiro Christovam**, *Clero de Goa. Servicos a religiao e a Nacão*, Casa Lusa Francesa, Nova Goa, 1927.
- Nazareth Casmiro Christovam**, *Mitras Lusitanas no Oriente. Catalogo chronologico historico dos Prelados da Igreja Metropolitana de Goa e das dioceses Suffraganeas(1501-1774)*, Parte I, Imprensa Nacional, 1887.
- Neill Stephen**, *A History of Christian missions, a Pelican History of the Church*, Penguin Books, 1964.
- *A History of Christianity in India (the beginnings to 1707 AD)*, Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- New Catholic Encyclopaedia**, Vols. IV and VI. The Catholic University of America, Washington DC, 1967.
- Noronha A. de**, 'Os Indus de Goa e a Republica Portugesa', *A India Portuguesa*, Vol. II.
- Oliveira Miguel de**, *Historia da Igreja*, 3rd Edu., União Grafica, Lisboa, 1952.
- Omer Englebert**, *St. Francis of Assisi: a Biography*, Franciscan Herald Press, Illinois, 1965.
- Pannikar K. M.**, *Asia and Western Dominance*, The Other India Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1993.
- Paris Gratien de**, *Historie de la fondation et de l'evolution de 'order des freres Mineurs au XIII siecle*, Bibliotheca Seraphico Capuccina Instituto, Romam 1982.
- Pastor Ludwig**, *A History of the Popes (from the close of the Middle Ages)*, Vol. VI, London, 1848.
- Pearson M. N.**, *The New Cambridge History of India. The Portuguese in India*, Vol. I:1, Orient Longman, Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Penteado Pedro**, 'Confrarias Portugesas da Epoca Moderna: Problemas, Resultadas e tendencias da iverstigaçãõ', *Lusitania Sacra*, Tomo. VII, (1995).
- Pereira Antonio**, *The Makers of Konkani Literature*, Xavier Press, Pilar, Goa, 1982.
- Pereira Braganza A. B.**, *Ethnografia da India Portuguesa*, 1940, Vol. II.
- Pereira Jose (ed.)**, *Gaspar de São Miguel*, 3 Vols. London 1904.
- *Gaspar de São Miguel, Arte da Lingoa Canarim Parte 2º, Suntaxes Copressima na Lingoa Brahmana e Pollida*, A syntax of standard Concani, New Series, Part II, Art. No. 42, Journal of the University of Bombay, Nov. XXXVI (September 1967).

- Pereira Rui Gomes**, *Goa Hindu Temples and deities*, Nova Goa, 1978.
- Peter Don (ed.)**, *Franciscans and Sri Lanka*, Evangel Press Ltd., Colombo, 1983.
- Pissurlencar P. S. S.**, *Agentes de Diplomacia Portugues na India*, 1952, Vol. I.
- Priolkar A. K.**, *The Goa Inquisition*, Voice of India, New Delhi, 1961.
- *The Printing Press in India; its beginnings and early development*, Marathi Samshodhani Mandala, Bombay, 1958
- Rego Silva Antonio de**, *O Padroado Portugues do Oriente; Esboço Historico*, Agencia Real das Colonias, MCMXL.
- *Historia das Missoes do Padroado do Oriente*, Vol. I, Lisboa, 1949.
- Risley Paul**, *Francis Assisi: its Political and Social history (1175-1225)*, Vol. 34, Ano. XII, 1974.
- Saldanha Mariano (ed.)**, *Doutrina Christa em lingua Concani*, by Thomas Estevão, Impressa em Rachol, Goa, 1622; 2nd edn. Agencia Geral das Colonias, Lisboa, MCMXLV.
- Saller Gurney E. (transl.)**, *The Legend of St. Francis by the 3 Companions*, London, 1905.
- Schurhammer George**, *Francis Xavier, his life, his times*, Vol. II, India (1541-1545), Castelloe Joseph (trans.), The Jesuit Historical Institute, Rome, 1977.
- Shastri B. S.**, 'Marques de Pombal and the Jesuits of Goa', in de Souza T.R.(ed.), *Jesuits in India*.
- Silva Carmo da**, 'Evangelizacao e Imprensa nos seculos XVI e XVII na India', in, CIMPEC, Vol. II.
- Souza Francisco de.**, *Oriente Conquistado a Jesus Christo pelos Padres da Compania de Jesus da Provincia de Goa*, 1^a Parte, 2nd edn., Examiner Typographia, Bombay, 1881.
- Souza T. R de. and Borges Charles J. (ed.)**, *Jesuits in India: in historical perspective*, Instituto Cultural de Macau, XCHR, 1992.
- Souza T. R de (ed.)**, *Discoveries, Expansion and Asian Cultures*, Concept, New Delhi, 1994.
- Souza T. R de.**, 'The Catholic Church in India', in *Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians (EATWT) Working Commission on Church History, Consultation Church History*, Manila, 1987.
- Souza T. R. de**, *Medieval Goa: A socio-economic history*, Concept, New Delhi, 1979.
- 'Christianization and cultural conflicts in Goa – sixteenth to nineteenth century', in *Congresso Intenational de Historia Missionação Portugues e encontro de Culturas(CIHMPEC)*, Braga, 1993.
- Subramanyam Sanjay**, *Siners and Saints: The successors of Vasco da Gama*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1998.
- *The Career and Legend of Vasco da Gama*, Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Telles Ricardo Micheal de**, *Freguesia do Nerul – Estudo Historico Arqueologico*, Impresa Oriental, Nova Goa, 1925.
- *Apontamentos para a Historia archeologica dos Reis Magos*, 1906.
- *Monumetos Nacionais*, Impresa Nacional, Nova Goa, 1933.
- *Os Franciscano no Oriente e seus Conventos*, Tipographia Rau e Irmaos, Nova Goa, 1922.
- Telles Ricardo**, *O Povorello de Assisi. Poeta e sancto*, Tipografia Saraswati, Nova Goa, 1926.
- Texeira J.M de (ed)**, *Cronica do Felicissimo Rei Dom Manuel*, in four Volumes, Coimbra, 1926.
- Thekkedath Joseph**, *History of Christianity in India (from the middle of the 15th century to the end of the 17th century 1542-1700)*, Vol. I, CHAI Theological Publications, Bangalore, 1982.
- Thomas Luis Fillipe F. M.**, 'Descobrimentos e evangelização da Cruzada á missão Pacifica', *CIHMPEC*.
- Thomas Luo Y.**, *The Avignon Popes ad Monte Corvino*, Acts of the International Study workshop of John de Monte Corvino, OFM, 1294-1994.
- Toynbee Arnold**, *A Historians Approach to Religion*, Oxford University Press, London, 1956.
- Valignano A.**, *Historia del Principio y progreso de la Compania de Jesus em la Indias Orientals*, (1524-6), Wicki I. (ed.), Roma, 1944.

Xavier F. N., *Bosquejo Historico das comunidades das aldeas das Conselhos das Ilhas, Salcete e Bardez*, Imprensa Nacional, Nova Goa, 1852.

- *Freguezias que de presente ha nas terras de Bardez cuja despeza se fazer com o dinheiro da renda*, Nova Goa, 1886.

- *Resumo historico da maravilhosa vida, conversoes e milagres de San Francisco Xavier*, Nova Goa, 1865.

Zupanov Ines G., 'The Prophetic and the Miraculous in Portuguese Asia: A Hagiographical view of colonial culture', in Subramanyam Sanjay.

JOURNALS

Albuquerque Viriato A.C.B., 'Casa de Catecumenos em Goa', *OP* Vol. II (1905).

Borges Charles J., 'Shipping the Gospel', *Journal of Maritime Archeology*, Vol. I, (1994).

Braganza Pereira A. de, 'Historia Religiosa de Goa', *Separata de OP*(1935).

Catão Gomes F. X., 'Aldeia de Assação (Goa) subsidios para sua historia', *STUDIA*, No. 40,(1978).

- 'Igreja de Revora', *BEAG*(1957).

- 'The Reformed Franciscans and the Frairy of our Lady of the Cape in Goa', *ICHR*, Vol. IV, No. 2.

- 'Igreja de Moira', *BEAG*, Nos. 9 and 10 (1967).

- 'Igreja de São Thomé Aldona', *BEAG*, No. 9. (1957).

Clark D. L. Ian, 'Church History or History of the Church', *ICHR* Vol. III, No. 2,(1974).

Costa Antony da,' The fate of the temples of Goa in the sixteenth century', *Examiner*, Vol. 113, No. 6, Feb. 17, 1962; No. 7,(1962).

D'Costa Antony, 'Administrative social and religious conditions in the Goa Islands 1510-1550', *Indica* Vol. I, No. 1(1964).

- The Demolition of Temples in the Islands of Goa in 1540 and the disposal of Temple lands, *NZM*, Vol. 18(1962).

David Imanuel S., 'History of Christianity in India: Changing perspectives', *ICHR*, Vol. I, No. I, de Souza Alboim P., 'Egrejas e Capellas de Goa', *OP* Vol. IV (1907).

Dias Mariano Jose, 'Was Konkani ever suppressed?', *Separata do BIVG*.Vol. 177 (1977).

Disney Anthony, 'A 17th century Portuguese Consul, Dom Miguel de Noronha: Count of Linhare's, *Purabhilekh Puratatva*, Vol. II, No. 2, (1984).

Goertz Picheal, 'From territorial borders to an inner frontier: The first century of the Estado da India', *STVDIA* No. 53 (1994).

Gomes Cunha Cipriano de, 'A Cristianização de Bardez',*BIVG* Vol. (1957).

Gomes Olivinho,' Grammatical Studies in Konkani – a critical overview', *BIVG* No. 170 (1994).

Gracias Amancio, 'Bens Pensionadas em Goa', *OP* No. 12-13(1936).

- 'Casa dos Cathecumenos em Bardez', *OP*.Vol. 2(1905).

Gracias Ismael J. A., 'Beati Paliperes Spiritu', *OP* Vol. IX ,Nos. 5 and 6, (1912).

- 'Legados e Pencoes a cargo das fabricas e confrarias de Goa em 1766', *OP* No.10, Nos. 3 and 4(1913).

- 'A invasion de Goa',*OP*, Vol. 8, (1911).

- 'Occupação de Goa pelas tropas inglez (1799)', *OP* Vol. 5,(1907).

Habig Marion A., 'Marignolli and the decline of Medieval Missions to China', *Franciscan Studies*,Vol. 26, No. 1(1945).

Huber Raphael M., "Some famous Conventual historians', *Franciscan Studies*, Vol. 24, no. 3(1943).

Ismael Gracias, 'Rcforma da religão Franciscana em Goa (Seculo XVIII)', *OP* Vol. VII, Nos. 1

and 2 (1910),.

Lopes F. F., 'A evangelização de Ceilão desde 1552-1602', *STVDIA* Vols. 20-2, (1967).

- 'Frei Andre de Insua, Geral dos Observantes Franciscanos', *Archivo Ibero Americano*, Vol. 12 (1952).

Lourenço Agapito, 'O clero de Goa atraves do Tempo', *BIVG* Vol. 96 (1971).

Maryenhoff W. A., 'Dutch Missions in the East Indies in the seventeenth century', *NZM* Vol. XXVII(1971).

Mathew K. S., 'The South Indian Apostolate of São Thomé and the Portuguese in the sixteenth century', *Christian Orient* Vol. VI.

Meersman Achilles, 'Additional notes on Archbishop F. A. Frascella', OFM, Conv. in Goa (1640-53), *Estratt da Miscelleanea Francescana*, Vol. 69(1969).

- 'Attempts to introduce the Poor Clares into India', *Indian Ecclesiastical Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1(1963).

- 'Can we speak of indegenization of the Catholic Church in India during the 19th century? Padroado and Propaganda compared', *ICHR* Vol. VII, No. 2, (1973).

- 'Capuchos e Capuchinos', *OP* No. 18(1937).

- 'Early Auxillary Bishops of Goa', *NZM* Vol. 25(1969).

- 'Franciscan Bishops in India and Pakistan', *AFH* Vol. 72(1979).

- 'Gaspar de São Miguel - A Konkani scholar', *Indica* Vol. 6(1969).

- 'Notes on the charitable institutions the Portuguese established in India', *ICHR* Vol. V, No.2(1971).

- 'Notes on the study of Indian languages by the Franciscans', *NZM* Vol. 16(1960).

- 'Origin of the Latin Hierarchy in India', *The Clergy Monthly supplement* No. 5, (1960).

- 'The Ancient Jesuit Mission of Mysore from the suppression decree of 1759 to the persecution of Tipu Sultan', *NZM* Vol. 23(1967).

- 'The expulsion of the Jesuits from their Kittur mission in India', *NZM* Vol. XXXIII(1972).

- 'The first Latin Bishops of the Portuguese period in India', *NZM* Vol. 20(1964).

- 'The Franciscans in Junk, Ceylon, Kedah and Mergui'. *AFH*. Vol. 56 (1963).

- 'The Franciscans in India from their suppression in 1835 to the present day', *NZM* Vol. 13(1957).

- 'The Franciscans in Tamil Nadu', *Nouvelle Revue de Science Missionaire, Suese, Switzerland*, 1962.

- 'The Franciscans of the Mother of God Province in Sumatra', *Franciscan Studies*, (1944).

- 'The Goa Archives and the History of the Franciscans in India', *Indica*, Vol. 1(1964).

- 'The Institution of the Commissaries General for the Portuguese Franciscans in the East', *Etractum de AFH* Vol. 59(1966).

- 'The Provincials of the Ancient Franciscan Provinces in India', *Extractum de AFH* Vol. 60(1967).

- 'The question of admitting Indians to the Franciscan Order', *NZM* Vol. 13, (1957).

- 'The suppression of Konkani in Goa' *NZM*, Vol. 55(1971).

- 'Documents pertaining to the Franciscans in the Madurai missious and on the Coromandel Coast of India (1790-1830)', *AFH* Vol. 67(1974) ; 68(1975).

Mulakava Gervasis, 'Portuguese missionaries in Cochin till 1558', *STVDIA*, No. 49(1989).

Nazare C. C. da, 'Estabelecimentos de caridade fundados em Goa pelo clero regular e secular', *O Ultramarino*, 21-11-1902.

Nazareth Carmo K. M. do, 'Occidentales e Orientales nos Conventos religiosos de Goa', *OP* Vol. IV(1907).

Ordinaria do Convento de São Francisco de Goa', *OP* Vol. IX(1912)

Pereira Bragança A. B. de, 'Templos levantados em Goa por Afonso de Albuquerque', *OP*, Vol. 23(1939).

- 'Historia Religiosa de Goa', *Separata de OP* Vol. I, Typ. Rangel, Bastora, 1935.
- Pereira Nicolau A. G., 'Encounter of the East and West in the XVI century Portugal', *BIVG* Vol. 172 (1994).
- 'Expansion of Christianity in the East (1500-1700)', *BIVG* No. 174(1994).
- Pissurlecar P. S. S., Antigualhas Estudos e documentos sobre a historia dos Portugueses na India, *Seperata de BIVG* No. 38(1938), No. 42(1939), No. 45(1940).
- 'Um frade na Corte de Punem', *BIVG*. No. 24(1934).
- 'Shivaji no concao' *BIVG*. Vol.32(1939).
- 'Tombo da Ilha de Goa e das terras de Bardez e Salcette', *BIVG*, Vol. 62(1945).
- 'Titulo de todas as despezas ordinarias que se fazem na Cidade de Goa(1575-76)' *BIVG*, Vol. 26(1935).
- Powell James M., 'The Papacy and the early Franciscans', *Franciscans Studies*, Vol. XXXVI, No. XIV(1976).
- Powell John M, 'The Papacy ad the early Franciscans', *Franciscan Studies* Vol. 36(1976).
- Randles W. G. L., 'Notes on the Genesis of discoveries', *STVDIA* No. 5(1960).
- Rocha Leopold de, 'As Confrarias de Goa', *STVDIA* No. 34, (1972).
- Rois Enrique Eduardo, 'The Franciscan contribution to Mexican culture, *The Americas*, Vol. I, No. 1(1944).
- Saldanha Gabriel, 'Collegio ou Hospicio do Monte de Guirim', *OP* Vol. I(1904).
- Shastry B. S., 'The Church and village life in Goa – an 18 century scene', *STVDIA* No. 49(1989).
- Souza T. R., 'Spiritual conquest of the East : A critique of Church History of Portuguese Asia (sixteenth to seventeenth century)' *ICHR* Vol. XIX(1985).
- 'The Afro-Asian Church in the Portuguese Estado da India', *ICHR* Vol. XXI, No. 2(1987).
- Telles Ricardo M., 'Memorias do Convento da Madre de Deus de Daugim', *OP*, Vol.VII, Nos. 1 and 2 (1910).
- 'Igreja de Siolim', *Voz*, No. 47(Aug. 1936).
- 'Igreja e Collegio de Pomburpa', *Voz*, No. 13(Dec. 1935).
- 'As almas de Pilerne', *Voz*, No.15(Dec. 1935).
- 'Brasoes e epitafios do Museu de São Francisco de Assis', *OP*, Nos. 12-13.
- 'Capelas nos Reis Magos', *Voz* , No. 10(Nov. 1936).
- 'Convento do Cabo', *Voz* No. 46(July 1946).
- 'Igreja de Aldona', *Voz* No. 36 (May 1941).
- 'Igreja de Colvale'. *Voz*, No. 38(Dec 1937)
- 'Igreja de Mapusa', *Voz*, No. 20(Jan. 1936).
- 'Igreja de Nerul', *Voz*, No. 37(May 1936),
- 'Igreja de Oxel', *Voz*, No. 33(April 1936).
- 'Igreja de Penha de Franca', *Voz*, No. 35(May 1937).
- 'Igreja de São Lourenço', *Voz* , No. 25(Feb. 1937).
- 'Igrêja de Socorro'', *Voz*, No. 36(May, 1941).
- 'Igreja Real dos Reis Magos'.
- 'Igrejas, conventos e capelas na Velha Cidade de Goa', *OP* , No. 1(Dec 1931).
- 'Inventarios dos conventos e São Francisco de Assisi, São Caetao e Pilar, *Separata do BIVG*(1943).
- 'Objectos notaveis na Igreja de Salvador do Mundo', *Voz*, No. 10(Nov. 1935).
- 'Ordens Religiosas e seus conventos', *BIVG* No. 59(1944).
- 'Real Casa de Catecumenos', *Voz*, . No. 24(Feb. 1941).

- 'Sigularidade dos Actos religiosos', *Voz*, No. 52(Sept 1935).
 - A Incursão de Sivaji em Bardes.
 - Igreja de Tivim', No. 34.(May 1941)
 - Igreja de Candolim', *Voz*, No. 35(May 1939).
 - 'A Incursão de Shivaji em Bardez'; *OP* Nos. 19-21(1938).
 - 'Carta ineditos a Historia Religiosa de Goa' *Voz*, (1941)
 - 'Epitafios nas Igrejas de Mapusa e Candolim'*OP*.Vol. XIII.
 - 'Galeria lapiadar no Museu Real da India Portuguesa', *OP* Vol. I (1904).
- Vaz Francisco Xavier**, 'Galeria dos Matyres Franciscanos no Conventos de São Francisco de Assiz em Goa', *OP* Vol. 7(1910).
- Wicki Joseph**, 'Professed House of Bom Jesus', *BIVG* no. 147 (1985).
- Winius G. D.**, 'Asian Decline and the 'Crise de Conscience' of missionaries, *Itinerario*, Vol. XI, No. 2(1987).
- Witte Charles Martial de**, 'Les Lettres Papales concernant l'expansion Portugaise au XVI siecle', *NZM* Vol. 41, No. 1(1985).
- Xavier Carlos**, 'Europens baptizados na casa dos catecumenos', *BEAG* Ser. II, An. VIII, Junho(1950).

R R R