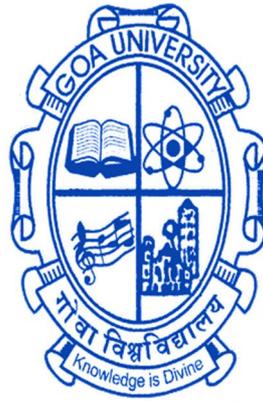


**FOOD HISTORY OF GOA: RESEARCHING ITS MULTIFACETED
ASPECTS FROM 1900 UPTO 1961**

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN THE D.D. KOSAMBI SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND
BEHAVIOURAL STUDIES
GOA UNIVERSITY



By

Maria de Lourdes Fatima Fernandes Bravo da Costa

Research Centre in History

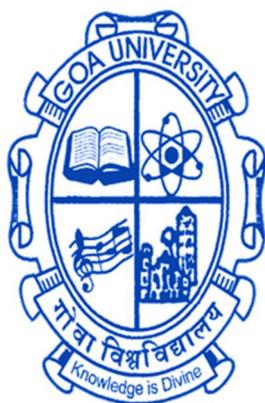
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DECLARATION

I, Maria de Lourdes Fatima Fernandes Bravo da Costa, hereby declare that this thesis represents work which has been carried out by me and that it has not been submitted, either in part or full, to any other University or Institution for the award of any research degree.

Maria de Lourdes Fatima Fernandes Bravo da Costa

Place: Taleigao Plateau.

Date: 21 April, 2022

CERTIFICATE

I, Prof. Remy Dias, hereby certify that the work was carried out under my supervision and may be placed for evaluation.

Prof. Remy Dias

Research Guide & Professor of History

Research Centre in History

Government College of Arts, Science and Commerce

Quepem, Goa

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Maria de Lourdes Fatima Fernandes Bravo da Costa

April 2022

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my dear parents, Maria Madalena Fernandes e Costa and Jaime Bravo da Costa. Also, to my best friend and husband Leonel, daughters Linette and Loraine and sons-in-law Mauro and Ajay, and grandchildren Neil and Dia.

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ABBREVIATIONS

B.O.	Boletim Oficial
BIJCE	Boletim Informativo da Junta de Comércio Externo
D.L.	Diploma Legislativo
F.G.	Free Goa
G.T.	Goan Tribune
M.N.E.	Portugal, Ministério de Negócios Estrangeiros

GLOSSARY

Abcari/Abkari	Revenue accrued from toddy tapping and related industries.
Acção Católica	A Catholic Association of lay people.
Acçionistas	Shareholders.
Addao	A mock war dance performed by tribals during the harvest festival.
Add-mass	A dish prepared from bones from which meat is removed and have some left on it, therefore called add-mass, i.e.bones and meat.
Administrador das Comunidades	Officer appointed by the Government to administer the functioning of the Comunidades of each taluka.
Agarbati	Essence sticks.
Aksal	A gravy made with small fish, onions, and cocum skins cooked in water.
Alças	A word used with peculiar meaning to show a profit that is accrued from subleasing, fields of the village community.
Alças de bate	Buying under this denomination the rice at a cheaper rate from the poor to later sell at a higher rate on behalf of Fazenda.
Alcistas	Syndicates of the capitalists who were specialized in taking the lands of the village community on lease at the annual or triennial auction.
Alvorada	Music played at dawn to announce a festive day.
Arrematação	Triennial auctioning of the estate of the Comunidades.
Avel	Flattened rice is also called pova.
Balchão	A preserve made of fine shrimps and also a dish made with prawns or pork using the preserve.
Bhatkars	Landowners or landlords.
Bikarechem jeun	Symbolic meal for the poor.

Boias	People who belonged to the Sudra caste and who served in carrying palanquins.
Boletim Oficial	Government Gazette.
Candil	A variable measure. In this case, it is equivalent to 160 litres.
Canjee	Rice cooked in extra water till soft.
Capo	Jackfruit of the hard type.
Caró-asgo	A variety of rice cultivated in Goa.
Caró-Quendalo / Quendalo	A variety of rice cultivated in Goa.
Chikol	Sludge or mud.
Chonchery	A variety of rice cultivated in Goa.
Chouriço	Sausage.
Coddo	A bamboo mat for storage of dry paddy.
Compromisso	A contract.
Comunidade	Association of gaunkars of each village in Goa.
Confrarias	Confraternity of brotherhood of the Christian community.
Consoada	Sweets and savouries prepared for Christmas in Goa.
Contribuição Predial	Tax imposed at the rate of 12% of the gross rural produce by the Portuguese government from the 1880s onwards.
Copito	Small wine glass.
Cuddas	The club-houses where the Goan emigrants lived in places like Bombay.
Dai	A flat spoon made of a single piece of wood is used to shake the batter while cooking Goan sweets.
Danto	An instrument like a rectangular fork used to plough the field.

Decreto	Decree.
Diploma Legislativo	Legislative Diploma.
Dispensa	Storeroom.
Dodol	A sweet made of coconut juice, palm jaggery, and rice, a specialty for Christmas.
Donno	A small container made of leaves of selected trees is used to serve eatables. (Plural donnes).
Fama	A religious observation a day before the novenas of a feast starts.
Fest	Feast.
Fogeter	The person responsible to make and light the fireworks.
Foros	Rent.
Fosnem	Petard, firework.
Freguesia	Parish.
Gaudi, Gaudo or Gawda	The local tribal who was the mundkar of the bhatkar in the north of Goa.
Gaunkari or Gauncarias	Association of gaunkars. The Portuguese called it Comunidade.
Gaunkars	Male descendants of the original settlers of the villages in Goa through the male lineage.
Godchem	A generic name for teatime sweets made of jaggery and coconut.
Gutto	A plane plank, to level the soil.
Interessados	The Interested parties in a Comunidade.
Khajans	Reclaimed sea-land for cultivation susceptible to inundation during tides.
Kurumbi or curumbi	Local tribals from South Goa.

Lanços	Lands at the time in the existing form of a lease by parcels.
Laat	A tin used for irrigation.
Legislação do Estado da India	Compilation of Legislation.
Mahars	Basket weavers.
Mandares	A savoury prepared for Christmas from pumpkin and raw rice, both ground together.
Mann	Equivalent to 16 kilos.
Manos	Sluice gate.
Mazanias	Temple association.
Mordomo	A person who is responsible to defray the expenses of a feast.
Mundkars	Tenants working on the landed estate of the individual private proprietors, especially in the coconut plantations.
Nalli	Petards, firework.
Onde	Small ponds (singular ondo).
Opa mus	White surplice and red cape won by the clergy and by lay people with particular liturgical ministries at worship, such as members of the confraternity.
Para	Pickle of dry fish like mackerels, kingfish, streak fish.
Pej	Canjee.
Pensão	Onus on a property.
Podd	A volumetric measure for grains.
Paili	Four poddis is equivalent to one paili, which is equivalent to 3,993 litres.
Podgué	An earthen container to carry rice or canjee.
Portaria	Notification or an order.

Portaria Provincial	Provincial Notification or an order.
Ranpin	Female cook.
Rongdo	Grinding stone.
Rendeiro	Toddy tapper.
Reudeo	Residue of pieces after extraction of fat.
Sacador(es)	Revenue-farmer(s) or tax collector(s).
Sacadoria	Office of the tax collector.
Salves	Marian antiphons. A hymn is sung at each novena in praise of Mother. Mary. Salve Regina, means Hail Queen.
Sopocar	Rent collector.
Sorodio	Kharif crops.
Tambry-patny	A variety of rice cultivated in Goa.
Tangas	One rupee had 16 tangas.
Tisreo	Clams.
Tollem	Age-old, rain-fed reservoirs of water, dating back to the pre-Portuguese period.
Touchem	Cucumber.
Ufaar	A religious ceremony.
Urid	A type of lentil.
Vangana	Rabi crops.
Vann	A hole made with laterite stones for pounding cereal, chillies, etc.
Vigia	Guards of the plantation in the lands of the Comunidade.
Vonn	A specialty sweet made of coconut juice, palm jaggery, and boiled gram dal.
Xit-coddy ani nustem	Fish-curry-rice.

Zagor

A comic representation in Konkani by illiterate amateurs;
rudimentary theatre in Goa.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Social life, religion, trade, social institutions, and caste stratification of the people of Goa, as well as other diverse subjects, on Portuguese Goa, have been analysed and studied. Anthropological and ethnographical studies of the community are covered by many of these studies. Food has had a vital role in the existence and well-being of people. Food has signified both substance and symbol through the ages. It provides sustenance to the people. It conveys multiple connotations to different sections of society and is also a form of communication with various sections of society. Its place in the socio-cultural and economic life of any social structure including that of Goa requires deeper searching to unravel the history of the region from a different perspective. On one hand, food binds citizens of society while on the other hand, it divides various sections. Various literary forms, proverbs, folksongs, theatre, folk stories, and novels in different languages Portuguese and Konkani all indicate the agitation in the society centred on food and food production, distribution, and access. These may also motivate the need to discuss issues like scarcity of food, deprivation, struggles, etc., for the region, through the ages.

An analysis of literary works indicates that there is a gap in studies related to Goan history, in that there is a need for a sustained study on the **Food History of Goa**, to understand the influence of colonisation on the subject people. Since food and cooking, diet, and eating habits allow us to understand better, the complex issues of cultural change and transcontinental cultural flow, during the colonial regime, the challenge is to research the Food History of Goa, from the early twentieth century. By what means has food been vital in the context of Goan society during the last six decades of the Portuguese rule of this land space and subsequently? Did food directly impact the community? Was the availability of the produce exclusive to the people of the territory that it shaped their history in a different manner? For example, rice varieties that are cultivated (such as *corgutt*) are home-grown types intricately linked with the region's ecology and the survival of the local communities. The coconut is also exclusive to some areas, for instance, the varieties from Benaulim and Calangute villages are well known.

Food history is a recent conquest of research. In its way, it shows the worries and the working procedures of new history, but it is still a field to explore: an incomplete business

that raises more questions than answers and that has a symbolic value.¹ In an essay,² F. Braudel writes at the start that the food history sector is one among other areas of research and historical understanding and therefore, shows the same repetitious regularity as others.³ According to Braudel studies of the cultural habits of the people, in general, need to be started. This need was felt since earlier the playfield vied with what was outstanding or outlandish, like the tables of royalty or elite. They considered as theirs the systems of food and therefore resistant to any change.⁴

Food is similarly a cultural object. The environments in which the people live and what they consume, associate “certain” components unique to an area and are also continuously influenced due to imports from other places. Goa would be such a thought-provoking example. It preserves its traditional food ecology which is fish, curry, and rice. However, over the years it was influenced by various rulers and people who lived here, having been a vital entrepôt and business enterprise along the time. Besides, the conquest of this land space by the Portuguese effected many changes in the Indian sub-continent and was very profound in Goa, where they ruled for more than four hundred fifty years (1510 to 1961). The Portuguese were responsible to bring to the continent and carry to other parts of the world many diverse plants which changed the food habits of the people living in those areas.

Ethnographic studies carried out display the food customs over the years. They show that the consumption of food is planned according to a powerful symbolic code: the rituals of preparation and meal, the calendars of traditions (festivals, Lent), and the techniques of eating (etiquette at the table), consist of strong elements of socio-cultural proof of identity and can thus suggest the fair title of ‘food sociability.’ These material systems disaggregate before the eyes in favour of the standardization of normal life and of leveller enculturation, multiform and belligerent. It is crucial to study what remains, the process of their disorganisation and rearrangement: the observation would open the way to a psychology of food, which is a logical completion of the study in progress.⁵

Food of a people depends on the geographical conditions. Goa is in the Konkan region of India and has a long coast. Goa has been mainly an agricultural state, during the

¹ Jacques Revel, “Alimentação,” (Food) in *A Nova História*, ed. Jacques Le Golf and Roger Chartier (Coimbra: Almedina, 1978), 24.

² ‘Material Life and Biological Behaviours,’ *ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 26.

historical period, where the main cultivated produce is rice. Coconut trees are grown aplenty in the state, and the coconut is very central to the Goan diet. It is used generously by households, be it for the making of curry, or vegetarian dishes, or its extract as cooking oil. In the latter form, it is also used for medicinal purposes.

The coastline of Goa is over 100 km and besides its main rivers Mandovi and Zuari a number of other small rivers and rivulets and water bodies provide people with “plenty” of fish. Thus fish-curry-rice (*xit-coddi ani nustem*) form the staple diet of a vast section of Goan people through the ages. The Brahmin diet excludes fish as they eat only vegetables and pulses. There are others who live in and close to the hilly regions who cultivated millet (*nachinim/ragi, dolichos biflorus*), which along with rice was consumed by them throughout the year.

This study attempts to put together a comprehensive food history of Goa from 1900 to 1961 when it was liberated by the Indian army. It highlights the travails of the subalterns as they strived to make both ends meet for most parts of the year, as showed by the diverse folklore of the region, government rules and regulations, and the press. The poor suffered due to the insufficiency of rice in the territory which was used as a tool by the landlords, the *Comunidade*, and the government for their benefit and to the detriment of the underprivileged masses. The landlords exploited the *mundkar* and poor farm labourers, who were not paid their rightful dues. Besides, the landlords often collaborated with the government to raise the price of the local rice so that they would sell at a profit even though it would mean that people would have to buy at a value higher than the imported rice, which was much cheaper. This was done by imposing a surcharge tax on imported rice and the government favoured this protectionist idea because it would benefit from the tax surcharge. This situation created an atmosphere where politics were played using rice by those interested to have an upper hand and control over others, that is, the *mundkar* and the poor.

OBJECTIVE OF RESEARCH STUDY

Gaunkari was a system of agrarian associations prevailing in Goa, which were later named by the Portuguese as ‘*Comunidade*.’ The colonial regime, under this system, transferred to the control of these associations, cultivable land, and fish ponds. Paddy fields were leased by them for cultivation through auction and people could bid for it. However, only the privileged *gaunkars* were allowed to participate in the auctions. These were for a specified period (either yearly or triennially) and the tenant cultivator could bid again after

the lapse of the lease. The lessee had to pay in kind to the *Comunidades*, the annual rent. They then sold the produce through auction, which would help them pay the specified socio-religious duties, the government dues, and meet other expenses. Whatever excess made was distributed to their members, who are known as *gaunkars*. The *acçionistas* and *kulacharins*, were also given some money and to the shareholders if there were any.

The land was also owned by some landlords, the *bhatkars*. To cultivate the fields, they usually used the work of their *mundkars*. The owner *bhatkar* made the *mundkars* work hard to till the land in order to get a good rice crop. They were usually paid in kind with rice. This mode of payment depended traditionally on the terms laid down by the *bhatkars*. They could entrust the land for cultivation to the *mundkars* and in return get rice as reimbursement for it. Or they could hand over the land and also provide the seeds and get rice as payment. Or the *bhatkar* could just hire the *mundkars* to cultivate the land and give them rice in return. In any of the alternatives, the *bhatkar* would be the beneficiary and the poor *mundkar* who worked tirelessly would be the loser. Moreover, everyone would be dependent on a good harvest. It is very essential as the payment in kind would be directly related to it and the production of rice. The extensive literary sources available in the Krishnadas Shama Goa State Central Library, Goa Archives, and other libraries of Goa, and Centro de Estudos Sociais, Coimbra, Biblioteca Pública, Coimbra, and Biblioteca Nacional, Lisboa, Biblioteca Pública, Lisboa, Biblioteca da Sociedade de Geografia, Lisboa, and Hemeroteca, Lisboa, are used to be data-mined for developing a narrative of the Goan food history.

The work also assesses the policy of the Portuguese government and that of British India. Most of the goods were imported from the neighbouring territories, the greater part of which by the beginning of the twentieth century were under British rule. Goa depended almost entirely on the import of goods. Although goods came from far away in Europe and other places, prices were entirely not too expensive. This was possible due to the policy of the Portuguese Government to impose low taxes on imports and also to raise the salaries of the staff. Did these policies benefit a section of society to maintain a preferential lifestyle? This doctoral research also attempts to analyse how the Goan populace got affected by politics. After India's independence in 1947, problems cropped up between the newly independent country colonized by the British, who incidentally were allies of the Portuguese.⁶ Jawaharlal Nehru the then Prime Minister of India asked Portugal to leave and give away the territories.

⁶ The First Treaty of Windsor, during the reign of D. João I, signed between England and Portugal, on 9 May 1386, is the oldest treaty between nations.

The Prime Minister of Portugal, Antonio de Oliveira Salazar refused point-blank as he contemplated them to be ‘extended territories of Portugal’ and not colonies. India tried other means, as diplomatic attempts failed and did not yield any positive results. The best option in the then existing scenario was to clamp an economic blockade on the territories, which was formally imposed in 1955. This work studies the impact of the average Goan family on the daily food consumption due to the Economic Blockade.

Another direct link to food is the study of memories that it evokes amongst people. When a particular food is consumed, the taste allows them to build their personal and community history through memories of the past. Other senses of smell, touch, hearing, and sight have also been examined to prove that these are also important connectors.

Food is also a part of rituals and traditions and has been observed by people for years. These factors have been studied from published sources, interviews, and conducting fieldwork. Three religious celebrations of the Catholic community have been analysed. The study will also show that feasts are not only about celebrations.

The consumption of socially undesirable goods, like alcohol, has also been studied in this work. The consumption of alcohol had touched levels that could be contemplated as an ‘epidemic’. The Provincial Congresses (*Congressos Provinciais*) had to include alcohol consumption and related topics as the main focus in the Seventh Congress, as alcoholism became a big problem for the Goan society. The intelligentsias and professionals in various fields that gathered at this academic event discussed many problems affecting the alcoholic and suggested solutions to overcome the disgraceful vice. There is no doubt that the Goan society experienced changes due to four and half centuries of Portuguese regime, and profoundly altered the consumption patterns. Besides, for the period of this study, it can be said that history altered the foods used. If it was not for the banning of food articles from the neighbouring Union of India there would not be the introduction of various food items from different parts of the world. These also included a lot of preserved foods that came in the form of tins, bottles, and otherwise.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW

The review of the literature shows books on the preparation and recipes of Goan food. According to Luís Filipe Tomaz who writes in a preface of a book⁷ the earliest is titled ‘Os

⁷ Luís Filipe F.R. Thomaz, “Prefácio,” (Preface) in *Sabor de Goa, Cozinha Indo-portuguesa* by Maria Fernanda Noronha da Costa e Sousa and Inês Gonçalves (Lisboa: Assírio & Alvim, 2004), 18.

Recipes de Confeição e Iguaria (The Recipes of Confection and Delicacy). The book was published in the nineteenth century in Bombay and it is the first attempt to collect Goan recipes. However, Tomaz comments that all may not be Goan and many may be *norteira*⁸ (East Indian and Daman and Diu). Sousa, the author of the book, writes a short five page introduction with a one page clarification of some of the sections before the recipes. The book by Luis Filipe D'Almeida Martins (1889) is probably the first cookery book with Goan and Indo-Portuguese recipes.⁹

Many travel writers have written, besides a few culinary experts. There are two books that are dedicated to Goan food history – *Tasty Morsels* (2004) and *Cozinha Goesa* (2011). But both these works are not ‘academic’ studies and have not covered all the central aspects of Goan food. In addition, there are a number of research papers presented at various seminars and conferences, but a majority of these are connected to spices, plants, and discoveries and their outcome on food and globalization. There is one thesis by Jeanette Gonsalves of the University of Goa in sociology (not history), which is devoted to the sociological aspects of food.¹⁰

A.B. de Bragança Pereira’s *Etnografia da India Portuguesa*, in 2 volumes is an important work for food history.¹¹ While the first volume writes about the Union of India the second is dedicated to Goa, Daman, and Diu. It depicts the essential way of life of the people and all aspects of Goa and its society. The book also gives an account of the customs, rituals, and manners of various castes and religions, their habitat, and their environment. A description of a variety of rice and seeds is given and to how to use these for cultivation. The book has graphic presentations using plenty of drawings and photos. The subsection ‘Social Life’ describes the village *Comunidade*, *bhatkars*, and *mundkars*. Since land is an important factor in the socio-economic history of the territory the author also discusses property rights. The detailed descriptions in the book are relevant as source material to the subject of Food History under study.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Fatima Gracias, *Cozinha de Goa: History and Tradition of Goan Food* (Panjim: Goa 1556 and Broadway, 2011), 154.

¹⁰ Jeanette Gonsalves, “Food and Foodways in Transition (A Socio-cultural Study of Domestic Dining in Goa)”. Ph.D. diss., Goa University, 2007.

¹¹ A.B. Bragança Pereira, *Etnografia da India Portuguesa*, (Ethnography of Portuguese India) 2 vol (Bastora: Tipografia Rangel, 1940).

The Anthropological Survey published a series titled *People of India* in 1985. The vol. XXI is on *Goa*.¹² The book was the outcome of an ethnographic survey of the territory. This was the first time that such an exercise was attempted by the Central government. Thirty four communities were identified and included in the book with information about each of them. The lifestyle of each is given and consists of food habits, rituals, customs, and traditions. An anthropometrical survey was also taken up and the data collected is presented in the book. The volume, however, hardly discusses the food deprivation that the people had to endure down the ages.

Social change in Goa by Adelyna d'Costa is a study of social change in rural Goa during the post-liberation period.¹³ It attempts to show how the most important institutions of the Goan social structure have changed and the degrees to which these changes have affected the Old and New Conquests. These include the village community, land, agrarian relation, and the occupational structure of Goan society amongst others. This is a post-1961 study; however, the study of the earlier Portuguese period is used as a marker to show the change in the post-liberation period. What is missing is a detailed description of the changes in the food habits of the people following evolving socio-economic changes in food habits.

Fatima da S. Gracias in *Health and Hygiene in Colonial Goa (1510-1961)*, discusses Goa's social history with health and hygiene as the background.¹⁴ It deals with the living standards of the people and includes the way of life, social stratification, food, health, mortality, and famines amongst others. These are discussed using population studies and demographic reports. Although not always in-depth, for example, Goa experienced famines a number of times during the colonial period and only a couple are referred to. What was the result of the food habits of the people is not debated. Did it lead to an alteration in food eating?

Cozinha de Goa: History and Tradition of Goan Food is another book by Gracias.¹⁵ As indicated by the title it is on Goan food. In it, she discusses the modifications that Goan food underwent due to various influences with more emphasis on the Portuguese effect. However, the Indianness of Goan food, even when it formed the essence of people's food

¹² K.S.Singh, ed., *Goa, People of India*, Vol. XXI, (Bombay: Anthropological Survey of India/Popular Prakashan, 1993).

¹³ Adelyna d'Costa, *Social Change in Goa* (Panjim: W. d'Costa, (n.d.)).

¹⁴ Fatima Gracias, *Health and Hygiene in Colonial Goa (1510-1961)* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1994).

¹⁵ Fatima Gracias, *Cozinha de Goa: History and Tradition of Goan Food* (Panjim: Goa 1556 and Broadway, 2011)

history is not the focal point of the book, even though eaters and eatables were by and large indigenous. The book also elaborates on the various customs, manners, and traditions of the community. A list of varied cookbooks on Goan food as well as a write-up of some well-known cooks of the past is given. The book also includes select recipes.

Another book on culinary art and recipes is *Tasty Goan Morsels – Food, Ingredients and Preparation* by Maria de Lourdes Bravo da Costa Rodrigues.¹⁶ The first half of the book has nine chapters and gives the reader a broad, though not extensive view point of the Goan art of cooking. The daily routine, the celebrations, and the way of life of the people have been examined. The diverse cooking traditions of the prominent religious communities of Goa – the Hindus, Catholics, Muslims, and Khojas have been covered. So also, the impact that the discovery of the maritime route to India by the Portuguese had on the Goan cuisine is discussed. The second part has Goan food recipes. However, in depth analysis of some, from point of health and well-being is needed by and large. Nevertheless, deeper exploration is required of differences in food consumption by class and caste.

In the essay, *Some aspects of the consumption history of Estado da India: 1900-50*¹⁷, Remy Dias expounds on the consumption history of specific consumers and the function played by the administration in the economic life of the people. In the essay agricultural production is his focus. Using data, he shows how a variety of products were locally consumed and the alterations that were effected in the pattern after the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878. Dias discusses how emigration and remittances by the emigrants changed the economic conditions of their families. However, deeper exploration is required of food consumption based on class and caste differences. Another important essay on consumption by Remy Dias is *Consumption History of the Estado da India* which covers the period of 1850-1950.¹⁸ The doctoral thesis of Dias is an important work for those who wish to study the Comunidades system. Titled *The Socio-Economic History of Goa with Special Reference to the Comunidade System: 1750-1910*¹⁹ covers more than one and a half centuries of the history of the Institution, administration, management, finance, and *gaunkars*. The thesis is

¹⁶ Maria de Lourdes Bravo da Costa Rodrigues, *Tasty Goan Morsels – Food, Ingredients and Preparation*, 2 ed. (Merces: L&L, 2004).

¹⁷ Remy Dias, “Some Aspects of the Consumption History of Estado da India: 1900-50,” in *Goa in the 20th Century History and Culture*, ed. Pius Malekandathil and Remy Dias (Panaji: Institute Menezes Braganza, 2008), 72-121.

¹⁸ Remy Dias, “Consumption History of the Estado da India: 1850-1950,” in *Towards a History of Consumption in South Asia*, ed. Douglas E. Haynes et al (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010), 76-107.

¹⁹ Remy Dias, “The Socio-Economic History of Goa with Special Reference to the Comunidade System: 1750-1910.” Ph.D. diss., University of Goa, 2004.

also relevant for the subject of study, the Goan food history as it discusses in detail rice cultivation.

Goan houses – the feminine space by Heta Pandit²⁰ uses the dwelling house to show the social, cultural, and physical interactions between family members through feminine space and her activities. The seminal work addresses food and cooking only in passing even when kitchen and health are discussed in no less detail. Placing “food” within the feminine space and understanding gender relations also need to be delved into from the class perspective. In *The Trading pattern of Portuguese Goa: 1900-61* Murelle Maria Leonildes da Costa²¹ writes about the import-export trade of Goa, during the twentieth century till the Portuguese left the territory. The role of the Board of External Affairs in import-export is discussed as well as details of different products in the trade. How has this trade affected the consumption pattern is not discussed.

Rowena Robinson in *Conversion, continuity and change: lived Christianity in Southern Goa*²² studies the Catholic community of Goa and the history of their conversion in the aftereffects of the conquest by the Portuguese. It is also an ethnographical explanation of the social and religious practices of Catholics. The author discusses food in relation to conversion, caste, and rituals. But the study is limited to a specific village in south Goa. Another study that covers a village is *Village Goa*²³ by Olivinho Gomes which discusses the Goan society in the village of Chandor in Salcete taluka. The book covers the caste structure, rituals, religious practice, feasts, and festivals amongst other subjects. However, he only briefly gives the food consumption of the three main communities, viz. Catholics, Hindus, and Muslims. His other book *The Goan Village Communes*²⁴ discusses the village communities down the ages till the post-colonial period.

T. B. Cunha in *Goa's Freedom Struggle*²⁵ discusses various issues which are relevant to the present study. In the essay ‘The rice problem in Goa (An Analysis of the Government’s Extortionist Policy)’ Cunha discusses the problems that the tenant cultivators had to face over

²⁰ Heta Pandit, “Goan houses – the feminine space” in *Goa in the 20th Century*, 51-59.

²¹ Murelle Maria Leonildes da Costa, “The Trading pattern of Portuguese Goa: 1900-61,” in *Goa in the 20th Century*, 352-71.

²² Rowena Robinson, *Conversion, Continuity and Change: Lived Christianity in Southern Goa* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1998).

²³ J.F.Olivinho Gomes, *Village Goa (A Study of Goan Social Structure and Change)* (New Delhi: S. Chand, 1987).

²⁴ J.F.Olivinho Gomes, *The Goan Village Communes* (Panaji: Vasantrao Dempo Education & Research Foundation, 2006).

²⁵ T. B. Cunha, *Goa's Freedom Struggle (Selected Writings of T.B.Cunha)* (Bombay: Dr. T.B.Cunha Memorial Committee, 1961).

the excessive increase in the rents of the rice fields of the Comunidade and the extortionist policy of the Portuguese Government by imposing surcharge tax on the imported rice. Similarly, he also discusses customs tariffs imposed by the Government which are detrimental to the people in 'The Basic Problem. An Appeal for a Customs' "modus vivendi" with Neighbouring India,' and in 'Civil Liberties in Goa,' the various problems faced by Goans including that of economic conditions. The *Congresso Provincial* ²⁶ was founded to look after the matters that directly concerned the development of Goa. Agriculture was the key problem and therefore emphasis was laid to discuss along with other difficulties that directly affected it. For example, the shortfall in rice production, auctions and leases of fields, and agricultural loans were most important. The discussions by the participants in the First and the Fifth *Congresso* were on agriculture. The Second also had some papers on agriculture, with emigration being the main focus. Economic and social problems were covered in the Sixth and Alcoholism which was a big problem in Goa, on which the Portuguese government refused to take any action on, was discussed at the Seventh conclave of the delegates. The working of *Abkari* and the tribulations experienced by the people of Goa who were emigrating in search of "daily bread" were also discussed. All these papers were presented by the Goan intellectuals and need to be dispassionately analysed to recreate the history of the period under study. The *Congressos* met from 1916 to 1931, alternate years.

Pareceres are judgments passed by the Public Prosecutors (Procurador da Republica) in the Estado da India.²⁷ The judgments are under different subjects and throw light on the administration, institutions, and governance among others. There are a number of judgments related to Comunidade which need to be studied.

Bosquejo histórico das comunidades das aldeas dos concelhos das Ilhas, Salsete e Bardez ²⁸ is a work offering in detail the Comunidades' influence to the economy of Goa. This important work is elementary for any study of the institution of the Comunidades. It is not only covering the village Comunidades, but is also a source for various other information on Goa. These include religious, social, and cultural history. The second edition of the book has devoted the first volume to data that was collected by the editor Jose Maria Sá from

²⁶ Antonio Maria da Cunha, *Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa. Subsídios para sua História*, 6 vol (Nova Goa: Tipografia da Casa Luso-Francesa, 1924-1933).

²⁷ Antonio Floriano de Noronha, *Pareceres (1913-1914)* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1915).

²⁸ Filippe Nery Xavier, *Bosquejo Historico das Comunidades das Aldeas dos Concelhos das Ilhas, Salsete e Bardez*, revised and edited by Jose Maria de Sa, 2 vol (Bastora: Typographia Rangel, 1907).

various government and private archives. Sá brought on record whatever was available to write on the history and origin of the Comunidades. However, the material provided is raw data and needs to be analysed. Filipe Nery Xavier has also edited *Leis peculiares das comunidades agrícolas das Ilhas, Salcete e Bardez*.²⁹ All the important state legislation about the administration of the village communities of the old conquests of Goa are included in the two volumes. The documents cover the period from the sixteenth to the first half of the nineteenth century. The relevance of the documents to food history needs to be analysed. In another Comunidade-related book, *Defensa dos Direitos das Gão-carias, Gão-cares e dos Seus Privilégios*,³⁰ Xavier defends the ownership rights of the *Gaunkars*. Xavier also prepared a catalogue for the Universal Exhibition of Paris (1867), to be held in Lisbon, mainly on the products and uses of coconut, areca nut, rice, and coins of Goa.³¹ He decided to give a detailed description of the products instead of just listing the objects. The monograph is important as the description in it is pertaining to the second half of the nineteenth century and can be used for comparison with the later period agriculture status in Goa.

Antonio Lopes Mendes' *A India Portuguesa*,³² is an interesting book that gives a description of Goa's geography, history, geology, agriculture ethnography, religion, usage, and customs amongst others. It has graphic pictures which complement the text. However, the book was written in the last part of the nineteenth century, and much has changed thereafter. Besides, the treatment of the subjects is not possible to be exhaustive in the two volumes.

Community, memory, and migration in a globalizing world - The Goan experience, c.1890-1980,³³ is the work of Margret Frenz, discussing the migratory trends of Goans and how they influenced the community. Individuals have been interviewed to give their experiences. The political inclinations are discussed but not much on involvement in the social and cultural life of the people. Another important book on migration is *Colonialism, Migration and the International Catholic Goan Community* by Stella Mascarenhas-Keyes,

²⁹ Filipe Nery Xavier, *Leis Peculiares das Comunidades Agrícolas das Ilhas, Salcete e Bardez*, 2 vol (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1852-55).

³⁰ Filipe Nery Xavier, *Defensa dos Direitos das Gão-carias, Gão-cares e dos Seus Privilégios* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1856).

³¹ Filipe Nery Xavier, *Descrição do Coqueiro, Arequeira, Arroz e Moedas de Goa* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1866)

³² Antonio Lopes Mendes, *A India Portuguesa. Breve Descrição das Possessões Portuguezas na Asia*, 2 vol (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1886).

³³ Margret Frenz, *Community, Memory, and Migration in a Globalizing World. The Goan Experience, c.1890-1980* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014).

and is the outcome of her doctoral research on the same topic.³⁴ Mascarenhas did extensive ethnographic research in Goa, and it is one of the first works on the subject.

In *Goan Society in Transition* Bento Graciano D'Souza³⁵ analyses the transition in its various forms, social, religious, economic, political, and cultural, experienced by the Goan society during the Portuguese rule and during the few years following the liberation of Goa in 1961. This is another book that covers a long period of more than four centuries to study social change affecting people. It is difficult in such works to go in-depth in all aspects. In *Medieval Goa*,³⁶ Teotonio R. de Souza discusses the rural and urban economy and corporate life, and the institutions attached to them, like the Comunidades and Municipal Organization. The agrarian economy and the social aspect of the corporate life of village communities and its role are discussed by de Souza in the book. However, the study is restricted to sixteenth-century Goa.

Techno-Economic Survey of Goa, Daman and Diu,³⁷ is a report carried out by the National Council of Applied Economic Research soon after the liberation of Goa, to undertake a Bench Mark Survey of the newly acquired territories by the Indian Government. The survey indicating the existing economic situation would be provided on the basis of available data – published as well as unpublished – to the newly appointed Planning Board. This study is very important as it gives the status of Goa before 1961, with statistics that became the basis of studies for other research carried out on the territory. A list of maps, graphs, and tables has added value to the report. It gives a review of the status in the first chapter 'Setting' and then individually covers agriculture, animal husbandry, fisheries, and forests amongst others.

Report of the Goa Land Reforms Commission, 1964.³⁸ A Commission was appointed by the Government of Goa in 1963 to study the land problem in Goa as the territory presented features that were different from those prevailing in the rest of the country. The Commission was asked to make recommendations to ensure the security of tenure to the cultivators and reasonable rates of rent in order to bring about rapid improvement in the economic condition

³⁴ Stella Mascarenhas-Keyes, *Colonialism, Migration and the International Catholic Goan Community* (Saligao, Goa 1556, 2011).

³⁵ Bento Graciano D'Souza, *Goan Society in Transition – A Study in Social Change* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1975).

³⁶ Teotonio de Sousa, *Medieval Goa – A Socio-economic History* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing, 1979).

³⁷ *Techno Economic Survey of Goa, Daman and Diu* (New Delhi: National Council of Applied Economic Research, 1964).

³⁸ Government of Goa, Daman and Diu, *Report of the Goa Land Reforms Commission, 1964* (Panjim: Government Printing Press, 1964).

of the tenants and efficiency in agricultural production. A very important source for land usage, some of the Comunidade rules pertaining to lease and rent policies of the fields. The Commission concludes with recommendations to the Government. There are maps and tables which are an important source of data for studies on the subject. José Conceição de Almeida's *Aspectos da Actividade Agrícola em Goa, Damão e Dio*³⁹ is a study on the agricultural scenario and land rights in Goa. His work is supported by statistical data. However, the study does not cover the consumption of food by the local people and shortages in production. Claude Alvares and Vidyadhar Gadgil, ed. *Fish Curry Rice. A Source Book on Goa, its Ecology and Lifestyle*⁴⁰ is an important work with contributions of various subject specialists and studies the problem faced by Goa's ecosystem. It reviews the historical perspective and the present status of the system. Has many illustrations and maps to help the reader.

*Abolim*⁴¹ Lucio Rodrigues's collection of essays on folklore, folk tales, and legends that reflect the Goan ethos was sourced to write for this study. The well-researched essay on *dulpod*, *mando*, and *dekhni*, the Goan folksongs, as well as some very interesting traditions, are a part of this collection. An important source for understanding the Goan past. *Undra, Muja Mama*,⁴² the compilation of various *dulpods*, the folksongs of Goa by Jose Pereira, Micael Martins, and António Costa is important as it reflects the culture and is descriptive of traditional Goa, especially the life of Christians in the past. These are written mostly by anonymous Konkani authors and describe joyous characters living in a stable world, with its tranquility disturbed by armed conflicts, ever-increasing emigration, and the introduction of technology. Though not ignorant of the darker side of Goan life, the *dulpod* concerns itself mainly with the joyous existence which that life had to offer. The compilers tried to find out the authors, history if any, give explanations and English translation of the *dulpods*. Some *dulpods* are important to this study and helped in analysing historical facts related to food. *Song of Goa - Crown of Mandos*,⁴³ another compilation by Pereira, Martins, and Costa dwells on the *mando* and uses the same methodology in writing the book as in *Undra, Muja Mama*.

³⁹ J.C. Almeida, *Aspectos da Actividade Agrícola em Goa, Damão e Dio*, 2vol. (Panaji: Government Printing Press, 1967).

⁴⁰ Claude Alvares and Vidyadhar Gadgil, ed., *Fish Curry Rice. A Source Book on Goa, its Ecology and Lifestyle* (Mapusa: Goa Foundation, 2002).

⁴¹ Lucio Rodrigues, *Abolim. The Flower Songs, Folk Tales and Legends of Goa. A Collection* (Saligao: Goa 1556, 2015).

⁴² José Pereira, Micael Martins and António da Costa, *Undra, Muja Mama : Folk Songs of Goa. An Anthology of Dulpods. Sketches of Life in Goa in Times Past* (Panaji: Goa 1556, Broadway, 2010).

⁴³ José Pereira, Micael Martins and António da Costa, *Song of Goa. Crown of Mandos* (Panaji: Goa 1556, Broadway, 2010).

As a prelude, there are essays on the *mando*, and its romantic, political, and social world. There are also biographies of some of the composers. A.R. Padoshi wrote *Agricultural Development of India*,⁴⁴ a book that is overlooked by many studying agriculture in Goa due to its title. The book is in fact an area study, focused on Goa, backed with statistics, and discusses the trends in the various aspects of the agricultural economy of Goa. Although the study is on the postcolonial status of agriculture in Goa, the first three chapters give details of the existing system in colonial Goa. These cover the role of agriculture in Goa's economy, the agrarian relations, the structure of land holding, the land use, and the cropping pattern.

There are a number of books that have been edited on the history of Goa with contributions by persons who have expertise in the field and are a good source of information on the various subjects. In this connection, the University of Goa brought out publications to focus on different aspects of history. *Goa Wins Freedom*⁴⁵ edited by Sheikh Ali was published to celebrate twenty-five years of Goa's liberation and the contributors have written on different aspects of the freedom movement. Another three were added, namely *Goa Through the Ages, Vol.II* edited by Teotonio de Souza,⁴⁶ *Goa Cultural Trends* edited by P.P.Shirodkar,⁴⁷ and *Goan Society Through the Ages* edited by B.S.Shastry.⁴⁸

Teotonio R. de Souza also edited a volume titled *Essays in Goan Historiography*.⁴⁹ What is presented in this volume is a mix of essays covering diverse themes and periods of Goan history. Most of these essays were presented on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee session of the Indian History Congress in Goa, in 1987. *Goa in the Twentieth Century – its History and Culture*⁵⁰ is a collection of papers presented at a National Seminar that was organized by the Government College of Arts, Science & Commerce, Quepem, Goa in 2005. The seminar was on twentieth-century Goa. Several papers by research scholars were presented covering a wide range of history. The book is edited by Pius Malekandathil and Remy Dias.

⁴⁴ A.R.Padoshi, *Agricultural Development of India* (Bombay: Himalaya Publishing House, 1991).

⁴⁵ B.Sheikh Ali, ed., *Goa Wins Freedom. Reflections and Reminiscences* (Bambolim: Goa University, 1986).

⁴⁶ Teotonio R. de Souza, ed., *Goa Through the Ages, Vol.II. An Economic History* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1990).

⁴⁷ P.P.Shirodkar, ed., *Goa Cultural Trends* (Panjim: Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum, 1988).

⁴⁸ B.S. Shastry, ed., *Goan Society Through the Ages* (New Delhi: Asian Publication Services, 1987).

⁴⁹ Teotonio R. de Souza, ed., *Essays in Goan History* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1989).

⁵⁰ Pius Malekandathil and Remy Dias, ed., *Goa in the Twentieth Century – its History and Culture* (Panaji: Institute Menezes Braganza, 2008).

*Boletim Oficial*⁵¹ and *Legislação do Estado da Índia*⁵² for the period of study are important sources for various legislation issued by the government as well as official notices. A number of journals were referred to read the modern trends in the field of food and memories which are listed in the bibliography. Similarly, newspapers and periodicals have been referred to on the subject of research in Portuguese, Konkani, English, and Marathi, which helped in building up the history of the period.

There is a vast collection of periodicals published from Goa available at the State Central Library, Panaji, Goa. These were searched to get relevant information. The dailies *O Heraldo*,⁵³ which is incidentally the first daily in the Portuguese colonies, *Heraldo*,⁵⁴ *Diário da Noite*,⁵⁵ and *A Vida*,⁵⁶ were more assiduously read by the people. The news covered was general and political too. Many well-known writers of the time contributed to them. The newspapers carried the reports of the happenings and were also a platform for polemics.

There were others, which were weekly or fortnightly, like *A India Portuguesa*,⁵⁷ *O Bharat*,⁵⁸ *Jornal da Índia*,⁵⁹ *Portugal e Colónias*⁶⁰ which were critical of the government and its policies. The vernacular press was also an important contemporary source that was started keeping in mind the proletariat. These included the *Amchó Gão (Our Land)*⁶¹ edited by Luis Meneses and *Porjecho Adar (Auxilio do Povo)* (Help of People)⁶² edited by Batista Vaz to help the downtrodden, the emigrants and others. Both Meneses and Vaz were quite opinionated about the various issues that people faced. The contributors also did not lag behind and wrote on the different aspects and suggested remedies for the problems. The collection also includes *Free Goa*⁶³ and *Goan Tribune*,⁶⁴ both published from Bombay and

⁵¹ *Boletim Oficial* started publication on 7 December 1837 as an official paper by the Government of Índia Portuguesa, though in the beginning it also acted as a periodical, and news and articles are found in it.

⁵² *Legislação do Estado da Índia*, an annual publication started in 1900, is a compilation of all the legislation published in a particular year. Some official notices are also incorporated.

⁵³ *Heraldo, O* founded by Messias Gomes began publication in January 1900 and continues to be published in the English language till date, with the same newspaper licence number one.

⁵⁴ *Heraldo* started by Antonio Maria da Cunha in 1908 and stopped in April 1962.

⁵⁵ *Diário da Noite*, an evening paper of Goa, was started by Luis de Meneses in 1919. Also closed a few years after liberation in 1968.

⁵⁶ *Vida, A* started publication in Margao in the year 1938 and closed after liberation in 1967.

⁵⁷ *India Portuguesa*, founded by Jose Inacio de Loyola in 1923 and published till 1930.

⁵⁸ *Bharat, (Índia)*, a weekly with G.P.Hegdo Dessai as director 1912-1949.

⁵⁹ *Jornal da Índia* founded by J. Damaso Rebelo in 1933 and ceased publication in 1945.

⁶⁰ *Portugal e Colónias* a weekly paper of Jose Inacio de Loyola which was published from Bombay from 1937 to 1938.

⁶¹ *Amchó Gão* edited by Luis de Meneses from 1929-1935.

⁶² *Porjecho Adar (Auxilio do Povo)* founded by Jose Batista Caetano Vas in 1930

⁶³ *Free Goa* started on 10 October 1953. Antonio Furtado was the first editor (1953-61).

were at the forefront during the freedom movement in Goa. They were a useful source for that period, especially so, as the local newspapers were censored and could not carry news against the government. They wound up publication after Goa's liberation.

The literature review shows that there is extensive scope for a comprehensive study entirely on the Food History of the region with a focus on the last sixty years (twentieth century) of the Portuguese colonial rule of Goa, that is from 1900 to 1961. On 19 December 1961 Goa became part of the Union of India affecting our cultural history in a much more varied way.

METHODOLOGY

This is a historical study on food, that also covers ethnography, anthropology, and other pertinent aspects and therefore can be said to be an interdisciplinary work. In undertaking To carry out the study of Food History, different resources would be analysed in addition to oral history data gathered by carrying interviews with different persons. Oral history is in fact used in studies of advanced or the marginal sectors of the historical investigation and it is the outcome of practice and a discipline of empirical sociology. It is used to study 'the history of life' constituted as its own object as a complementary sociological document. Since a large number of the traditions observed in Goa are not documented, fieldwork research coupled with interviews and personal experiences with practitioners of agriculture and people of the region will be used to analyse and come to conclusions.

The work will be analytical. Sources collected will be analysed from a historical point of view. These will be presented in the following chapters:

1. Introduction
2. Rice, the perennially 'insufficient' Goan Staple. A study of *O Signo da Ira (Sign of Wrath)* and other historical literature.
3. Food, the memory connector. A study of the Goan folk and other forms of literature.
4. Feasts and traditions: borrowing to celebrate festivities and indebtedness.
5. The drink that 'cheers' and brings tears.
6. Economic blockade and the pangs of hunger.
7. Conclusion.

⁶⁴ Goan Tribune was started on 17 June 1956 with Aloysius Soares as the first editor (1956-62).

FACILITIES TO CARRY OUT RESEARCH AT VARIOUS RESEARCH CENTRES

The literature search will include archival sources, published sources, journals, and newspapers with the latest publications and contributions. Well-known online academic sources will also be used to source for the latest research in the field, national and international, which will include JSTOR, Academia.edu, Google education, etc. Any other primary documents available within and outside Goa relevant to the topic will be referred. The libraries that would be consulted are: Goa Archives, Khrisnadas Shama State Central Library at Panaji, Xavier's Centre for Historical Research, Porvorim, Biblioteca Nacional, Lisboa, Biblioteca Publica, Coimbra, Centro de Estudos Sociais, Coimbra, Biblioteca Publica, Lisboa, Hemeroteca, Lisboa. The Research Centre at Quepem College has vast resources too critical for carrying out the research activity.

REVIEW OF CHAPTERS

This section will review the seven chapters of the thesis.

Chapter One - Introduction

This chapter looks at the objective of the research study, historical background and literature review, methodology, facilities to carry out research at various Research Centres, and the review of chapters with a brief outline.

Chapter Two - Rice, the perennially 'Insufficient' Goan Staple. A Study of *O Signo da Ira (Sign of Wrath)* and other Historical Literature.

It argues the politics of rice by the *bhatkar* (landlord), the Comunidades (village communities) of Goa, and the Government who wish to have power over the people, especially the poor. It also looks into the distinctiveness of Goan rice that is used to cultivate and the reason for this selection. Goa's exclusive ecosystem has fertile and productive land around the river called the *Khazan*. These are saline floodplains along Goa's tidal estuaries. There are also the *Morod* (uplands) and *kher* (midlands).⁶⁵ For example, *Caró-asgo*, *Caró-Quendalo*, or just *Quendalo*, is cultivated where marine saltwater affects the fields. Whereas

⁶⁵ The land is reclaimed from the sea by putting bunds and sluice gates (*manos*) The bunds are mud walls raised above the high tide level by extracting the soft mud (*chikol*) from the river bed. Such reclaimed land is generally below the high tide level by the side of the bund. The sluice gates are erected with a special arrangement to open and close automatically and to regulate the flow of the water at every high and low tide and also during monsoons. For more information on the *Khajans* please read "Alluvial and coastal plains" in *Fish Curry Rice. A Source Book on Goa, its Ecology and Life-style*, ed. Claude Alvares and Vidyadhar Gadgil (Mapusa: Goa Foundation, 2002).

for sandy terrain *Chonchery* is used. *Tambry-patny* variety of rice is cultivated on the mountain slopes and in planes.

For example, *Caró-asgo*, *Caró-Quendalo*, or just *Quendalo*, is cultivated where saltwater affects the fields.⁶⁶ *Chonchery* is used for sandy terrain.⁶⁷ And the variety of rice *tambry-patny* is cultivated on the mountain slopes and in the planes.⁶⁸

There are two crops of rice raised in Goa. One is the *sorod* or *kharif* crop which is cultivated during the monsoons and the second is the *vangana* or *rabi*. In the novel, *O Signo da Ira* (1961) by Orlando da Costa the *vangana* is the central point. Costa has used rice as a metaphor to show different facets of the life of the Goan *bhatkar*, *mundkar* as well as the latter's sufferings.⁶⁹ The emphasis is on how rice cultivation and production in Goa is a symbol, at the same time, of vital importance for the survival of subalterns and an instrument of *bhatkar* power.⁷⁰ Said in another way: it is on the basis of rice that social dynamics are established. Whoever controls and dominates its production, somehow dominates the social system.⁷¹

In this background, it would be important to study the prevailing system of renting out the fields by the *bhatkars* and the Comunidade and the laws in regard to the latter, which acted to the disadvantage of the cultivators. Also, the various measures, in use by the government to help in making available rice for the whole year have been debated. For example, giving on hire fallow land and making them feasible, and also restoring the land by re-establishing the Comunidade of Assolna, Velim, and Ambelim.⁷² The government also initiated a Rice Campaign (*Campanha de Arroz*) to get better production of rice using new ways and means for cultivation. With the objective to resolve the existing financial problem faced by the territories, it introduced a sur-tax on imported rice, which was enforced as a protectionist measure. For successful execution, a number of *Diplomas Legislativos* or

⁶⁶ Felipe Neri Xavier, *Descrição do Coqueiro, Arequeira, Arroz e Moedas de Goa*, 43. For details of the various kinds of seeds used according to the type of terrain please refer to this book. It describes the types of terrains in Goa and how these are cultivated. Besides, it also gives the know-how of how to use the seeds for cultivation. Another book on this subject is A.B. Bragança Pereira, *Etnografia da Índia Portuguesa*, vol. 2, 113-22.

⁶⁷ Xavier, *ibid.*, 44.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁶⁹ Maria de Lourdes Bravo da Costa, "O Arroz como Metáfora em *O Signo da Ira* (1961), de Orlando da Costa". (Rice as Metaphor in Orlando da Costa's *Sign of Wrath* (1961) *Via Atlântica*, São Paulo, no. 36 (Dez/2019): 81-100.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 87.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁷² *Diplomas Legislativo*, 27 February 1931, *Boletim Oficial*, 24 March 1931, *Legislação do Estado da Índia*, 1931, 97.

Portarias were published over a period. These were in fact counterproductive, as rice and other goods became costlier affecting the common men. Still worse, it bounced back on the exports of local products like coconuts, areca nuts, salt, dry fish, mangoes, and other sundry goods, which lost their market since they had to pay high duties, thus making their goods costly to the Indian consumer. However, the authorities insisted on continuing with the tax in spite of public objections since it was profiting from this surcharge at the cost of Goan customers.

Chapter 3 - Food, the memory connector. A study of the Goan folk and other forms of literature.

This chapter discusses the correlation between food and memory. This topic is in the early stages of research and therefore there is no well-defined and straight-away contained literature that needs just to be examined to assess the current state of the field on food and memory besides, both are multidisciplinary subjects. So, to write this chapter various resources have been used: history, anthropology, sociology, folklore, literature, etc. The literature review for the chapter had to go past Goan-related books. There are a few books that have been used as an indicator in this field to draw the theoretical assumption. These include those of David Sutton, Marcel Proust, and C. Counihan.⁷³ In fact, though Proust's work was a work of fiction, and not an academic accomplishment, his 'episode of the madeleine', laid the foundation for additional studies on this subject. The episode links to his eating the madeleines dipped in tea, which transmitted back memories of his childhood and which allowed him to write his own history in a seven volumes work. These recollections were involuntary memories that take place in ordinary life in everyday mental functioning. These comprise the most common happenings, characterized by their element of surprise, as they appear to come into consciousness on impulse.⁷⁴ Studies also suggest that such occurrences are especially convincing and recurrent in relation to one's sense of smell.⁷⁵ These were applied to the Goan scenario in eating fish, curry, and rice, the Goan daily meal,

⁷³ Marcel Proust, *À La Recherche Du Temps Perdu* (1913-1927) with *In Search of Lost Time* being the English translation. However, it was first translated as *Remembrance of Things Past* (London: Allen Lane, 2000) David Sutton, *Remembrance of Repasts. An anthropology of food and memory* (New York: Berg, 2001), Carole Counihan, *Food and Culture. A Reader* (2013) (third edition edited by Carole Counihan and Penny van Esterik) (New York: Routledge, 2013).

⁷⁴ For further reading on the topic, please refer to works by John H. Mace, professor of psychology at Eastern Illinois University where he teaches Human Memory and Cognitive Psychology. His Doctoral thesis is titled "Experimental Psychology-Cognition". He also researched Involuntary Memory, Autobiographical Memory Recall, Involuntary and Voluntary Recall, Autobiographical Memory Organization, and Autobiographical Memory.

⁷⁵ J. Willander and M. Larsson, "Smell your way back to childhood: Autobiographical odor memory." *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review* 13 (2006): 240-244.

bringing to mind past involvements evoked by the senses of taste and aroma. The Goan *xit-coddi-nustem* (fish-curry-rice) can be like the madeleines and lemon tea of Proust.

So, the land and the foods with the coconut tree as the “tree of life” were explained. It is important in our life not only for food but to keep up a stable eco-system and provider of other needs, like timber for the houses, fuel, and making of different artifacts and its role in the observation of rituals and traditions. Also, as an income earner for the government authorities on the dues collected in the manufacture of *feni* from the toddy (*sura*), the sap of the coconut tree, which was the highest for the almost entire period of study, except when mining started in the fifties.

David Sutton’s *Remembrance of Repast. An anthropology of food and memory* offers a theoretical account of the interrelationship of food, memory and ethos. In the book, Sutton writes how the food of memory is as well the memory of food. He has given many paradigms to connect both, which have been debated using Goan instances. Sutton’s work is supported both by ethnography and literature.⁷⁶ He deals with many of the varied occurrences that we brand as memory. For example, how the seasonal food cycle forms ‘prospective memory’ by initiating one to look forward in reference to past events.⁷⁷

This phenomenon of the seasonal food cycle can be applied to the summer months in Goa. The mango, as the king of the Goan fruits and its reputation not only for its taste but as the most wanted and the story around it – full of memories for Goans, rich or poor – has been discussed by means of literature and memoirs. In the reminiscences in the essay ‘Pink and Green,’ the author, Lucio Rodrigues gives an enthusiastic account of the mango.⁷⁸ And the tilling of the fields, harvesting, and the procedure of getting the rice ready for consumption is discussed. This is done through the womenfolk who use special preparation tools, techniques, and sing folk songs which shows that these can serve as cultural artifacts for ethnographic appraisal and collective memory. In fact, Sutton makes an appeal for ethnography that starts from the principle that food is not simply another topic that ‘symbolises’ identity. He stresses that ethnography should challenge us to rethink our methods, assumption, and theories in new and productive ways.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Ibid., 28; Sydney Mintz, “Book Review”, *American Ethnologist*, vol.30, no.3 (August 2003): 473-75.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Lucio Rodrigues was a professor of English literature at the University of Bombay. Lucio Rodrigues, *Abolim*, 140-44.

⁷⁹ Sutton, *Remembrance of Repasts*, 170; Mintz, “Book Review,” 475.

Using literature and folklore, the cycle of the food is looked into, which involves the wet season and the preparations made to get ready for the rains with the requirement to have sufficient food during the season for the family.

Sutton writes that hunger is a great memory motivator; when people are starving, they think of food. In *O Signo da Ira* Orlando da Costa relates the predicament of the *mundkars* who have to bear hunger because they are old and cannot work anymore. They have to go begging from house to house for a handful of rice. Both remembering and forgetting bring back reminiscences. The *mundkars* of Ligôr recollect the past when they would have sufficient to eat, but it made them sad to see the rice barns empty. The *kurumbi* women remembered how when they had enough, they made baskets of food with *podgué* full of hot *canjee* or cooked rice along with dried fish for an afternoon meal for those toiling in the fields.

It is not only the eating that brings memories but also the production of food. In the introduction titled ‘Anthropology, Food and Modern Life,’ the editors Jakob A. Klein and L. Watson⁸⁰ agree with Sutton that there is a need to investigate ethnographically and theoretically the ways in which cooking skills are performed, developed, and transmitted, often in highly gendered ways. So, under the production of food, the Goan curry is discussed vis-à-vis the curries of different communities.

Mnemonics, nostalgia, and remembrance are also used to bring back memories about food. Mnemonics can be used to remember the past when somebody looks at a thing and connect it to some happening or event. The example of a turkey and a pumpkin to discuss this feature is given.

Nostalgia centred around food is a frequent subject in studies of the diasporic or expatriate population who have experienced displacement. Sutton (2000, 2001) emphasizes the longing evoked in diasporic individuals by the smells and tastes of a lost homeland, providing a temporary return to a time when their lives were not fragmented. Holtzman comments that as a form of memory, ‘nostalgia’ has several different senses, generally and with respect to food. Some food literature (particularly outside anthropology) relies on a lay notion of sentimentality for a lost past, viewing food as a medium for remembrance of

⁸⁰ Jakob A. Klein and L. Watson, ed., *The Handbook of Food and Anthropology* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016).

childhood and family.⁸¹ Food-centred reminiscence is expressed within genres of food-centred memoirs (writings).

A few Goan writers penned an elegy to their favourites – in an essay, a verse, prose, or song. These include fish-curry-rice, the epicurean *chouriço* which bring to mind memories amongst the émigrés, along with the *sarapatel*, the *consoada*, and the *godchem*.

The tradition of picnics and the advantages of the spring waters for the treatment of illnesses has been documented in the *dulpod* ‘*E Te Tollsam*’ *Zori*’ *Barik Gogo*.’⁸² This *dulpod* is different from the others as it is totally devoted to the memories of people who went for baths to the spring. Picnics as annual outings are reminiscent not only to those in Goa but to the diaspora who looked forward to being present as it was a meeting point of the community. This custom was carried with them and even arranged a picnic wherever they settled.

Ritual has been regarded as a strong site for building food-centred memory and food-centred forgetting. After the demise of a Catholic, masses were said in remembrance of the person. These were said on completion of seven days, one month and one year, and thereafter annually. On the month’s mind, many families serve a special lunch in honour of the dead and also other close deceased relatives.⁸³ They are exemplified by beggars or poor persons and therefore this lunch is called *bikarechem jeun* or ‘beggars’ lunch.’ Here the departed souls are remembered and also ‘forgotten’ when the meal is over.

To add to the senses of smell and taste, touch, sight, and hearing were discussed using examples to bring back memories. The act of trying to find if the fruit was ready to eat by checking for example the softness of mango, in case of touch. For sight, the colours of fruits to check if they were ripe and for hearing, the songs that the mother or grandmother sings while feeding the child.

Chapter 4 - Feasts and traditions: borrowing to celebrate festivities and indebtedness

In this chapter, study of the traditions of people in context with religion and food and the practice present in the celebrations of three feasts will be highlighted, namely: Feast of St. Anne at the Church of Saint Anne, Talaulim, Feast of Our Lady of Annunciation at the Chapel of Our Lady in Siridão, both in Tiswadi taluka and the Feast of Holy Cross at Nerul,

⁸¹ Jon D. Holtzman, “Food and Memory,” *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol.35 (2006): 361-78.

⁸² José Pereira, Micael Martins and António da Costa, *Undra, Muja Mama*,73.

⁸³ If not possible on this day, then it was offered on the death anniversary day.

Bardez Taluka. All the three are annually celebrated in the month of May. Did the food associated with these feasts have any religious, cultural, ritualistic, financial link, or geographical? Or are they just traditions practiced along the years?

Folk songs from the Portuguese period evidence the memories of the past that the convert community carried as part of their cultural baggage, writes Robinson.⁸⁴ Such songs imaginatively reconstruct for us, the converts' concern with and consciousness of our past.⁸⁵ This is the reason why many characteristics of Catholic social organisations and arrangements continue to be similar to those of Indian society.

One significant area of correspondence is the organization and method of celebration of the feasts of the ceremonial calendar of the church.⁸⁶ For instance, only the *gaunkars* can celebrate the feast in the church. Similarly, only they can be the *mordomo* of the feast. Another instance of Indian awareness amongst the Catholic *gaunkars* is the harvest feast at Santa Cruz village in Tiswadi. During the celebrations, they will serve only vegetarian food.⁸⁷

An appeal to Saint Anne, to ask for favours is published in the *Almanach Indo-Portuguese of 1886*,⁸⁸ which goes with and rhymes with some of the votive gifts to the Saint.⁸⁹ This appeal helps us reconstruct the tradition of the past followed by the residents of the village before they were converted. The gifts to Saint Anna differ according to the vows made by the devotees. There are curious invocations to the Saint made by newly married couples and others who are childless, lamenting over the emptiness in their marriage. And beg Saint Anne to grant their appeal while touching the gift to the feet of the Saint's statue.

The motive why the feast is commonly known as *Touchemche Fest* is discussed using the ecosystem of the village. The study also showed that it was habitual to offer to God the first produce of the season, as thanks, which for the agriculturists of Talaulim would be

⁸⁴ Robinson, *Conversion, Continuity and Change*, 19.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 20

⁸⁷ The *gaunkars* of the village of Santa Cruz, Tiswadi do not cook any meat on the occasion of the Harvest Feast that is celebrated every year on 24 August.

⁸⁸ Cyria C. Philaete Castelino, *Almanach Indo-portuguez para o Anno de 1886* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1885).

⁸⁹ According to Catholic traditions the votive offerings are actions or material things vowed to God or promised to a Saint for their intercession with God, in return for a hoped-for miracle, offered in thanksgiving for already-answered prayer, or given in thanksgiving for blessings not asked for. 'Offer to God the sacrifice of praise: and pay thy vows to the most high. And call upon me in the day of trouble: I will deliver thee, thou shalt glorify me' (Psalm 49: 14-15); Rosario F. Rodrigues, *A Living Architectural Splendor. A study on the Church of St. Ana* (Agassaim: Muringlyn & Muringrace Publications, 2009), 23.

vegetables they cultivated, that included the cucumber (*touchem*) and the lentil *urid*, to the deity of the village.

One more feast is that of Our Lady of Annunciation. It is commonly known as *Pejechem fest* (feast of *canjee*). This *canjee* is offered by Dempo a well-known industrialist family of Goa. The analysis shows how and the reason why *canjee* is offered. It was an act of philanthropy by the landholder, possessor of the almost entire village, who felt that he should provide a meal to the visitors who came from far and wide. Keeping in mind the worries of the devotees, with many of them travelling all night by foot, bullock carts, and canoes. In the past, eateries were not a part of the model of a city, leave aside in villages, inhabited by poor fisherfolks and toddy tappers who lived by their hard work. And, *canjee* was the first meal that the people were used to have daily in the morning, especially the common people. Or, there was another approach. It could be an obligation on the property that the Dempos got from the previous owners. They (owners of the property) may have had to honour a pledge, a *pensão* which they may have acquired, when they purchased the property from the earlier owners, the Dominicans, who might have been the landlords either by purchase or gifted to them with this onus.⁹⁰

The *tisreachem fest* is one more example of a feast, which is associated with Goan, culture, traditions, and ecosystem. This study was also centred on fieldwork and oral cultural practices in order to capture the arrangements for the preparation of the main dish to serve the devotees, *tisreachem sambarem*, and also observe the other festivities. This feast shows the significance of using the available local resources by the villagers. They are not reluctant to use the *tisreos*. Instead of depending only on agricultural produce they also looked at the sea to obtain food without any money. The taking out of clams was done without any costs as no tools were required and these were available on the shore during low tide. That even today neighbours come very early in the morning to help in preparing the *tisreachem sambarem*, showing our cultural practices of living in communal harmony. The serving of seasonal fruits shows that people depend on ecology not only for daily subsistence but also for celebrations.

Borrowing to celebrate festivities and indebtedness is reviewed using literature, writings by various columnists in the local press, and the traditions abided by the people. Ligôr *bhatkar*, the main protagonist in the *O Signo da Ira*, the short story 'O' *Salutaris*' by Lucio Rodrigues, the vernacular press, *Porjecho Adar*, especially the comments of the columnist Costa Bir, are used as a reference to show that feasts were not only for pleasure

⁹⁰ Xavier, *Bosquejo Historico das Comunidades*, 229-234.

and celebrations. It entailed much more for the people in general and especially for those who defray the expenditures as the *mordomo* of the feast, in particular.

Chapter 5 - Drinks that ‘cheers’ and brings tears

This chapter discusses the harmful consequence of alcoholism in Goa, which was deep-rooted in the society and had by the twentieth century reached an epidemic point, which was recognised by some while others ignored it as something not happening in my backyard. These others included the colonial government, which incidentally was the main beneficiary of this vice with the advantage of collecting high revenue taxes from toddy (*sura*) collectors and alcohol producers.

The elite and intellectuals too felt that it did not affect them and that it was only a problem of the poor labourers, though there were some who had started criticizing the authorities. Even when the Conferência Sanitária (1914)⁹¹ took place there was only one paper on alcoholism, titled ‘Suggestions to combat the alcoholic hazard in Goa’ by Hipólito Policarpo Pegado, and references to it in another two papers.⁹² As the title suggests it was a battle against the vice of alcoholism. The other two are: ‘Rural Hygiene of Portuguese India and its relation with the administrative organization’ by J.J.Roque Correia Afonso,⁹³ and ‘The Tuberculosis,’ by A. Filipe Pinto Cordeiro who writes that there should be a fight against alcoholism which is accountable for the spread of tuberculosis.⁹⁴

But, unexpectedly the *Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa* (1916-1931) which had as its aim to solve Goa’s problems, when it was established, never included alcoholism in its agenda. In the Second *Congresso*, three papers connected to the subject of alcohol were presented. The first two were on *Abkari*, and assessment of taxes, and the third on how to solve the vice of alcoholics alcoholism: A. Teodoro Miranda, ‘Regimen of *Abkari* for the district of Goa’⁹⁵ and Azarias Condorcet Lobo ‘*Abkari* in Goa: Before the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty in India’⁹⁶ while L.M. Condorcet Pereira, ‘Anti-alcohol campaign.’⁹⁷ The *Congresso*

⁹¹ Serviço de Saúde da Índia Portuguesa, *I Conferência Sanitária. Em comemoração do 72º aniversário da Escola Médico-Cirúrgica de Nova Goa. (1-12-1914 a 6-12-1914)*, 2 vol. (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1914).

⁹² Hipólito Policarpo Pegado, “Sugestões para Combater o Alcoolismo em Goa,” *ibid.*, 151-58.

⁹³ J.J.Roque Correia Afonso, “O Saneamento Rural da Índia Portuguesa na sua Relação com a Organização Administrativa,” *ibid.*, 332-40.

⁹⁴ A. Filipe Pinto Cordeiro, “A Tuberculose,” *ibid.*, 171-78.

⁹⁵ A. Teodoro Miranda, “Regimen do Abcari para o Distrito de Goa,” in *Segundo Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa* (Nova Goa: Casa Luso-Francesa, 1917), 14-19.

⁹⁶ Azarias Condorcet Lobo, “Abcari em Goa: Antes do tratado Anglo-Luso na Índia,” *ibid.*, 1-13.

⁹⁷ L.M. Condorcet Pereira, “Campanha anti-alcóolic,” *ibid.*, 119-23.

was held on 27 January 1918.⁹⁸ However, the intellectuals and elite got up from their apathy to organise one independent session in the *Seventh Congresso* (1927). The need arose for even the elite had now joined the bandwagon of alcoholics.

At the *Congresso Provincial*, it was revealed that the Catholics were more involved in drinking. Earlier also such statements were made. The contention was that introduction of Christianity by the Portuguese in the Indian society which later came to be known as ‘beef and wine’ Christianity, for the first time familiarised the people with a culture that was in essence western.⁹⁹ For the Portuguese, wine drinking was a part of their social and religious ceremonies. Alcohol as Food and Medicine in general and Goa in particular and the struggles of the alcoholics are discussed. The latter uses literature – the book ‘Tales of Goa’ by Berta Meneses Bragança.¹⁰⁰

At the *Congresso de Acção Católica* (1933) held at Old Goa, Baronio Monteiro makes an ardent reference to alcoholism in the paper ‘Alcoholism and Tobacco’ and refers to the Catholics and requests the Patriarch to take action and guide the congregation into the right path. Baronio Monteiro also founded the *Liga Economico-Social da India Portuguesa* (Economic-Social League of Portuguese India) (1931) *Liga Anti-Tabago-Alcoolica* (Anti-Tobacco-Alcohol Society) (1932) *Liga de Temperança* (Society of Tolerance) (1934).

The Patriarch of the Archdiocese of Goa assured to look into the matter and issue a pastoral letter. However, only a newsletter was handed out to all the parishes asking the priests to help regulate alcoholism. As a follow-up to the newsletter, there were adverse comments made in the newspapers, especially by Hegdo Dessai of *O Bharat*. The Patriarch, therefore, handed out a *Carta Pastoral* and asked the priests to follow it and bring it to the notice of the devotees by reading a translation in Konkani to the people attending service in the church.¹⁰¹ Reactions in different newspapers and from individuals regarding alcoholism are discussed, which points out the Government’s apathy in taking any action. Even though some regulations were issued after the *Congresso Provincial* suggested to the government, they were not executed. Many newspapers, local as well as metropolitan took up the issue and wrote about the menace. A number of individuals were also vocal regarding this problem.

⁹⁸ António Maria da Cunha, *Congresso Provincial da India Portuguesa: Subsídios para sua história* (Nova Goa: Casa Luso-Francesa-Editora, 1924)

⁹⁹ *Sétimo Congresso Provincial da India Portuguesa*, ed. Balcrisna Datarama Sinai Sacardandó. Nova Goa: Tip.Bragança, 1927, 20.

¹⁰⁰ Berta Menese Bragança, *Tales from Goa* (Bastora: Tipografia Rangel, 1991).

¹⁰¹ ‘Carta Pastoral’ sobre o alcoolismo: D.Theotónio Manuel Ribeiro Vieira de Castro, dated 8 June 1934.

Although the battle to control was taken up by the Church, the intelligentsia – Catholics and Hindus alike – and others, it was observed that not much was done by the government to put an end to alcoholism. The reason was its need for the taxes collected from the alcohol manufactured and sold, which was very important revenue, for a territory that had limited income, except for mining in Goa, during the fifties.

Chapter 6 – Economic Blockade and the pangs of hunger

The last chapter which is on the Economic Blockade and pangs of hunger brings us back to the importance of rice in the life of Goans. This chapter discusses the political affairs relating to India and Portugal, the latter rejecting to leave Goa and giving over the possession of the territories – Goa, Daman, and Diu. The only feasible alternative for the then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, who held on to the Gandhian policy of non-violence, was to use an economic blockade. Earlier there were attempts to deny access and block sporadically the flow of food or remittances to Goa, but a formal economic blockade was imposed by Nehru in July 1955, by stopping the trains travelling beyond Castle-Rock. Although it was told that the suspension was provisional, the line was not restarted until after the annexation of the territories by the Union of India. Accordingly, the trains ran only between Mormugao and Sanvordem in Goa.¹⁰² In order to support its decision, varied notifications were published by the Government of India. The results of the blockade were felt by the emigrant's families since their remittances were stopped and they did not have money to buy commodities even if they were available. The Portuguese government did try to overrule this imposition by starting an air transport –TAIP to fly in merchandise from Pakistan which became the entrepôt between Goa and other European countries. Food was also transported from Portugal and other colonies and these, especially Mozambique profited from these dealings.

Rice politics were at the forefront during the period, with both countries using it – one to stop and make difficult the supply of the essential staple and the other to make all attempts to make it easily accessible to the Goan people. The local papers do not give a precise picture of the dilemma of the people who endured because food and above all money were unavailable without remittances. On the other hand, a lot of introductions of tinned, bottled, and packed food made their appearance into the Goan market, altering the diet many a time with the easy accessibility for those who had money. The blockade also gave rise to

¹⁰² *A Vida*, 26 July 1955, 4; *Diário de Goa*, 26 July 1955, 4.

trafficking when food was smuggled into Goa and foreign imported goods were taken across Goa's border by contrabandists.

The local newspapers were not able to write what was actually happening as it was gagged by censorship. Therefore, the Goan newspapers based in Bombay and which began publications with the only aim of supporting the freedom movement of Goa wrote against the Portuguese rule in Goa. These comprised the *Goan Tribune* and *Free Goa*. So, researching these, a picture was drawn of the struggles faced by the common men. Non-receipt of remittances and difference in money from rupees to escudo caused a lot of misery to the emigrants and their families. There are no editorials that write about the deprivations faced by the people. But the very fact that there were preparations made by the government to transport and distribute the food in a regulated manner with limited quantities made accessible for purchase by individuals, shows the dilemma. The government as we have seen took measures to import food from other countries through different means of transport to bypass the blockade. People altered their eating habits as they could easily access different products that were imported. The local media was full of advertisements of tinned stuff replacing fresh products for cooking – tomato puree (*tomatada*), olive oil was added to the diet by many. *Bacalhau* dry codfish, which is typical to the Portuguese diet, also flooded the market. Fruits, pulses, butter, cheeses, alcohol, etc. made their entrance in different varieties and trademarks. Publicity through advertisements in the newspapers was used alluring people about how to change their food habits. For example, the frozen chicken was suggested as well as food enhancers like Maggi.

Chapter 7 - Conclusion

This chapter deals with the findings of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

RICE, THE PERENNIALY ‘INSUFFICIENT’ GOAN STAPLE A STUDY OF *O SIGNO DA IRA (SIGN OF WRATH)*¹ AND OTHER HISTORICAL LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

Rice the staple food of the Goans was in demand by the households for consumption. What was problematic was its unavailability in enough quantity throughout the year and therefore needed to be imported. This situation created an atmosphere where politics could be played using rice by those interested to have an upper hand over others. It was not only the landlord, *bhatkar*, but the government and also its political adversaries, who used rice to attain their aims and objectives.

Goa, for the period under study, has been predominantly an agricultural region. Rice is the main crop, consumed with fish-curry, and constitutes a vital diet. The diet did not change with the Portuguese takeover of Goa. On the contrary, it was carried over to Portugal and other Portuguese colonies, by the emigrant Goan and other Portuguese citizens who made it part of their quotidian.² Rice was consumed four times a day by those who could afford it as breakfast *canjee*, midday-*canjee*, (fish)-curry-rice for lunch and dinner, or, just as *canjee* at dinner.

The landed gentry, who owned the paddy fields were economically better off. However, there were others who toiled the fields and shared the produce with the owners, whose land they tilled. For tillers it was essential that the harvest was good, otherwise, they would have less to eat for the year. Moreover, they would be in debt to the field owner who was little “concerned” about the bad harvest. Orlando da Costa’s historical novel *O Signo da*

¹ The title *Sign of Wrath* has been adopted from the English translation of *O Signo da Ira* by D.A. Smith, (Saligao: Goa 1556, 2017).

² Marta Vilar Rosales, “O Verdadeiro Caril Moçambicano. Transnacionalismo, quotidianos e materialidades goesas na Africa colonial...” In *Das Índias. Gentes, Movimentos e Pertenças Transnacionais*. Organised by Susana Trovão e Marta Vilar Rosales. (Lisboa: Edições Colibri, Centro de Estudos em Migrações e Minorias, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2010).

Ira, has as the central theme the sufferings of the *mundkars* (tenant cultivators) at the hands of the *bhatkar* (field-owner), and rice cultivation as a sub-plot.

Goa has historically been a rice-deficit territory. In fact, trade and commerce in Goa from 1900 to 1961 were chiefly for the purpose of procuring much-needed rice.³ When the population of the territory was lesser, in earlier centuries, rice produced locally was perhaps enough for consumption, but later when it increased, rice imports were essential.⁴ There was an increase in population in the first half of the twentieth century.⁵ It is observed that in reality, during the early nineteenth century, there was excessive demand for Canara rice from Goa. Rice cargo came to Goa from Basrur, Mangalore, Honavar, Kalianpur, and Ponani.⁶

INSUFFICIENCY OF RICE PRODUCTION

There were several factors responsible for less production of rice. The chief factor was the inadequate area for paddy cultivation and the inaction to increase the coverage.⁷ The system of land holdings and outdated methods of cultivation was another. A large percentage of the cultivable land was under the *Comunidade* system managed by the *gaunkars*. Cultivable lots were auctioned to the *gaunkars*, who in turn sublet to the actual tillers at a higher price, thereby fleecing the latter.⁸ To make matters worse, the lease period was fixed at three years, which caused a lot of hardship to the lessee, who was tied up with little benefits, if any, as well as the onus, which was many, during the lease period.⁹ Later, there was a

³ Remy Dias, "Some Aspects of the Consumption History of Estado da India:1900-50" in *Goa in the 20th Century. History and Culture*, ed. Pius Malekandathil and Remy Dias (Panaji: Institute Menezes Braganza, 2008), 91.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 87.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Vitalji Kamat, Keshav Parab Cawandy, Vithoji Sinai Dhempe and the Mhamai brothers of Goa were some of the well-known merchants involved in the flourishing rice trade on the west coast of India. Celsa Pinto, *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India: A Study of the Portuguese Country Trade 1770-1840* (New Delhi: Concept, 1994), 217; Dias, "Some Aspects," 86.

⁷ According to J. C. Almeida, if in each taluka 'the cultivable fallow land' were available for agriculture purposes more than half would be brought under cereal bearing crops. The area of 44,699 Ha under paddy cultivation would have increased to about 92,367 Ha. José Conceição Almeida, *Aspects of the Agricultural Activity in Goa, Daman and Diu* (Panjim: Government Printing Press, 1965), 11.

⁸ Arnaldo de Menezes (1863-1917) "Kurhtrech'm Arrematasaum-om", in Jose Pereira, Micael Martins and António da Costa, *Song of Goa: Crown of Mandos* (Panaji: Goa 1556, Brodway, 2010), 315. For details on auctions please see the section on "Alçãs, Alcistas...and 'farcical' auctions" in this chapter.

⁹ Francisco João da Costa (GIP), "Jacob e Carapinho," in Paul Melo e Castro, *Lengthening Shadows: an Anthology of Goan Short Stories Translated from the Portuguese* (Saligao, Goa: Goa 1556, 2016), 83-86.

change in the period of the lease to six years.¹⁰ The Portuguese government accepted that the locally grown cereal was sufficient for only five to six months.¹¹

There were other reasons why the territory was short of rice. Nature's vagaries often played truant. Rice cultivation depended on monsoons. The cultivation of *sorodio* (*kharif*), is entirely dependent on the monsoons. If the rains were not regular or deficient then it would be a drought-like situation. Similarly, excess rains would inundate the fields destroying the standing crops. In such instances, the tenant cultivators faced inestimable loss. The *bhatkar* would not lose anything. For even when production was less, the tenant had to unfailingly pay the *bhatkar* the contracted share, leaving the former with meagre rice for family consumption.¹²

About fourteen percent of the fields would be cultivated to raise a second *vangana* (*rabi*) crop.¹³ There was no attempt to increase the cultivable area from the small fourteen percent. What was the reason for this attitude? Probably, this was to control the marginalised tenant cultivator. For, if there was enough to sustain then the tenant cultivators would not be dependent on the *bhatkar* for sustenance.

Table 2.1: Rice Cultivation in Hectares and Percentage

Sorodio	38629	86%
Sorodio and Vangana	5602	13%
Vangana	468	1%
Total	44699	100% ¹⁴

[Source: *Report of the Land Reforms Commission, 1964*. Panaji: Government Printing Press, 1964,12]

It was important to increase the area under *vangana* cultivation for the reason that there was always hope of getting a good harvest as the fields were irrigated manually, with water from the ponds. And, therefore the poor would pray for the rains so that the *bhatkar*'s

¹⁰ Government of Goa, Daman and Diu, *Report of the Land Reforms Commission, 1964* (hereafter *Report of the Land Reforms*) (Panjim: Government Printing Press, 1964), 33.

¹¹ *Portaria* no.4.279, *Boletim Oficial do Governo do Estado da Índia* (hereafter B.O.), I series, no.36, 5 September 1946; *Legislação do Estado da Índia* (hereafter *Legislação*), 1946, 499.

¹² R.V. Pandit, *Mhajem Utar Ganvdeachem* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1963), 28.

¹³ *Report of the Land Reforms*, 12, puts the figure at 13% for double-crop, and only 1%, for the second crop, while 86% is cultivated only once a year. There are two crops in a year, one is through the monsoons, between June to September called *sorodio* or *kharif*, and the other during the dry winter, between November and February, named *vangana* or *rabi*.

¹⁴ Almeida, *Aspects of the Agricultural Activity*, 11; *Report of the Land Reforms*, 12.

pond overflowed and they could have a good crop.¹⁵ But, will they enjoy the produce? The landlord would take his share and also demand the unpaid balance for the previous years, if any, and take away almost everything.¹⁶ There were also instances where the landlord would deny the farmer his rightful share and sometimes even lie, that the paddy was robbed. Such treacherous behaviour, of the *bhatkars*, is exposed, in *O Signo da Ira*.¹⁷

Moreover, the laws, often instead of helping, the tenant cultivators were detrimental to their legitimate interests. For example, the different laws enacted by the government during the period of study with reference to the lease of the Comunidade's agricultural land.¹⁸ Another example is the rice shortage in 1938 which created a lot of commotion.¹⁹ The Portuguese government put restrictions on rice imports in order to 'protect the locally grown rice' and 'help the *bhatkars*' get a higher price for their produce. However, the outcome of this ill-conceived measure was a large-scale shortage of rice. In order to meet the rice shortages, it was suggested that *nachinim* (millet) cultivation be enhanced to mitigate the hardships. *Nachinim* is a viable substitute for rice and has more nutritive value. But no concrete steps were taken in this direction.²⁰

During World War II, Goa similarly faced food scarcity primarily due to the limited supply of rice from British India. Rice could also not be sourced from other areas for the reason of the tense unstable situation. This, even though Portugal had declared its neutrality, the effects of the war adversely impacted Goa which was dependent on British India for its food requirements.²¹ The effects of the war led to the voice of dissent being raised. The local Portuguese language periodical, *O Heraldo*, reports on 21 August 1942, about food scarcity. There was an outcry about 'neither sugar nor kerosene' in the market. The government imposed restrictive measures to regulate the sale of consumables and had created zones for this purpose.²² Rationing of rice became the order of the day.²³ There was wanton smuggling

¹⁵ Pandit, *Mhajem Utar*, 28.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Orlando da Costa, *O Signo da Ira* (Lisboa:Temas da Actualidade, 1996), 149.

¹⁸ For an overview of the laws please refer to *Report of the Land Reforms*, 25-34.

¹⁹ *Ave Maria*, 24 July 1938, 1.

²⁰ Pedro da Costa, "Alvitres e Sugestões" (Proposals and Suggestions), *O Heraldo*, 26 August 1942, 2.

²¹ Ligôr *Bhatkar* comments: "During these last years, we have also not eaten more *pacharil* rice in my house, and instead of sugar we have used jaggery." Costa, *O Signo da Ira*, 148. *Pacharil* is fine rice and used to cook *arroz refogado* or *pulau*. For more details on it and other varieties of rice consumed in Goa, please refer to Rodolfo Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, vol.1 (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1988), 58.

²² *O Heraldo*, 21 August 1942, 1.

²³ *Portaria* no.4.279, established the new regime of rationing of rice, B.O., series I, no.36, 5 September 1946; *Legislação*, 1946, 499.

and hoarding of stock by the traders, who wanted to benefit by raising prices. This compounded the woes of the people.²⁴

LAND CLASSIFICATION, OWNERSHIP PATTERNS, AND HARVESTING WATER RESOURCES

Agricultural lands can be classified into three categories: *morod* (uplands), *kher* (midlands that are sandy, close to the sea-shore), and *khazan* (saline floodplains along Goa's tidal estuaries) lands.²⁵ *Morods* are situated on high lands, with poor soil quality. As these areas are rain-fed, only the *sorodio* crop is possible. Yields are low, with a production of just 7 to 8 *khandi* per hectare.²⁶ *Kher* lands (situated between the *morods* and *khazan*) are best suited for rice cultivation and production is 80 *khandi* per hectare. The *khazan* is reclaimed from the sea by putting bunds and sluice gates. Such reclaimed land is generally below the high tide level. The sluice gates assist in regulating the flow of seawater during tides.

The area under paddy cultivation was 18,000 Ha, 17,500 Ha, and 9,200 Ha for the *Khazan*, *Kher*, and *Morod* areas respectively. *Khazan* and *Kher* lands collectively comprise about 80 % of the cultivable area under rice cultivation.²⁷ Besides these three main types of rice lands, there is one more, the *kulne* lands, which are highlands mostly located in the midst of forest areas, but their hectarage is limited. *Kulne* areas were manured with the ash of dry wood and foliage. However, the yield is meagre.²⁸

The *vangana* was cultivated only in the midlands, i.e., the *kher* lands, which are closer to the water bodies. The *Techno-Economic Survey* records that two crops were grown in the pre-Liberation Goa, only on an area of 5,600 Ha mostly of the *kher* and *khazan* type.²⁹ It also mentions that only *vangana* crop is grown in certain areas where due to the bad drainage and consequent flooding of the fields during monsoon season, no *sorodio* crop is possible. This area is about 467 Ha. *Vangana* lands are irrigated by three types of water bodies. Besides the rivers, there are numerous wetlands, natural and man-made used for irrigation. The most

²⁴ *Voz da India*, 28 August 1948, 1 and 4 September 1948, 1.

²⁵ For more information on the *Khajans* please read the chapter "Alluvial and Coastal Plains" in Claude Alvares and Vidyadhar Gadgil, ed., *Fish Curry Rice. A Source Book on Goa, its Ecology and Life-style* (Mapusa: Goa Foundation, 2002), 86-127; Urban Lobo, "The Khajan Tragedy, I and II," *Gomantak Times*, 27, 28 October 1992, 4 and "The Destructive Course, I and II," *Gomantak Times*, 19, 20 November 1992, 4.

²⁶ *Khandi* equivalent to 20 *maunds*, or 3 *quintals* and 3 *arrobas*, or 480 lbs.

²⁷ *Report of the Land Reforms*, 27; Almeida, *Aspects of the Agricultural Activity*, 35.

²⁸ *Techno-Economic Survey of Goa, Daman and Diu* (hereafter *Techno-Economic Survey*) (New Delhi: National Council of Applied Economic Research, 1964), 28.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

important are the wetlands of Carambolim, Chimbhel, Mayem, Cacora, and Calafur (Santa Cruz).³⁰ These are large tracts of low-lying areas that are used to store rainwater.

Freshwater lakes called *tollem* are age-old, rain-fed reservoirs of water, dating back to the pre-Portuguese period.³¹ These were manmade reservoirs to store the rainwater for agricultural activity during the remaining months. Most of these are semi-permanent water bodies and qualify as wetlands, as stated by Cowardin.³² The *tollem* water has been used to irrigate the *vangana* crop in low-lying areas.³³ A full-length wide and deep trench meanders through the *tollem*, which facilitates to drain off the water collected from the upper areas and the surrounding fields during the monsoons into the river. The trench is deeper and wider near the sluice gate. Therefore, this part of the wetland remains water-laden throughout the year, and the rest of the area is used for the cultivation of the *sorodio* crop. The harvest of *sorodio* in the first week of September is soon followed by damming the water in the wetlands i.e., the *tollem*. These are also used as traditional aquaculture tanks. The fish in the *tollem* is harvested in mid-April by the highest bidder following the auction.³⁴ For instance, many people flock to Curtorim village in Salcete taluka to buy freshwater fish caught at the Angoddi-*tollem*.³⁵ Even at present, the sale of freshwater fish is a big draw.³⁶ Most of the fish was dried, salted and *para* (fish pickle) was made for consumption in the rainy season when fresh fish was not available due to the rough seas.

Since the *tollem* was not completely dried the shallow water was used by the farmers for cultivating beans, watermelons, radishes, onions, chillies, etc. Farmers dug up small ponds called *honde* (singular *hondo*) at various places in the wetland for agricultural purposes. Steps led to the pond for fetching water with a pitcher. In some places where the

³⁰ Alvares and Gadgil, ed., *Fish, Curry, Rice*, 87. The book may also be referred for modern agriculture practices.

³¹ Ibid.; for more on *tollem*, please refer to Maria de Lourdes Bravo da Costa Rodrigues, “The Reservoirs of Life-saving Water,” *The Navhind Times* (Buzz), 19 April 2016.

³² Alvares and Gadgil, ed., *Fish, Curry, Rice*, ibid., 87; In 1979, Lewis M. Cowardin devised a system to classify wetlands and to provide consistent terms and definitions and standard measurements for mapping them. He stated wetlands, as lands of transition between terrestrial and aquatic systems wherein the water table is usually at or near the surface or the land is covered by shallow water.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ The Angoddi *tollem* is situated opposite the St. Alex Church and is the biggest of the existing seven in the village.

³⁶ In Goa, the freshwater fish from Angoddi and Raitollem in Curtorim, Salcete, is famous for ‘katla’ ‘komin’, ‘sangtam’(catfish), ‘Chonak’, ‘Rohu’, ‘Pitol’ and ‘Kalu’. Freshwater fishing is organised with local fishermen, who use traditional methods. They venture into the knee-deep water for fishing, while others venture even deeper. The fish available in these areas is in high demand. An advertisement is published in the local press informing the sale which is carried on for at least three days. *Herald*, 18 April 2016, 7.

water was at a depth, a *laat* was used to irrigate. A tin was tied to a bamboo stick which was merged into the water and pulled up.³⁷

Today in Goa, 50 varieties of rice seeds are cultivated, of which 28 are traditional and 22 are high-yielding and introduced from other states. All the traditionally cultivated rice varieties are specific to the Goa region.³⁸ Felipe Neri Xavier, in a monograph, gives details of the seeds used according to terrain and the know-how of cultivation.³⁹

It would be interesting to know the ownership of land area available for agricultural purposes in Goa:

Table 2.2: Land Under Different Owners

Ownership	Area in Ha	Percentage
Private proprietors	176506	54
Government	103083	32
Comunidade	36624	11
Hindu temples	9391	3
Christian religious associations	926	0.3
Municipalities	13	0.004
Santa Casa da Misericordia de Goa	116	0.04
In litigation	13	0.004
Total	326672	100 ⁴⁰

[Source: J.C. Almeida, *Aspects of the Agricultural Activity in Goa, Daman and Diu*.

Panaji: Government Printing Press, 1967, 17]

³⁷ Pantaleão Fernandes, *Goa Rare Portraits* (Author, 2018), 82; Rajendra P. Kerkar, “Goa's lost knowledge of water management,” *Times of India*, 19 February 2019, 2; *Laat* is a lever system designed out of a trunk of an arecanut tree. At one end is tied a heavy stone and at the other a bamboo stick to which a bamboo basket is attached. When the stone weighs down, the bamboo basket rises filled with water. Later, the bamboo basket was replaced by a tin box, called *lata* in Portuguese, from whence the name “*laat*”.

³⁸ Shilpa J.Bhonsle and S.Krishnan, *Rices of Goa and Their Given Quality* (Goa: Goa University, 2012), 114-115. The book may be referred to for details on rice variety.

³⁹ Felipe Neri Xavier, *Descrição do Coqueiro, Arequeira, Arroz e Moedas de Goa* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1866), 43. The monograph is very important as the description in it is pertaining to the second half of the nineteenth century and can be used for comparison with the later period agriculture status in Goa. Also read A.B. de Bragança Pereira, *Etnografia da Índia Portuguesa*, Vol.II, (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1991), 113-22.

⁴⁰ Almeida, *Aspects of the Agricultural Activity*, 17.

From the above, it will be seen that a major part of this area, that is, about 54 percent is held by private owners and constituted chiefly of the paddy fields, coconut groves, and cashew plantations. Next follows the area owned by the government which was largely the forest areas.

It is commonly believed that a greater part of the agricultural area was owned by the Comunidade. These are in possession of about 11 percent of the total cultivable area.⁴¹ However, in Tiswadi, Salcete, Bardez, and Mormugao talukas, the Comunidade holds a greater area of the paddy fields.⁴²

A.R. Padoshi, analyses the trends in the agrarian pattern of Goa using ‘operational holding,’ that is, the area of land that the cultivator cultivates even when he may not be the owner.⁴³ In this particular case, the author is using the area of land owned and self-cultivated by the cultivator plus the area leased and this is more pertinent for the understanding of the economics of farming and will give better efficiency of agriculture since the operational unit is the actual unit of production. The economies of scale are more directly related to the size of cultivation holdings rather than to ownership holdings. Similarly, for the understanding of the disparities in the distribution of land and income among cultivators, the concept of operational holding is more relevant than ownership holding. The data used by Padoshi regarding the distribution of holdings by size groups for the year 1960 are from the *Techno-Economic Survey*.⁴⁴ However, these data pertain only to the talukas of Tiswadi, Bardez and Salcete.

The following table shows the distribution of holdings by the size groups for the year 1960 and reveals the important features of the agrarian pattern of Goa prior to 1962-63.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Ibid. Comunidade land is composed of “paddy fields”, “coconut plantations”, “cashew plantations”, “rivulets”, etc.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ A.R.Padoshi, *Agricultural Development of India* (Bombay: Himalaya Publishing House, 1991), 24. Padoshi was a Reader in the Department of Economics, Goa University when the book was published. Although the title says “*Agricultural Development of India*,” it is a case study of the development of a region that discusses the trends in the various aspects of the agricultural economy of Goa.

⁴⁴ *Techno-Economic Survey*, 213-14.

⁴⁵ Padoshi, *Agricultural Development*, 25. It was computed by adding together the figures of 3 talukas given in the *Techno-Economic Survey* on 213-14. In fact, a number of later publications have relied upon and used the data published in the *Techno-Economic Survey*.

Table 2.3: Distribution of Holdings by Size Groups in Goa in 1960

Area in Hectares	No. of Holdings	% Total	Area covered in Hectares	% Total
0-0.1	7,746	29	350.48	4
0.1-2	14,709	57	8,021.00	11
2-4	1,672	6	4,790.14	6
4-20	1,672	7	14,464.75	23
20-100	354	1	14,367.50	22
100 & above	81	--	21,376.64	34
Total	26,319	100	63,370.51	100

[Source: A.R.Padoshi, *Agricultural Development of India*. Bombay: Himalaya Publishing House, 1991, 25]

Thus, it is seen that the agrarian economy of Goa before 1961 was numerically dominated by relatively small and micro holdings. The private agricultural property is excessively divided, and this division goes on increasing every day, due to successive divisions because of inheritance consequently increasing damage on the part of the small rural proprietor and especially since very few cultivate the fields on their own. Out of the total number of the holdings, as many as 85 per cent are found to be less than 2 hectares each (that is, less than 5 acres each), thus indicating a large number of smallholdings.⁴⁶ These were economically unviable units and most cultivators lived a hand-to-mouth existence. Landlords, of vast continuous land, are very rare, except for the Comunidades which as discussed were responsible for the existing rice production in Goa.

THE ENIGMATIC *BHATKAR-MUNDKAR* RELATIONS

Many authors have written, in various languages and literary genres of the territory, about the *bhatkar-mundkar* relationship. All of them have portrayed how the *mundkar* is ill-treated and exploited by the *bhatkar*. For example, R.V. Pandit, (1917-1990) in his Konkani

⁴⁶ Sen observes that in most Indian studies, holdings less than five acres of land regardless of quality are taken as smallholdings. And holdings larger than 25 acres are called large holding. Bandhudas Sen, *The Green Revolution in India: A Perspective* (New Delhi: Wiley Eastern Private, 1974), 35-37; Though the smallholdings numerically dominated the agrarian structure, in 1960, the percentage of the area of land held by them was only 15 percent, which indicates a considerably inequitable distribution of land in Goa during the period of study. Though the holdings above 2 hectares formed only 14 percent of the total number of the holdings they held as much as 85 percent of the land. The number of holdings above 2 hectares (i.e., 5 acres) is found to be considerably small. These were, as mentioned, largely under the Comunidade ownership and a few landlords.

poetry book *Mhojem utor gavddeanchem* (I'm a Gaudo, 1967),⁴⁷ has a poem 'Pausa, pausa, io re io' (Rain, rain, come do come), describing the tillers' sadness and anxiety, praying to God for rain and for the abundant rice harvest, so that they would have enough for the year and could pay off the *bhatkar*'s dues.⁴⁸ Lucio Rodrigues, (1916-73) in the short story 'It Happens' (1954),⁴⁹ recounts how the son of the *bhatkar* exploits sexually the *mundkar*'s daughter. To protect her son's interests, the *bhatkan* forces the girl's mother to send her to Bombay. Lucio draws a picture of Goa where instead of the perpetrator of the crime being punished, it is the victim that is evicted and uprooted from Goa.

João Agostinho Fernandes, (1871-1947) the pioneer of Konkani theatre, writes original plays addressing the social relations of *bhatkar*, particularly in *Batcara-I* (1904), *Batcara-II* (1905), *Kunnbi Jaki-I* (1934), and *Tandlanchem Kestaum* (1944). Vimala Devi, (1932-) in the book *Monção* (1962) includes two short stories "Ocaso" and another "Venus and its Arms," portraying the same type of exploitative relationship. This chapter examines the novel *O Signo da Ira* (*Sign of Wrath*) (1961), by Orlando da Costa (1929-2006) who, by dedicating part of his work to the action of social and human conflicts in Goan society, includes among them the problems faced by the *mundkar* at the hands of the *bhatkar* who was described as autocratic and arrogant, mistreating and exploiting them. The author uses the metaphor to show abundance and poverty represented by *bhatkar* and *mundkars*, respectively.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ *Gaudo* (*Gawda*), the local tribal who was the *mundkar* of the *bhatkar* in the north of Goa.

⁴⁸ The *mundkar* is apprehensive that he will not get enough rice even if the harvest was good, as he will be shown the arrears of the previous years that he could not pay and will be asked to make payments this year.

⁴⁹ Lucio Rodrigues, "It Happens" in Luís S. Rita Vas, *Modern Goan Short Stories* (Bombay: Jaico Publishing House, 1971), 1-8.

⁵⁰ Antonio Orlando da Costa was born in 1929, in Lourenco Marques, today's Maputo, the capital of Mozambique. His father was a Goan from Margão and his mother was a French lady. As a child, Orlando's father brought him to Goa where he lived till he was eighteen. In 1947 he proceeded to Lisbon to study at the University of Lisbon and in 1954 he got a degree in *Ciências Histórico-Filosóficas*. He had a notable political career during his students' days. Two years after having arrived in Portugal he joined the *Movimento de Unidade Democrática* (Movement of Democratic Unity), which a year before was declared illegal by the Portuguese Prime Minister, Oliveira Salazar. He also lived in the *Casa dos Estudantes do Império* (CEI) (House of Students of the Empire) established in 1944 by the Salazar regime to support students. The need to have a common home where the colonial students could come together when they were in Portugal for higher studies, not available in their territory or those who needed to complement their academic studies in Portugal, was one of the reasons to establish the CEI. It eventually fostered political action on the part of black and mixed-race students present in the metropolis. Besides Lisbon, Coimbra and o Porto also had a house each. Orlando da Costa had as companions the future leaders of FRELIMO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique), MPLA (Movimento Popular da Libertação de Angola), and PAIGC (Partido Africano para Independência de Guiné e Cabo Verde). A year after he obtained the degree, he joined the Communist Party and was even a member of the Comitê Central. He continued to be a member of the party till his death.

The dilemma faced by the *mundkars* was the central point of the novel. However, there is another focus, that of the cultivation and production of rice and the dependence on it for subsistence by the *mundkar*. There are two central aspects of the work: first, the portrait of the miserable daily life faced by the *mundkars*, and second, rice production, its (unequal) distribution, and its importance for livelihood.

The *bhatkar* made the *mundkars* toil the land and are to be paid in kind. Traditionally this model of contract depended on the stipulations laid down by the *bhatkars*: they could give the land for cultivation to the *mundkars* and in return get rice as payment for it. Or they could provide the land and the seeds and get rice as payment. Or the *bhatkar* could just employ the *mundkars* to till the land and give them rice in return. In any of the options, the *mundkars* would be the losers and the beneficiary would be the *bhatkar*. Moreover, the dependency on a good crop was very important since the payment in kind would be directly related to a good harvest and production of rice.⁵¹

As stated earlier, in Goa, some fields are cultivated twice a year. Once during the monsoons *sorodio* and another during the winter season *vangana*. If the *sorodio* did not give a good yield the farmer hoped for good produce during the *vangana*. As specified *sorodio* is at the mercy of the monsoons. Often tillers suffer a loss of standing crops due to flooding or drought. Farmers hope to make up for such losses at *vangana*, when fields are irrigated with water from artificial water bodies like ponds, lakes, tanks, spring water, rivers, rivulets, etc. Besides, there is hectic agricultural activity in the form of multi-cropping with the cultivation of vegetables or fruits.⁵²

The story of the *O Signo da Ira*, was set in the forties of the twentieth century. The main plot was centred on the *bhatkar-mundkar* relation and *vangana*. According to the author, only the land and the nature in which it was integrated and expressed and the complex tenure system favouring the ‘haves’ as against the ‘have-nots’ was portrayed to be true.

Orlando da Costa shows exploitations of the *mundkars* by the *bhatkar* who made them toil hard and till the land. *Bhatkar* used their expertise and knowledge to cultivate the fields. What it took to prepare and cultivate the fields was just not a physical activity but enmeshed in customs and traditions understandable in totality to only rural folks. As was the practice, the *mundkars* were paid in kind for the labour i.e., rice, which will allow them to

⁵¹ Pandit, *Mhajem Utar*, 28.

⁵² Winter vegetables and fruits included radish, turnip, amaranthus, beans, and watermelons.

have their basic meal of rice *canjee* or rice-curry. Therefore, the *mundkars* prayed and hoped the crop would be abundant and there would be enough for sustenance. However, Costa writes and shows in the novel, that *bhatkar* Ligôr cheated them of their payment. He sold the rice that was their payment in the black market. To cover up his misdeed, he told the poor *mundkars* that the rice was robbed at the rice mill.

The *mundkars*, in fact, had hoped for a good crop for the earlier years had been bad due to incessant rains and a shortage of seeds.⁵³ There were also rumours of war and the first signs of which appeared in 1942. To overcome the shortage, the government used to import rice from Burma, which, however, was occupied by the Japanese.⁵⁴

Orlando wrote the novel drawing from his memory, using his experiences, while he was in Goa, from childhood through adolescence. He was 18 years old when he left Goa. In an interview,⁵⁵ he mentioned that the need to write this first novel on the realities of Goa, was a profound call, felt, and accepted. He gave the reasons for writing it, as civic, since it was the appeal of Goa and her people which had a strong determinant on him. According to him the perspectives with which he faced this reality at the time and the relations that defined local society were coherently directed to a markedly materialistic social vision and deep humanist roots.⁵⁶

Orlando as an adolescent had sensibility that helped him to remain attentive, sometimes curious, and open to seeing the things happening around him. This allowed him, a certain closeness with nature and, in relation to certain aspects of understanding social life, like solidarity, on the one hand, and critical tendency, on the other.⁵⁷

Various attempts at writing the novel during the course of years were made. However, it materialised only later with the happenings in Goa and the struggle for freedom by Goans gaining momentum. Also, his contact with the Communist Party and other leaders of the independence movement of African Portuguese colonies may have influenced him in writing the novel. The *bhatkar-mundkar* relation shows his Marxist views and socialist attitude towards the social injustice of the rich towards the poor. The book was published in 1961 some months before Goa's liberation on 19 December 1961.

⁵³ Costa, *O Signo da Ira*, 5.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Eufemiano Miranda, *Oriente e Ocidente na Literatura Goesa* (Saligao: Goa 1556, 2012), 141. For the full interview with the writer Orlando da Costa please read 138-44.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 142.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

O SIGNO DA IRA (THE SIGN OF WRATH)

The story of *O Signo da Ira* borrows its template from the *bhatkar-mundkar* land relations in Goan society. Thus, the focus was on the elite landed gentry, which in this case was the *bhatkar* Ligôr and his *mundkars* the subaltern *kunbis* who toil the soil for benefit of the master. Orlando da Costa was influenced by Portuguese neo-realist writers who tried to interpret with the art of thinking and discuss with a method and just. The arguments were dialogues of reality and most of them focused on the actual tillers. *O Signo da Ira* illustrates perfectly the main concerns of neo-realism since it was a movement committed to revealing the present in its harsh and naked reality, social injustices, and gender inequality, synchronously suggesting corrective measures to build a better future.

And, Orlando has used the need for food as a parameter to show how the rice cultivated by the *mundkars* was used to control them. He shows how for a handful of much-needed food that they would be given for their subsistence they are obliged to give away their daughters and granddaughters. Natél, a young girl in her teens was asked by the *bhatkar* to be sent to work at his place. Her grandfather knew what it meant. It was not only the burden of hard work in the house but it would mean that the girl would be sexually abused by him and lose virginity. But yet, her grandfather is ready to accept *bhatkar's* fiat, even if unwillingly, because he knows that she would at least have a square meal at the *bhatkar's* house and a place to stay when he dies.⁵⁸ The story revolves around *bhatkar* Ligôr and his *mundkars* Pedru, Jaqui, Gustin, Kitru, Bostião, Coinção, Natél, Rumão the tavern owner, Portuguese soldiers and others.

At the very beginning, the preparation for the cultivation of the rice field for *vangana* was described. Since there were no rains, the men started work on the fields by irrigating them with water from the *tollem*. They open up trenches for watering the rice field. The areas that are closer to the *tollem*, the midland fields, would be irrigated by the water which flows through the pathways especially made for the purpose, tilled, and got ready for cultivation. The monsoons in Goa were active from June to September.⁵⁹ After the monsoon there would

⁵⁸ Costa, *O Signo da Ira*, 54.

⁵⁹ Goa receives heavy rainfall from the southwest monsoon from June to September. The annual average rainfall of Goa is around 120 inches, which is approximately 3000mm. The rainfall is specially heavy on the eastern side, which is around 5000 mm per year. Padoshi, *Agriculture Development*, 6; *Techno-economic Survey*, 4; From the end of September to October the eastern monsoons are set on and are called *toddio paus*. Usually, a downpour starts in the evening with thunder and lightning. These showers are important as it adds to the water

be no water for irrigation of the fields, therefore every village had at least one *tollem*.⁶⁰ The farmers would cultivate the second crop of rice from November.

There were rules to be followed for the management of the *tollem*. Firstly, the paddy cultivated in this area had to be harvested within a certain fixed date. Xavier writes that the closing of the sluice gate of the Comunidade of Morombim-o-pequeno *tollem* had to begin on 29 August.⁶¹ This would entail the Committee in charge of harvesting the water to be sure that they got heavy rains. There were times when the rice was not ready, then the farmers moved an application to the authorities, the Administrador das Comunidades, not to close the opening and to allow them a few more days to harvest the paddy. A maximum of two to three days was granted.⁶² Closing in time was important because if there was no sufficient rainfall, it would not be possible to dam sufficient rainwater.

As already mentioned, in the Comunidade of Morombim-o-Pequeno, in the village of Mercês, the opening of the *tollem* had to be closed on September 3. Mr. Venancio João, 76 years old,⁶³ a *gaunkar* of the village Morombim-o-pequeno recollected an incident, which took place during the Portuguese regime where a farmer tenant, late Mateus Barreto, who was also a *gaunkar*, mistakenly sowed the seed which took longer to ripen. As per rules, the sluice gate was closed on the given day.⁶⁴ To the farmer's bad luck, the rains started to fill the *tollem* and inundated his field. However, the paddy stalks were not completely submerged, so using canoes he managed to harvest the crop. Therefore, those who cultivated the *sorodio* in this area had to be very careful, lest they lose the crop and suffer damage.

harvested during the late monsoons. For more details on the weather, you may also read V.T. Gune, ed., *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu* (Panaji: Gazetteer Department, 1979).

⁶⁰ Filipe Neri Xavier, *Bosquejo Histórico das Comunidades de Goa* (Mercês, Goa: L & L, 2012) gives the number of existing water bodies under the respective Comunidade in each village. The majority of these water bodies were still in existence till 1961. Post this year many changes have taken place and many water bodies have been encroached upon and the authorities have not taken any action, on the contrary, have connived with the intruders. The *Report of Land Reforms*, 14, puts the number of storage tanks at over 400. These are located mostly in Salcete and Bardez. In the interior tract specially in Ponda and Bicholim where rivers have a post-monsoon flow, small *Kutch* diversion works are constructed to irrigate rice fields and arecanuts' gardens. Well-irrigation is found mostly in Pernem and Bardez and low-lying areas.

⁶¹ Xavier, *Bosquejo Histórico das Comunidades*, 187. This date was later changed to 3 September.

⁶² Such applications for granting of time were part of the management of the Comunidades and ratified by the Administrador das Comunidades and after liberation, the responsibility is of the Mamlatdar of the Taluka.

⁶³ Venancio João was interviewed in May 2016.

⁶⁴ Each Comunidade decided when it would close its respective *tollem* or *tollim*. This decision was taken by the *gaunkars* who managed the affairs of the Comunidade and the procedure has been followed in the past. Xavier (1852) gives the dates on which day the sluice gate had to be closed as well as the cultivation and harvesting to be undertaken of both the *sorodio* and the *vangana*. The dates must have been decided based on the climatic conditions existing then because these (dates) have been changed later in many Comunidades an example is that of Morombim-o-pequeno. Please read footnote no.61.

The *vangana* cultivation in Orlando's novel is important to the *mundkars* who for two years did not have rice following bad harvests. Excess rain and insufficient seeds were the reason. It was hoped that the rice that will be produced during this time will enable them to have a square meal, and it would be the means of subsistence, till the next crop was harvested. It made *mundkars* sad to see no paddy in their hovels. There were only ladyfingers (okra) and beans produced in the kitchen gardens. And, *nachinim* grown around their hutments, and *ambil*, helped fight pangs of hunger and survive.⁶⁵

And the *mundkar* women would pray to the almighty for a good crop, using the sheaf of paddy kept in the oratory or near the saint's frame in the house: 'Saiba, tende piedade de nós!' (Lord, have pity on us!).

This kind of a problem where the means of subsistence, the daily rice, was not available occurred a number of times due to the famines in Goa and also in India from where the rice was procured to cover the deficit of production. For example, during the First World War, such a problem occurred. In 1918 the monsoons were very erratic and insufficient, not only in Goa but also in British India and the agricultural yield was poor. There were apprehensions that the price of rice and other commodities would be excessively high. So also, there were worries that British India might stop exporting. Such a measure resorted to earlier when the British governor stopped export due to insufficient production.⁶⁶ The Portuguese government felt the need to form a committee to handle the crises of subsistence faced by Goa. Thus, a committee was appointed which was asked to urgently study any means to provide a solution.⁶⁷ Although it made various suggestions, it does not seem to have success in implementing them. One was for the Comunidade to jointly pull in resources in cash which would be used to buy food. The main emphasis was on buying rice which was the staple for the people and distribute it through outlets especially set up for this purpose. It was pointed out that the purchase of rice should be done as early as possible and in sufficient quantity, as there might be an increase in the price of rice or there could be a ban on its export. Instead, the Governor went ahead and bought rice at a higher price without taking into consideration the suggestions of the committee.⁶⁸ This action of his led to the sale of rice at

⁶⁵ Costa, *O Signo da Ira*, 10.

⁶⁶ *Portaria Provincial no.45, 29 January, 1918; "A Crise de Subsistências e o Fomento – Projectos de Medidas"* (Santa Cruz, India Portuguesa: Tip. Xri Ramanati, 1919).

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* Relatório. (Report presented by the Committee appointed by Portaria Provincial no.45, 29 January 1918).

⁶⁸ José de Freitas Ribeiro (1917-1919) was the Governor at the time.

a higher price which affected the consumer, especially the common men with limited financial resources.⁶⁹

Therefore, the *vangana* represents all the hope and it is centred on the production of a good crop. Quitrú and Gustin are *mundkars* of *bhatkar* Ligôr, newly married, and hope that the *vangana* of the year will relieve them from deprivation and uncertainties. The wife hoped that their child (yet to be born) will grow without hunger.⁷⁰ The child would be born soon after the *vangana* harvesting, and they hoped that there would be enough rice for the lactating mother.⁷¹ However, Gustin is speechless when told that the yield is big but no paddy in the house.⁷²

Bostião, who was secretly in love with Natél, Jaqui's granddaughter, looked forward to an opportune time to express his feelings and marriage proposal to Jaqui. First, he decided to approach Jaqui after the field was cultivated. On second thought he decides to break the issue after the harvest but ends up considering that it would be better to wait until after the harvest time. Bostião ruminates, '...after the harvests, paying off the debts, we get married...'

In reality, *vangana* was the restorative hope for everyone who lived in that village, for themselves and for Gustin and Quitrú, who were expecting their first child – he knew, everyone knew – the *vangana* represented all the expectations he could have, the little that life gave to men, humble like him, to the population of *kunbis* in times of love and of death.⁷³

It is important to note that during difficult times such as those portrayed in the novel, thousands of poor Goans crossed the borders of Coem in search of jobs. It was not only men who emigrated, women also followed.⁷⁴ At that time, there was a shortage of domestic workers, because a sizeable number of girls emigrated out of Goa, where they would have a more rewarding wage. This was not welcome by the landlords who did not have people to work or had to pay more due to a shortage of labour.⁷⁵ Goa, in fact, had very limited

⁶⁹ *Portaria Provincial no.45, III.*

⁷⁰ Costa, 106.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 108.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁷⁴ With people leaving Goa in hordes to get jobs since they were not available in the territory, emigration became a major issue, and the Second Congresso focussed on it and related problems. The main reason for people to migrate was the need to feed themselves and save from hunger. Please refer to *Segundo Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa* (Nova Goa: Casa Luso Francesa, 1917) for full text of the papers presented at the Congresso.

⁷⁵ The landlords who had to pay salaries would grumble when higher wages were demanded by the workers. The demand for a hike was always resented, even though the price of rice and other commodities increased. This resentment was discussed and means to put an end to or control the wages were felt. Therefore, in the

opportunities, with no industry that could generate jobs. As the majority of people were agricultural workers, for whom there were only seasonal and paid jobs in kind, during the rest of the year they had to find other odd jobs.⁷⁶

Costa also writes about the elderly *mundkars* who unable to toil had to beg every Saturday, at the *bhatkar's* and other wealthy houses, in the hope of receiving a handful of rice. The prayer was repeated from door to door ‘*noman' morie, noman' morie ...*’ (Hail Mary, Hail Mary) A handful of rice was offered to the beggars who prayed for graces for themselves and also for the wealthy owners. However, when the rice production was not satisfactory, alms were given in coins, with which they could hardly buy any food.

...AND THE METAPHOR OF RICE

Orlando da Costa uses rice not only as the main wealth but also as the bargaining chip which is central to the narrative structure of *The Sign of Wrath*. This important value was also used as a setting for other power relations, exercised by men over women. The most obvious example relates to Ligôr *bhatkar*, the young Natél (granddaughter of Jaqui) and Coinsão, Pedru's daughter.

Coinsão was twenty years old and the youngest daughter. According to the tradition when there were no male children, it was the youngest daughter who had the responsibility to care for her parents. In this case, Coinsão cared for the bedridden mother and her alcoholic father. Considering her predicament, no man came forward to marry her. Knowing this, Coinção proposed to go to Ligôr *bhatkar's* home, instead of the young woman Natél, so that the latter could marry Bostião and also, as a way of escaping loneliness and guaranteeing some food. Coinção was aware of the fate of *mundkar* women who lived in Ligôr *bhatkar's* home and knew that she was going to lose her virginity. But, what difference would it make? She didn't have the love of any man. And maybe the *bhatkar* would still later find a boy to marry her... so she thought.

Sétimo Congresso, a special session was organised on the “Labour Problem” (Problema de Mão d’Obra). Pedro Correia Afonso presented a 77 pages report titled “The Problem of Agricultural Labour in Portuguese India. Report.” (Problema da Mão d’Obra Agrícola na Índia Portuguesa. Relatório) in *Sétimo Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa*, ed. Balcrisna Sinai Sacardandó (Nova Goa: Tipografia Bragança e Cia., 1927), 1-77. There was also a paper on “Draft Labour Regulation” (Projecto do Regulamento de Mão d’Obra) by Cipriano da Cunha Gomes and others, *ibid.*, 21-23 and “Labour problem” (Problema da Mão d’Obra) by Luis Jose de Souza, *ibid.*, 23-27.

⁷⁶ Stella Mascarenhas-Keyes, *Colonialism, Migration and the International Catholic Goan Community* (Saligao: Goa 1556, 2011), 187.

In the narrative, Bab Ligôr first saw Coinção on the feast day at his house and decided that she should go to work for him, ordering her to do it before the end of the year, even without the knowledge of her agreement with Natél. Once at the *bhatkar's* house, Coinção was sent to the old storeroom, between the barn and the attic, away from the facilities of other maids. Behind this room were the latrines. When she entered the room, she felt lonely and frightened, in the middle of a lot of worn things, looking at the old attic and smelling the strong odour of raw paddy. She knew that she would have to do the most difficult of jobs: apply cow dung to the ground, take paddy to the mill for husking and carry out other chores like washing the toilet bowls of the old and sick. And, she would have to take her meals alone, away from others. But, to compensate for these drawbacks, she felt that at least she wouldn't suffer pangs of hunger.

Thinking about what she left behind – the huts, Natél, Quitrú, her father walking in the middle of the night, like a soul from another world, her mother whining on the floor-mat, and Rumão, the owner of the tavern that approached her, eager for desire, on a night when he took her father home totally drunk, leaving her with unforgettable sensations – Coinção has a heart full of anguish and restlessness. Anguish leads her to grab the rice (unhusked) with her hands and bite it. On her knees, her cold hands sank into the heap of rice until her fists, her head drooped and her face wet Coinção takes a mouthful of the paddy ravenously.⁷⁷

It was at this moment that rice also becomes, in the plot of the novel, a kind of emotional catalyst accompanying the submissive destiny of Coinção at the mercy of the will of Ligôr *bhatkar*. Perhaps the moment of greatest sexual violence happened when *Bab Ligôr*, entering the barn with a lamp in his hands, throws Coinção on the paddy which spreads on the floor. She was stunned by Ligôr's violence and coldness. Expected a word from him, but none was uttered.⁷⁸

The sexual violence against the character takes place literally on a heap of rice, a symbolic way that the narrator finds to show the connection between rice production, the characters' behaviours, and the power relations between them. Crushed by the silence, Coinção felt overthrown and the rough contact of the rice brought her a strange longing for a time that she had never lived and an indefinable sensation of docility. An acrid and close smell, spread. She felt like sneezing. That was when, under the increasing weight of Ligôr

⁷⁷ Costa, *ibid.*, 121.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 129.

overpowering her, the rice beneath seemed to wince, her head fell back and her eyes, closed, and let the first tears of intense pain and grief transpire.⁷⁹

The owner's cruelty towards the *mundkar*, subordinated and fragile, continued to be exposed by the narrator when he described the moment Ligôr approached Coinção to find out if she had any physical relationship with Rumão, when he learned that the latter had leprosy. He finds her lying naked on the mattress and wakes her up, stamping his foot on her thigh communicating his intentions⁸⁰ that he had not come to sleep with her.⁸¹

Another aspect of the violence also occurs when the men go to the tavern and Rumão informed them that the paddy had been stolen. One could only see sadness and suffering in the eyes of the *mundkars*. All their dreams were crushed!⁸²

On hearing such heart-breaking news, the *mundkars* gathered and went to meet the *bhatkar*, who told them that the rice was stolen at the rice mill. The truth was that the corrupt *bhaktar* saw an opportunity to make money from selling rice in the black market. In this way, he would have additional money, which he badly needed to pay off his debts, acquired as the main celebrant of the annual church feast. He had pawned off all the fields he had inherited from his ancestors, except the current one, with rumours doing the round that the same had been mortgaged too.

Instead of trying to mitigate the sufferings of the *mundkars*, *bhatkar* Ligôr cynically suggested that they endure hunger for a few more months and added that the lack of rice was not a new phenomenon, as the same situation had already happened before. However, some *mundkars* gathered the courage to retort and asked what their children's fate would be. To calm them down, he promised a handful of rice for the children, from a portion he had in the barn for his family's consumption. The men looked at him with a new spark – until then never seen – which the narrator leaves to the reader's imagination if it represented revenge, hate, or protest.⁸³

Coinção, who slept in the attic of the barn, knew there was enough rice for a few months. She wanted to help her people and sends a message to the *mundkars* that she will siphon some to satisfy their needs. However, they had to plan how successfully they would

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 118.

⁸¹ Ibid., 202.

⁸² Ibid., 145.

⁸³ Ibid., 149.

execute it. After stealing the rice, it had to be carried away. Bostião proposed that he would in the middle of the night. It was necessary to find a safe place where to leave it and later, distribute it among everyone. The place chosen was Rumão's tavern, who in the meantime had been arrested since he had illegally traded petrol from the Portuguese army, smuggled by a soldier.

At that point, there was a tragic twist in the plot. When Rumão was arrested, they discovered he had leprosy. On the occasion that Father Antu visited him in prison, he confessed that he had touched Coinção in pitch darkness. The priest, who knew about Ligôr's nefarious activities and knew about Rumão's interest in Coinção, informed the *bhatkar*. Angered by the knowledge that Rumão had leprosy and that he had touched her, although he was aware of her virginity, Ligôr threatens Coinção and said that he would resolve the matter. Without knowing exactly what the *bhatkar* was referring to since she was unaware of Rumão's condition, Coinção feared that he knew of the help she had given the *mundkars* for siphoning the rice. The poor girl is found dead the next day. Was it a murder or a suicide?

In the meantime, the Portuguese soldier who used to sell smuggled petrol, to end any evidence against him, killed Rumão and burnt the tavern. The stolen rice, hidden there, was also reduced to ashes. Thus, all tribulations were in vain. The desperation in the prayers of Quitrú, to try to save the rice, which they had managed to obtain with such difficulty and secrecy, and which was definitely lost, despite all the effort to put an end to the flames, shows that, for these humble characters of the novel, rice was critical for survival “*Saibá!* (Lord!) What will become of us! – Why did you curse that rice that is ours, *Saibá* (Lord)?”⁸⁴

THE ‘HOLLOW’ DEBATES OF THE PROVINCIAL CONGRESSES

The objective of the *Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa* when it was established was to deal with matters that directly interested the economic and social development of Goa. The core issue was agriculture in Goa, and the first session of the First Congress was devoted to its improvement, with a focus on rice cultivation.⁸⁵ Its importance can be gauged from the number of papers presented in the first session, which consisted of 31

⁸⁴ Ibid., 234.

⁸⁵ For the genesis of the *Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa*, please refer to the chapter on “Drink that Cheers and Bring Tears”.

papers.⁸⁶ Suggestions had been made to the government to take over or distribute to those who have interests in the properties belonging to the Comunidade. A paper by Leandro Pereira on ‘Disentailment of properties’ (Desamortização dos terrenos) who did not favour such a closure, suggested setting up the regime of ownership of the Comunidade’s lands at the time in the existing form of a lease by parcels (*lanços*).⁸⁷

One of the delegates of the First Congress, F.X. Teodoro de Miranda, proposed the establishment of an agricultural credit system in the paper titled ‘Agricultural Credit’ (Crédito agrícola). Miranda strongly felt that for the progress of agriculture it is indispensable to facilitate the capitalisation of the economies of the tillers. He suggested that co-operative movement was the most preferred means to provide agricultural credit.⁸⁸ The importance of agricultural credit is shown through several papers on the topic, which shows that money was an essential need for the cultivator to undertake the work in the fields.⁸⁹ This was required as most did not have adequate income and they needed loans. The money lenders, from whom they had to borrow exhorted high interest rates from them, which most of the time they were unable to repay. In a paper presented in the Second *Congresso Provincial*, the writer informs that the interest rates from private money lenders were as high as 50% or more.⁹⁰ He suggested that the local bodies like the Confrarias and Mazanias should be allowed to give loans, as in the past, without the present onus of paying high taxes on loans and the bureaucratic hurdles, which led to delays, faced by the borrowers. It is to be noted that there was no provision to prorogue the date of payment of *foros* (rent) to enable them to harvest the

⁸⁶ For a complete list of papers and presenters at the first session please read Aleixo Manuel da Costa, *Dicionário de Literatura Goesa* (Macau: Instituto Cultural, n.d.), 194-96.

⁸⁷ Antonio Maria da Cunha, *Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa (Primeiro)* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1916), 6. For more on discussions about dissolutions of the Comunidades, the following are recommended: Filipe Nery Xavier, *Defensa dos Direitos das Gaocarias, Gaocares, e dos seus Privilegios, Contra a Proposta de sua Dissolução, e Divisão das suas Terras* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1856); J.H. da Cunha Rivara, *Brados a Favor das Comunidades das Aldeas do Estado da India* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1870). Both Xavier and Rivara favoured the management of the Comunidade by the *Gaocars*. The issue of Desamortização continued throughout the period of study, with some Comunidades having disentaileed their assets. Orlim Comunidade in Salcete is an example. However, the last Code of 1961 maintained that there will be no more disentailement of the properties and suggested reestablishing the ones that had been dissolved and establishing new ones.

⁸⁸ F.X.Teodoro de Miranda, “Crédito Agrícola” in Cunha, *Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa (Primeiro)*, 12.

⁸⁹ The following were the other papers presented on Agricultural Credit by the delegates in the first session at the *Primeiro Congresso Provincial*: Aleixo Xavier de A. Godinho, “Crédito Agrícola,” F.X.Teodoro de Miranda, “Crédito Agrícola,” Quexova Laddú Sivescar, “Crédito Agrícola, sua organização apropriada às condições económicas do país,” Sebastião da G. Pimenta, “Crédito Agrícola,” Lourenço Caetano Monteiro, “Bancos Agrícola,” Joaquim S. Pinto Carvalho, “Crédito Agrícola em Goa,” J.J.Roque Correia Afonso, “Crédito Agrícola,” Bernardino C. da Costa, “Crédito Agrícola.” For full text of the papers please refer to Cunha, *Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa (Primeiro)*, 1916.

⁹⁰ Ricardo Micael Teles, “Crédito Agrícola” in *Segundo Congresso Provincial*, 59.

paddy. This is one of the reasons why people preferred to take loans from a moneylender, even though they have to pay high interest.⁹¹

The lease of Comunidade assets for agricultural activities was of great concern to the cultivators as it was critically linked to their sustenance. There were three papers on this issue. Jose Joaquim J. de Brito Ferrão in the paper titled ‘Lease in the communal fields,’ suggested that the subleases of the rice fields of the Comunidade should be prohibited.⁹² Since the well-off sub-let the extra land to profit from it, there was the need to fix the maximum number of plots that each individual could lease.⁹³ According to the Code of Comunidade (1904), ‘each litigant can lease any number of plots/parcels, by providing payment in equal instalments when the value of the lot exceeds 1000 rupees.’⁹⁴ This was also an important topic with altogether four papers on this subject.⁹⁵ Auctions were much more than bidding for the land. Over the years it had created continuous and perpetual disagreements and fights between opponents and even created a long-time enmity among individuals and families.⁹⁶

“Changes to the Code of Comunidades” (Alterações ao Código das Comunidades)⁹⁷ as the title suggests proposed changes in the code of the Comunidade (1904), to get rid of some of its office functionaries, as they exploited the cultivators. It suggests the suppression of the office of *sacador* and *vigia*.⁹⁸ These two could and were causing problems to the

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Jose Joaquim J. De Brito Ferrão, “Arrendamento nos Campos Comuns” in Cunha, *Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa (Primeiro)*, 23.

⁹³ Ibid, 24. This topic of lease of Comunidade properties has been discussed in this chapter in section “Alças, Alcistas... and ‘farcical’ public auctions”.

⁹⁴ Código de 1904, article 673. Translation of the author.

⁹⁵ The other three papers are: Nogar Prudente Lourenço, “Vantagens e Inconvenientes de Arrendamento a Longo e Curto Prazo,” Leandro X. Pereira, “Arrendamento a Curto e Longo Prazo,” J.J. Roque Correia Afonso, “Arrendamento” in Cunha, *Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa(Primeiro)*, 1916.

⁹⁶ Pereira, Martins and Costa, *Song of Goa*, 311, 315.

⁹⁷ Please refer to footnote no.106 to see the lists of Codes.

⁹⁸ In Portuguese India *sacador* is a collector of the Comunidade and the person responsible for its full annual revenue collection and his duties were included in the Code. It was equivalent to “Recebedor de Aldeia,” collector of the village in Portugal. Originally, they were called *potecares* before they were designated as *sacadores*. The *sacador* had to make the payments within fifteen days from the date fixed for paying revenue to the Revenue department, or else he would be removed from the position, Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, 268; We find that in the Code of 1961 the posts of *sacadores* and *vigias* are eliminated because of the ineffectiveness of their functions revealed by experience. A parallel can be drawn with the “*sopocar*” (rent collector) appointed by the Municipalities to collect the rent (*sopo*) of those using the premises of the market and other places scattered around the city, wherefrom the person sold their goods or wares. These included the rents during the various fairs and festivals. In the same way, the position of “*sopocar*” was auctioned annually, however, in this case, the bidder with the highest offer to pay the Municipality got the lease and the system continues to date. It also covers the Panchayat area.

cultivators as they collected the dues from them and while doing so, imposed their own conditions.⁹⁹

The *Sacadores* (tax-farmers or revenue collectors) were individuals appointed by the Comunidade to collect the taxes and other dues from the cultivators and their office was called *sacadoria*. This office was auctioned every year in the month of December and the charge was assumed at the beginning of January. The *gaunkars* of the village usually served as *sacadores* for their village. Since the job involved the collection of money, they had to furnish an adequate guarantee for the discharge of their duties without causing any loss to the Comunidade. The work was awarded to those who offered their services on payment of least premium by the Comunidade and offered to fulfill the conditions of the office. Since they were not paid any salary, they would make the best by collecting extra money from the cultivators. The debtors of the *sacador* included all the bidders and lessees of the estates, the people entrusted with watch and ward duties of the rice fields and coconut groves, and the other renters of the Comunidade together with their respective guarantors.¹⁰⁰

The office of the *sacador* was introduced by the Portuguese in 1735 when the collection of rent and taxes was first enacted. The *Regimento* of that year instituted the *sacadoria*¹⁰¹ headed by the *sacador* who was directly and personally responsible for the said rents and taxes. The *vigias* were guards of the plantation in the lands of the Comunidade and the cultivators could take the harvest from threshing grounds only with their permission. The *vigia* and *sacador* used the embargo, which caused grave problems and losses to the cultivator who could not lift the paddy if he was not allowed and many a time it was left to rot on the ground.

The main concern of the authorities and the cultivators were to reduce the cereal deficit and be self-sufficient in rice production. Two papers were discussed to overcome the deficit and find means and ways to reduce the shortfall of rice in Goa.¹⁰² The rice deficit and

⁹⁹ Francisco Otolini de Sousa, "Alterações ao Código das Comunidades" In *Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa*, 1916, 29.

¹⁰⁰ Remy Dias, "The Socio-Economic History of Goa with Special Reference to the Comunidade System: 1750-1910," Ph.D. diss., University of Goa, 2004, 124-26.

¹⁰¹ *Sacadoria*, position of *sacador* awarded by public auction to a person who proposes to perform it for a lower price. Before the conquest by the Portuguese, it was designated as *Pota* and *Potecar*, respectively. Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, 268.

¹⁰² J.B. Amâncio Gracias, "Meios de Reduzir o nosso Deficit Cerealífero," J.J. Roque Correia Afonso, "O Deficit Cerealífero. Meios de o Reduzir," in Cunha, *Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa*, 1916.

how to overcome it was always in the mind of the people. Therefore, the Fourth Congress, held in 1921 was fully devoted to this problem with eight papers.¹⁰³

The president of the Second Provincial Congress in his inaugural speech, while reviewing the proceedings of the First Provincial Congress, shows the importance of rice in Goa, when he calls it the ‘Bread of the native’ (O pão do índio) and strongly recommended to increase the cultivable area and proposed that the government should provide its land for the purpose.¹⁰⁴ In this Congress too, there were papers on agriculture and again three papers on Agricultural credit (Crédito agrícola) which shows how much importance was laid on agricultural loans,¹⁰⁵ since money was scant and to cultivate the land it was necessary, not only to buy the seeds and pay the labourers but especially for the inflated rents.

ALÇÃS, ALCISTAS... AND ‘FARCICAL’ PUBLIC AUCTIONS

Most of the inconveniences obstructing the growth in the agricultural output arose with the system of lease of agricultural assets of the Comunidade.¹⁰⁶ The rice fields and other lands for the purpose of cultivation were either distributed or allotted to the *gaunkars*. This distribution was done either annually or every three years through a public auction called *arrematação*.¹⁰⁷ Since only the *gaunkars* could bid, other cultivators had to take on the fields through sub-letting from those who bid in the auction. The auction was important to the bidders – who were well-off individuals – and made money by sub-letting, as well as to the cultivators, and it was discussed at social functions, by the press as well as writers of the time. It also promoted chicanery, intrigues, and petty politics. The Comunidade had created a system of an auction that suited them and not the cultivator. This was done through *alcistas* who were paid *alçãs* by the Comunidade. The government had laid down rules for auction

¹⁰³ For titles of the papers and presenters, please refer to Costa, *Dicionário de Literatura Goesa*, 199.

¹⁰⁴ Jose Maria da Costa Alvares, Presidential address of Second Congresso, in Antonio Maria da Cunha, *Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa. Subsídios para a sua História* (Nova Goa: Tipografada Casa Luso-Francesa, 1924), 2.

¹⁰⁵ F.X.Teodoro de Miranda, “Crédito Agrícola,” Roberto Bruto da Costa, “Crédito Agrícola,” and Ricardo Micael Telles, “Crédito Agrícola.” in *Segundo Congresso Provincial*, 1917.

¹⁰⁶ There are a number of books on the Comunidade, which should be read by those who wish to get detailed information about this age-old institution of Goa. Please refer to the introduction of Remy Dias’ thesis. The first Code was published in 1882, followed by another in 1904 where changes during the period between the two years were incorporated. In 1933 another Code was promulgated which included the legislation and changes effected during the period between both years. In 1961 another Code was promulgated before the Portuguese left Goa, incorporating the various diplomas promulgated, effective from 1933.

¹⁰⁷ Dias, Remy, “Socio-Economic History,” 126-33; The word *arrematasaum* replaced the older native *launnim-paunnim* in Konkani. Pereira, Martins, and Costa, *Song of Goa*, 426; Later, in the auctions held in 1949, leases were given for a period of 6 years. Auctions were due in 1955 but were not held. Instead, the existing tenants were given the option to renew their leases for a further period of 3 years and this was done again in 1958. However, after the promulgation of the 1961 Code, auctions were reintroduced.

and one of them mentioned that *gaunkars* should not connive between themselves and have the pact to bid and obtain at a lower price for which they would be prosecuted, proving that irregularities were in existence.

Those who offered the highest rent from amongst the *gaunkars*, *cuntocares*, and other *interessados* got the rice fields and other cultivable lands beside the other estates of the Comunidade. However, it may be noted that only the *gaunkars* were admitted to offering a bid directly. The *interessados* participation was limited to offering bids at the public auction of Comunidade lands only through the *gaunkars*.¹⁰⁸ The right to bid was also given to *gauncares*, *jonoeiros*, and other *interessados*, who were less than 21 years but over 15 years, in the rice fields auction (arrematação de varzeas) of their respective Comunidade without even the authorization of their parents or guardians, provided that they furnished adequate guarantees.¹⁰⁹

The literature of the time which writes about the auctions includes the first Goan novel *Jacob e Dulce* by Francisco João da Costa (Gip) and also the short story “Jacob e Carapinho” by Gip.¹¹⁰ A lively discussion is depicted in *Jacob e Dulce* during the wedding of the main protagonists in the novel regarding the taxes imposed by the government.¹¹¹ Those present at the reception also discussed the scarcity of fish, problems of markets, and the triennial auction of the Comunidade.¹¹²

The *mando* writers did not lag behind in focusing on such an important subject and the politics behind it. The *mando Kurhtrech'm arrematasaum-om*¹¹³ gives glimpses of how the auctions functioned. Cast politics were played using members of the scheduled caste, the *Mhars* or *Mars* – to ingeniously outsmart their rivals – to do the bidding in a brahmin caste dominated Comunidade of Curtorim (an affront believed by Arnaldo to be as potent as a

¹⁰⁸ Dias, Remy, “Socio-Economic History,” 130.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. Persons extraneous to a Comunidade could take part in the auctioning only in the absence of *gaunkars* and *interessados* or there being a practice to the contrary in any of the villages.

¹¹⁰ Francisco João da Costa (Gip), *Jacob e Dulce (Scenas da Vida Indiana)*, 3 ed., ed. and preface Jeremias Xavier de Carvalho (Panjim: Tipografia Sadananda, 1974). It was originally published in serial form in the weekly *O Ultramar*, between 10 November 1894 and 1 June 1895, and as a book in 1896. The first edition was published in Margao at the *O Ultramar* printing press. There was a second edition with a critical appreciation by Visconde de Tauney, a Brazilian writer, and GIP’s reply to him. (Nova Goa: Casa Luso-Francesa, 1907). There are also two editions of Konkani translation by Aleixo Caetano José Francisco: *Notas a Lápis de Jacob e Dulce*, 1895 and *Jacob e Dulce por Gyp. Romance* (Assagão: Tip. Moderna, 1912); Francisco João da Costa (Gip), “Jacob e Carapinho,” in *Lengthening Shadows: An Anthology of Goan Short Stories*, translated by Paul Melo e Castro (Saligao: Goa 1556, 2016).

¹¹¹ Costa (Gip), *Jacob e Dulce* 106-09.

¹¹² Ibid., 109.

¹¹³ The *mando* was written by Arnaldo de Menezes (1863-1917), Pereira, Martins, and Costa, *Song of Goa*, 315.

‘curse’).¹¹⁴ This action brought a lot of excitement and was celebrated with fireworks by the *non-gaonkars*.¹¹⁵ However, the high price quoted by the successful bidder fleeced the poor cultivator. For wider dissemination, the auctions were publicized in the newspapers, and in this particular case, it was notified in the *A India Portuguesa*.¹¹⁶ The *Boletim Oficial*,¹¹⁷ which was the official organ of the government also published such notices.

The *mando Kity'm munn sanguchem lokako* by Francisco Menezes, probably written between 1906-1910, also discusses the auction held in Curtorim village, the granary of Goa.¹¹⁸ According to him the auction brings unrest amongst the people and writes about two individuals who manipulated in their favour. They insisted on an auction “of the sixth” and were successful to get the lease of the field to the consternation of the goldsmith Ori, who used to cultivate them.

The auctions as already mentioned were a money-making racket as the norms laid down benefitted the *gaunkars* who sublet the fields to others at a higher price. The amount accrued in this transaction allowed some of them to live at the cost of actual cultivators. Those who bid for the agricultural lands and sublet them to others were known as *alcistas*, as the difference between the rent lease they pay to the Comunidade and the amount they receive after subleasing is called *alça*.¹¹⁹ They were mostly capitalists and formed syndicates specialized in taking the lands of village communities on lease at the annual or triennial auction. The expression *alça* or *alcista* was also used in pejorative form to label a person as an exploiter. Francisco João da Costa (Gip) uses it to degrade the character of Fr. Sertório Dantas, a relative of the main protagonist Jacob Dantas.¹²⁰

¹¹⁴ Basket and mat weaving with bamboo strips is the *Mahars*' traditional occupation. They also play traditional musical instruments in religious festivals and marriage processions, the latter, specially in the villages. Some of them who migrated to British India became famous western music exponents. *Mahars* are also known to be good cooks.

¹¹⁵ Pereira, Martins and Costa, *Song of Goa*, 426.

¹¹⁶ *A India Portuguesa* was founded in 1861 and published from Orlim, Salcete. This paper was of ownership of José Inacio de Loyola and was the archrival of *O Ultramar* which was started in 1859 by Bernardo Francisco da Costa. Both the owners were also political opponents; Pereira, Martins, and Costa, *Song of Goa*, 316 (3ab). For a fuller commentary on this *Mando*, see 426.

¹¹⁷ *Boletim do Governo* was the official organ of the Government which was published from 7 December 1837.

¹¹⁸ Pereira, Martins and Costa, *Song of Goa*, 311.

¹¹⁹ Manuel Ferreira Viegas, in *Boletim de Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, xxxii, 1909, 427 indexed in Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, 22.

¹²⁰ Costa, F.J. (Gip), *Jacob e Dulce* (1974), comments about Sertório Dantas' character “thrives through *alça* ...at the cost of Comunidade...at the cost of the widows and orphans.” 59. Translation of the author.

This kind of system where only a few privileged persons could bid at the auction had to have repercussions. A system that deprived the tiller to enjoy the fruits of their labour and who wished to cultivate the fields for their individual and family sustenance were dependent and at the mercy of the *gaunkars* who were allowed to bid for unlimited fields as long as they were the highest bidders. They acquired the fields in order to sublet to those who were actual cultivators, but at a much higher price. This system was prevailing only in Goa and not in any other Portuguese colonies. *Alcista* is a person in India, who is paid a *tença* or profit called *alça*.¹²¹ This is ‘a gift which was given to the middle man in a business transaction; as profits.’¹²² Also, *tença* or income in India.¹²³ The *Glossário Luso-Asiático* defines *alça* as ‘a word used with peculiar meaning to show a profit which is accrued from subleasing, and sale of small objects (sundry) of the village community.’¹²⁴ As the system was pernicious to the people in general, Marquês de Pombal, the Prime Minister of King D. José had ordered it to be abolished.¹²⁵ However, its banning was not successful as we still find it prevailing in the twentieth century in the pre-liberation period when the system continued and it was censured by the people to the extent that it made the local press request the government to prohibit it.¹²⁶

In view of criticism, the government decided to take action against the *alcistas* by issuing a *Portaria* to solve this scourge. This was required considering that in the majority of the cases the lessee does not cultivate the fields and ends by subletting to the cultivator and this was done through an oral contract and they (the lessee) enjoyed the profit. It was a known fact that in such transactions the lessee made a profit of 100% to the detriment of the cultivator and of the Comunidade.

¹²¹ *Alcista*: Aquele que na Índia recebe a tença ou renda, chamada alça, *Grande Enciclopedia Luso Brasileira* Vol.1 (Lisboa: Editorial Enciclopedia Limitada, n.d.), 798

¹²² *Ibid.*, 758. *Alça* is defined as “presente que se dava ao mediano em algum negócio; lucros.”

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 759. *Tença* ou renda na Índia.

¹²⁴ Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, 20.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 21. Marquês de Pombal in 1771 abolished these indecorous negotiations, which even now are effected, under the barbaric name of *Alças de bate*, buying under this denomination the rice at a cheaper rate from the poor to later sell at a higher rate on behalf of Fazenda (Revenue Department); Filipe Neri Xavier, *Collecção de Bandos, e outras Diferentes Providências que Servem de Leis Regulamentares para o Governo Económico, e Judicial das Províncias Denominadas das Novas Conquistas, Precedida da Noção da sua Conquista, e da Divisão de cada huma dellas* (Pangim: Imprensa Nacional, 1851), I, 11.

¹²⁶ *Alças* (1850) also meant profit resulting from the auction of *Orvanas* (*retalhos*) *Mus* (*comporta*), etc. Also, a percentage of the share entitled in the division of that profit to each field lessee cultivator (*vargeiro*). *O Gabinete Litterário das Fontainhas* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1848), iv, 113; The *regulamento* of 17.10.1516 gives the definition as pension with which services are paid. Uncertain contingency expenses and losses have ordinarily experimented, and it is also said to be the gratification that is given to the highest bidder who has increased the price of the contract; *Bosquejo Histórico das Comunidades* (1852), iv, 1, defines as the profit resulting from the product of lease of *Mús*, *palha*, (grass), etc. Also, as the profit that remains for the lessee of the field on the sublease.

One measure to end the anomaly in the auction and lease would be to give fields on direct lease to the cultivators liberating them from *alcistas* who lived a parasitic life at the cost of the poor cultivator. Therefore, the Governor-General issued *Portaria* no. 813¹²⁷ based on the proposal of the *Inspecção das Comunidade*. The Governor makes provisions to oversee the activities and orders to have in each taluka a committee nominated by the Administrator of the respective taluka.¹²⁸ The committee was entrusted with the duty of ascertaining a) the average income by which each of the plots is leased in the different *Comunidade* b) the profits accrued on the same plots when sub-leased c) the overall amount in which, annually, the *Comunidade* stakeholders are defalcated, from their income. In the same manner, the amount by which the state is defalcated in the annual settlement of contributions.¹²⁹

Sub-committees were formed at the parish level (*freguesia*) to help the Taluka Committees and both had to be installed within 8 days¹³⁰ and submit the report within 90 days.¹³¹ A report giving the details of the actual facts giving the state of affairs in each *Comunidade*, along with maps which show the denominations or designations of the plots (*lanços*), the average amount by which they were leased, and the approximate amount, by which they would be sub-leased, had to be submitted to the *Inspecção das Comunidade*.¹³² Nevertheless, the subletting continued as the system of leasing the fields was incorporated in the Code of *Comunidade* of 1933. The Code (1904) was revised by a *Diploma Legislativo*, which, however, retained the system of the lease of lands by public auction.¹³³

In 1937, there was a revision to the Code of 1933 vide *Diploma Legislativo* no. 966 of 1937,¹³⁴ which while introducing certain further changes in the administrative set-up, retained the system of lease of lands by public auction, which was existing in the Code of 1904 and 1933. However, the new *Diploma* (No. 966) required that persons intending to bid for the lease of lands in the auction had to furnish security. This meant that majority of the cultivators were not in a position to furnish the required security. Consequently, only *gaunkars* or those having economic resources could bid in auctions. Thus, it often happened

¹²⁷ *Portaria* no.813, 6 January 1930, B.O. no.2, 7 January 1930.

¹²⁸ The Administrator would be the chairman of the committee and have the chief of the division of the police and the secretary of the revenue (Fazenda) office to undertake the rigorous inquiry.

¹²⁹ *Portaria* no. 813, 6 January 1930, Art 1; *Porjecho Adar*, 16 January 1930.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, Art 3.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, Art 4.

¹³² *Portaria* no.813, 6 January 1930 was signed by the Governor João Carlos Craveiro Lopes.

¹³³ *Diploma Legislativo* (hereafter D. L.) no.651, 30 March 1933, B.O., no.40, 20 May 1933.

¹³⁴ D. L. no.966, 1 September 1937, B.O. Supplement to no.70, 1 September 1937.

that a single individual with resources and influence obtained a large number of agricultural plots, and sublets to tillers on payment of *alçãs*.¹³⁵

We have seen that to stop the *alcistas*, a *Portaria* was issued in 1930.¹³⁶ However, the *Diploma Legislativo* no.966 of 1937 with the provision for the bidder to furnish security, continued with the lease allotted to financially well-off individuals. To prevent this abuse and eliminate the middleman Governor Jose Cabral passed the *Diploma Legislativo* No. 1035 dated 23 December 1938, which prohibited sub-letting, required renters to cultivate lands directly, and made some other provisions for better management of the lease.

However, the story of *alcistas* and *alçãs* as well also had another side. When discussions were going on to eliminate the middleman through the *Diploma Legislativo* (December 23, 1938), not everyone blamed the *alcistas* as ambitious and exploiters as can be seen from what is written in the local periodicals. *A Vida*, which published several articles on different aspects of problems of rice, since its inception¹³⁷ carried a news item that the *alcista* guarantees the income of the *Comunidade*¹³⁸ and reported that many poor people, widows, and those who could not make prompt payments were helped by the *alcista* because he would pay directly to the *Comunidade*.

There were also others who defended them, for example, Camilo Severino Rodrigues wrote a series of articles in *A Vida*, wherein he expounds why and how the system of *alçãs* became a part of the *Comunidade* lease system.¹³⁹ In the beginning, the Portuguese maintained the *Comunidade* autonomy but over the years when the government required money for expenses, it started to demand, compulsorily a tribute claiming the right of direct ownership of lands by the King of Portugal and that the *gaunkars* were simply renters. Thus, *coxi vorodo*, originally a voluntary contribution, was continued as a compulsory tribute. The villages were also getting depopulated due to migration which led to the neglect of cultivation of its lands. Some, though apprehensive to share their status as *gaunkars* surrendered their shares (*tangas*) to others. With the transfer of shares, the number of outsiders having a right to participate in the income of the *Comunidade* increased which gave rise to frequent disputes between the two and created disharmony in the village. Gradually the *Comunidade* were

¹³⁵ *Report of the Land Reforms*, 28.

¹³⁶ *Portaria* no.813 dated 6 January 1930.

¹³⁷ On 15 September 1938.

¹³⁸ *A Vida*, 10 October 1938, 1.

¹³⁹ Camilo Severino Rodrigues, "Depoimentos. "O Alcista," in *A Vida* 11 October 1938, 1 and "A Genese do Alcismo," 12 and 13 October 1938, 2.

deprived of the autonomy they had enjoyed, and their basis progressively changed. With the neglect of the cultivation of fields and the *gaunkars* migrating, the Comunidade did not have enough revenue to pay the *foros* to the government and look after the infrastructure of the village for which they had to borrow to do payments.¹⁴⁰

Though there were shareholders who were investing in buying shares, they did so, only to enjoy the benefits of income they would accrue annually. Many of them being outsiders, not *gaunkars* they were not interested in the management of the institution.¹⁴¹ Since the income was from agricultural land, through the lease, the Comunidade felt that it would be better to have single or more individuals – who were called *alcistas* – take on the lease of the fields and then sublet while making a profit. However, the onus of paying the Comunidade was left to the *alcista*, who whether the crop production was to the satisfaction or not – had to make good the lease payments – since he was the direct lessee. Of course, the system also led to abuse and extortion of the cultivator by the *alcista* as already discussed.¹⁴²

Now the bidder (*alcista*) became sort of a broker for the cultivator and assumed responsibility for the income, non-cultivation of the fields, and all liabilities that abound in the Comunidade Code. He also assumed the responsibilities and consequences of the defaults of the cultivator and endured the consequences of the difficulties faced with the bureaucracy. At last, the bidder guaranteed the safety of what in its nature is unsafe. To the comment made that ‘The *alcista* is an immoral person, born of the excesses of ambition,’ Rodrigues presents the other side of the issue. According to him, the *alcista* is the product of the shareholder’s carelessness, whose only interest in the Comunidade is to go there once a year to receive its income. He concludes that the income paid to shareholders resident outside the village was money that came out of it (the village) to never return and the results of ‘absentee-landlordism’ made themselves present with the impoverishment of the villages.¹⁴³

The *Diploma Legislativo* (no.1035 dated 23 December 1938) was supposed to be progressive legislation, as it prohibited subleasing of agricultural fields and made it mandatory for the lessee to personally cultivate. However, the government to protect its

¹⁴⁰ The Comunidade continues paying to the Government till today the compulsory contribution in the form of *derrama*, even though they have no income from agricultural fields due to the Goa, Daman and Diu, Agricultural Tenancy Act, 1964, implemented with the promulgation of its Rules in 1965. The Comunidade have been forced to pay from the profits that they hold from the past and the sale of land.

¹⁴¹ Camilo Severino Rodrigues, “A Genese do Alcismo,” *A Vida*, 13 October 1938, 2; *Report of the Land Reforms*, 1964, 28.

¹⁴² *Porjecho Adar*, 16 January 1930, 1.

¹⁴³ Camilo Severino Rodrigues, “A Genese do Alcismo,” *A Vida*, 13 October 1938, 2.

benefits included the clause that the lease amount of the fields should not be less than what was already being paid earlier.¹⁴⁴ Thus, the rent that the cultivator had to pay directly to the village community would be the same as – if not more than he had to pay under the previous system – to the middleman. It was also found to be inadequate in practice as the direct tillers, who had the influence, to secure low rents for the lands leased – by virtue of their having previously cultivated them – managed to remain with the fields. However, this state of affairs led to proportionately higher rents for other lands, since the aggregate rent on the paddy lands held by the Comunidade was not to be less than that obtained in the previous auction.¹⁴⁵

The implementation of the clause that there should be no subletting was criticized by Tristão Bragança Cunha who debated that although the government stopped the services of the middlemen, who lost the benefit of collecting *alça* from the lessee, it did not benefit the cultivator as the government fixed a higher rent and thereby made the cultivator pay more money to the lessor.¹⁴⁶ In the end, who benefitted was the government which got higher tax collection from the Comunidade.¹⁴⁷ The Government did this as it was beneficial to the administration, in order to raise the land tax.¹⁴⁸ And the rent was fixed in an arbitrary manner to be accepted by the cultivators without any possibility of reduction.

There were other orders, related to leases, auctions, and payments but the government was not successful to curb the malpractices of the influential *gaunkars* and others.¹⁴⁹ There were quite a few changes in the Code of Comunidade 1933, depending on the need and practical application. The government, therefore, proposed a new code to encompass all the

¹⁴⁴ Sec. 3 no. 2 has clearly established that "in no case should the total income of any village community be inferior to the total rent collected through the last auction." D. L. no.1035, 23 December 1938, B.O. 102, 23 December 1938. This *Diploma* was superseded by another on 15 July 1948, B.O. Sr.I. no.27, 15 July 1948 to rectify some of the clauses, in order to remedy the inconvenience stemming from them and had a better match to the end it was meant for.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Tristão Bragança Cunha, *Goa's Freedom Struggle (Select Writings of T.B.Cunha)* (Bombay: Dr. T.B.Cunha Memorial Committee, 1961), 122.

¹⁴⁸ The government ordered that a copy of the revised rent roll be sent to the Revenue Department even before the amount of the rent was settled with the cultivators. Sec. 3, no. 6 "in order to serve as a basis for the revision of the corresponding land tax."

¹⁴⁹ The Order no. 3645 dated 26 February 1942, B.O., Sr.I, no.8, 26 February 1942, required the governing boards of the committee to revise the assessment (*calculo*) of the lands cultivated by them directly and accept the declaration of the previous lessee, for renewal of the leases. D. L. no.1578 dated 24 February 1955, B.O. Sr.I, no.8, 24. February 1955, superseded D. L. no.1294 of 30 July 1949, B.O., Sr. I, no.30, 30 July 1949, which had reintroduced the system of leasing by auctions for a period of six-year. The basis for the bid shall be in kind and fixed by the amount of income contained in the calculations (*calculo*) organized in accordance with the D. L. 1.244 dated 30 July 1948. While D. L no.1835 dated 25 September 1958, B.O., Sr. I, no.39, 25 September 1958 made the assessment of rent/land revenue optional at the request of the tillers of the soil and of the Comunidade and their administrative boards.

changes made subsequent to the date of promulgation and to fulfill the present-day demands, for which a committee of experts was appointed to give recommendations. This materialized on April 15, 1961, when a new Código das Comunidade, 1961 was promulgated.¹⁵⁰ However, the pernicious auction system was reintroduced in the new Code of 1961. The rent paid by the actual lessee or the tiller of the soil prior to liberation and especially after the auction held in 1961, in many cases exceeded 50 percent of the estimated gross production. After the liberation of Goa, representations were made to the new Administration which at the time was under the military Governor, that the auctions of 1961 were detrimental to the cultivators as the bidding was done briskly and that the bids were higher than the reserved price fixed on the basis of the *calculo*.¹⁵¹ The Military Governor taking into consideration the facts expounded in the representation passed orders for effecting changes to benefit the cultivators. For example, the Governor on 12 September 1962, ordered that the rents payable by lessees of paddy fields of Comunidade shall not exceed 50% of the assessment (*calculo*).¹⁵² The Code is still in use at present, after the Liberation of Goa on 19 December 1961, with amendments made by the Government to suit their objective.

CAMPANHA DE ARROZ (RICE CAMPAIGN) – AN EXERCISE IN FUTILITY

The economic problem faced worldwide in the twenties and thirties did not spare the Estado da Índia which also reeled under the effects of World War I and the Great Depression.¹⁵³ To overcome these economic problems measures had to be taken to make the territory self-sufficient in rice production. For this measure to be successful, the government initiated a campaign called, *Campanha de Arroz* (Rice campaign) and issued a *Portaria* in this regard.¹⁵⁴

A central committee (Junta Central) was created to implement the *Portaria* with the Inspector of Comunidade as the chairman and the collaboration of the official technical agricultural stations in Goa to help in the improvement of agriculture. For enacting this

¹⁵⁰ D. L. no.2070, 15 April 1961, B.O., Sr I. no.15, 15 April 1961.

¹⁵¹ *Report of the Land Reforms*, 39.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 35.

¹⁵³ The Great Depression formed the largest financial crisis of the 20th century. The economy started to shrink in August 1929 and in October of the same year the stock market crashed. Although it began growing again in 1938, unemployment remained above 10 percent until 1941. It originated in the United States, but caused drastic declines in output, and affected almost every country of the world.

¹⁵⁴ “Campanha de Arroz”, *Portaria* no.791, 2 December 1929, B.O. no.97, 3 December 1929. Subsequently, another three *Portarias* were issued in this connection no.78 dated 30 September 1930, B.O. no.78, 30 September 1930; *Portaria* no.1.015, 5 November 1930, B.O. no.89, 7 November 1930, and *Portaria* no.89 dated 7 November 1930, B.O. no.95 of 28 November 1930.

Portaria some of the fields, belonging to the Comunidade were used to grow and experiment with new methods of rice cultivation. The Comunidades were also asked to work on a project where the uncultivated and unused land would be used to conduct these experiments. For example, the Comunidades in Ponda taluka were asked to release the land which they had in their possession, including hillocks that were not cultivated.¹⁵⁵ The land was grouped into a) for the cultivation of rice, b) land susceptible to other types of cultivation, and remaining land not susceptible to agricultural exploration.¹⁵⁶ The government also took the decision to re-establish the Comunidade of Assolna, Velim, and Ambelim and revoked the Rural Administration (Administração Rural) of these villages through a *Diploma Legislativo*.¹⁵⁷ This would be effective from 1 January 1932 and the fields would be given again on lease.

The *Campanha de arroz* by itself, though promoted with good intentions, would take – if at all – time to achieve the goal of having enough production of rice to overcome the shortage and stop the import. Therefore, the government needed to take other parallel measures. The Portuguese Government had established the *Conferência Económica* to discuss various economic problems faced by its territories.¹⁵⁸ The government's aim was to protect and guarantee the home product, which had competition from imported goods, by not only providing an assured market but also with recompensing prices, keeping in mind the interests of the producers as well as consumers. It was decided that such measures should first be taken in connection with rice which was imported even from Rangoon (then Burma, today Myanmar) and Sind in India, at a very low price.¹⁵⁹ This resulted in a loss to the *bhatkar* for whom selling at the price of the imported rice was not viable and also to the Comunidade which could not sell their rice at a higher price and therefore the dividends paid to the shareholders were reduced. Besides, the government also lost its revenue, which it would have accrued from the Comunidade as tax.

¹⁵⁵ They had a surface area of 8.101 ha, of which 7966, as seen from a plan, were made available to the Inspection authorities of the Comunidade (Inspeção de Comunidade) by the department of Land Survey.

¹⁵⁶ Portaria no.826, 27 January 1930, *Legislação* 1930, 17. Later it was also decided that uncultivated lands in Sanguem were to be given on lease for cultivation, with continuous areas of up to 20 hectares. Those in Sanquelim Quepem, Ponda and Canacona were also to be considered at a later stage, D. L. 814, 6 September 1935, B.O. no.72, 6 September 1935.

¹⁵⁷ D. L. of 27 February 1931, B.O. no.24, 24 March 1931.

¹⁵⁸ The *Conferência Económica* is referred to in article 21 of the D. L. no.84, 28 April 1924, B.O. no.36, 2 May 1924, and was established by the Portuguese Central Government, because at that time there was serious economic disruption (nesta hora de grave perturbação económica), with a mission to study the base of the problems which are tied to the development of natural resources of the colonies, expansion of industrial activity and agricultural progress.

¹⁵⁹ *Diário da Noite*, 27 March 1931, 1.

In order to solve the problem of the unavailability of rice, the government of Goa decides to implement the article in the *Diploma Legislativo* and organized the *Conferência Económica* in Goa, which met for the first time on 6 March 1931, at Panjim. One of the points discussed at the session was the questions asked by the Governor, regarding the protection and cultivation of the local rice.¹⁶⁰ He had invited public opinion regarding what measures to be adopted to protect the local cultivation and was interested to know if it was advisable for the government to impose a variable tax on imported rice.¹⁶¹ Luis Meneses, the editor of the *Diário da Noite* who was against such a move wrote: ‘It is about rice, and the major part of the people of Goa is known to live only on rice. The question of rice for the people of Goa is a question of life or death.’¹⁶² *Diário da Noite* reports comments of Vicente Barbosa, Bernardino Camilo da Costa, and José Inacio de Loyola, belonging to the landed gentry. Each one of them has differing opinions regarding the imposition of tax. Barbosa opines that a very heavy tax is to be imposed: 8 *tangas* per *candil* and that the price should be uniformly fixed at 18 rupees, that is, both the imported and the locally grown rice. On the other hand, Bernardino Costa proposes a medium tax and suggested that the income accrued from it should be given as prizes to the cultivators. Loyola proposes that a cooperative society of *Comunidade* should be established which should import the rice and the profit to be used to export coconuts to Europe. Now, if the three proposals are weighed one finds that the people as such have no advantage but on the contrary, will have to buy rice at a higher price. Therefore, this tax was not going to benefit the common man but was expected that in case it is imposed the government will get a net return of 12 lakhs rupees, making it the highest beneficiary.

However, from the reports of proceedings, it is clear that the proprietors will also benefit. When Bernardino da Costa proposed an increase in the tax along with V. J. Figueiredo, he argued that there was no reason to be scared to implement such taxes as the

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 6 March 1931, 1.

¹⁶¹ This kind of protectionism was not new in Portuguese governance as it was applied in Portugal, where rice cultivation was introduced and cereal became one of the important staples. The government wanted to increase the output and imposed a tax on the imported rice so that the local one would be protected and more people will cultivate. Other measures for higher production were improving mechanization, using better fertilizers, seeds with high yield, and the creation of experimental posts. The measure also had a support price attractive to the farmer. The protectionist stimulus initiatives improved and consolidated the growth and output of rice. However, in Goa, though similar measures were taken, there were no positive returns on the experiments carried out by the government. For more details on measures to improve rice production and the government’s initiative in Portugal, please read Carlos Manuel Faisca, Dulce Freire, and Cláudia M. Viana, “The State and Natural Resources: 250 Years of Rice Production in Portugal 18th-21st Centuries,” *Ler História* 79 (2021): 241-62.

¹⁶² *Diário da Noite*, 9 March 1931, 1.

money was required by both the government and the landlord. His statement was very clear about whom he was defending as he questioned if the landlord and the government employees should die. According to him if this tax was not implemented the landlords will not be able to cultivate. If they did not cultivate, there will be no revenue for the government. And therefore, they will have no money to pay for their staff.¹⁶³

V.J. Figueiredo added to this argument by saying that this tax is not for the benefit of the *bhatkar* but for the benefit of the poor people as he claimed that if the *bhatkar* doesn't cultivate there is no work for them. Luis de Meneses ironically remarks on the comments made by Costa and Figueiredo: 'I don't know who is speaking the truth!' He also takes a jibe at the *bhatkar*, who accrues benefits of *alça* by subletting to the cultivators the fields they have acquired at the auction as henceforth they will have to directly cultivate.¹⁶⁴

The proposal to tax the imported rice was not well received as it would only favour the government and a few landlords at the cost of the majority of the people. The press debated in the papers and most of them were against this proposal as it was unfavourable to the people. The *Diário de Noite* carried excerpts from different local newspapers that included *A Terra* and *Anglo-Lusitano* which discussed and wrote about the tax not being viable.¹⁶⁵ The proponents also discussed and defended in the press, why they favoured the tax.¹⁶⁶ Vicente Alvares proposed to impose a tax on rice and to lower the export tax on the coconut. He also suggested offering a bonus, so that the price of coconut reaches rupees forty for one thousand, which is the price fixed by the British government.¹⁶⁷

The debate over the tax continued appearing in the local press, but in spite of the majority opposing it, the government went ahead and announced a 'tax surcharge' on the imported rice to balance the price difference between the imported and the local rice by issuing a *Diploma Legislativo* called '*Sobre-taxa de equilíbrio*.'¹⁶⁸ The government justified the surcharge by citing that:

It is necessary to ensure that the effects of the economic crisis are mitigated. Considering that this objective could be achieved by means of a set of measures and first of all, it would be

¹⁶³ Ibid., 16 April 1931, 1.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 30 September 1931. Incidentally, *Anglo-Lusitano* was published from Bombay and though it was pro-government it criticised the proposal.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 18, 21 March 1931, 1.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ "*Sobretaxa do equilíbrio*," D. L. no.518, 23 October 1931, B.O. no.85, 23 October 1931.

important, to ensure local production, in competitive conditions, not only a safe market but also more rewarding prices, within the harmonious limits of interests of the producer and the consumer. Considering the importance of rice in the life of the people of the territories, arrangements for it had to be determined first.¹⁶⁹

The *Diploma Legislativo* ‘established and imposed a variable rate called ‘surcharge tax for equilibrium’ on the import of both types of rice for consumption – without the husk and with husk.’¹⁷⁰ This tax would be equal to the difference between the cost of local production and the cost of imported *candil* of 160 litres after it was cleared from the Customs’ warehouse.¹⁷¹ This tax would remain effective till the existing agricultural crises continued. In 1931, the year of the issue of the *diploma*, the tax would be 14 *tangas* for rice with husk and one rupee 14 *tangas* without husk.¹⁷²

It was quite a large amount. The tax would also be applicable to the rice already imported before this *diploma* was implemented, and was lying in the warehouse of the Customs Department.¹⁷³ Another *diploma* correlated to the one on surcharge tax was published on 30 December 1932,¹⁷⁴ which also suggests the formation of a fund, ‘*Fundo do Fomento*’. It would be used to improve agriculture and award prizes to the farmers, which is aimed to incentivise them.¹⁷⁵ Further, money from this fund could not be used for any other purpose than what has been laid down in the diploma.¹⁷⁶ This clause was reiterated in a subsequent *Diploma Legislativo* issued in 1934.¹⁷⁷ Rice that was imported for seeds was exempted from any surcharge tax, however, a declaration had to be issued by the authorities in this regard and produced by the importer.¹⁷⁸

The *diploma* also allowed the Government ‘to stop means of curbing any abuse or speculation by limiting and fixing the prices.’¹⁷⁹ Measures were also recommended to prevent

¹⁶⁹ Ibid. Translation of the author.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., Article 1^o. *É criada uma taxa variável denominada “Sobre-taxa de equilíbrio,” sobre a importação, para consumo, do arroz sem casca e do arroz com casca.*

¹⁷¹ *Candil* has a variable measure. In this case, it is equivalent to 160 litres.

¹⁷² D. L. no.518, Article 2^o.

¹⁷³ Ibid., Article 8. ^o

¹⁷⁴ D. L. no.615, 30 December 1932, B.O. no.105, 30 December 1932.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid. *Fundo do Fomento* como ‘Receita com aplicação especial e sob a epígrafe “Fundo de protecção a agricultura da colónia”, não podendo, em caso algum, ser aplicado a fins diversos do prescrito fundo especial.’ Article 19 of 1932.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ D. L. 732, 4 May 1934, B.O., no.39, 15 May 1934, Article 5 and 6.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., Article 4. A certificate issued by the Directorate of Agriculture had to be produced.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid. Meios de coibir qualquer abuso ou especulação pela limitação e fixação dos preços. Translation of the author.

an unjustified increase in the price of rice sales, with and without husk, wholesale, and retail, in order to avoid any increase in the cost of living.

The government also had the control to limit the import of rice which created problems due to the unavailability of rice.¹⁸⁰ This also shows the politics of the government which is trying to gain control over the people by regulating the supply of the staple and benefitting the local proprietors and businessmen and even indirectly encouraging the black market, though it claimed to help the locals. As mentioned, this surcharge tax had another two diplomas issued.¹⁸¹ Diploma No. 615, stated that the variable tax called *sobretaxa de equilibrio* on the import of rice for consumption with and without husk was modified.¹⁸² Thus, we find that when the aim was to reduce the price of the staple to lower the cost of living, on the contrary taxes were imposed to increase the price of rice to protect the landowners and benefit the government.

The surtax was not well received by the majority and was criticised in the press as benefitting only the government and the *bhatkars* or at least the big landowners among the latter. In fact, the association of landowners from Salcete sent a representation to the Municipality opposing such a move. They claimed that after the *Diploma Legislativo* was implemented the labourer increased their salary by 20 to 40 percent, which prevented the cultivators and the landlords to carry any type of work in the fields or coconut groves. Since no work was undertaken by the landlord due to the rise in wages, there was no work for the labourer, who depended on the daily work, and therefore unable to get a regular salary.¹⁸³ However, the government which was also looking for extra revenues was not moved by such opposition and criticism and implemented and maintained the tax, despite the repercussions to the export commodities from Goa. For example, in retaliation to the surtax on rice, the British Indian Government imposed a heavy tax on coconuts from Goa affecting the revenue of the *bhatkars* and exporters, who were in a dire state due to this move.

In this regard D.D. Kosambi writes that ‘when the total yield seems to reach sufficiency – which is what the official 1937 figures are supposed to prove like other reports before them – a duty was put upon the British rice imports always necessary for feeding Goa.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., Article 10.

¹⁸¹ “*Sobretaxa do Equilibrio*”, D. L., no.518 dated 23 October 1931, B.O.no.85, 23 October 1931; modified by D. L. no.615 dated 30 December 1932, B.O.no.105, 30 December 1931; and subsequently D. L. no.732, 4 May 1934, B.O.no.36, 4 May 1934.

¹⁸² Article 1 of D. L. 615, 30 December 1932.

¹⁸³ *Diário de Noite*, 2 November 1931, 1.

This brought a very heavy retaliatory customs duty upon all food products from Goa to British India and (along with the 1929-33 depression) ruined the market for one of the principal exports to British India, coconuts.¹⁸⁴ However, the remark of Kossambi that the tax was imposed because there was sufficient production of rice – as seen from the Goa government’s report – does not substantiate the objective of the *diploma* which says that it was to solve the current financial problem faced by the territories. This same objective was also published in the other two subsequent amendments to this Diploma which were published in 1932 and 1934, emphasising the protection of the local rice growers’ cause, as the need of the hour.

The reports may not be truthful to the existing problem for the reason that they could have been manipulated according to the government’s directives, which had pledged to improve and solve the situation through the improvement of agriculture using the surcharge tax.

Secondly, Kossambi refers to the report of 1937 – although he doesn’t identify and specify it – and the surcharge tax was implemented from the date it was issued on 23 October 1931. Besides, if there was sufficient rice produced in Goa to satisfy the needs of the people, there would not be demand for rice, as seen from the reports, appearing in the press, which although had no freedom of expression – as there was censorship –¹⁸⁵ yet, some had the courage to express their views to show the status and – write about the indifference of the government – in solving the problems of the people. The surcharge was solely to benefit the government – by way of taxes – and the landlords who had rice in their stock and could not sell, as it was more expensive than the imported rice. Unsold rice, meant that the *bhatkars* would be left with the stock in their storerooms.

Without any doubt it can be stated that the main reason for imposing the tax was, as already mentioned, to accrue revenue for the government and sell the rice of the landlords. It looks like it was never revoked since later, during the economic blockade period imposed by the Indian Government in 1955, the surcharge resurfaced again, as has been discussed in the chapter “Economic blockade and the pangs of hunger.” A parallel can be drawn here, regarding the export of local goods to British India, with the action taken by the Government

¹⁸⁴ D. D. Kosambi, *Myth and Reality* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1962), 153.

¹⁸⁵ Cunha, *Goa’s Freedom Struggle*, 107; Censorship was present throughout the five hundred years of Portugal’s existence in different political forms. However, it became more rigid under the dictatorship of Antonio Oliveira Salazar, during the period of Estado Novo (1933-1968), with the Decree no. 22469 dated 11 April 1933 issued explicitly establishing prior censorship in periodical publications.

of India when it stopped importing Goa's produce like coconut, arecanut, mangoes, etc to make the blockade successful.

By imposing the surtax, the government made the staple food of the working class costlier, without realizing, that they were moving in a vicious circle, for costly rice must provoke a further rise in wages and therefore, additional expenses in the cost of production instead of lowering them, and at the same time lower the purchasing capacity of the consumer. However, there were individuals who wrote in favour of the surcharge. One of them defends the higher price fixed as well as the quantity of rice imported by the government, for the reason that according to him it helps the cultivator and the landlord, and in this case also the Comunidade. He further adds that those who do not cultivate and depend on imported rice are few, less than one-third of those who cultivate.¹⁸⁶ But, the ground reality was different, since the majority of those who cultivated did not have enough to eat as the area under cultivation was small and they would have to buy rice in order to feed the family.

This protectionism of the government has been discussed and criticised by Tristão Bragança Cunha in his essay 'Rice Problem in Goa,' which proves the argument that it was not "when the total yield seems to reach sufficiency" statement of Kossambi, that the sur-tax was imposed. In fact, the colonisers did not regret the almost famine conditions that were existing among the people in Goa since their only objective was more and more revenue, for the State. Cunha remarks that this scandalous increase in taxes is but another example of the failure of the Government to resolve Goa's rice problem. He discussed the enhancement of the taxes and tariffs on the products that were imported from British India, as according to him the Portuguese government considered that the neighbouring British India territory is another distant country and not one on which we depended fully, even though the greater part of the food-stuff most indispensable to the life of the people in Goa came from there.¹⁸⁷ Similarly, the export of local produce was mainly to neighbouring India. And most importantly, the money in the form of remittances to the local budget, which helped to balance the economic bankruptcy of the State, which amounts to over ten million rupees, also came from British India.¹⁸⁸ In spite of all the evidence for the need to maintain a lower tariff

¹⁸⁶ Jesus Gomes, "Problema de Arroz," *Heraldo*, 2 August 1938. Gomes belonged to the elite class of Chandor in Salcete.

¹⁸⁷ Cunha, *Goa's Freedom Struggle*, 112.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 113. Cunha has discussed the issue regarding the rice problem in some articles, which includes: "The Basic Problem. An Appeal for a Customs' "modus vivendi" with Neighbouring India," 111-20; "The Rice Problem in Goa (An Analysis of the Government's Extortionist Policy)," 120-27 and "Civil Liberties in Goa"

on imports as well as exports by Goa, the local government enhanced these to the detriment of the people, who had to buy goods at higher rates.

Cunha wrote a number of articles in which he discussed and criticised the Portuguese government. In one, the decision to impose customs tariffs, since these are to be paid from the country of origin (exporter) and those importing it at the country of consumption, and in another, he explained in detail the surcharge tax on rice.¹⁸⁹ To prove his point he prepared a table to show the amount of tax that had been collected and benefitted the government for a period of seven years from 1931 to 1937.¹⁹⁰

Table 2.4: Tax Collection from 1931 to 1937

Year	Super-tax in Rs.	Ordinary tax in Rs.
1931	71,181	177,460
1932	403,286	193,030
1933	488,779	234,704
1934	587,684	184,644
1935	68,850	210,000
1936	105,519	115,800
1937	105,438	124,561
Total	18,30,737	12,41,119

[Source: T.B.Cunha, *Goa's Freedom Struggle*, Bombay: Dr. T. B. Cunha Memorial Committee, 1961,124]

Thus, it is observed that besides this huge sum of 30 lakhs of rupees, the money paid by the consumers due to the excessive profits permissible to the merchants under the system of permits also created miseries for the common men. Further, rice became expensive as a consequence of these heavy duties and profits realized, and to make it worse, rice which was almost the sole food of the Goan people had to be imported in large amounts from neighbouring British India, where it was obtained at Rs.6 per bag. The cost in Goa was Rs.13

(lecture delivered on 7 April 1946 at the Instituto Luso-Indiano Hall, Bombay at the request of the Goan Youth League), 99-109.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 121.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

per bag and sometimes Rs.16 thanks to profiteering by merchants.¹⁹¹ Though it was enacted that the surtax money collected under the pretext of protection to the local rice would be allocated for the development, augmentation, and production or even for decreasing the cost of cultivation, it appears that not much was utilized.¹⁹² On the contrary, this high burden had only contributed, to make even more expensive local rice production. In fact, Cunha suggested pulling down Customs barriers which he termed as ‘asphyxiating’ the Goans, and surprisingly proposed restoring the controversial Customs’ Union with India and commented that ‘in our evil hour, we had been forced to renounce.’¹⁹³

Rice deficiency was felt throughout the period of study and the newspapers were quite vocal about the issue, criticising the government policies which were against the common men and favouring the landlords. Whenever any new legislation and measures were taken about rice or rice related, and if it was not benefitting the people, there would be a reaction not only from the editors but also columnists and others. As already mentioned, *A Vida* carried regularly articles on rice matters. The editor of *A Voz da India*, Antonio Sequeira wrote about the problem of rice on the first page since people had no rice and the government’s measures were not people-friendly. For instance, the government decided not to requisition rice from *sorodio*, as they would import rice from British India, which unfortunately was also in crisis and did not have rice for export as they needed for their consumption. Another measure was to stop rationing when there was no sufficient rice.¹⁹⁴ Both these decisions went against the people as there was a scarcity of rice. In the chapter “Economic blockade and pangs of hunger” rice problems have been dealt with for that period (1955-1961).

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Ibid. According to Cunha, not a paise was utilized of these 30 lakhs of rupees.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 116. Cunha is referring to the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878, an economic agreement regarding trade and a railway line between Goa and Bombay. It included abolition and uniformity of all customs duties on all goods imported and exported between both territories by the sea, special stipulations about salt, spirits, and opium. It was signed on 26 December 1878 at Lisbon and implemented on 15 January 1880 and expired on 14 January 1892.

¹⁹⁴ *A Voz da India*, 7, 10, 11 August 1948, 1.

CHAPTER THREE

FOOD, THE MEMORY CONNECTOR – A STUDY OF THE GOAN FOLK AND OTHER FORMS OF LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

The chapter analyses the folk literature of Goa using the *dulpods*¹ and other forms of literature to convey memories that symbolise the local identity connected to food – a representation that bonds together people and family.

This attempt is made as there are almost no academic works related to Goa on this subject and also not many studies otherwise directly related to food and memory, especially self-defined works that can be referred to readily evaluate the theme.² However, there are a few books that have been used as a symbol in this field, which comprise those of Marcel Proust, David Sutton, and C. Counihan. Proust's work was a fiction book and not an academic exercise.³ His 'episode of the madeleine,' laid the foundation for studies on this subject. The novel narrates the story of a young boy's journey through life. The incident of eating tea-soaked madeleines reminded him of his childhood memory of eating tea-soaked cake with his aunt. This aroused the involuntary memories in Proust that enabled him to remember his past childhood home and his surroundings, including the town. He used it to write the novel throughout with sensations reminding him of previous experiences. The incident shows the power of food to evoke some of the deepest memories.

¹ *Dulpod* according to Lucio Rodrigues "is virtually a documentary of Goa because it covers the human scene from birth to death" and is rooted to the native life, with greater affinity to the soil, drawing its sustenance from the rich traditions of the folk and has very negligible foreign influence." It is also a good source to give the picture of the lifestyle in Goa as it gives brief glimpses of the Goan life in its multiple aspects and has a wider scope as it embraces all life, human, animal, and vegetable. Lucio Rodrigues, *Abolim. The Flower Songs, Folk Tales and Legends of Goa. A Collection* (Saligao: Goa 1556, 2015), 64-94; Susana Sardo, *Guerras de Jasmim e Mogari, Música, Identidade e Emoções em Goa* (Lisboa: Texto Editores, 2010) 138-209; José Pereira, Micael Martins & António da Costa, *Folk Songs of Goa. Mando-Dulpods & Deknnis* (New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 2005).

² Jon D. Holtzman, "Food and Memory," *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol.35 (2006): 361-378. Holtzman is a cultural anthropologist, professor in the Department of Anthropology at Western Michigan University.

³ *À La Recherche Du Temps Perdu* is a seven volumes novel.

J. H. Mace in *Involuntary Memories*⁴ writes that there are at least three different contexts within which involuntary memory arises.⁵ The most common occurrences are those happening in everyday life and in everyday mental functioning. They give the impression that they come into conscious awareness naturally, considered by their component of surprise.

Olfactory information memories are more expressive than those associated with signs perceived through another sensory system like verbal or visual information.⁶ Common daily practices connected to olfactive senses for a Goan could be eating a daily meal of fish, curry, and rice, bringing to mind an experience suggested by the sense of taste and smell.

SYMBOLIC IMPORTANCE OF FOOD IN THE LOCAL IDENTITY

Some authors have dedicated their work to understanding the importance of food in the development and strengthening of local identities. David Sutton's *Remembrance of Repast* offers an account of the inter-relationship of culture, food and memory. Sutton shows how the 'food of memory' is also the 'memory of food.' By questioning links among food, consumption, and memory and using them in enlightening ways he makes a case for his main statement: that the food-memory connection is different from other memory connections, and that the constructed relationship between food and memory is culturally specific and cross-culturally variable.⁷

People feel strongly about the things they eat as food that is essential to life. Yet the things we eat often seem utterly prosaic. For example, when food is consumed, unlike other material goods, its concrete substance is gone. But the consumption of food is linked socially to all else in life and the mind, including previous and future acts of consumption. Although consuming makes it disappear, food binds time.⁸ Sutton adds that if 'we are what we eat,' then 'we are what we ate' as well.⁹ His work deals with many of the diverse facts that we call

⁴ John H. Mace is a professor of psychology at Eastern Illinois University where he teaches Human Memory and Cognitive Psychology. His Doctoral thesis is titled "Experimental Psychology-Cognition." He also researched Involuntary Memory, Autobiographical Memory Recall, Involuntary and Voluntary Recall, Autobiographical Memory Organization, and Autobiographical Memory.

⁵ Those that occur in everyday life, those that occur during the processes of voluntary and involuntary recall, and those that occur as part of a psychiatric syndrome.

⁶ Rachel S. Herz, "A naturalistic analysis of autobiographical memories triggered by olfactory, visual and auditory stimuli," *Chem Senses*, 29(3) (March 2004): 217-24.

⁷ Sydney Mintz, "Book Review," *American Ethnologist*, vol.30, no.3 (August 2003): 474.

⁸ David E. Sutton, *Remembrance of Repasts. An Anthropology of Food and Memory* (New York: Berg, 2001), 7.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 6.

memory. For instance, the seasonal food cycle shapes prospective memory by inducing one to look forward in reference to past events.¹⁰

This phenomenon of the seasonal food cycle is evident in Goa. The summer season brings a variety of fruits that people eagerly wait for. Mangoes, *kandans* (wild blackberries), kokum, *jambhalam*, (*Syzygium cuminis*) *jangama*, *zamang* (*Flacourtia cataphracts*) *churnam*, etc, are some. However, it is the mango, the king of the Goan fruits that easily brings memories for those who lived in Goa.

THE COCONUT TREE

The coconut tree produces vinegar,
Sugar, wine, and oil;
Water, wood and filaca
It's a kind of milk.
...
From the part that is inside
The coconut, the curry is made...¹¹

The importance of the coconut tree in the Goan scenario can be envisaged by the number of trees that dot all over the territory, 'planted' by the *bhatkar* to earn income. Incidentally, the *mundkars* were not allowed to plant coconuts or the mango tree near their residential areas, as these two gave good returns for the *bhatkar*. The coconut tree was looked at as a provider of sustenance to the family as no part of the tree was wasted – the fruit and sap (toddy) for consumption, the rest as artefacts, fuel or rafters for the house.¹² The coconut tree was important to the government and obtained good revenue through the export of coconuts and dry copra, to British India. Most importantly, the revenue accrued on the sale of palm *feni* was substantial.¹³

The alcohol cess was the highest revenue earner for the government, as argued in the chapter "Drink that 'cheers' and brings tears," and the maximum collection was on palm *feni*. Many a villager was employed to extract toddy and quite a few families depended on this

¹⁰ Ibid., 28; Mintz, "Book Review," 474.

¹¹ Felipe Neri Xavier, *Descrição do Coqueiro, Arequeira, Arroz e Moedas de Goa* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1866), 26.

¹² The Jesuit who wrote the *Arte Palmarica*, a monograph on coconut cultivation comments: "The coconut tree is the most useful, and of greater service than any other because from it is made the wine, oil, vinegar, jaggery, water, and wood. Its fruit has sales everywhere, and it is greatly esteemed and valued. It serves in the sacrifices, which the Gentiles offer to their idols, at the feasts, and weddings," in Xavier, *Descrição do Coqueiro*, 3. Translation of the author.

¹³ A.B. Bragança Pereira, *Emografia da Índia Portuguesa* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1991), 182.

trade. Besides *feni*, the toddy was used to make jaggery, which was the sweetener for Goans.¹⁴ Toddy was also used to leaven bread as well.

The toddy tapper (*rendeiro* or *render*) had to climb the tree thrice a day, in the morning, afternoon and in evening to extract sap.¹⁵ Such an important profession merited a *dulpod* that reflects the activity of the *rendeiro*.¹⁶ There is the toddy-tapper with a sharp knife in one hand and a gourd pot in the other. The poet calls upon the toddy-tapper to climb the tall coconut tree briskly. ‘If the earthen pot on the top of the tree breaks, do not worry,’ he says, ‘but take care of the gourd pot.’ After all, it’s in a gourd pot that the toddy-tapper collects the toddy that is an important revenue earner.¹⁷

The coconut kernel was not only the basic ingredient in the curry, but it had other different uses, both in culinary as well as in rituals. In Goa, on the occasion of laying the foundation stone of a new house, pieces of raw coconut along with coconut jaggery are served to the guests. This is symbolic, as both represent the *godchem vonn*, the sweet savoury served during a traditional Goan meal like *bikarechem jevonn*. Goa observed many rites, at birth and death, and the distribution of grams mixed with coconut on the sixth day of birth (*sou dissache chonne*) is one that continued to be followed, though with less intensity.¹⁸ It was believed that on this day the child’s destiny would be written as in the proverb *Sotven boroilolem tem zalem* (what destiny has written will happen).

According to folklore, the sixth day was shrouded by some mysterious danger of which none spoke, but all knew and understood. On this crucial day, a wake was held till midnight, with members of the family, relatives and neighbours taking part in the vigil and special precautions taken against imaginary danger lurking in the background of superstitious

¹⁴ Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1988), 475.

¹⁵ Pereira, *Emografia da Índia Portuguesa*, 181. The book by Fragoso, may also be read for details on the technique of extraction of toddy and its application for industrial purpose. Jose Joaquim Fragoso. *Technica de Lavra de Sura do Coqueiro e outras Industrias Dependentes*. (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1909).

¹⁶ Jesse Fernandes, *Toddy Tapper and His Goa*, (Quepem: Mannik Publications, 2012), 20.

¹⁷ Rodrigues, *Abolim*, 87; “Aga Muja Render Mama,” in Jose Pereira, Micael Martins and Antonio da Costa, *Undra Muja Mama. Folk Songs of Goa. An anthology of Dulpods. Sketches of Life in Goa in Times Past* (Saligao: Goa 1556 and Broadway Publishing House, 2011), 20.

¹⁸ Maria de Lourdes Bravo da Costa Rodrigues, *Tasty Goan Morsels. Food, Ingredients and Preparation* (Merces: L & L, 2000), 55.

beliefs.¹⁹ Many catholic families celebrated the *ladainha* in honour of Mother Mary, seeking her blessings or to ward off any disaster.²⁰

The coconut is used as an ingredient not only in the curry but also added while preparing vegetables and some dishes that require gravy. It is also used for preparations in various *goddechem*, where coconut is the main ingredient along with jaggery, the reason, why these evening tea snacks *merenda* are also called *jagrada* (from Portuguese *jagra* for jaggery). Rodrigues mentions some *goddechem* when he writes, about the greedy son-in-law, that was placed on the table, like the traditional *pudden*, pancakes and rice vermicelli (*shirvohio*).²¹ There are other *goddechens* made with lentils, beans, that are boiled and added to the jaggery-coconut mixture.²² Food cooked in coconut oil has a distinct flavour and is also used for medicinal purposes. Tender coconut with its soft and jelly-like kernel is a favourite delicacy. The water is used as a refreshing and soothing beverage and also replaces, solid foods for patients who cannot eat these. In emergencies, it even substitutes glucose saline.

MANGO, THE FAVOURITE ...

Lucio Rodrigues, in an essay, titled 'Pink and Green' gives a lucid account of the mango, through his experiences which connects the past to the present.²³ No Goan who lived in Goa must have missed the experience of relishing a green mango the way it should be eaten. This was how Rodrigues described his experience to which many can relate: 'the greenest of the green, which you stuff with chillies and salt and spices, and smacking your lips crunch away the hot and pungent delicacy. It is a kind of cocktail. Full of pep in it.'²⁴

There was also another method of eating a raw mango that many would recollect. It was stuffed with only green chillies and salt and then compressed. The tender mango should not have developed stone so that one could cut through the soft undeveloped seed. Also, the mango for this 'cocktail' had to be from specific trees. Grafted trees did not give fruit for this

¹⁹ Rodrigues, *Abolim*, 187.

²⁰ Ibid. For more details, please refer to the "Writ of Destiny," 186-93; Sardo, *Guerras de Jasmim e Mogari*, 175-77; Franz Schubert Cotta, "A Ladainha em Goa: Uma Prática em Transformação," M.A. diss., Goa University, 2018; Maria de Lourdes Bravo da Costa Rodrigues, "Ladainha, a Prayer for All Seasons," *Gomantak Times (Weekender)*, 27 May, 2007, 4 and "Goa's Ladainha Tradition," *The Navhind Time, (Panorama)*, 20 May, 2012, 2.

²¹ Rodrigues, *Abolim*, "The Goan Son-in-law: in Fact and Fiction," 267.

²² Rodrigues, *Tasty Goan Morsels*, 11.

²³ Rodrigues, *Abolim*, "Pink and Green," 140-44.

²⁴ Ibid., 140.

enjoyment. It was only the tender ones, but not of all trees. It was the *khuntt*, which grows on its own from discarded seeds not from the grafts.²⁵

For those who are familiar with mangoes, it is easy to understand the intricacies of the variety. There is no better way to differentiate between the types of mangoes, than in vernacular Konkani: *Ambo* is for the mango, the bigger size, which can be cut and included fruits of the grafted trees and *ambli* is for the smaller variety used to make pickles and when ripe its pulp is sucked through an opening.

Green tender mangoes were in demand early in the season, before the stone developed, to preserve in salt brine and make pickles to be consumed especially during the monsoons as an appetiser when there is no fish or to accompany *canjee*. This salted mango was consumed with *canjee* when the patient could not have spicy and fried food. Interestingly, the tavern owners kept slices or small pieces for their clients.

To prepare these mangoes big porcelain containers (*boião*) were used, in which these were added to a concentrated salt brine and some red chillies. These salted mangoes can be served directly or pickled with stuffed masala and are called *boriello*.

There are at least 100 varieties of mangoes in Goa, and favourites depended on the taste of individuals.²⁶ But how it was eaten depended on the variety of the mango. *Malcorada* was a favourite of most and usually cut into slices and eaten, but a child would enjoy eating the mango as a whole, with the mango pulp decorating their hands, mouth, and face and the juice dripping down right up to the elbows.²⁷

The mango season was looked forward to by the migrant Goans from Bombay and Africa who planned their vacations to enjoy the fruits. In ‘They Come and Go,’ is told the story of an old mother who eagerly waits for her son and his family’s visit to her, after five years.²⁸ They were coming from Nairobi and the year was 1939 when people travelled on long journeys by ship. When the mother received the letter, informing her about the arrival of her son, she replied that she was waiting anxiously for them to come and also asked the son to inform the children that there were a lot of mangoes this year.²⁹ The mother also made

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Fernando do Rego records in his book *Mangas de Goa, Mangoes of Goa* (Panaji, Fundação Oriente, 2018) that there were more than 106 varieties up to 1961.

²⁷ Rodrigues, *Abolim*, 142.

²⁸ Ibid., “They Come and Go,” 130-39.

²⁹ Ibid., 134.

preparations for their holidays, and to recreate a typical Goan holiday she went to the Friday fair at Mapusa and bought the necessary provisions, chillies, onions, green mangoes, chicken, etc.³⁰ The emigrants besides eating during their stay also took with them mangoes and pickled raw mangoes and chutneys of the ripe ones for their consumption as well as for gifting to friends and relatives who looked forward to satisfying their nostalgic yearnings.

The mango was also a revenue earner. Even though it was seasonal, its export was substantial. The economic blockade was detrimental to the export of mangoes causing loss to the *bhatkar*. On the other hand, a reference in the *Goan Tribune* newspaper relates how the mango came to the rescue of poor people during the same period, during the summer months people could fill their hungry stomachs with the delicious mangoes and jackfruits which were cheap, because of inability to export.³¹

The importance of the fruit to the landlord is portrayed by Leslie de Noronha in the novel *The Mango and the Tamarind Tree*, in which the Albuquerque family uses the mango as a cash crop with the landlady having converted rice fields into mango plantation, as it would give the much-desired revenue.³² In fact, Peter Nazareth's pertinent comment on the novel shows the importance of the mango for the Goans, be they poor or rich, 'the mango...was an abundant staple for the poor masses, yet also a profit-making staple for the enterprising wealthy class.'³³ Noronha describes how the mangoes were also used to make *mangada* which was a delight for the youngsters as well as old family members.³⁴ The importance of the mango as a commercial crop made the owners take good care of the crop, to avoid loss of revenue.³⁵

It is not only Leslie de Noronha who writes about the mango. There are others who extol its importance. Way back we have João de Melo de Sampaio (1832-1909), who was a Portuguese descendent born in Goa, write a long poem in praise of mangoes, describing the attributes of a few of them. Melo de Sampaio claims that the mango (from Goa) was the best and definitely better than any fruit from Portugal or Brazil, the latter having many, or for that matter than any other fruit in the world.³⁶

³⁰ Ibid., 135.

³¹ *Goan Tribune*, 26 August 1956, 11.

³² Leslie de Noronha, *The Mango and the Tamarind Tree* (Calcutta: Writers Workshop, 1970), 32; Peter Nazareth, ed., *Goan Literature: A Modern Reader, Journal of South Asian Literature* (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1983), 13.

³³ Nazareth, *ibid.*, 11.

³⁴ Noronha, *The Mango*, 32.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ João de Melo de Sampaio, *A Mangueira* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1902), 5.

Portugal has beautiful fruits
In Brazil, there are also
But like our Goa's
No other land has them³⁷

Melo de Sampaio compares the aromatic and tasty *Xavier* – mango with the perfume of roses and adds that a bunch of roses cannot surpass its aroma, as the mango is equivalent to a thousand buttons of the flower.

The Xavier is all aroma
Of a thousand flower buds³⁸

The Goan mango raised nostalgic feelings amongst the emigrants. Manohar Rai Sardesai, who was in France for a number of years, did not forget to sing praises of the mango.³⁹ This is the last of the five stanzas of the poem *The Goan Mango*

A hymn of joy
A song of fragrance
The wealth, the pride
Of Goa the Golden
The Goan Mango

RICE CULTIVATION

There were two methods to cultivate the fields. One, by sowing the dry seeds for germination. The other by using the pre-germinated seeds for raising seedlings transplanted onto the field. These seedlings can be raised in two ways: dry and wet nurseries.⁴⁰

The dry nursery system was mostly followed in the villages where the fields retained humidity and had water availability during the month of May, which was important as the

³⁷ Translation of the poem from Portuguese to English by the author.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Nazareth, *Goan Literature*, 206. Manohar Sardesai is a multilingual poet, who wrote in French, English, and Konkani. He is considered to have given a fillip, fresh content, and a new direction to Konkani poetry in Goa reflected in the collection *Goem-a Tujea Moga Khatir* (For Thy Sake, Oh Goa).

⁴⁰ Xavier, *Descrição do Coqueiro*, 47; *Rice in Goa. High Yielding Way*, (Panaji: Directorate of Agriculture, 1978), 6. Dry nursery: In this method, seed beds are made of about 10 meters in length, 1.25 metres in breadth, and 10 cm. in height separated by a water channel of 30 cm. The nursery should not be thickly populated so as to have vigorous seedlings. The seedlings are sowed in parallel lines across the bed and covered properly with soil. Recommended for the rainy season. Wet nursery: Under this method, sowing is done with pre-germinated seed in a good puddle field.

seedling beds had to be watered. This method is known in Konkani as *xevier* or *xeier*, which means humidity (*xev*).⁴¹

In the case of a wet nursery, no sooner the first rains arrived and water got collected in the fields, the farmer was ready to start the work for preparing the seedlings. Before taking to the field the sprouted seeds had to be separated from one another *rou modpak*, otherwise, lumps of seedlings would be added to the soil. As the buffaloes moved the plough, the labourer went on sowing the seeds in the depth.

Before the introduction of the transplantation method, fields were cultivated using directly sprouted seeds (*ompac*). For that, a *danto*, an instrument which was like a rectangular fork, was used to plough the field while sowing was going on.⁴² One person would be behind the plough to sow the seeds. Another person would use a *gutto*, a plane plank, to level the soil. The manure used before the cultivation consisted of ashes, cowdung and fish. The labourers harvested the paddy when the panicles turned yellow and threshing would be undertaken by them.

Once the paddy was well dried and cleaned it was stored in a *coddo*, a mat made of bamboo sticks, which was treated with cowdung, to protect it from any insects. The *coddo* has perpendicular and parallel sticks to gather the mat. The amount of paddy stored can be measured by the circumference of the *coddo*. Before starting to store in it a dry grass layer is put at the bottom for avoiding any moisture which will spoil the paddy.

The process of getting the rice ready for consumption, by the women using special preparation tools, techniques, and songs shows that these can serve as cultural artefacts for ethnographic enquiry and collective memory. In fact, Sutton makes a plea for ethnography as discussed in chapter one.⁴³

MONSOONS AND THE PROVISIONS

Another important task for the Goans was to arrange provisions for the monsoon. For the period of study, Goa had no proper roads, and no adequate public transport, which meant limited mobility from the village to the city or from one city to another. There were markets in the main town with shops selling groceries, but the ones in the village were not well

⁴¹ Xavier, *ibid.*, 46.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 47. Various instruments used as well as the procedure carried out in the past in preparing and cultivating the rice fields are listed.

⁴³ Sutton, *Remembrance of Repasts*, 170; Mintz, "Book Review," 475.

provisioned. In addition, in the village, there might have been only one shop monopolising the business without any competition and therefore there was no selection of goods which could be expensive, as they had to be stored by the shopkeeper and most were perishable.⁴⁴

Consequently, housewives had to plan to store the required food items, which included various spices, rice, onions, dry fish, coconuts, etc. The Catholics preferred to consume boiled rice (*ukdo tandu*), in which case paddy had to be boiled and sun-dried, before husking. The Hindus did the husking of the paddy without boiling it, and the rice was called polished rice (*suroi tandu*).

In the past, husking was done manually, as there was no commercial power-driven rice mill; therefore, almost all the houses had their own pounding hole, the *vann*. The women of the household, and sometimes with the help of the neighbours, husked the rice with the wooden pestle called *mussod*. Landlords who had a big quantity of paddy to make rice had several *vanns* and employed persons to do the work. There are *dulpods* that tell us about this, inspired by this age-old household activity. In the first one, the girls sing:

Hoist the crooked flag, o boatman,
let's go to Divar.
We are girls from Divar,
good pounders of rice.⁴⁵

In another one, the pounders to make lighter their work used to accompany this exercise with the musical rhythm of *Sho! Sho!*

Sho, sho, Joana,
the pestle does not pound
the middle mortar.
Sho, sho, sho,
...
The pounder women
have finished their pounding.
The sifter women are sitting in a row.⁴⁶

Once the rice is husked it needs to be cleaned by removing the chaff with the winnowing basket (*sup*) and fan, made of woven palm leaf. We have another verse for this

⁴⁴ Maria de Lourdes Bravo da Costa Rodrigues, *Remembering Goa* (Merces: L&L, 2007), 72.

⁴⁵ Pereira, Martins, and Costa, *Undra, Muja Mama*, "Tirxem Bonder Lai Tanddela," 169.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, "Sho, Sho, Joana," 194.

important activity, in another *dulpod*⁴⁷ *Maia-maim sifts the rice, putting it in the hollow of the winnowing basket...*⁴⁸ After this activity, the rice was ready for consumption and stored in wide-mouth containers of clay (*vail*).

Coconuts had to be plucked or bought and stored for those who had no properties.⁴⁹ During the monsoons, it would be difficult to climb trees. To fry and cook, the housewife needed oil which in the past, was the extract of dry coconut (*copra*). Vegetable oil was not usually available or commonly used. The Catholics used pork fat to cook, which was extracted at home or purchased from the pork meat vendors. At home, it was extracted by heating the pork fat. After extraction, there was a residue of small pieces of fat left behind, which were called *reudeo*. They were crispy solids and very tasty, and enjoyed by many, especially kids. There is a reference to fat in the *dulpod Aum-um Tori Cherh'm ga Lanom*, a young girl Maria Santan suggests ironically to a would-be groom, that if he wants to be successful to find a match then he should apply some fat to his moustache, 'rub some lard on your moustache. Go, find a match [look for a bride]', which shows that fat was an important cooking component in the kitchen.

The storeroom (*dispensa*) of a well-provided house had to be stocked with condiments, needed for day-to-day cooking. These were generally purchased at the weekly or annual fairs.⁵⁰ The best known were the Friday markets of Mapusa and Banastari. In the month of May, many religious feasts were celebrated throughout Goa and many had fairs where various items including spices were sold. Some which were popular included: the feasts of the Holy Cross, in Santa Cruz village, the Ascension of Jesus at Panjim and the Holy Spirit at Margao. People flocked to the fair to buy their required annual provisions. Therefore, these feasts were also known as 'The Feast of provisions.'⁵¹

At the fair one could buy spices, onions, chillies, dry kokum and mango rinds (*sollam*) and other requirements for the monsoons.⁵² The Panjim fair had temporary stalls selling – piles of onions, dry red chillies, turmeric, kokum and mango rinds. On the covered footpath of the *Praça do Comércio*, were stalls with spices stored in huge jute bags and

⁴⁷ Ibid., "Maim maim tandull haputta," 117.

⁴⁸ A saying in Konkani which applies to opportunists is connected to this procedure "*Vare pormonnem, soop dorta.*" The winnowing basket is positioned according to the direction of the breeze.

⁴⁹ In a year the coconuts were plucked every quarter, ideally in May, August, November, and February.

⁵⁰ Mapusa, Sanquelim, Pernem, Margao, Banastari, Chaudi (Canacona) amongst others have weekly markets.

⁵¹ *Puramentachem fest* or *Festa de provisão*.

⁵² Rodrigues, *Remembering Goa*, 68.

displayed for selection to the client in a metal container (*cail*). All were nicely arranged in rows so that people could easily see and evaluate before buying. In the evenings there were small electric bulbs that lit the spices. Buying these was a very meticulous and important job for the housewife.⁵³

Red dry chillies were another important item in every kitchen. The Hindus bought the *botão* grown mostly in Harmal, Pernem and the *kolcha* or *lambat* from Canacona, normally by volume, using the local measures of *pod* or *paili*.⁵⁴ The Catholics went for the fat and long chilly from Aldona, which were bought in hundreds.⁵⁵ It is interesting to know the way they were counted: in fives and each five made one *fadda*. So, in a hundred there were 20 *faddes*. To every 20, *faddes*, another one or two were added as a bonus. To keep track while counting a big number, a chilly was kept aside for every counted hundred.

Onions that were cultivated only during the dry season, because the rains spoiled them, were another important item that needed to be stored. These were bought by weight and usually in *mans*.⁵⁶ In order to store them, the onions had to be tied up on a stick. The best place was usually the kitchen, where the smoke from the wood fire helped in the preservation. For hanging, the onions needed to be plaited together with dry paddy grass in a typical manner.

Since, during monsoons, fish was scarce and Goans needed the *toca-boca*, an appetiser to accompany the rice and curry, they consumed dry salted fish. This was bought at the market or made at home by salting and drying fresh fish or purchased from annual fairs and the one at Margão was well-known as a good choice. This salted fish could also be pickled to make *para*.⁵⁷ To break the monotony of dry fish, various pickles and sweet chutneys were made of mangoes, jenkins (*tendlis*), brinjals, lime, etc. The work to get the house ready was attributed to the women, who in this way guaranteed the subsistence of the family during the monsoons.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Four *poddis* is equivalent to one *paili*, which is equivalent to 3,993 litres. *Anuário do Estado da Índia Portuguesa, 1929* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1929), 11.

⁵⁵ There were a few villages that had their unique products, like the chillies from Harmal, Canacona, and Aldona. Parra was known for its watermelons, Moira for its bananas; sweet potatoes and brinjals in Taleigao and Goa Velha, lady fingers(okra) in Santo Estevam and salt in Curca; and coconuts in Calangute and Benaullim, mangoes Malcoradas from Chorão and Hilários from Siolim.

⁵⁶ Each *mann* is equivalent to 16 kilos.

⁵⁷ The Catholics also fall back on *para*, a pickle made of dry fish like mackerels, kingfish, etc added to a sauce made of a number of spices ground with vinegar.

THE MONTH OF MAY

In summer, which is spread from March to May, it is not only the availability of various fruits that brings back memories but there is much more to this season. The well-known *dulpod*, *Avoi Maiatso Muinnom Paulo Lagim* gives the essence of the importance of this month for the housewife.⁵⁸ The first stanza of the *dulpod*:

Mother the month of May is approaching
And I haven't done a thing
The roof must be re-tiled, awnings must be set up
I just don't know what to do⁵⁹

Though she speaks about getting the roof ready, the first line of the *dulpod* 'Mother the month of May is approaching and I haven't done a thing!' there are more nuances to it than just the work on the house. It's a month that keeps the housewife very busy because she must prepare for the ensuing monsoons.

The work of re-tiling was usually carried out by the youngsters of the ward, which started at dawn before the sun rises, to protect them from the heat. The boys alternated from house to house till most houses were retiled. The only payment made was offerings of seasonal fruits like jackfruits, mangoes, pineapples, and other eatables to the youngsters.⁶⁰

Another important activity of the household in preparation for the monsoons was the storage of firewood. Big size logs were separated from cut firewood, coconut husk, shells, leaves, etc.⁶¹ Besides firewood, the villagers also collected and stored dry leaves. Leaves would be collected from the adjoining estates or from hillocks.⁶² This practice is described in the *dulpod*, *Te Kombea Sadari Josefin Fuim go Gelolem*,⁶³ the mother asks her daughter Josefin where she went at the cockcrow. And she replied that she went to the forest to collect firewood.

Mother : At the cockcrow, Josefin, where did you go?
Daughter: I went into the forest to gather firewood.

⁵⁸ Pereira, Martins and Costa, *Undra, Muja Mama*, 49.

⁵⁹ The translations of all *dulpods* in this chapter from Konkani to English are by Jose Pereira, Micael Martins and António Costa and published in the book *Undra, Muja Mama*.

⁶⁰ Rodrigues, *Remembering Goa*, 63.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 64.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 65.

⁶³ Pereira, Martins, and Costa, *Undra, Muja Mama*, 165.

Coconut husk, coconut shells, dried cow dung cakes, sawdust, paddy husk, etc, were also used as fuel and stored by the people.⁶⁴ The city-dweller also had to arrange for fuel. By mid-May, arrangements had to be made to buy wood and store it. Wood was purchased by weight in *mann* (16 kilos) or by volume.⁶⁵

HUNGER – A MEMORY STIMULANT

According to Sutton, hunger is a great memory stimulant; when people get hungry, they remember the food. In *O Signo da Ira* Orlando da Costa narrates the plight of the *mundkars* who have to endure hunger because they are old and cannot work. They have to go begging from house to house for a fistful of rice. There was an underlying understanding that humility (of the *mundkar*) and charity (of the *bhaktar*) would enable, the poor physically unable *mundkar* to get some food to overcome hunger. This was one of the reasons why Bostian joined other beggars.

Old age caught up with her, and couldn't continue to work, the only option left for survival, was the one taken by other elderly *mundkars* – the weekly routine to go begging every Saturday in the city of Margao.⁶⁶ The *bhatkar* and the rich would offer a handful of rice to them in exchange for reciting the prayers – 'Noman' Moriê, Noman' Moriê...' (Hail Mary, Hail Mary...), as the poorly dressed group moved on from house to house.

However, during the Second World War, the production of rice was not satisfactory, so for the old who went begging, life was dreadful because they were not given rice by the *bhatkar*, but instead a few coins, which could hardly buy any food for them. For the poor, the money would not help, it was so little. On the other hand, the rice, even if it was a small quantity, would be divided for the days of the week. This would be achieved by cooking in extra water and drinking it in the morning and munching a few rice berries at noon. At night to overcome the hunger the poor would snuggle their stomach against the beaten floor of the shack.⁶⁷

Goa, like many places, had beggars seeking alms. There were days earmarked for them to visit the houses. Saturdays for Panjim and Margao cities. In Merces it was on a

⁶⁴ Rodrigues, *Remembering Goa*, 65.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 66.

⁶⁶ Orlando da Costa, *O Signo da Ira* (Lisboa: Temas da Actualidade, 1996), 156.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 118.

Wednesday, Santacruz on a Thursday and so on. They were usually aged people who could not work, and probably had no one to look after them. They moved in twos or more and would stop at the door or window and call out with a ‘*Bye go, esmol gal*’ (Madam, give me some alms) or ‘*Baba re esmol gal*’ (Sir, give me some alms). For them begging was the only way of sustenance.

Both remembering and forgetting bring back memories. In Orlando da Costa’s novel, the *mundkars* of Ligôr recall the past when they would have sufficient to eat. But, over the last five months, their despair had grown, because the granaries remained empty and only okra (ladyfingers) and beans had grown in their gardens and millet had carpeted the scorched earth around the huts and the humble *mundkars* had to silently carry on with their life. While the elders endured this pain, children with jaggery-smearred bellies and famished eyes, snapped dry *brindão* husks and roasted tamarind seeds between their teeth.⁶⁸ It made them sad to see the rice container empty. It was only *ambil*, that allowed them to resist hunger and help them survive.

The *curumbin* women remembered how they prepared baskets of food with *podgué* full of steaming *canjee* or boiled rice along with dried fish for lunch and leave them by the door, for those working in the fields. For about two years, the rice started getting scarce, and in its place, the millet *ambil* and also the yellowish *bajri*, replaced the grains of rice in the preparation of *péz* (*canjee*), ‘The men and women who worked in the rice fields had almost forgotten the taste of it and children, in the lean and uncertain harvests of those years, themselves recalled secretly munching golden stalks.’⁶⁹

Deprivation and plenty are reflected in the *dulpod Ago Fulambai* (*Ful/Fulambai*) and it is presented through the making of *pattoios*.⁷⁰ These are prepared with ground raw rice, soaked overnight, and ground into a dry batter, which is then spread on a turmeric leaf.⁷¹ It is filled with a mixture of tender coconut and jaggery, halves folded to close and then steamed. In the *dulpod* the girl is asked to put the filling sparingly indicating that they do not have

⁶⁸ Ibid., 10.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ It’s a symbolic sweet, prepared by the Catholics on August 15, the feast of Our Lady of Assumption also celebrated as the harvest festival in some of the villages in Salcete. Likewise, the Hindu community makes the *pattoios* on the second day of Ganesh Chaturti, their most important festival, to symbolise the harvesting of new ears of rice, which are tied to the *matolli*. This is a decorative wooden frame hung above Ganesh’s deity during celebrations and is decorated with various plants and fruits of the season.

⁷¹ The Catholics will use raw boiled rice variety while the Hindus the polished one. The latter precook the batter before spreading it on the leaf. So also, the jaggery will differ, palm for the Catholics and sugarcane for the Hindus.

enough of the mixture to add more. It is sung with the following lyrics: ‘Put a little of the sweet, minced coconut here, a little there.’⁷² However, plenty is seen at the priest’s family which are well off and have a sufficient filling and can therefore make lots of *pattoios*, extending the making throughout the night.

And the padre’s family’s daughters-in-law
Were preparing sweet *pattoios* all night long, flower girl!
Padre take please sweet *pattoios*.⁷³

FOOD AND COLONIAL MEMORY

It is found that eating is not the only source of bringing back memories but the way the food is made, is an important factor too. For instance, when more people joined in the cooking there were possibilities for improving and getting better results and the age-old adage of ‘too many cooks spoil the soup’ not being applied. The new approach suggested to studying and investigating cooking skills is through ethnography and theory.⁷⁴ How these are the ways in which cooking skills are achieved, developed and communicated. It is also applied to the gendered ways. Another aspect in the area of ethnographic enquiry that has evolved is that of the distance between the processes of making and cooking.

Sannas, a local bread was made only occasionally, during a formal repast for a feast or some grand celebration and can be termed as ‘heritage food,’ which is sometimes most closely tied to collective memory, and symbolic of the local identity. Indeed, many studies successfully emphasize the symbolic importance of food without reference to its bodily experiences.⁷⁵ *Sannas* was not a quotidian item on the menu and would be a suitable example to bring memories of its preparation with its own procedures and the meal that was served to go with it on the feast day, to which the family and guests looked forward. Some were made with a mixture of jaggery and coconut, added to *sannas*, which were served for evening tea. During the Portuguese regime, toddy was available in plenty, especially in villages, and people would go to the palm grove where the toddy was extracted to buy the virgin sap to ensure that it was not mixed with the one in the house which was not fresh or any water.

⁷² Pereira, Martins and Costa, *Undra Muja Mama*, 28

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ For more details on ethnography and cooking please read David E. Sutton, “The Anthropology of Cooking” in *The Handbook of Food Anthropology*, 349-69, edited by Jakob A. Klein and James L. Watson (London: Bloomsbury, 2016); Ibid., Klein and Watson, ed., “Introduction,” 1-16.

⁷⁵ Holtzman, “Food and Memory,” 11.

The feast repast which was eaten along with *sannas* had to include *sarapatel* or *cabidela*. To prepare the *sarapatel* or *cabidela* many slaughtered a female pigling (males would always be allowed to grow into adulthood and then sold or slaughtered for a good price). Most Catholic families reared pigs and poultry, both for personal consumption or sale. Fresh blood mixed with vinegar was a requirement in the preparation of both *sarapatel* and *cabidela*, especially the latter. Both these originally brought by the Portuguese from Portugal, took up roots, with spices added to give the local tinge, and today get identified as Goan specialities, along with *vinha de alhos*, *assado*, *feijoada* to name a few.

What has remained of Portuguese origin is only the name, with the Goan *sarapatel* or *cabidela* having transformed altogether to be a unique dish identifying with the community and prepared as a festal food.⁷⁶ This tradition was also carried by the expatriates, as can be seen from the statement made by a Mozambican Goan who acknowledged that it was impossible not to make exclusive Goan food.⁷⁷ While the Portuguese version has only blood and as condiments garlic, pepper and bay leaf, the Goan comes with many spices that include chillies, garlic, ginger, cumin seeds, turmeric, pepper, cloves, and cinnamon all ground together to form a paste.⁷⁸

GOAN IDENTIFYING MARKER ‘THE CURRY’

The Goan curry – the *caril* of Portuguese, the *koddi* of Catholics and the *uman* of Hindus – is an important dish that adds that zing to the cooked rice and gives identity to Goan food. Garcia da Orta makes one of the first references in Portuguese sources to the *Caril*, when he describes the coconut in the *Colloquios*.⁷⁹ He tells that the juice of the coconut is

⁷⁶ In the case of *sarapatel*, the meat is first parboiled, then cut into small pieces and fried before it is cooked. For *cabidela* there is no boiling and frying, and the cut pieces of meat should not be very small. While the meat is cooking, blood is to be added carefully, stirring from time to time so that it does not get stuck to the bottom of the vessel. After 1961, the preparation of *cabidela* gradually lost its importance and at present, very few people cook or serve it. The reason may be its elitist background.

⁷⁷ “On feast days it was unthinkable not to make exclusively Goan cuisine. (...) we made *pulau* rice, which takes lots of raisins, almonds and fried onions and chicken cut into pieces, *sarapatel*, which is a traditional Christmas dish... The Goan food is indeed very good and has a very vast heritage. It was mandatory.” Marta Vilar Rosales, “O Verdadeiro Caril Moçambicano. Transnacionalismo, quotidianos e materialidades goesas na Africa colonial...” in *Gentes, movimentos e pertenças transnacionais* (Lisboa: Edições Colibri, Centro de Estudos em Migrações e Minorias, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Junho 2010), 59-80. This study was undertaken by Rosales in Portugal, interviewing Goans who had migrated from Mozambique after its independence and were called along with other Portuguese in similar situations, ‘retornados’ (returnees) by the Metropolitan Portuguese. Translation from Portuguese text by the author.

⁷⁸ The *sarapatel* of Salvador de Bahia, State of Bahia, Brazil, which has a lot of influence on Portuguese cuisine, remains similar to the original of the colonizers, with only garlic, pepper, bay leaf, and blood as ingredients.

⁷⁹ Garcia da Orta, *Coloquios dos Simples e Drogas da India* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1891), 80.

used to make a *caril* with birds and meat.⁸⁰ Cecilia de Souza writes: ‘Fish curry is a bond that unites all communities, with rice, it is the emblem of Goan hospitality, the symbol of pot-luck.’⁸¹ An interesting description is given about the curry in the *Annaes Marítimos*(1842), ‘curry is a sauce made of spices, grated coconut, and shrimp, or fish, which is tossed over rice cooked with unsalted water; is a family dish, or national, that makes its appearance in all dinners: and in the most profuse and even festive, always forms the last cover.’⁸² In the novel, *The Mango and the Tamarind Tree*, Leslie de Noronha writes about the preparation at Raoul’s home in Goa, which shows the difference with those available in restaurants abroad, ‘...then came the grinding of each spice separately: Raoul shuddered when he thought of the neutral, tasteless goeey concoctions of bottled spices, sultannas and raisins that passed for curry in restaurants abroad decorated like sets for a musical extravaganza.’⁸³

In the study on the Goan community in Maputo, Mozambique, Marta Vilar Rosales transcribes a comment by a Goan about their curry, which shows that even the diaspora continued preparing it, in its original form: ‘regarding what you said about European families always eating curry on Sundays, I remember perfectly well a store of an Indian in Lourenço Marques (Maputo) that sold spices and that had a huge European clientele that didn’t understand anything about it.’ And he sarcastically comments: ‘Europeans knew how to buy spices! It’s not like my wife, who makes the spices here at home. She asks for so much of this, so much of that, and the spices are made here at home. Europeans used to arrive at the store and ask for curry powder. And he had something prepared that was called curry powder.’⁸⁴

It is not also the ‘curry’, that Maria Paula Meneses writes about in her paper, in which she uses the Mozambican curry, a national dish, to connect to the food and memory of the indigenous people.⁸⁵ According to Rosales, while discussing the curry being the national dish in Mozambique, the Goan families report that it is in fact an imitative development that developed from a mimetic process by other social groups, that also included the colonial elites who introduced it in their quotidian practices. Another of the interviewees while talking

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Cecilia de Sousa, “Fish Curry and Goan Identity” In *Goa Today*, November 1983, 28. Pot-luck means whatever food happens to be available for a meal, especially when offered to a guest, *The American Heritage Dictionary of English Language*, 3rd. ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1996).

⁸² *Annaes Marítimos*, (1842), 43, in Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, 219. Translation by the author.

⁸³ Noronha, *The Mango and the Tamarind Tree*, 44.

⁸⁴ Marta Vilar Rosales, “O Verdadeiro Caril Moçambicano,” 74.

⁸⁵ Maria Paula Menezes, “Food, Recipes and Commodities of the Empire. Mozambique in the Indian Ocean Networks,” *Centro de Estudos Sociais*, Coimbra, Oficina nº335 (December 2009):1-34.

about food, comments: ‘on Sunday there was always curry. The other non-Goans did it too but by imitation.’⁸⁶

In her interview with D. Fátima, a native woman, from the Island of Mozambique (the island, where the first Goans landed in the sixteenth century), Meneses asked her how she would cook the curry. After describing the preparation, the lady also comments on the Goan curry, that according to her is different from the native Mozambican, which is served with fish and vegetables. For her, what people meant by ‘curry’, when they went to a restaurant or looked for in the books about how to cook it, was the one that was prepared in the past by the Goans that lived in Mozambique, and that remains as a memory for those who experienced the colonial period.⁸⁷

The curry is prepared in different ways, depending on the ingredients used. However, the basic components of a Goan curry are the coconut and the chillies. The chilly was introduced into India by the Portuguese and this spice constituted the most important ingredient in modern curries.⁸⁸ The Sanskrit books of cookery, which cannot be of any considerable antiquity, contain many recipes for curry without this ingredient.⁸⁹ Its preparation was a daily affair for a housewife, who would start with husking and breaking a coconut. After grating the coconut kernel, she would grind it on a grinding stone along with spices depending on the kind of fish she was going to add to the curry.

The ground mixture would then be mixed with water in a clay vessel and boiled on a slow woodfire, till it was thickened and acquired the desired consistency.⁹⁰ The taste of the curry also depended on the freshness and quality of the fish, prawns or shellfish, added during the preparation, as it would enhance the taste of the curry. When fish was not available, people prepared curry without it which was called *sovruk* or *ankvar coddli* (spinster curry).

⁸⁶ Rosales, Marta, “O Verdadeiro Caril Moçambicano,” 74.

⁸⁷ Menezes, “Food, Recipes and Commodities of the Empire,” 4.

⁸⁸ Pepper was used before the arrival of chillies, which spread very fast unlike any other plant exchanged during and after the discoveries of the sea route. They were well accepted as a substitute for pepper as it was much cheaper, tastier, spicier, colourful, and easy to grow; Lizzie Collingham, *Curry – A Tale of the Cooks and Conquerors* (London: Vintage Books, 2006), 51.

⁸⁹ Henry Yule and Arthur Coke Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms, Etymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1984).

⁹⁰ Rodrigues, *Tasty Goan Morsels*, 10.

The art of preparing a delicious curry was not everyone's cup of tea. Some people prepared a tastier one than others, with the same ingredients. As the saying goes, the person should have 'the touch' to prepare a tasty curry. This touch is called in Konkani *ath-gun* – that is something special! Sutton makes a pertinent comment in this regard by pointing out, that though the basic ingredients used were alike, he was surprised at how important small variations (say in spicing), were what made the difference, in the way people thought about how to prepare. This according to him was a highly individualized way of preparing that gave uniqueness to the food.⁹¹

Different souring agents are used, depending on the type of preparation. Tamarind is used in the majority of the curries. Tamarind trees abound in Goa, and people bought fresh pods which were available seasonally, during the summer. Other souring agents were the dried kokum peels, made from kokum fruit. These were added particularly for curry prepared with mackerels, sardines, *peddi* or *kurlie*. *Teflam*, an aromatic seed was also added to this curry.⁹² Fresh skin is also used to make a sweet beverage called *xarope de brindão*, kokum syrup. A very tasty and healthy drink, especially during summer. During the Portuguese regime, due to the limited availability of aerated and other beverages, kokum syrup was used to serve the guests. Another refreshing drink offered to guests was the *orchata* made with almonds and sugar. The almonds were substituted by cashewnuts as they were easily available and cheaper.

Kokum is also used to prepare *funtti kaddi*, a concoction with water, salt and green chillies, to which curry leaves (*karipata*) or coriander leaves are added. Another variation, *solkaddi* is made using coconut juice instead of water. This drink supplements the curry and also acts as a digestive – a must at the table of Hindu Saraswat and brahmins, who end the meal with the *kaddi*.⁹³ Some patients were advised by doctors not to consume curry, but instead, have a lighter preparation called *aksal*.⁹⁴ Another traditional dish using kokum is the *solantullem*, a preparation of pork meat, which is a speciality of South Goa.

Another souring agent is the sundried salted raw mango, the *ambeachim solan*. These enhance the flavours when added to prawn curry. During mango season, fresh-cut raw

⁹¹ Mintz, "Book Review," 474.

⁹² *Tefflan*, *Zanthoxylum rhetsa* also known in vernacular as *teffal* or *triphala*, in Portuguese *limão pimentoso*, available during the rainy season – small berry sized, green in colour – is used fresh as well as dried.

⁹³ Rodrigues, *Tasty Goan Morsels*, 33.

⁹⁴ It was prepared by cooking kokum peels and onions in water, to which the cumin seeds, turmeric, and pepper were added along with garlic and ginger. Once the onions had softened, milkfish was added to it.

mangoes are added along with the mango stone to the curry. The best *solans* are made with raw mangoes, which are mature and have a fully developed stone. The latter is halved and also dried like the slices. The stone is especially used to make the *sambareachi coddi*.

In the period of study, many houses had a *bilimbi* tree in the kitchen garden and its fruits *bilimbis* were used as souring agents for making curries, especially for preparing prawns-curry. *Bilimbis* are also used to make pickles and a favourite one is with prawns, called *balchão de bilimbin*. However, these have a short shelf life. Another fruit added as a souring agent is the hog fruit, *ambadde*, which is seasonal.⁹⁵ The forgotten and less-used *vatamba*⁹⁶ fruit gives a distinctively delicious taste to the curry.⁹⁷ The trees grow in the *kullagars* in Goa and bear roundish fruit (2-4” diameter), irregularly shaped and of dirty yellow colour, which is sweetish and sour in taste.⁹⁸ Used mostly in fish curries for its sourness, has better health value than tamarind, as it is less acidic. It can also be used in chutney preparations.

In the *Mango and the Tamarind Tree* Noronha tells that although the Albuquerque’s had westernised food when entertaining guests, for their daily lunch, rice and curry were their main dish. He gives a long description of how the curry was made at Raoul’s mother’s house. And narrates the incident of the new maid who was making the curry without the supervision of Rosa Maria (the housekeeper), who would usually check every step as she wanted things done meticulously in her own way and regarded the preparation of the curry as her prerogative.⁹⁹

However, since the keys of the storeroom were with Rosa Maria, who had overslept, and therefore the vinegar was unavailable, the new maid took a handful of tamarind pods, squeezed them till the thick, sour, sticky blackish-red juice ran through her fingers, leaving the fibrous dry pulp. She poured the juice, the crude souring ingredient customarily used by the villagers, into the curry.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ Hog plum (*Spondias - anacardiaceae*). Publication and Information Directorate, CSIR, *The Wealth of India. A Dictionary of Indian Raw Materials and Industrial Products*. Vol. X (Raw Materials). (New Delhi: author, 1976), 19.

⁹⁶ *Vatamba* fruit *artocarpus lakoocha*, known in English as Monkey Jack fruit.

⁹⁷ Gauree Malkarnekar, “Forgotten flavour of the Vatamba”, *Times of India*, May 14, 2017, 2. Also known as *Ottamba/Ottachi/Otta Sola* in Konkani and *Wotomba* in Marathi.

⁹⁸ *Wealth of India (Raw material)* vol.I, 126.

⁹⁹ Noronha, *The Mango and the tamarind tree*, 44.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*.

The curry has its own class hierarchy. Nuances in the way curries are prepared show social status. Amongst the Catholics, besides the spices already mentioned, dry coriander seeds will be added in case of prawn curry. However, in the rural context, people use coriander seeds along with other spices for both fish as well prawn curries. But more pronounced is the difference in which the coconut is used, between the landed gentry and others. Since the first have coconuts in abundance, they extract the milk from the kernel. The others grind it fine. It was said that a number of landed gentries who were miserly, would use the remains of the coconut after extracting the juice, to prepare curry for their servants' consumption. That there were differences in preparing curries for the employees was also revealed by Noronha 'these were her basic ingredients. From these, by endless permutations and combinations, of the blending, and quantities of each, she could turn out hundreds and hundreds of curries of different flavours, from a suave, virile curry for the family table to a rough, pungent-as-hell full-bodied curry for the servants' meal.'¹⁰¹

To make a Goan curry, vinegar was not used, nor all that elaborate frying spices and grinding with coconut milk described by Noronha. It points out his imagination in writing the preparation for the novel. At the beginning of the novel, he tenders to apologise to all those whose homes and kindness he misused by exaggerating their lunch menus...¹⁰²

The tamarind and vinegar controversy is to validate the title of the book, more importantly, to show the difference between the landed gentry and commoners, by using the mango and the tamarind tree to represent them, respectively. The latter, though an important component of the Goan food preparations is deprecatorily categorized by Noronha as an egalitarian ingredient 'crude souring ingredient customarily used by the villagers.' The vinegar also points out economic status as it is a by-product of the coconut tree, which is owned by the landed gentry.

The privileged and those who could afford used to prepare it at home, because it was needed for cooking meats, gravies, masalas (*temperos*), especially one of red chillies and spices, called *tempero do recheio*, used for stuffing fish, and for *para*,¹⁰³ pickles, chutneys

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Author's Note, *ibid.*, viii.

¹⁰³ Rodrigues, *Tasty Goan Morsels*, 31. During the monsoons, salted fish is a delightful substitute for a fish crazy community, as it is a lean season for the availability of fresh one. The Catholics also fall back on *para*, a pickle made of some type of dry fish like mackerels, kingfish, streak fish. The dry fish is washed in vinegar. Then kept to marinade and mature in a sauce containing spices, which are also ground in vinegar. No water at all is added while preparing, which gives it a long shelf life if properly stored.

and other preparations that needed preservatives. Vinegar is used only by Catholics, while Hindus and Muslims disliked its strong odour and acidic taste.

THE HOGS AND THE GOAN *CHOURIÇO*

Ladis da Silva writes about the pigs ‘no matter where you went, in the villages and paddy fields of Goa, one sees them nosing happily, emitting soothing grunts of contentment.’¹⁰⁴ In the olden days, many were found roaming around the wards eating plants and fruits. During the mango season, they would be around, to relish the ripe mangoes that fell from the tree. And, create a nuisance during rice cultivation by destroying the crop in the fields. It was prohibited for pigs to move around in the cities. If anybody wanted to rear them, they had to be kept inside in closed precincts of the outer walls or else, if found in public places, the owner had to pay a fine! Another important task allotted to the pigs was eating the leftovers. They were also environmentally friendly scavengers. According to Silva, the ‘history of hogs in Goa goes back to the Portuguese conquests.’ However, it is well known that pigs were present on the Asian Continent from ancient times, much before the Portuguese arrival and even consumed by people. Of course, what the Portuguese introduced was the preparation of pork dishes as mentioned earlier, and most importantly the art of making sausages, *chouriço*, – *churisas* or *linguisas de Goa* for Silva – one of the most cherished foods in Goa, as well as by expatriate Goans. Silva laments about its accessibility, in foreign countries ‘unfortunately, for many obvious reasons, these spicy, juicy, and highly palatable delicacies do not reach many in various countries of the world.’¹⁰⁵ According to him, the demand for genuine ‘Goa sausages’ is preposterous!¹⁰⁶

It is not only Silva who reminisces about the sausage and the quality. There are others like Frank Simoes, a media person, who lived in Bombay and originally hailed from Saligao, Bardez, Goa. He writes an essay on the Goan *chouriço*, ‘A sausage with Soul.’¹⁰⁷ He feels that the Goan sausage prepared in Goa had no competitor. And comments on those prepared

¹⁰⁴ Nazareth, Peter, *Goan Literature*, 168. Ladis da Silva was born in Zanzibar of Goan descent, settled in Canada, where he migrated from Kenya in 1968. He was a prolific writer and author of *The Americanization of Goans*, 1976.

¹⁰⁵ Nazareth, P., *Goan Literature*, 169.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Frank Simoes, “A Sausage with Soul,” in *Frank Unedited. The Best of Frank Simoes* (New Delhi: Roli, 2003), 201-04.

in Bombay: ‘the over-spiced, under-flavoured Bandra sausage, the sad-sack Dhobi Talao sausage, other unsavoury offerings from Marve, Bassein and points north. No contest.’¹⁰⁸

The penchant for *chouriço* is shown by another Frank. The well-known Frank Moraes, the first Indian editor of the Times of India in Bombay, was born and brought up in Santa Cruz, Bombay. Incidentally, Frank Moraes’ family was originally from Santa Cruz, Tiswadi, Goa and it shows in his yearning for Goan food. In an article titled ‘Jackfruit and sausages’ by Dom Moraes, his son, a poet and writer,¹⁰⁹ pens that when he was back from Oxford after he finished his studies, he did not know what to do. So, the father told him to go to Goa and spend some time which would help him to decide. And Frank, who had not been to Goa for the last many years and was feeling nostalgic about the jackfruit and Goan sausages, told Dom, ‘you can bring some things back for me from there. As many Goan sausages as you can carry, and a jackfruit. It’s what all Goans eat.’¹¹⁰

The *chouriço* was an ideal food for the housewife, very handy when a guest walked in unannounced. It was easy to cook and would be served in different ways – fried, plain boiled or with potatoes and onions. It was also added to the rice to make sausage rice (sausage *pulau*). When used while cooking in stews, *guisado*, and crockets, it enhanced the taste of these dishes and gave that special zing. A pertinent comment of an emigrant from Mozambique, now in Portugal, of the importance of the sausage to give that special touch to the Portuguese cuisine ‘we Goans give a Goan touch to the Portuguese cuisine. It is something gone over and improved. For example, if a traditional Portuguese *feijoada* takes a *chouriço* from India, made with spices from there, it tastes fantastic. Whoever says a *feijoada*, says also a *dobrada*. A Goan-style *dobrada* is something extraordinary.’¹¹¹

The conflict between the Portuguese and Goan kitchens, wherever the former’s cuisine got integrated into family practices, was with the ‘Goan taste.’ This happened as it experienced adaptation through the use of spices, vegetables or fruits. We have already seen this happening with the *sarapatel*, *cabidela*, *chouriço* and other Portuguese food in Goa and the diaspora community did not lag behind. The researchers found that the families that were

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Dom Moraes, “Sausages and Jackfruits,” *Goa Today*, August 1990, 65.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Rosales, “O Caril Moçambicano,” 73. Translated by author.

interviewed did not consider the integration of many Portuguese influences on the ‘Goan gastronomic heritage’ as a risk to its wealth and originality.¹¹²

The Goans adapted the Portuguese cuisine to their tastes and created its own cuisine altogether dissimilar from the original, only retaining the name and that too sometimes, with a different orthography. Unlike the British who made the Indian cooks gradually alter and simplify their recipes to suit their tastes.¹¹³ A very common snack is *pão com chouriço* (sausage bread), which can also substitute for a meal. During the annual novenas of St. Francis Xavier held at the Basilica at Old Goa, women and some men are found selling *cheris pao* (*chouriço-pão*). A tempting site with devotees, after mass, devouring the tasty snack. A must for many undertaking this annual pilgrimage.

This sausage is the prototype of the Portuguese *chouriço* – a sausage, also known as *linguiça*. The Goan variety was made of pork pickled with various spices and vinegar, stuffed in the dried gut of cattle. The sausages were then sun-dried or smoked by keeping them over the fireplace. A string of small sausages is a familiar sight in the markets of Goa, differing from the Portuguese which are usually long and big in size. During the summer sellers do brisk business, with the emigrants, who buy a big quantity to take with them, and the locals for their consumption.¹¹⁴

MNEMONIC FOR REMEMBERING

Remembering the past when somebody looks at a thing and connecting to some happening or event is a person’s ability to bring back memories. Food can also be used as a mnemonic like any other thing or happening. Interestingly Sutton used food as a reminder as visits to his parent’s friends gave him an opportunity to learn something new and thought-provoking culinary delicacy. So, whenever his parents asked him if he remembered a particular person, whom he had met a couple of years ago, his response was to ask them what did they have for dinner.¹¹⁵ This kind of connecting food to the memory and events of the past is everyone’s prerogative.

Take for example a privileged person in Goa, seeing a turkey would connect it to some wedding reception, where the bird, stuffed and dressed was the piece-de-resistance at the buffet table. While remembering the wedding, he would also recollect the bride and the

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Collingham, *Curry: A Tale of Cooks*, 116.

¹¹⁴ Rodrigues, *Tasty Goan Morsels*, 36.

¹¹⁵ Sutton, *Remembrance of Repasts*, 6.

groom, their parents, how the function was held and many other details related to the event. But for a farmer who raises turkeys, it would be a bird that earns him some money when he sells it or food for his family. However, the same farmer looking at a pumpkin would bring back memories of the Christmas celebrations as he would recollect how the creeper trailed on the roof of his outhouse with a number of vegetables and the best and the biggest was selected for making *mandares*.¹¹⁶ How it was carefully nurtured and when ready removed and kept carefully till the time it needed to be cut and – after keeping a portion for his preparation – the remaining was distributed to relatives and neighbours to make *mandares* for Christmas. Many adults will remember that as children they had to take turns with siblings or other family members to shoo off the crows when the *mandares* were in the process of drying.¹¹⁷ These are served deep-fried or roasted on ambers/charcoal and stored in tins to be served as and when required.

Weddings were important events in Goa and celebrations had their own charm. Most of the wedding nuptials were held in the morning. The receptions were held at home and only a few rich would have them at a club or a hotel. Some would have a reception in the church premises, which usually had a parochial house with a decent room and a veranda, where invitees were served snacks or some other eatables and drinks.

The reception at home entailed preparations such as putting up a *mattov* outside the house and getting the floor ready so that couples could dance.¹¹⁸ This was done by watering the mud floor for two nights and then beating it hard with a *batedor*. A layer of cowdung was applied for a better finish. The band was the village brass band which came by noon and had to be served a good lunch before they played for the reception. They ate the best and were well fed and did not have to wait for the wedding to get over to eat, as it happens today.

As said, the privileged who could afford would have a buffet layout and there were others who served different dishes in quarter plates. The number depended again on the financial condition of the family. A society wedding that did not go for a buffet service would have at least three, if not four types of plated food. A clear soup, called *caldo*, fish, usually mayonnaise, and the third had to be meat or rice. The meat could be a stew or assorted snacks like samosa, croquet, and a sandwich. Rice was served as *arroz refogado*.

¹¹⁶ Rodrigues, *Remembering Goa*, 227.

¹¹⁷ It's a savoury prepared for Christmas from pumpkin and raw rice, both ground together. A thin batter is made and poured in small plates (*piris*) and steamed and then removed and dried under the sun.

¹¹⁸ Venue where the reception would be held.

In the village where the people had to work their limited finances to serve the guests, the *arroz refogado*, was the only dish. Some might have added a ham sandwich or a meat stew. Why the choice of rice? It was served because it was substantial food and presumed that it would satisfy the guests. Not fanciful like snacks, which did not satiate the hunger. And maybe it was economical for the hosts.

The slaughter of a pig was common in the village on the occasion of a wedding since it would cut the expenses for the family. When a pig was slaughtered, the family more often than not, had enough to prepare for the family dinner. At this dinner, guests were served *sarapatel, add-mass, assado* amongst other dishes.

The older generation reminisces the gourmet style of serving the *arroz refogado*. In a cup, a mixture of cooked vegetables – carrots and peas, and cooked pieces of sausages were added by a person. The cup was passed on to another, who would add rice and press with a spoon and then turn it on a quarter plate. And, the additions were not only, a taste enhancer but gave a beautiful appearance to the rice.

Christmas was the time for special food to enjoy the savouries. People looked forward to making their favourite sweets and savouries that are an integral part of a Goan *consoada*.¹¹⁹ *Pinaca, dodol, doce de grão, neureos*, etc, were prepared. The *neureos*, which are a must for the festival, are a remnant of Hindu tradition. Every household will include these, whether made of coconut or a different flour mixture. The various sweets and savouries were served on a tray to the visitors.

There are many, especially in the village, who made *oddes* of rice flour. These are like *puris*, round puffed bread made of flour and deep-fried in oil and served as accompaniment instead of bread. However, the *oddes* are crispy and smaller in size and can be stored for days if properly packed in an airtight container. *Cormolam, bebinca, teia de aranha, bática* and *bolinhos*, marzipans and *cocada*¹²⁰ are some other Goan sweets. Many make a Goan halwa

¹¹⁹ The Goan *consoada*, has a different perspective from the Portuguese, though both are linked to Christmas; for the latter, it is the supper they partake with family and close friends on the ensuing night between twenty fourth and Christmas' day. *Consoada* is *Kuthsvâr* in Konkani. Rodolfo Dalgado, *Dicionário Português-Concane* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1988), 191.

¹²⁰ In Bahia State of Brasil, *cocada* is a very common sweet sold almost everywhere and served in restaurants. However, it is different from the Goan *cocada*, which is prepared with coconut, sugar and semolina. The original Brazilian recipe has only three ingredients, coconut, sugar and water. The water and sugar are cooked to the desired thickness, and then grated coconut is added and cooked till the water evaporates, and the mixture leaves the side of the vessel and is then transferred onto a plate greased with butter. It is cut into diagonal or square-shaped pieces. In some villages of Goa, *cocada* is gifted at the time of marriage as a sweet for *ojem*,

from wheat flour and coconut milk. The privileged don't forego the queen of desserts the *bebinca*, a multi-layered sweet prepared with egg yolks, coconut milk and sugar and baked in layers using *ghee* (clarified butter).

NOSTALGIA AND REMEMBRANCE OF FOOD IN GOAN LITERATURE

Food-centred nostalgia is a recurrent theme in studies of the diasporic or expatriate population who have experienced displacement. Sutton (2000, 2001) emphasizes the longing evoked in diasporic individuals by the smells and tastes of a lost homeland, providing a temporary return to a time when their lives were not fragmented. Holtzman comments that as a form of memory, 'nostalgia' has several different senses, generally and with respect to, food. Some food literature (particularly outside anthropology) relies on a lay notion of sentimentality for a lost past, viewing food as a means for recall of childhood and family. Food-centred reminiscence is articulated within genres of food-centred memoirs (writings).

Yet, in contrast to viewing nostalgia as a re-experiencing of emotional pasts, it may also be seen as a longing for times and places that one has never experienced. Arjun Appadurai (1996) characterizes this as 'armchair' nostalgia – a nostalgia without lived experience – suggesting that in late-capitalist consumerism 'the merchandiser supplies the lubricant of nostalgia' and the consumer 'need only bring the faculty of nostalgia to an image that will supply the memory of a loss he or she has never suffered.'¹²¹ This could be one reason why, the expatriate Goans' next generations, who have never experienced nor been to Goa, are interested in buying items to prepare Goan food from shops that sell spices and items which are unique to Goa – that they connect to their identity – comparing it to the umbilical cord with Goa. The statement made by one of the interviewers confirms this argument: 'In Africa, my mother cooked Goan food very well. She liked very much what she did and got us accustomed to Goan food. It seems to me that it is my umbilical cord with Goa. And I think it's not just me.'¹²² The sensuousness of food does not fully explain the widespread 'armchair nostalgia' surrounding many foods nor how rarely eaten 'heritage foods' are sometimes those most closely tied to collective memory.¹²³

which is distributed to family and friends. In this case, a number of platefuls *cocadas* are offered by the bride's family.

¹²¹ Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1996), 78.

¹²² Rosales, Marta, "O Verdadeiro Caril Moçambicano," 72. Translation by the author.

¹²³ Holtzman, "Food and Memory," 6.

The recent concern with transnational identities has put the issue of nostalgia on the theoretical table.¹²⁴ However, the obvious link between food and nostalgia produced only some intriguing descriptive material.¹²⁵ But even if there is no theoretical explanation food obviously has the ability to bring back nostalgic feelings and remembrance, especially if it made them happy in the past, and is not accessible anymore.

A few Goan writers wrote an ode to their favourites – in prose, verse and song. We have already seen how the *chouriço* evoked memories amongst the emigrants. Far away from Goa, the poet and writer Adeodato Barreto (1905-1937), who lived in Coimbra, Portugal, reminisces the Christmas celebrations in his homeland.¹²⁶

I am longing the *consoada*, the *fuguéus*,
...
Where in the kitchens, in the pots,
Smelling of oil, fat *oddes* sing.¹²⁷

Alfred Rose (1932-2003), an important *tiatrist* (theatre personality), actor and singer of the Konkani stage, sighs that he no longer can eat his favourite *godchem* and sings an elegy to this quotidian in the Goa of the past as discussed earlier, which again shows us the importance of the *merenda* to connect food and memory.

Goddxem

Mother used to make *goddxem* and serve me
She would make *vonn* and place it on the table,
The sight of that *vonn* of jaggery would arouse my tongue,
She would fill this belly with *ale-bele*
And sweeten this mouth with *filos*,
She would make *tizan* of millets
and give strength to my body.¹²⁸

Rose remembers his schooldays when after coming home he would eat these sweets for evening tea made by his mother, which was a wholesome snack.

¹²⁴ Sutton, *Remembrances of repast*, 7.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ Adeodato Barreto (1905-1937) born in Margao, Goa is considered one of the most interesting personalities of modern Goan literature. He died at the young age of 32, at Coimbra, where he had gone to study. Along with fellow Goans, Telo de Mascarenhas, and Jose Paulo Diniz, he founded the 'Instituto Indiano' and the newspaper *India Nova* in Coimbra. The city honoured him by having his poem imprinted on a pedestal at 'Penedo de Saudades,' a picturesque spot, atop a hill. His statue adorns, with other great Portuguese poets, the 'Parque de Poetas,' at the Jardim de Oeiras, Oeiras, Portugal.

¹²⁷ Adeodato Barreto,

¹²⁸ Translated to English by the author.

Another nostalgic poem, an elegy to *sarapatel*, that is ingrained in our culture and tradition has been dedicated by Philip Furtado. He lived in Bombay and in the poem ‘Sorpotel’, he not only reminisces of sarapatel but its significant accompaniment – the local bread *sannas* and the Goan alcohol *feni*, albeit of cashew.

In Praise of Sorpotel

...

But for us who hail from Goa
There’s naught like *sorpotel*!

...

There’s none whose mouth won’t water
When you talk of *sorpotel*!
And, oh, for Christmas dinner,

...

We could, as they can in Goa,
Have a bottle of *cajel*
And toddy-leavened *sandnam*
To go with *sorpotel*!¹²⁹

EMIGRATION

For all the arrangements the housewife needed money and the emigrant’s wife was eagerly waiting for remittances, as promised by her husband who had migrated to Bombay for work. However, not only money but even a letter or information about his whereabouts were known to her. Such a situation amongst the emigrants’ wives was not rare. Many-a-times the men being alone, for the sake of company find solace in another woman and not being able to support both, keeping the wife, who is away from him, in the dark. The second stanza of the *dulpod Avoid Maiatso Muinnom Paulo Lagim* gives an insight into a subtle way of the lives of emigrants.

My husband went to Bombay promising to send me money
What shall I tell you? He is not even sent a letter
Where has he got to, where has he gone?
I just don’t know what to do

Emigration is the cause of temporary separation between husband and wife. Sometimes, he goes on the ship in search of work. In those days the journeys were long and lengthy and they would be away for years, the wife waiting for the return of her husband who

¹²⁹ R.V. Pandit, ed., *Goan Poetry: An Anthology of Verse by Living Goan Poets* (Panjim: Bhagwati Prakashan, 1976), 6.

in some cases never made it back home, leaving the wife a widow, sometimes with small children, to fend for herself. The separation imposes an emotional strain on the two and endangers the bond of fidelity in marriage. But it is not only the husband who falls into temptation and walks about with a mistress away from home. The wife in Goa may have her paramour. Rodrigues writes about a *dulpod* where the poet counts with surprise the number of children that the woman has; one, two, three, four and more and it is strange because the woman's husband has been away from home.¹³⁰

PICNIC

Summer-time was not only about work but also enjoyment for some and health care for others. There were many who went on holiday to the beach side for a change, what was called *mudansac gella* in Konkani. Being a part of the lifestyle of the privileged, the social columns of the local press informed about many of those who went for *mudança* and the name of the place. Families, who could afford used to book houses for their annual holidays. Others would raise temporary shacks or use the verandas of some houses to spend the night.

Summer was also the time when people decided to go for a picnic so that they can have an outing in the realms of nature. It would also give an opportunity for the emigrants who were on their visits home to meet up with others. This trend of going for picnics was carried with them who organised picnics wherever they settled, even in modern times.¹³¹ The places selected would include any of these: going to the beach, near the riverfront, a scenic spot over a hillock or in a property or at the spring or even to a palm grove in the village. Goa was known not only for her beautiful beaches but also for springs, with many having water with medicinal properties, where people used to go for a bath for the cure of their ailments.¹³² A well-known and historic account of such a cure is linked to Father William Robert Lyons,¹³³ an Englishman based in Bombay, who suffered from a skin ailment and was frustrated because he could not get cured. He was advised by a friend to visit Goa and have a bath at the Pomburpa spring. After a few visits to the spring, he started improving and got cured. For this reason, Fr. Lyons decided that he would not return to Bombay and stayed back in Goa. This decision was beneficial to the people of Goa because when Fr. Lyons

¹³⁰ Rodrigues, *Abolim*, 77.

¹³¹ For example, the Goans in Lisbon organise a picnic in summertime. The newsletter of Goan Overseas Association, Vancouver, (2017) includes in its activities a picnic.

¹³² There are a few springs with water containing minerals having medicinal values, besides several others with potable waters. A list of springs grouped under the mineral is available in the *Anuário da Índia Portuguesa, 1933* (Nova Goa: Repartição da Estatística, 1934), 40.

¹³³ Fr. Williams Robert Lyons was a British Missionary who came to British India as an educationist.

established a school at Siolim, he laid the foundation for education in the English language in Goa.¹³⁴

The tradition of picnics and the benefits of the spring waters to cure ailments have been recorded in the *dulpod E TeTollsam' Zori' Barik Gogo*.¹³⁵ This *dulpod* differs from others by being entirely devoted to one subject –the recollections of people who went for baths to the spring.

The springs at the Tollsam fountain are small. The body hardly gets wet
People bring their lunches (bakreobutio) (lit. chapatis and rice balls)

The lyricist complains that the flow of the *Tollsam* fountain is small and that it is not enough to wet the body. The flow is probably pointing out to the severity of summer, which is responsible for drying the water of the source of the spring or could also be due to bad maintenance of the spring. But in spite of this people still visited it, carrying with them chapatis and rice.

Obviously, whatever was taken for lunch had to be practical, and something easy to carry, what better food than chapatis and a container with rice, curry and probably dry salt fish and *chepnentli ambli* or *tor* or pickle. This rice and accompaniments were stuffed in a tiffin called *buti*, (plural *butio*). Within the stuffed rice and in the middle, a small glass bottle with curry. The *ambli* or *tor* or dry salted fish, and if available, fried fish was kept on the rice, maybe wrapped in a banana leaf. Many a daily wage labourer also carried the *buti*.

RITUALS OF REMEMBERING AND FORGETTING THROUGH FOOD

Ritual has been viewed as a strong site for building food-centred memory and food-centred forgetting. After the demise of a Catholic, masses were said in memory of the person on completion of seven days, one month and one year, and subsequently every year. The practice of offering on the seventh day was stopped after the mass on a funeral day was introduced in the late sixties. At the month's mind, many families serve a special meal in honour of the deceased.¹³⁶ They are represented by beggars or poor persons and therefore this meal is called 'beggar's lunch'. According to Munn and Battaglia 'mortuary feasting is a

¹³⁴ St. Joseph's School was initially established by Fr. Lyons at Siolim in 1883, and later in 1887, the school was transferred to Arpora. It was the first English language school in Goa. Carlos Xavier, *Development of Sports and Games in Goa, Daman and Diu* (Panaji: Directorate of Sports and Cultural Affairs, 1976), 11.

¹³⁵ Pereira, Martins and Costa, *Undra Muja Mama*, 73.

¹³⁶ If not possible on this day, then it was offered on the death anniversary.

particularly important arena for memorializing and forgetting through food, viewed in some instances as a context that creates a space of temporary memorialization, after which the person can be (at least publicly) forgotten'.¹³⁷ The stress in this literature is for the most part on food's role not in remembering the dead but in their forgetting. It is argued that mortuary rites serve the function of a 'temporary memorialization,' but, in fact, 'when the mourning is over, the chief mourners will return to the activities of daily life and forget... the dead'.¹³⁸

Both as a symbol and as social practice, these are ceremonies for the remembrance of the dead and a special meal is cooked for sharing with the poor, the neighbours and relatives making it a community of the living.¹³⁹ A special meal is prepared and the food that is most important in terms of mortuary symbolism is the sweet dish, *vonn*.¹⁴⁰ Other food includes rice, curry, vegetables, fish, bananas and bread. The repast includes *sambarechi coddi*, a special curry, made of various spices (*sambar*), along with onions, garlic and ginger, all sundried, then fried in oil and powdered. In addition, grams, vegetables – jerkins and pumpkin – are cooked and added to grated coconut mixed with sambar masala. Some fried fish is also served. Mortuary food is also observed on All Souls Day when *vonn* is prepared with the presumption that the family souls will visit the house on this day.¹⁴¹

The *bikarechem jevon* is also served on some other occasions like the housewarming and the marriage of a son or daughter. This tradition is followed to appease the dead in the family and wish and bless the couple a happy married life.

In the afternoon before serving the lunch, a rosary is recited for the souls of the departed family members. This meal is served on a big bamboo mat, which is laid in the hall for the guests. The beggars are served by the mother of the groom. Before starting the meal, they say some more prayers for the welfare of the bride and groom and their families. The meal is served on a *patravalli*, a plate made by stitching together jackfruit leaves with the ribs of a coconut palm leaf. It is a grand layout with an array of meat dishes, chicken, beef and the ever-present pork. Vegetables, fish, rice, *pulao* and the dessert the traditional *vonn*. Bananas, bread, liquor and beedis are also served. Before serving the meal, on a *patravalli* all

¹³⁷ Nancy Munn, *The Fame of Gawa: A Symbolic Study of Value Transformation in a Massim (Papua New Guinea) Society*, 1986; and Battaglia, Debora, *On the Bones of Serpents*, 1990, In Sutton, *Remembrance and Repasts*, 36; Holtzman, "Food and Memory", 10.

¹³⁸ Munn, In Sutton, *Remembrance and repasts*, 37.

¹³⁹ Sutton, *ibid.*, 39.

¹⁴⁰ It is a specialty sweet made of coconut juice, palm jaggery, and boiled gram dal. Cardamom powder is used as essence.

¹⁴¹ Rodrigues, *Tasty Goan Morsels*, 21.

the food cooked for lunch is placed – also bread, banana and beedis – the last made of *dumpli*, tobacco wrapped in dry jackfruit leaf, conical in shape. This plate is then kept outside the house and only after the crow starts eating from the plate, others are served.¹⁴² There are variations in the food that is prepared. For meals in memory of the dead, no meat is served, however as already written, the one on the occasion of the wedding has a number of meat preparations.

TOUCH, SIGHT AND HEARING

The most convincing answers after having discussed many studies show that the sensuality of eating transmits powerful mnemonic signs, mainly through smells and tastes.¹⁴³ Though this answer also has limitations, as the scholars tend to emphasise forms of bodily memory compatible with Western views of food and the body. They also stress the pleasant smells and tastes of good food. However, not much attention is paid to other types of sensualities, less gourmet, and sometimes less pleasant, which includes whether fullness, energy, lethargy, hunger, sickness, or discomfort.¹⁴⁴ Another observation is that both taste and smell have been emphasised to explain the connection between food and memory. This approach has left aside others like touch, sight, and hearing, though these also play an important part in bringing back memories. Some examples show how effective these three are to construct memories.

Several distinct sensations communicate to the brain through specialised neurons in the skin to realise the sense of touch. It includes different sensations like pressure, temperature, light touch, vibration, pain and others. These properties can bring back memories and remember the past. Softness is also used to find if fruits are ripe, for example, *chicoo* (sapota), custard apple, papaya, musk melon, etc.

Seremetakis's (1993) reflexive montage aims at developing a memory of the senses, for instance, the exchange of saliva in the masticated bread that passes from grandmother to

¹⁴² Ibid., 22.

¹⁴³ Holtzman, "Food and Memory," 6.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 11.

child's mouth.¹⁴⁵ In Goa, where rice is the staple food, the baby's first solid food is in the form of *canjee*.¹⁴⁶

The grandmother or mother serves *canjee* in a *vatli*, a metal plate made of an alloy (*pitui*) and feeds the baby. To make it easier for swallowing and easy assimilation for digestion of the batter, she mashes the soft rice grains, by pressing between her fingers, and shaping into a small ball, dips it in little sugar to make it palatable. Pressing the soft rice grains with her own hands till it turns into a batter, is an experience of touch, as is the act of feeding the child with her own hands – lends a touch to the action – which is reminiscing to any child who was fed in this way and to the adult feeding the child.

Eyesight can be equally successful to bring back memories. Youngsters, especially boys, would go around seeing if they could find ripe fruits to eat and relish. The ripeness of fruits was known through their colours. Usually, it changed from green to other tones of ripe fruit. Green guava turned lighter or yellow, whereas a wild berry (*canda*) turns black from green when it is ripe. On the other hand, the mango could be yellow, red, or a mix of both red and green as in the case of Monserrate and Nicolau Afonso.¹⁴⁷

Mangoes also bring back memories of those days when young boys went around to check if they could find ripe mangoes, to pelt stones using a catapult or directly pelt stones at them if one had a good aim. Then there were the kids who waited under the mango tree for the breeze or the squirrel and the crow that pecked at one to throw down the ripe fruit. No sooner the thud of the falling mango was heard the kids would rush to pick it up, before anyone else did it or still worse a pig took it away in its mouth.

Mothers and grandmothers must find ways to get children to eat their food. It is not always easy to feed them and the ladies have to try to lure them with a song.

One handful from the plate,
Handpicked lovingly from the fields
and farms of a maternal uncle,

¹⁴⁵ C. Nadia Seremetakis, "The Memory of the Senses: Historical Perception, Commensal Exchange and Modernity," *Visual Anthropology Review*, vol. 9, no. 2 (1993): 2.

¹⁴⁶ *Canjee* rice cooked till it became soft. It is part of the quotidian food of the Goans, who started their day with *canjee*. Good for digestion and is usually suggested as a meal for sick people.

¹⁴⁷ Monserrate and Nicolau Afonso are varieties of mangoes. Both are widely available in the north of Goa. However, Salcete has no Monserrate and identifies Nicolau Afonso as Monserrate.

Dipped in the sweet coconut milk
Finish it off in one go,
Finish it off – *haap!*¹⁴⁸

Another song is about an imaginary crow, where the mother or grandmother is calling the bird, *Kaudea, kaudea io, io, Kaudea, kaudea io, io, iem chit tuca gue– haap.* ‘Crow, crow, come here, come here, take this handful of rice – *haap.*’ The intent is to instil fear in the child that the crow will take away the food and as a result, the child would open the mouth to receive the food.

Although there is no direct literature on Goan food and memory, this connection between the two has been shown using different literary forms like novels, folklore, poetry and even a song. Further, this was achieved using the various senses besides taste and smell, which have been emphasised by most of the writers.

¹⁴⁸ *Haap* is a sound that depicts the action of eating the food and closing the mouth. The song is in Jayanti Naik, *Amonechi Lok Gheetha* (Panjim: Goa Konkani Akademi, 1993), 3. Translation of the song by Dr. Smitha Bhandari Kamat.

CHAPTER FOUR

FEASTS AND TRADITIONS: BORROWING TO CELEBRATE FESTIVITIES AND INDEBTEDNESS

INTRODUCTION

The Portuguese had an impact on the religion of the Goan community as also cultural and social life. Religious celebrations amongst the Catholics follow the liturgical calendar of the Roman Catholic Church. The missionaries instituted these feasts in the churches in the early period of conversion.¹ Besides, there are also celebrations at the numerous crosses that adorn the countryside. These normally take place during the month of May as the Catholic Church celebrates the feast of the Holy Cross on 3 May.²

Feasts are times to celebrate, with festal food to entertain the family and guests. This may vary according to the festival. Interestingly some of the food, fruit, or vegetable, connected to certain feasts offered – by the devotees and for the devotees – have gained importance and impacted the celebrations in ways, that it has even surpassed the names of several Saints, Our Lady or a Cross. In this chapter, a study of the customs of people in connection with religion and food and the traditions present in the celebrations of three feasts will be emphasized, namely: the feast of St. Anne at the Church of Saint Anne, Talaulim, that of Our Lady of Annunciation at the Chapel of Our Lady in Siridão, both in Tiswadi taluka and the feast of the Holy Cross at Nerul, Bardez Taluka, which annually takes place during the month of May.

Many aspects of Catholic social structure and organizations remain similar to those of Hindu caste society.³ Even after conversion, caste is an important organizing principle among Catholics. It enters the distribution of rights and privileges in the organization of feasts within the church. One significant area of correspondence is the organization and manner of celebration of the feasts of the ritual calendar of the church.⁴ For example, in most churches, only the *gaunkars* are allowed to celebrate and be the *mordomo* of the feast.

¹ Rowena Robinson, *Conversion, Continuity and Change. Lived Christianity in Southern Goa* (New Delhi: Sage, 1998), 117.

² Teresa Albuquerque, *Santa Cruz-Calapor. Profile of a village in Goa* (Goa: Fernandes Publication, 1989), 17. The Holy Cross is the patron and titular feast celebrated at the Church in the village of Santa Cruz, Tiswadi, Goa.

³ Robinson, *Conversion, Continuity and Change*, 19-20.

⁴ *Ibid.*

Another instance of Hindu consciousness is the harvest feast celebrations at Sta. Cruz village in Tiswadi, where the *gaunkars* will serve only vegetarian repast on this occasion.⁵

THE FEAST OF SAINT ANNE (SANTA ANA)

In Goa, we have six churches devoted to Saint Anne.⁶ This study covers the celebration of Santa Anne at Talaulim church in the village of Talaulim in Tiswadi taluka. The feast of Saint Anne (Santa Ana) is celebrated on July 26 in the pre-liberation period. According to narratives, Anne married Joaquim and for long years endured ignominy and suffered the opprobrium of sterility. After having prayed ardently, in old age, Anne miraculously gave birth to a girl, named Maria.⁷

The feast in the church at Talaulim is also popularly known as *touchemche fest* (cucumber's feast), as the fruits are offered to Saint Anne by the devotees. Talaulim had *gaunkars* of the Comunidade which today no more live in the village. However, many of them do come to celebrate a novena or the feast as the *mordomo*. The *gaunkars* of this village were all Brahmins.⁸ There is an interesting story of how the church was dedicated to Saint Anne.⁹

⁵ The *gaunkars* of the village of Santa Cruz, Tiswadi do not cook any meat on the occasion.

⁶ The earliest is the Church of Parra, which was a chapel before getting elevated to a Church in 1649. Then we have the famous church of Saint Anne of Talaulim (1695) and Ponda (1700) Agonda, Canacona (1888), Bodiem (1946), and Olaulim (1985), the last two in Bardez.

⁷ *Enciclopedia Luso Brasileira*, Vol.2 (Lisboa: Editorial Enciclopedia Limitada, n.d), 437. Anne (Arabic: حنة/Hannah) is also revered in Islam, recognised as a highly spiritual woman and as the mother of Mary. The Qur'an describes her as the daughter of Faqud, who remained childless until her old age.

⁸ The persons with the following surnames Frias, Miranda, and Marchon were *gaunkars* at least till 1830 when Filipe Nery Xavier published the first edition of the *Bosquejo Histórico das Comunidades*. The other two surnames Menezes and Costa had ceased to exist by then. However, the heirs of the first three are known to live in Arpora (Frias) and the other two in Margão (Miranda and Marchon). The Mirandas still come to participate in the celebrations annually.

⁹ Filipe Neri Xavier writes that "in the year 1557 some devotees bought the land that was on the borderline of both the Goalim-Moulá and Talaulim Comunidades and handed over to the Jesuits, where they built a bungalow, which was on the top of the hill and therefore due to its position was healthy to live in ... The priest that lived there looked after the conversion of natives of both villages and many were baptized. He was building a hermitage and was thinking about whom he would select as the patron, when the *gaunkar* Bartholomeu Marchioni (probably one of the new converts by the priest who would be Italian and would have that surname) found a matron with a cane in her hand and a hat on her head to descend from the hill to the new building, telling him that she wanted to live in that house, and soon after, an old Brahmin woman was seriously ill, also newly converted, similarly saw in her dreams a matron, who made her get up holding a hand and told that her name was Anna and that she wished to have a house around the place, whereby the priest understood that it was the glorious S.Anna that wanted to be venerated in that hermitage, and for that reason, he dedicated it to her." Such narratives are also known to have happened in some other parishes, for example, the parish of Cuncolim, where the church is in honour of Our Lady of Hope.

Post-dedicating the hermitage to St. Anne, it was then upgraded to a church. The present Church of Saint Anne was built in 1695.¹⁰ The beautiful and large church would cater to the twelve thousand and odd people, which included Portuguese *Fidalgos*, businessmen, and natives residing in the village at that time. In 1783, the village was affected by the epidemic that devastated it. It is said that its population was diminished to only four hundred souls, who also left for other villages for their own safety from the plague.¹¹ After the liberation of Goa in December 1961, the government declared the Church a protected monument until 1994.

Religious customs or popular religious expressions are as old as humanity. They express community traditions or group expressions of religion rooted in the social nature of man. Many of these customs were based on *do ut des*, that is, I give you that you may give us. The neo-converts to Catholicism continued with some of their previous practices and followed partly the Hindu pantheon gods and goddesses and also the catholic rites, rituals, prayers, and precepts.

This is observed during the feast of St. Anne when the offerings to the saint are cucumbers, therefore also popularly known as *Toucheanchem Fest*. On this occasion, hundreds of devotees gather to pay homage to the Saint and individually pray and beg according to their needs, for a child, for a partner in life, or any other favour. Curious traditions are followed by them, which seems to be centuries old. It is important to note that the devotees are not only Catholics but there are also Hindus, the majority of the latter belonging to the tribal *gawda* community.¹² This strange, religious-cum-folklore tradition seems to have captured the imagination of the Goan people, who believe that St. Anne, is miraculous and spiritually very powerful.

On the feast day, after the mass, the people queue up to make their offerings; these could be *touchem (pepinos)*, *urid/udid*, *manilha*, *colher*, *agarbati*, flowers, candles, and

¹⁰ Founded in 1557, was rebuilt by vicar Mons. Francisco do Rego (1681-1689), and completed by his successor, Fr. Antonio Francisco da Cunha, in 1695, when it was elevated to a parish Church; F.X. Gomes Catão, *Anuário de Arquidiocese de Goa e Damão para 1955* (Bastora: Tipografia Rangel, 1955), 107; Carmo de Azevedo, "Santana Church of Talaulim," *Purabhilekh-Puratatva*, vol. IV, no.1 (Jan-June 1986): 61-70.

¹¹ For more information on the feast and traditions please refer to Maria de Lourdes Bravo da Costa Rodrigues, *Feasts, Festivals and Observances of Goa* (Merces, Goa: L&L, 2010), 214-19; Rosario F. Rodrigues, *A Living Architectural Splendor. A Study on the Church of St. Ana* (Agassaim: Muringlyn & Muringrace Publications, 2009), 21-24.

¹² Hindu *Gawda* in K.S.Singh, ed., *People of India. Goa* (Bombay: Anthropological Survey of India and Popular Prakashan, 1993), 100-06. A. de Bragança Pereira, *Etnografia da India Portuguesa*, vol.II (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1991), 42.

coconuts.¹³ The offerings are made depending on what the person desires for seeking the intercession of the Saint, for the quick and timely realization of their heart's wishes.

For instance, a petition to Saint Anne, to request favours is published in the *Almanach Indo-Portuguez de 1886* by C.C. Philalete Castelino,¹⁴ which matches and rhymes with some of the votive offerings to the Saint.¹⁵ This petition helps us recreate the tradition of the past followed by the inhabitants of the village before they were converted and how the Portuguese as dominant colonizers appropriated or borrowed the tradition followed by the Hindus.

The following interesting invocations to the Saint are made by newly married couples. They go near the statue of Saint Anne to offer a tender cucumber 'pepino,' imploring a male child:

Tóma pepino
Dá cá menino
Take a cucumber
Give me a boy

The request is to grant the couple a bonny boy in exchange for the offering of cucumber. The Goans, like the rest of the Indians, believe that a boy is a prized possession, and is regarded as the light of the house.¹⁶ Married couples who desire a girl child because there are only boys in the family offer a bangle:

Tóma manilha,
Dá cá filha.
Take a bangle,
Give me a daughter

It is not only for children that one goes to the church of Saint Anne on the festive day. Some unmarried girls desirous of a suitor, visit the church and pray reverently offering *urid*:

Tóma Urid
Dá cá marid
Take *urid*
And give me a husband.

¹³ *Important Crops of Goa* (Panaji: Agriculture Officers' Association), 1990, 62. Black gram originates in India and is also commonly found in countries in South Asia. It is also known as Udid/Urad dal. Scientific name: *Phaseolus mungo* is cultivated as *kharif* crop and with a duration of 60-75 days. It is an important part of the Indian culinary scene as it is used to create staple foods like dals and curries. In some parts of the country, it is also used to create bread. It is sold in its un-split forms in certain regions of the country, while in others, it is sold in its split form, showing the white fleshy insides of the gram. In Goa, it is mostly used to prepare *papads*, and as a fermentation agent in preparing *poie*, *sanna* (*iddlis*), and also some savoury dishes.

¹⁴ Cyria C. Philalete Castelino, *Almanach Indo-Portuguez de 1886* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1885)

¹⁵ Rodrigues, *Feasts, Festivals and Observances* (2010), 217.

¹⁶ Lucio Rodrigues, *Abolim. The Flower Songs, Folk Tales and Legends of Goa. A Collection* (Saligão: Goa 1556 and Golden Heart Emporium, 2015), 110.

On the other hand, the bachelors will offer a spoon saying:

Tóma culher
Dá cá mulher
Take a spoon,
Give me a wife.

This tradition was observed only at Talaulim, Goa. Joseph Barros, in a paper presented at the History Seminar, 1991, titled ‘Religious tradition at St. Anne’s church,’ concludes:¹⁷

An eminent social scientist-cum-biologist was asked to elicit his opinion on the above cited couplets. If the same were only for literary rhymes or if they could connote or denote something more than that. The view expanded was that the tender ‘pepino’ in the present context be symbolically viewed as phallus or linga of the Hindu mythological lore, the bangle, and the elliptical shape of the spoon as the yonic symbol, that is, *pudendum muliebre*, the symbol under which the Hindu female is worshipped in India. The tiny cereal (lentil) ‘urid’ could symbolize the male procreative sperm.¹⁸

Referring to Barros’ conclusion of “poetic imagination or whether reads in it some symbolic imagery,” and clarifications in the paper he presented, it does not give a motive for the theory of appropriation, for the reasons explained here. Why was *touchem* selected as a popular name and not the other offerings? It is observed that there are other offerings like the lentil *urid*, the bangle or *manilha*, and the spoon or *colher*. The answer is in the ecology of the village. Talaulim village has fields and hillocks, and the villagers being agriculturalists and agricultural labourers, had to make the best of their land for sustenance and survival. Rice cultivation was extensive in the village. However, the hillocks had to be used and made economically viable.

The portion of the hilly area, which was feasible to cultivate rice, was used for the same. On the remaining sloping portion, the farmers planted vegetables, taking the benefit of monsoons. This plantation was called *malyan mohvo*. Long narrow trenches were made in the ground keeping space between them especially for planting seeds. These would be sown on the edges of the trenches either on one or both sides. The sowing was done before the rains. The main crops planted were cucumbers, varieties of gourds, ladyfingers, melons, and lentils

¹⁷ Joseph Barros, “Religious tradition at St. Anne’s church,” a paper presented at the History Seminar, 1991 conducted by Goa University. (photocopy).

¹⁸ Ibid.

(*urid* and *moong*).¹⁹ The cucumbers would be ready for plucking and sale by July so that by the feast of Saint Anne, there were plenty of them.

It was normal to offer to God the first produce of the season, as thanks, which for the agriculturists of Talaulim would be vegetables like cucumber and the *urid*, to the goddess of the village, namely Satteri. A book of homilies in Konkani printed in Goa in 1658 titled *Jardim dos Pastores* by a Jesuit, Fr. Miguel de Almeida, who was Rector of both the Colleges of St Paul and Rachol, reveals the benefit from gifting of the new crop in the text *Primitias frugum terrae tuae deferres in domum Domini tui, Exodus 23*, which firmly states that ‘we do not lose what we offer to God, rather on the contrary we gain advantages thereof.’

²⁰ The system of offering continues with rice, during big celebrations through the harvest festival, when a sheaf of rice is offered to the deity, both by Catholics and Hindus. The latter observed this festival on the second day of Ganesh Chaturthi when a new sheaf of rice was offered to Lord Ganesh. A few grains of unhusked rice were added to the *pais*, the sweet made of rice, milk, and sugar and presented as *nivedya*, the symbolic offering to the deity, especially cooked on a festive day.²¹ A couple of sheaves were tied to the *mattolli*. The first fruits, whether they come from an animal or a plant, play a special role. Earlier, they were considered to be divine; then, it was believed that they were created by the gods and they were offered as thanksgiving or sacrifice, either to god or to the chief.²²

It is not only by prayers and offerings that the farmers seek blessing from the almighty for a good crop. An example is given of the lower classes in Sattari, Valpoi, who perform a ritual to obtain a good harvest: ‘the lower classes in Sattari (North of Goa) make a *mutthoi*: a *gaunkar* breaks a coconut, kills a young fowl and mixes a little cooked rice with the blood of the fowl; then he sprinkles it over the field and immediately harvests a fistful of ears of paddy.’²³ The offering was for gratitude and thanksgiving and presented to the deity, which thereafter – by touching the image – would become blessed for the devotee and would be considered as *prasad* and distributed and eaten by the members of the household. So, this tradition of offering to the deity was observed by the people much before the Portuguese came. Rui Gomes Pereira writes that the ancient temples in the village of Talaulim did not

¹⁹ H.Y.Karapurkar, “Agricultural Scenario in Goa,” *Boletim do Instituto Menezes Bragança*, No.176 (1996): 150-55. The traditional pulse varieties in Goa are *urid*, *moong* grown during Kharif season.

²⁰ Miguel de Almeida, *Jardim dos Pastores*, (Rachol, Rachol Seminary, 1658)

²¹ Rodrigues, *Feasts, Festivals and Observances*, 40.

²² Thurnwald, *L’Economie Primitive*, 47 cited by Pereira, *Etnografia da India Portuguesa*, 125.

²³ *Ibid.*

leave any vestiges and it was not known if the deity was transferred to any other temple.²⁴ Amongst the ancient temples, there was one devoted to Satteri, the Mother Goddess, who is also Earth Goddess.²⁵ When you look and observe the tradition of Talaulim from the anthropological angle, it looks like the pre-Catholic traditions are superimposed and merged carefully with Catholic veneration of the Saint according to the pieties of the time, or maybe the neo-converts to Catholicism continued some of their pre-conversion practices together with Catholic rites and prayers.

PEJECEM FEST AND THE GOAN CANJEE

In the village of Siridão, on Sunday after Easter Day, is celebrated the Feast of Our Lady of Annunciation. This feast is popularly known as *Pejechem fest*. The name is derived from the *canjee* (rice gruel), which is *pej* in the Konkani language. This tradition is rooted in this village, which in the past was a prosperous one, with many houses and after the people moved out of the hamlet, it consisted only of coconut groves.²⁶ It was also popular for summer vacations of the landed gentry and well-off citizens from Panaji and adjoining areas. The *pej* is offered by the Dempo family.

Catholics, Hindus, and *Gawdas* are the inhabitants of the village. Many of the villagers are employed in the traditional work of fishing and toddy tapping. However, a sizeable number of Catholics migrated to France and some others worked on the ships. Of late, taking the advantage of Portuguese citizenship offered by the erstwhile rulers, many have migrated to the United Kingdom.²⁷ The emigrants come for the feast to have a grand celebration with their family and friends, even though it is not that of the patron.²⁸ The feast is also known as that of Jesus Nazarene as it celebrates the Annunciation of Our Lady of Nazareth. However, on this occasion, the Catholics celebrate the mystery reported by St.Luke.²⁹ The chapel dedicated to Our Lady of Annunciation is perched on a hillock with a

²⁴ Rui Gomes Pereira, *Hindu Temples and Deities* (Panjim: Printwell Press, 1981), 60.

²⁵ Of late a small new temple was built devoted to Shantadurga.

²⁶ Xavier, *Bosquejo Histórico das Comunidades*, 230,

²⁷ Miguel Reis, *Portuguese Citizenship of Persons Born in the Erstwhile 'Estado da India' and of their Descendants. Practical Notes*. Translation, text consolidation & Introduction: Ave Cleto Afonso (Panjim-Goa: Broadway Publishing House, 2013),128. Although 3 June 1975 is the date given in the book, in practice the Portuguese government is accepting only those born before 19 December 1961, and their descendants. The citizens born in the territory of the former State of India, as it is identified by the laws of Portugal, are Portuguese, provided they were born before 3 June 1975, and they fit into any of the situations of acquisition of nationality stipulated under Law No.2098, of 29 July 1959.

²⁸ The feast of Our Lady of Rosary is celebrated in the Church dedicated to Her, on the last Sunday of October.

²⁹ *Enciclopedia Luso Brasileira*, vol I, 901. The first mystery “The angel of the Lord declared onto Mary and she conceived by the Holy Spirit is celebrated in her.”

beautiful view of the sea. On the feast day, a life-size image of Hecce Home is kept for public adoration. So, it should not come as a surprise that people started referring to the feast as ‘Jesus Nazare’.³⁰

The feast of the Annunciation was attended, by not only the folk from Siridão but also by people from all over Goa and elsewhere like Sawantwadi. Many devotees, from Bardez, Salcete, and Ilhas, especially women used to come on pilgrimage to pray and pay obeisance to Jesus of Nazareth or Jesus Nazarene in the conviction that they come to worship and celebrate Him.³¹ People came in hundreds by bus, canoes, or on foot, accompanied by musicians on the eve of the feast day. The households in Siridão extended their hospitality to them even if they were total strangers. It is said that no visitors to the house, including strangers, were refused a meal on the feast day or vespers.³² In the past, the transport system was inadequate and therefore commuting from one place to another was difficult and tedious. And it would not be possible for people coming from far to reach for mass, which started early in the morning. They would travel before the feast day and would spend the night on the verandas of the houses and the locals would give them food and hospitality.

THE PREPARATION OF THE *CANJEE (PEZ)*

A well-known tradition observed to date, by the people attending the feast is the eating of *canjee (pez)*, a rice gruel, which is distributed, free of cost to all, who wish to partake in it. Some people make vows that they will eat the *canjee* if their prayers are granted. Vinayak Khedekar writes about this feast in the book *Eco-culture Goa Paradigm*:

The entire ritual has a natural atmosphere and no pandal is erected. The serving is done in big sized *dona* – bowls of banana, or by using any big sized leaves. For serving, a broad coconut shell ladle with a bamboo handle is used. A Hindu family supplies the required quantity of rice. The Hindus do the cooking and its distribution. The rest of the feast is organized along Christian lines.³³

Contrary to Kedekar’s observation while there was no formal pandal, there was an enclosure, called *matov* made in the traditional way with coconut entwined leaves, called *mollam*. The *canjee* was served in *maitulas*, made of clay. Using *donnes* made of leaves was

³⁰ The chapel was built in the year 1604 and was renovated and expanded in 1906. When the original Dominican church of Siridão collapsed, two statues from the church were transferred to this chapel.

³¹ Xavier, *Bosquejo Histórico das Comunidades*, 231.

³² Rodrigues, *Feasts, Festivals and Observances*, 181.

³³ Vinayak Vishnu Khedekar, *Eco-culture Goa Paradigm* (Panjim: Broadway Publishing House, 2013), 93.

also traditional in religious ceremonies and otherwise as these could be easily discarded and the leaves were freely available.³⁴

Kensor Menezes, whose family used to help to cook the *canjee*, and her daughter Maya Gauns was interviewed. Kensor is from the village of Nauchi in Bambolim but a part of Curca panchayat. She belongs to the *gawda* community of Goa. Her name points out the fact that her family was converted to the Catholic religion and then reconverted to Hinduism.³⁵ Kensor was married to Custodio João popularly known as Kistud, who was from Siridão and a *mundkar* of the landlord Dempo. He oversaw looking after the properties of Dempo and acted as a supervisor and functioned under a *mukadam*. He made all the arrangements whenever the landlord wanted to celebrate traditional festive occasions. The *canjee* though served for a Catholic feast was prepared by Hindu *gawdas* and people from all religions partook from it. Kensor informed that Custodio along with another two male *mundkars* Vitorino and Francisco were responsible to cook the *canjee*. Thus, on the feast day at three in the morning, a fire was lit to start cooking the rice.

Kensor gave a description of how the preparations for cooking the *canjee* were done. These began days before the feast. There were around 6 women employed to do the groundwork, which would include collecting wood and leaves, to be used to cook the rice. They had also to collect green leaves of the coconut tree for making *mollam*.³⁶

Work on preparing the enclosure began a few days before the feast. The enclosure would be used to cook the *canjee* and also to serve it. The men folks plucked raw mangoes sliced them and served the people along with the *canjee* as an appetizer. Kensor informed that seven temporary fires using three stones for each were also erected and seven big copper

³⁴ Banana and jackfruit leaves were mostly used to make *donnes* in Goa.

³⁵ Religious conversions took place not only in Goa but also in the rest of India. With the emancipation and education of the higher-class Indians, reconversion started. In Goa *Shuddhi*, a movement to reconvert Catholic *Gawdas* to Hinduism with a purification ceremony performed was started. There was a big number of local *gawdas* who had converted to Christianity. These were originally aborigines of Goa and were at a lower social level. The higher cast in Goa, who were influenced by the movement across the border decided to reconvert them. Accordingly, a movement was started with the help of those in British India and was successful to reconvert in 1929, from 16 February to May end, around 7815 *gawdas* in different localities. For details please refer to Archana Kakodkar, “Shuddhi: “Reconversion to Hinduism Movement in Goa,” in *Goa: Cultural Trends*, ed. P.P. Shirodkar (Panaji: Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museum, 1988), 242-63; *Gawdas* are classified as Hindu *Gawdas*, claiming to be descendants of Parashuram, Christian *Gawdas* who were converted and Nav-Hindu *Gawdas* who are twice converted, once to Christianity and then to Hinduism during the *Shuddhi* movement in 1928. Ibid., 258; You may also read Parag D. Parobo, *India's First Democratic Revolution. Dayanand Bandodkar and the Rise of the Bahujan in Goa*, (New Delhi: Orient BlackSwan, 2015), 66-70.

³⁶ Kensor said earlier that women from Pale were also engaged in this work along with those from Siridão.

vessels, one on each fire was kept. Why seven? Is there any particular reason or explanation? Kensor did not know the reason. However, Vinayak Khedekar writes:

Elderly villagers rely on the legend of Sapt Matraka - seven Mothers mentioned in ancient Sanskrit literature. The seven cooking pots used in the Peaje Fest also symbolize the seven sisters. The legend is quite prevalent in Shirdon village. Peaj is cooked on seven *chullhass*, especially made for this purpose. Seven large copper vessels are used to cook the large quantity of rice and this is distributed to all devotees.³⁷

Does Khedekar's comment explain the use of the seven vessels? However, Kensor explained that *canjee* for distribution to the devotees was not cooked in all the vessels. Only three were used for mass cooking. In the remaining four, *canjee* was cooked symbolically, with a small portion of rice.

The *mukadam* of the landlord would buy the required quantity of rice and hand it over to the men to cook. 10 *cuddoes*³⁸ of rice were used to cook. The type of rice is of the local boiled variety (*ukkdo*). The cooking of the *canjee* was exclusively done by the three men, Custodio, Vitorino, and Francisco who were the *mundkars* of Dempo and the women came only to help with the fire bringing the required water. In the olden days, it was women from Siridão who helped. In the present day, those from neighbouring Palem village are entrusted with the work.

After attending the Mass, the devotees partook in the *canjee*. Earthenware sellers used to make *maltis*, small clay plates which devotees bought, to eat *canjee*. In the past, before serving the people, *canjee* was first offered at the *xim* (demarcating village line) for the protector of the village, the *Rakhandar* and the spirits.

The expenses for preparing the *canjee* were borne by the Dempo family who was the owner of a majority of land in the village. The other landlords were the Mascarenhas and Waglo, who own a small percentage and neither follow any tradition of offering any meals to the *mundkars*. However, Balchandra Vaglo, who was interviewed said that his family sponsored a litany of a cross found in their property and those present at the celebrations were the toddy tappers who collected the sap from the coconut trees of the estate. But why was this tradition followed by the Dempos? One of the explanations put forth is that this *canjee* is given to honour a *pensão*, which probably was established by the original landowner. What is a *pensão*? It is a type of "periodical payment." In the past, some persons who had no heirs or

³⁷ Khedekar, *Eco-culture Goa Paradigm*, 93.

³⁸ A local volumetric measure, each *cuddoe* is equivalent to 2 *paili* and each *paili* to 4 *podd*.

as an act of philanthropy, bequeathed property or gifted money to the church, with certain conditions which had to be fulfilled. The conditions would range from a certain number of masses to be said in his memory and that of his family or even in the memory of the forgotten and wandering souls. Some others would ask to offer oil, which was used to light the lamp in the church or in the chapel. If the condition as laid down was not honoured, it was said that the spirit of the dead would protest and something untoward, would happen. People were, therefore, cautious while buying properties, and would shirk from buying those which had a *pensão* because they were afraid that if the wishes of the departed donor were not fulfilled it would bring them bad luck.³⁹

The Dempos owned a house in Panjim⁴⁰ where the needy and poor could approach for food and shelter.⁴¹ Panjimites were witness to the serving of the meal every afternoon.⁴² The *bhat* performs a puja every day as the Dempos have a *shaligram* and the *nivedya* is rice and *ros*.⁴³ On a special visit to the house to collect data, the manager was interviewed and asked what quantity of rice was cooked for the daily puja, who answered that it was five *podds*.⁴⁴ According to the religious traditions a set amount of rice needed to be cooked every day to present as *nivedya*.⁴⁵ Five *podd* was quite a big quantity and it was distributed to the poor

³⁹ Rodrigues, *Feasts, Festivals and Observances*, 181.

⁴⁰ The house was built on the present Mahatma Gandhi Road when they moved from Panvel near Old Goa. For details about the Dempos, please refer to Dom Moraes, *A Family in Goa*, drawings by Mario Miranda, and profile of Vasant Rao Dempo by Khushwant Singh (Goa: Vasant Rao Dempo 60th Birthday Commemorative Volume, 1976). This work was commissioned by the Birthday Commemorative Committee.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 37. How far this tradition was rooted would have to be based on Moraes, who wrote the biography on the information he collected from the family.

⁴² This tradition of serving a meal was also followed by another two financially well-off families in the vicinity of one another. On the present 18 June Road, was the house of the Kenis and perpendicular to this road, on Dr. Purxottam Shirgaonkar Road that of the Raos. All these three served a meal. The Raos, originally Deshpandes, were businessmen and owners of the first formal movie house in Goa, 'Cine Nacional,' in the capital city of Panaji. They served *canjee* to the poor. The Kenis were also businessmen and owned the first starred hotel in Goa, the 'Hotel Mandovi' in Panaji. Some years after liberation the Kenis and the Raos stopped serving the meal. However, the Dempos continued but from January 2016 they too stopped. When inquired as to why this tradition was discontinued, they informed me that some of those who came to eat were inebriated and misbehaved.

⁴³ Amongst the cultured and civilized societies persist the stone cults, on interesting different aspects: in India, a stone called *shaligram*, a type of fossil from the river Gandak, is consecrated to Vishnu, in the *avtar* of Krishna. The household with a *shaligrama* has to compulsorily perform a *puja* every day, with or without the presence of a *bhat*. A *nivedya* needs to be presented to the deity and normally it is rice.

⁴⁴ A *podd* is a volumetric measure, equivalent to 1 kg of rice. While the rice was purchased, the coconuts were from their own property. Besides rice and *ros*, there was *solkoddi*, a cocum curry with coconut milk. The cooked food was without onion and garlic.

⁴⁵ Adv. Hema S. Mhamai Kamat Priolkar, whose family also perform daily puja of the *shaligrama* in their possession, informed that they had to cook the stipulated quantity of one *podd* rice and the *nivedya* was distributed amongst the family members, living in the house. The Mhamai Kamats were one of the most important families and influential traders of Goa, with international ramifications, having the largest and one of the oldest houses in Panaji, where various families had a joint household in the past.

after family and staff, had their share. Meals to the beggars have been stopped since January 2016. However, food continues to be cooked as *nivedya* and is partaken by the staff.

It looks like the Dempos wished to fulfill the needs and obligations included in the *shastras* so that they were blessed by Gods through the alms offered by them. The daily ritual of serving meals to the needy, or an annual to the dead is included in the *shastras*.⁴⁶ In the same way, we can also include the offering of *canjee* on the feast day.

TISREACHEM FEST AND ITS CONNECTION TO ECOLOGY AND CULTURE

The *tisreachem fest* is another example of a feast, which is connected to Goan traditions, culture, and ecology. This study too was based on fieldwork and oral cultural practices. Nerul, in Bardez Taluka, is a coastal village surrounded by the river Mandovi. The inhabitants of this village comprised both Hindus and Catholics.

Most of the villagers were agriculturists or agriculture labourers. A minuscule percentage was in service, government or private. There was also a sizeable community of fisherfolk which was but natural having such a long coast. There were a number of large landholders, the *bhatkars* and *mundkars* in the village. The economy was agrarian in nature. There were no industries, except for the rice husking mill and some shops, like in any other village of Goa. Many migrated and became financially well off. The villagers cultivated rice during the monsoon and winter seasons. Fishing was another important activity. Many fisherfolks would also cultivate fields to supplement their incomes. Animal husbandry was also dominant amongst them with cows, buffaloes, goats, hens, and pigs reared as domestic animals for personal consumption and any surplus, for sale. The villagers knew how to use the available resources and live within an economic and sustainable ecosystem. In fact, the community's economy in those days was based on the availability of local products and exchange of goods, when cash flow was limited.

Our Lady of Remedios is the patron of the main Church. The village has several chapels⁴⁷ affiliated to the Church besides public crosses. Many of the residential houses also have a cross in their compound. The month of May marks the end of the summer season in Goa and a time for vacations for school children and celebrations for the families. This is the

⁴⁶*The Laws of Manu*, with an introduction and notes translated by Wendy Doniger with Brian K. Smith (New Delhi: Penguin, 1992), 95.

⁴⁷ Filipe Neri Xavier in *Bosquejo Histórico das Comunidades* writes that Nerul had two parishes, the Reis Magos Church and the Our Lady of Remedios Church. Both were built by Franciscans, the first in 1550 and the second in 1569, 452; Catão in *Anuário de Arquidiocese*, writes that there are 8 chapels affiliated to the church of Our Lady of Remedios, 184.

time when Goan emigrants from the neighbouring cities of India, especially from Bombay returned to their homes to enjoy the hard-earned holiday along with their families. So, one observes that many of the feasts of patrons of churches, chapels, and family crosses are celebrated in the month of May. In Nerul, feasts of various chapels and crosses, private or public are celebrated, with the singing of *ladainha* (litany).⁴⁸ A unique preparation of *Tisreachem Sambarem* is a must for a couple of chapel feasts, which has given the celebration a popular name *Tisreachem fest*. Other food items may be included depending on the individual celebrating the feast.

TISREACHEM SAMBAREM, THE ULTIMATE PREPARATION

The choice of clams for serving during the celebrations was natural. The best qualities of *tisreo* in the Bardez Taluka are those from Nerul.⁴⁹ The adjoining village of Verem also had a good yield. And the best part was that there was no need to buy the *tisreo*. These were available in abundance to those who were willing to search for them from the river bed. Therefore, they had both access as well as free availability of *tisreo* for a village where nearly half of the population had to work hard to meet both ends meet.

The villagers lived as a community and worked for one another in the agricultural fields as well as odd jobs at home. When religious celebrations or social functions like weddings or birthdays were at hand, the neighbours and people from the ward would join hands to help one another in the preparations and cooking food. As a big quantity of *tisreo* was required to serve at the feast, relatives, neighbors, and others joined to search and gather the *clams*.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ For more details on *ladainha*, please refer to chapters two and three.

⁴⁹ Clams, nutritious and delicious are fished in considerable quantities in some coastal places where they are consumed mostly by poor people. The commonest commercial species are the bay clam *Meretrix*, *meretrix* (Linn), black clam (*velorita cyprinoides*). Clams and other bivalves of their kind are usually handpicked in shallow waters at low tides. Very rarely any mechanical devices are employed for them except small bag nets or dredges operated from canoes. *The Wealth of India. A Dictionary of Indian Raw Materials and Industrial Products. Fish and fisheries, Raw Materials Vol.IV, Supplement* (New Delhi: Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, 1962), 124. Maria de Lourdes Bravo da Costa Rodrigues, "Tisreanche fest' at St. Anthony's chapel," *Navhind Times* (Buzz), 19 May 2013, 1.

⁵⁰ The clams from Nerul are reddish and the inside orange or red in colour and thick in consistency, besides being very tasty. Sadly, the production has dwindled a lot, because of the pollution of the river by the many boats that ply through the river. The diesel used by the boats has killed many of the ecologically viable seafood in the area. It was observed that after the lockdown (2020) by the authorities to prevent the spread of Covid infection, and without any boat traffic in the river, it was a revival for the clams, that gave a bounty to the people.

COMMUNITY AND ECOLOGICAL CULTURAL PRACTICES

The cultural practices of attending the feast are observed not only by the residents but also the children and their extended families. Those not living in the village, make it a point to attend the Litany. Earlier, only the boys had the privilege of celebrating the feast but later the married daughters were also given an option.

The feast was looked forward to by the people of the ward as a community celebration which reflected in the manner the *tisreo* are prepared. Ms. Luisa Nazareth was the patron this year (2018) as in the past she had made a vow to celebrate the feast in the name of her son. In the chapel of St. Anthony in Bati ward, those interested to commemorate the feast had to approach the committee members for permission. If there was no pending request from another person wanting to celebrate, the request was granted the same year. Otherwise, the requester will have to wait for his or her turn. The waiting periods would depend on the number of requests from interested people. There is another Goan cultural practice that has almost died. There used to be a *ranpin*, a lady cook, who came to the house to cook and oversee the kitchen preparations. Later, men also got into this line of work. The *ranpin* was supported by neighbors and relatives who came to help from the village.

The neighbours brought their own tools. Fortunately, this cultural practice has still remained in this particular celebration where one finds ladies of the ward coming together to help clean the clams, grate the coconut, grind it and a *ranpin* present to oversee the preparation. She was also responsible to prepare the important *sambareacho temper* (masala). Women came with graters, knives, kitchen boards to help start the cooking of the *tisreo*. The Goan grater is made of a wooden bench, with low height, to which is attached a long knife-like blade that ends with the grater. The blade is used to open the shells and cut vegetables or slice the onions. The grated coconut is ground in an electrical food processor. In the past, they used to grind it on a stone grinder (*rogdo*).

The preparations start with a man breaking around eighty coconuts. A woman washes the *tisreo* to remove the sand from the shells. Then in another group, each one of the ladies will take a portion of washed clams into a small bucket with water and start opening them. After a sizeable quantity is opened, it is added to a container with clean water. This process is followed till all are washed. They are then put in different containers and kept covered. Side by side a couple of ladies will grate the coconuts. This is then ground, not very fine, but a little coarse in thickness. Attention has to be paid while adding water for grinding. No excess

water is to be added. Only enough to have the required consistency because the gravy has to be almost dry.

In the meanwhile, two stone fires are readied in an open space outside the house and huge vessels are kept on them to cook the *tisreo*. The cooking starts with adding the chopped onions and tomatoes in hot oil and frying them till golden. The cooking of the clams is in two steps. First, the ground coconut is mixed in the fried onions and tomatoes. Then the masala is added and mixed well.⁵¹

After the incorporation of the masala, the clams are added to this coconut mixture and mixed well. Care is taken that the clams do not separate from the shells. Sugar and coconut palm jaggery is added to enhance the taste.⁵² Thereafter, in the next cooking step, small portions of this coconut and clam mixture are put into smaller vessels and cooked. This way the possibility of the food getting burnt or stuck to the bottom of the vessel is avoided when cooking in large quantities. After cooking, these smaller quantities are added back to the big vessel and further cooked until the entire coconut and clams mixture is ready. A large wooden spoon is used to mix and shake the *sambarem*. It is called a *dai*, which has a large flat surface for mixing and a long stick for holding.⁵³

The masala is tedious to prepare and takes a couple of days to be readied. It is heavily spiced with around 13 spices. These are dried in the sun for days. Onions, ginger, and garlic that go in its making are also dried. Each of the ingredients is then fried individually, in oil, and powdered. Since it is a big quantity, it is taken to the village grinding mill. In the olden days, some might have powdered them at home in a container called *vann*, which consisted of an iron container, placed in a hole in the ground.⁵⁴ The spices are pounded with a big wooden stick called *mussol*. A well-prepared masala can last for months if stored properly.

⁵¹ Preparation of the *sambarem* may vary from *ranpin* to *ranpin*. One may fry the coconut separately in oil along with some onions which are then ground together and added to the fried onions. The other may grind the coconut without frying.

⁵² Maria de Lourdes Bravo da Costa Rodrigues, "Tisreanche fest" at St. Anthony's Chapel," *Navhind Times (Buzz)*, 19 May 2013, 1.

⁵³ The *dai* is used to shake the mixtures while cooking Goan sweets, which needs continuous shaking so that the food doesn't get stuck and burnt to the bottom of the vessel. It needs to have a long handle because most of the sweets being cooked splutter and can hurt the skin. It is made of a single piece of wood.

⁵⁴ The *vann* is also used to husk the paddy and powder cereals or spices. More on *vann* in the chapter on "Food: The Memory Connector."

TWO CHAPELS AND TWO CELEBRATIONS

In the evening the people converged near the chapel of St. Anthony in Bati ward,⁵⁵ to sing the litany and say the prayers. This chapel is not included in the, *Anuário de Arquidiocese de Goa e Damão para 1955*.⁵⁶ It is one of the many that were raised by the devotees from the crosses existing in the villages. The Augustinian religious order had a summer house (*casa do campo*) at Bati and a chapel attached to it, which was dedicated to Holy Cross. When the Augustinians had to abandon the house, the statues of Sta. Luzia and S. João Evangelista existing in the chapel were taken to the chapel of S. João Baptista at Calangute and the baptismal font was transferred to the existing chapel at Bati.⁵⁷ And the place where the chapel of the Augustinians existed is marked by a cross.⁵⁸ Probably the cross existing in the chapel of St. Anthony is the one that marks the chapel of the Augustinians.

It was the responsibility of the patron or *mordomo* (president of the feast or the person celebrating it) to make all the arrangements and take care of all expenses in connection with the feast. After the litany, prayers are recited repeatedly invoking different reasons and names of people who should be benefitted by the prayers. After the prayers, hosannas in thanksgiving are sung. People then queue up for paying obeisance to the images in the chapel. On the way out there was a table on which *donnes* with *tisreo sambarem* were arranged. Each person picked up the *donno* and bread which were kept in a big basket. Some people sat to eat and enjoy at the chapel while others took it home. No alcoholic beverages were served. Napoleão Sousa, who is from Bati ward and whose family had celebrated the feast a number of times, said that this cultural practice of serving the clams is more than one hundred and fifty years old. Bread was included in the offerings to the guests somewhere down the years, and it continued to be a part of the meal.

The second feast is at Fortawaddo, where there is a small chapel by the wayside, known as Holy Cross Chapel.⁵⁹ We attended the feast after the one at the Bati ward. Here, the chapel is also bedecked with lights and other ornaments and a pandal is erected. Again, it is the responsibility of the patron to make all the arrangements and cover expenses in

⁵⁵ It was originally a small construction that increased in the course of time through the support of devotees. The last renovation was done in 1992 by a couple on the occasion of the silver jubilee of their wedding.

⁵⁶ Please refer to Catão, *Anuário de Arquidiocese* for a list of approved chapels in the village.

⁵⁷ After the liberal revolution D. Maria II, Queen of Portugal abolished the male religious orders in 1834.

⁵⁸ Ricardo Micael Telles, *Freguesia de Nerul. Estudo histórico-arqueológico* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Oriental, 1925), 18.

⁵⁹ Rodrigues, "Tisreanche fest", 1.

connection with the feast. The people from the ward also participate in celebrating the feast with great pomp.

How was the feast celebrated at this chapel? Had the ward members to request for celebrating as patrons to pay for vows made by them? The feast of the chapel, in this particular ward, was celebrated democratically, every house in rotation. Here too, a *ranpin* would be there to oversee the preparations of *tisreanchea sambarem*. In this chapel, mangoes and jackfruit were also served to the guests. Every *donno* contained *tisreo*, jackfruit (the hard one called *capo*) and one mango. Besides these items, boiled grams were served to those present and also a slice of cake to sweeten the mouth. And for those who enjoy *feni* the *copito* would do the rounds while others could enjoy a soft drink. No bread was served and the preparation was almost dry so that to eat a person could pick up the clams with their fingers.⁶⁰

On the feast day, celebrations started with a Litany in the evening. Prayers were said to thank and request blessings on the patron, his family, and also all the people of the ward. The next morning, a Monday, a Mass was said, and in the evening a Litany. While the novenas are celebrated by the people of the ward in a group of three members per novena, the *fama*, vespers, feast, and the celebrations of the following Monday were the responsibility of the patron.⁶¹ Angeline Barreto from Fottawaddo was interviewed. She is in her late sixties and now goes as *ranpin* to prepare the *tisreachem sambarem*. She claimed that she had learned to cook on her own. It is for more than 40 years that she had been preparing the clams, and does not charge any money for cooking.

In keeping with the Goan cultural practices of communal harmony, we find that the Hindus of Nerul, Pilerne, and Verem join together to celebrate the feast of a cross on May 3, the day of the Holy Cross.⁶² This cross is situated in the middle of the fields in Nerul. The religious celebrations are similar to those followed by the Catholics. Participation in the litany is from all religions. Prayers are of course recited by the Catholics. Lots of food is offered by the celebrants. Interestingly, they too serve *tisreachem sambarem* as one of the food items.

A religious cultural practice observed by the villagers was that of *Ufaar*, an offering of gold miniature clam, to the sea Goddess. Every year the authorities of Dev Dadeshwar Temple at Maima Wado in Nerul, auctioned the rights to collect money from villagers, to

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

make the offering. Donations were collected by the person who got the rights of the auction by going around the village. Both Hindus and Catholics contribute to making the gold clam. This offering is done on an auspicious day, on a Sunday after Mahashivratri. The plate of offerings of the gold clam, also contains puris, coconut, arecanut (*supari*), betel leaf (*paan*), and some sweets. The locals gather at the temple to say the prayers, and thereafter they go to make the offerings which are placed in the sea. After the performance of *Ufaar*, the locals start going to the river for collecting the clams. This activity goes on till the end of July. This observation of *Ufaar* continues to date. In the past when many people used to go to collect the clams, there were days earmarked for each ward, so that all could share in the bounty. Today, this practice is not followed.

The feast of the Holy Cross shows the importance of making use of the available resources by the villagers. That even today neighbours walk in the early morning to help in preparing the *tisreachem sambarem*, showing our cultural practices and how we lived in communal harmony. The serving of seasonal fruits shows that villagers depend on ecology not only for day-to-day survival but also when celebrating. Fruits like mangoes and jackfruits are abundantly available during the summer months.

The food served is a symbolic representation of the authentic Goan culinary trait. The *sambarechi coddi* is symbolic of Goan food. Besides, the appropriation of natural sources is rooted in the culture. The cultural practices of serving the *tisreachem sambarem* overlap with the cultural identity of the villagers, considering its social and cultural importance in spite of the introduction of various other foods.

This tradition of offering the clams at a Catholic religious observation – the *Ladainha* – acquired the popular name “*tisreachem fest*” and people believe that the name has a religious connotation. An article was written by a columnist,⁶³ who quotes Fr. Bolmax Pereira, the then vicar of Nerul Church that *tisreachem fest* cannot be associated with any Christian or religious feast as there is no specific day for celebrating, neither it has any religious significance. Pereira, further adds, that it is just an opportunity for the people to come together. True, the name *tisreachem fest* does not have religious significance but the celebration has, as it is associated with the litany at the Holy Cross Chapel which is a Catholic religious observation. Besides, though it doesn't have a fixed day in the liturgical calendar, it is held annually on the second Sunday of the month of May, where devout devotees, who perceive that the Cross is a miraculous one come to thank for the favours bestowed on them and implore

⁶³ Newton Sequeira, “Selflessly sharing shellfish by the seashore,” *Times of India*, 14 May 2017, 2.

for protection or pray for their needs. It is also a tradition that when a child is born in a family at Bati, the family celebrates the litany.⁶⁴ In the same article, Prajal Sakardande comments about the celebrations. According to him, there was an abundance of shellfish in Nerul and Verem and therefore since ‘the locals were mainly fishermen they decided to dedicate a day of thanksgiving for the abundance of *tisreo*.’⁶⁵ As already written and discussed the celebration is a litany at the Holy Cross Chapel at Bati ward, where the residents are majority Catholics and no fisherfolks lived there, therefore the celebration has no connection with the abundance of *tisreo*.⁶⁶ However, there are Catholic fishermen at Danddarim ward who are not connected with the celebrations at Bati or Fottawaddo.⁶⁷ The role of the *tisreo* is only as food.

BORROWING TO CELEBRATE FESTIVITIES AND INDEBTEDNESS

These festivities beyond the church rituals and popular traditions had more to them than was apparent. People needed money to celebrate with family and friends and those who did not have, borrowed to bear the expenses, thus creating a financial burden, which was difficult to overcome for those who had limited income. But still worse, were those who eagerly looked forward to being the *mordomo* of the feast, who in Konkani was called ‘president.’⁶⁸ *Mordomo* is the person who patronises most of the expenses of the feast, which involved religious rituals as well as traditions. It was an honour and a person keenly waited for his turn to celebrate the feast.

Depending on the churches and rules laid down by individual Confrarias and Comunidades, the *mordomo* also had to celebrate some other not-so-solemn feasts, that were part of the Church rituals. Besides these rituals, there were the church decorations, the brass band which played for the vespers, and the *alvorada* in the morning of the feast day.⁶⁹ The band had also to play before and after the solemn feast mass and during the procession. Almost all important feasts had to go with fireworks, petards, the *fosnem*. There was also music during the novena days played by two *Mahars*, with the bugle, snare drum, and a

⁶⁴ Pantaleao Fernandes, “Nerul’s traditional Tisreanche fest,” *Times of India (Goa Times)*, 16 May 2013, 1.

⁶⁵ Please refer above to *Ufaar* practice.

⁶⁶ According to Savita de Souza, whose family is from Bati and her father was the *Regedor* of the village of Nerul, only of late, in the twenty-first century, a couple of fisherfolk have moved in the ward.

⁶⁷ As informed by Savita de Sousa.

⁶⁸ This connotation comes from the Portuguese “Presidente”.

⁶⁹ *Alvorada* was played by a brass band at dawn and the band would go around the city or village till the *mordomo*’s house to announce to the people, the festive day. In Panjim city, the band would start from the Church and move the length of today’s 18 June Road to Caculo Island, near Pharmacy College. The band moved on foot but some years back started using a vehicle.

drum, who also had the duty to light the *fosnem*.⁷⁰ This was done before and after the novena mass in the morning and evening and *salves*.⁷¹

In many of the churches, celebrations of the feast of Our Lady were also accompanied by fireworks, during the novenas and the vespers. The different wards of the village sponsored the expenses on a particular day. However, the vesper was the prerogative of the *mordomo*, which meant that he had to spend money, whether he had it or not, to observe and maintain the traditions. Still worse, was the mania to outdo the earlier *mordomos*, in having a grand affair. ‘Perhaps, no event in rural life gives a fitter occasion for the manifestation of personal lavishness among Goans than the village *feira*, with its novenas, salves, and vespers.’⁷²

The guidelines for the celebrations of the feast may vary from church to church and would also depend on the patron. Traditionally the feast’s *mordomo* was a *gaunkar* of a village Comunidade and they had to be members of the church or chapel confraternity.⁷³ However, all the *gaunkars* could not be a *mordomo*. There was a hierarchy amongst them in some of the Comunidades. And this hierarchy was also maintained in the Confrarias. But there were also other Confrarias, which were exclusive to a particular caste, in what Leopoldo da Rocha called ‘Confraternity’s exclusivism’ (*exclusivismo confrarial*) which means that to ingress in these associations, the right is reserved to a certain class or category of people.⁷⁴

Many *gaunkars* looked forward to celebrating the feast of the village but since there were many aspirants, their desire would sometimes not be fulfilled. Therefore, those who were lucky, went out of the way to celebrate and even if they had no money, borrowed for the expenses. The example of Ligôr *bhatkar* in *O Signo da Ira* shows to what extremes a person can go to satisfy his pride. Orlando da Costa writes that he was looking forward to being the *mordomo* of the feast of Our Lady of Immaculate Conception, on December 8 at the Church of Holy Spirit, Margao, so that he could show his greatness of a *bhatkar*. This, despite

⁷⁰ I interviewed the ninety-one-year-old João Carmino Bragança, who is a musician himself and plays the trumpet. Bragança has his own brass band along with his two sons and grandsons.

⁷¹ This tradition of the *Mahars* band sadly stopped in the 1970s, probably because of the financial burden or unavailability of the musicians. Many have forgotten about its existence and confuse them with the brass band. Unfortunately, many have never experienced the band.

⁷² Lucio Rodrigues, *Abolim. The Flower Songs, Folk Tales and Legends of Goa. A Collection*. (Saligão: Goa 1556 and Golden Heart Emporium, 2015), 111.

⁷³ Confraternity is an association of lay persons. A church or a chapel may have one or more such confraternities in honour of the patron or saints. The most important were those of Confraria do Santíssimo Sacramento. The confreres wore *opus mus*, the colour of which depended on the affiliation to the patron, the red coloured being for the most important Confraria members.

⁷⁴ Leopoldo da Rocha, *As Confrarias de Goa. Seculos XVI-XX* (Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1973), 280.

Ligôr's debt and dire financial conditions, he did not shy away from celebrating the feast with great pomp, like no one else before him. He also considered himself lucky that he could achieve this honour before he was fifty years: '... seemed to ignore the ruin left behind it all, wrought by his decline in those recent times of privation and discontent. He had mortgaged everything that necessity demanded of him to save his family's honour. Now, striding gravely under the festive arches that surrounded the square, he thought that his family's honour had been invested in him.'⁷⁵

The expenses also included food and drinks that were served to the guests. The *bhatkar's* house was full of *mundkars* and his servants moved about carrying and serving, dishes of food and drink.⁷⁶ And the ostentatious celebrations did not end at the house as Ligôr tells the *mundkars*: 'Eat here, then at nine o'clock go watch the fireworks I've arranged for in the church square.'⁷⁷ Contrary to what was always done, Ligôr had moved the display of fireworks from the night of the vesper to the feast day itself.⁷⁸ He had surrounded himself with clever excuses and made pledges to make it happen, as this simple innovation would be enough to raise the expectations and curiosity of everyone for whom the festivities were being held. He also knew that this was the last opportunity he had in life to be the *mordomo* of a feast – 'A feast worthy of a great Brahmin lord, he thought.'⁷⁹ Manú Foguetêr had assembled one of the most spectacular firework displays, nothing comparable to in recent years.⁸⁰

Watching the fireworks, people commented, 'It's to impress the other Brahmins of the brotherhood and the *paclé!*' In fact, people already knew that he had been forced to mortgage a great deal of his property to celebrate the feast.⁸¹

However, Ligôr knew the price of vanity that he felt at that moment, to satisfy his ego to maintain his honour and to leave a lasting impression in the memories of everyone – a

⁷⁵ Orlando da Costa, *O Signo da Ira* (Lisboa: Temas da Actualidade, 1996) 79. Translation of the author.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 89.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 90.

⁷⁸ Traditionally the fireworks were lit during the nine days of the novenas after the evening mass and *salves*. However, a bigger display of fireworks was held on the vesper's evening. There was no display of fireworks on the feast day, but for a few rockets which were lit after the High Mass. In Panjim, as per tradition, for the feast of the patron, Our Lady of Immaculate Conception, there used to be fireworks. As the capital of Goa, it had the privilege of having the government administration's headquarters and the fireworks were sponsored by different offices. Lists were circulated in the government departments for collecting subscriptions from the staff for the expenses of the novenas and fireworks. The vesper's display was the most extravagant and these were sponsored by the Municipal Council, which then had the nomenclature of 'Camara Municipal de Goa.' The tradition of government departments celebrating continues today.

⁷⁹ Costa, *O Signo da Ira*, 92.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 93.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

memory that could not have been forgotten except with the passing of many years, so that even in death his name would be respected and would not be mocked. Despite all the reverses he'd suffered since the war started, he'd managed to maintain his credit and impose his will.⁸²

According to tradition, one's prestige was measured by the variety and abundance of the fireworks. Therefore, those who wished to outdo others had a larger outlay of fireworks and gunpowder even at the risk of incurring debt.⁸³ *Fogeter* was the local manufacturer of fireworks about whom Lucio Rodrigues ironically comments, that he was the rural precursor of the modern maker of rockets, missiles, torpedoes, bombs, and warheads. His services were indispensable whenever public or private gala celebrations were to be held. The pride and magnificence of the Goan celebrating an event depended upon *fogeter's* genius.⁸⁴ It is on such occasions that he reveals his genius as an artist in fireworks. Rodrigues comments that they became a status symbol, a mark of personal affluence and largesse.⁸⁵

Rodrigues narrates a story to illustrate how a person is ready to spend money to show off. Told wittingly and humorously, it shows the Goan psyche in particular, through an unknowledgeable person. Salu, Pedro's neighbour, celebrated the feast of the village patron saint with great pomp. Nothing was spared, the most famous preacher from Old Goa was engaged to deliver the sermon during the novenas, for morning and evening masses.⁸⁶ The village resounded with the sound of petards (*Khodne*) and after the *salve*, the band played ballroom music outside the church, followed by fireworks. On the day of the feast, the pomp and splendour reached their climax. Old Salu, clad in a white surplice and red cape, joined the procession and walked proudly, while Pedro looked at him with admiration. At the time the priest began the *O Salutaris*, Pedro pricked his ears and said to himself. 'What a great honour to have his name thus sung in praise by the choir and the faithful. I will celebrate the feast next year,' he decided on the spot.⁸⁷

If Ligôr is an example of a *bhatkar*, in penury, going all out to celebrate the feast just to show his status, that of the common man was not different. In this case, vanity alone might not be the main reason for borrowing, but the different rituals and traditions that go along with the celebrations, which had to be strictly followed, led the *mordomo* to financial

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Rodrigues, *Abolim*, 113.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 111.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 112.

⁸⁶ It was a tradition to engage priests of higher hierarchy like professors of the Seminary, Canon, Monsignor, or some well-known good speaker which thereby gave importance to the *mordomo*.

⁸⁷ Ibid., 276.

losses. A news item carried in the paper *Porjecho Adar*,⁸⁸ writes that the feast of Saint Lourenço was celebrated with big pomp at the Church at Sinquetim, Aguada by the ‘president’ of the feast Francisco Lopes and remarks that, when the procession with the Saint returned to the Church, he observed the tradition of lighting 21 *nalli* (*fosnem*).⁸⁹ The news shows how traditions were important and needed to be observed as laid down. In this case the number and timing of lighting the *nalli*, *fosnem* was specified.

THE HARVEST FESTIVAL OF THE COMUNIDADE OF TALEIGÃO AND ITS NUMEROUS TRADITIONS

The harvest festival of the Comunidade of Taleigão is an example of how rigorous are the traditions to be followed by the *mordomo*, a privilege set aside only to the *gaunkars* of the first *vangor*, which consist of nine surnames.⁹⁰ It’s laden with tradition and rituals which are spread over four days and begin on 21 August, the first in the Tiswadi taluka. While the other villages in this taluka celebrate on 24 August, or on a Sunday after that date.⁹¹ This privilege was given by Albuquerque to the *gaunkars*, who at the risk to their lives, helped him and the soldiers overcome hunger by offering food, when their ships were anchored on the river Mandovi, as the Aguada sand bar⁹² was closed for maritime traffic, waiting to sail for safety.⁹³

Any male member of each *gaunkar* family does the harvesting by rotation on 21 August. A procession starts from the Church and is accompanied by the *gaunkar* celebrating the feast, who wears the *opa mus* (surplice and cape) of the confraternity of St. Michael, the patron of the Church. Along with him are the priest, other *gaunkars*, members of the fraternity, and devotees. They wind through the fields to the location, where the Comunidade of Taleigao has earmarked the field for this purpose. A ceremonial, red-coloured umbrella is carried to protect the *gaunkar* and the priest. The *gaunkars* and confreres carry the carrol of

⁸⁸ *Porjecho Adar – Auxílio do Povo*, a weekly, was published by Batista Vaz from January 1930, with the sole aim of helping and defending the downtrodden (Defensor dos humildes).

⁸⁹ *Vhodda tobajea zalem fest S.Lourenço, Sinquetim (Aguada). Festacho president... zannem munno-et kellem fest corunc zaitea pormonem dourunc sogleanc khoxi. Sodanche bhaxen marleot pursau bhitor sortanam ecvis (21) nalli.*

⁹⁰ Mendonças, Viegas, Mendonças with Gonzaga, Martins, Luis, Gomes, Farias, Almeidas with Falcões and Abreus. This list is according to *Bosquejo Histórico das Comunidades* (2012), 248. At present there are no more Mendonças with Gonzaga nor Almeidas with Falcões. The latter two are represented individually as Almeida and Falcão.

⁹¹ For details, please refer to Rodrigues, *Feasts, Festivals and Observances*, 174-77; Pereira, *Etnografia da Índia Portuguesa* (1991), 116.

⁹² In modern times the sandbar is opened on the feast of Saint Lawrence, celebrated on 10 August.

⁹³ Jose Nicolau da Fonseca, *Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1994)

the patron St. Michael in the procession. In the past, the entourage was accompanied by the *adão*, a group of *gawda* villagers, fancifully attired and holding decorated bamboo poles in their hands, which represented the swords. They used these to fight a mock battle.⁹⁴ One of the *gaunkars* used to hold the Portuguese flag, which according to history was given to them by Afonso de Albuquerque. On the feast day, a number of *fosnem* had to be lit before, during, and after the service. For example, when the procession left for the fields, when it reached the spot after the new sheaf was harvested, and on their way back, and before the mass and after. There was a formal lunch offered by the *mordomo* to his guests on the last day of the celebrations, 24 August. During the repast, *fosnem* were lit at intervals of time.⁹⁵

On the following day, 22 August, *avel* (flattened rice or *poha*) which symbolises the local produce is distributed to all the *gaunkars* in the village, by going to their houses. One *pod* per *gaunkar* and a widow is entitled to half *podd*. The ringing of church bells and burning of firecrackers announces the beginning of distribution and the *mordomo* or his representative, who is also entitled to the ceremonial umbrella and is accompanied by the Mahar's band.⁹⁶

On 23 August, *avel* is ceremoniously offered to the parish priest by the *mordomo*. The grand finale of the four-day festival is on 24 August. It is on this day that the *mordomo* and a committee of *gaunkars* carry *avel* and a sheaf of paddy stalk to the Se Cathedral, where a high mass is celebrated.⁹⁷ On this occasion, the Chapter of the Cathedral used to be occupied by the Canons, 24 in all and after the mass, each one of them was given a measure of *avel*. On their return from Old Goa, the entourage used to go directly to the palace of the Adil Khan (present old Secretariat), and the Governor was handed the fresh sheaves and *avel*, by the *mordomo*. At this ceremony, the *addao* performed for the authorities and the public opposite the palace.

Thereafter, the entourage paid a visit to the Patriarch who was also offered the paddy stalks and *avel*. Opposite the Patriarch's palace, the *addao* also performed before they returned home, dancing along their way. On this day, the *mordomo* had to offer a sumptuous

⁹⁴ For more on Adão please refer A. Lopes Mendes, *A Índia Portuguesa. Breve Descrição das Possessões Portuguezas na Ásia*, 45; Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1988), 10.

⁹⁵ Rodrigues, *Feasts, Festivals and Observances*, 176.

⁹⁶ In recent times Mahar's band has been stopped, probably because there are no more musicians.

⁹⁷ The Comunidade selects the *gaunkar* who will accompany the *mordomo*, one from each *vangor* and two nominated by the *mordomo* of his choice. There are altogether 12 *gaunkars*.

lunch to the entourage/committee. The lunch consisted of 12 varieties of cooked food. Like any Comunidade affair, this is also a male-dominated feast. Only sons can harvest the new sheaves, and only male *gaunkars* are part of the entourage, and participate and partake at the table on 24 August. The *mordomo* has to religiously follow norms laid by the Comunidade. For example, the burning of petards (*fosnem*) has to be done at a particular interval of time. If not complied with, any *gaunkar* can lodge a complaint against the *mordomo* of the feast for not observing the specified norms. The traditions are followed to this day.

BORROWING AND ITS OUTCOME

There were many who lived within the available income. So, there were no savings, or if there were, may not have been sufficient to pay the expenses of celebrating the feast, which made them poor. The only alternative left was to borrow. Now, this loan had to be repaid. At what cost? Would it be possible without troubling the family, which would have to bear the brunt? The payment of the loan would reduce the availability of cash. This would mean lesser buying power for their day-to-day needs of sustenance, leaving aside luxuries and it could affect the health of the family. Besides, there would not be enough money to pay for the education of the children. Those having grown-up daughters would need money to get them married. For all these necessities, the only option would be borrowing more or selling valuables or properties, and further digging the grave of indebtedness.

The vernacular press criticised this problem as it became a serious issue for the community. Costa Bir, who was a noted businessman from Margao and a columnist with the *Porjecho Adar*, and took upon him the mission of educating the masses, advised people to stop the waste of money in the celebrations of the feast. He wrote that the times had changed and clarified that when these traditions were implemented expenses for the celebrations of the feast, cost less. An example of the price of *fosnem* and a gallon of *feni*, which then cost one rupee each was given. It was pointed out that at present the cost of the Mass and that of the *couso* of *feni* was the same, that is, ten rupees. Those who spent their hard-earned money to celebrate the feast to fulfill their ego to be considered great men were criticised. In reality, the commoners were imitating the rich.⁹⁸

Criticism was also made about the proletariat who were not ready to acquire a loan to educate the children. But to celebrate the feast, they were ready to take a loan and even sell the gold ornaments. True, that there was a *compromisso* that had laid down the traditions to

⁹⁸ *Porjecho Adar*, April 30, 1930

be followed for celebrating the feast.⁹⁹ However, there was a need to change it, as the *compromisso* was old. Since the time it was implemented, many alterations had taken place during the years that influenced the celebrations, and most importantly as discussed, the prices of things had increased, making it costly. Another suggestion was that the Comunidades should celebrate and bear the expenses of the church feasts. According to Costa Bir, changes should be encouraged by the religious authorities and he proposed that the priest should tell the devotees not to spend unnecessarily.¹⁰⁰ Of course, he comments that this proposal is a difficult one since the priest or the church is the beneficiary.

If one thought that feasts were only for joy and celebrations, they are wrong. It meant much more for the people in general and especially for those who paid for the expenses as the *mordomo* of the feast, in particular. The people also looked forward to dressing up in the best outfits, spending money to make new ones, and cooking and serving the best of the food, even if they had no money since they wanted to join in the celebrations with great pomp. Usually, it was once in a year event and they did not want to miss it, floundering their clothes and jewellery on the occasion. In the case of *mordomo*, for many of them, it brought misery and suffering for themselves and their family for the reason that they had no money to pay for the expenses. But the show had to go on. The only way to achieve this was through borrowing or taking a loan. And to repay loans many even sold their property.

So as seen, feasts were not only joyous celebrations, but they also brought suffering to the people. To maintain the traditions and honour their names and that of the family, the patrons (*mordomos*) of the feast wasted their hard-earned money and those who borrowed for the expenses had to work hard to repay the loans, living in indebtedness and anxiety, with the family in anguish until the loan was repaid. A tardy process in view of the prevailing financial situation.

⁹⁹ *Compromisso* can be a commitment, obligation, contract, duty, or agreement; therefore, *Compromisso* is a type of agreement that can be considered an unwritten contract, in which the parties assume certain obligations or assume responsibilities in this agreement.

¹⁰⁰ *Porjecho Adar*, April 30, 1930.

CHAPTER FIVE

DRINK THAT 'CHEERS' BUT BRINGS TEARS

INTRODUCTION

Alcoholism was a deep social problem for the Goan community, especially, from the beginning of the twentieth century. It had adverse effects on the consumers, the family members, and the community as a whole. The problem was increasing every year, and, the government wasn't seen to be doing much, probably, fearing the loss of revenue, for the state exchequer.¹

For the Portuguese, wine drinking was a part of their social and religious observances. Alcohol that was produced in Goa before their arrival was for personal consumption and only for occasional festivals. However, with the introduction of Catholicism many more religious festive occasions were available for the people to celebrate. So, occasions like birthdays, christenings, weddings, *ladainhas*, chapel, or church feasts were celebrated with alcohol flowing like water. Even at sad times like funerals, alcohol was served.

Goa, having churches in all the villages and towns, a multitude of chapels, and unlimited community crosses, there were celebrations almost throughout the year. If these were not enough there were crosses in houses and personal properties, where *ladainhas* or feasts were celebrated.

There were other reasons for Goans to be addicted, like, for instance, the wages of a labourer, were partly paid in kind, that is, with *feni*. Other vices, like gambling, also led to alcohol addiction, when players consumed alcohol.

Some studies claim that the reason people consume alcohol is that it is locally produced and available to the drinker. So, availability becomes an important parameter in this case too. The interrelationship between the availability of alcohol and the extent of alcoholism can be applied to Goa, which produced *feni*, from coconut palm as well as cashew apples in large quantities.

¹ Revenue accrued from toddy tapping and related industries was known as *Abkari*. It was one of the important incomes for the territory which was implemented from the beginning of the Portuguese period, under the name of *renda de urracas* and included the spirits called *xarao*, *urraca* and *feni*. Subsequent to the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878, this tax was called *Abkari*, which was the nomenclature in use in British India. After the revocation of the Treaty, the Portuguese government continued using the new tax tariff, as it was beneficial for them, to the detriment of the people.

Alcohol produced in Goa was not only enough for local consumption but was also exported to the neighbouring territories of British India, bringing substantial revenue to the government. During the tenure of the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty, with new taxation regulations introduced on alcohol, it benefitted substantially the Portuguese government monetarily. Therefore, they did not change the tax structure even after revoking the Treaty.²

ALCOHOL AS FOOD AND MEDICINE

The substance that we today consider poison and bad for health was ironically once believed to be the right substance to help solve health problems. Doctors and hospitals recommended it to treat diseases and was also used by laymen as traditional medicine. There was no gender or age difference. All, men, women, and even a child were prescribed alcohol to alleviate the condition of the sick.

Interestingly, alcohol was not thought of as bad for health. In fact, it was encouraged for drinking. In ancient tradition wine and beer were considered food, acceptable by the sick when solid food could not be tolerated.³ When alcoholic spirits became available, these too were accepted by the sick substituting solid food.⁴ The medical profession and the laity also recognized it as appropriate nourishment both for debilitated persons and for those who refused to eat in times of sickness.⁵ According to Roe, the decline of the use of alcohol as a wonder drug was due to the practice of dietetics, which influenced medical opinion. Food was shown to influence positively the recovery from acute and chronic disease. What was required was proof that alcohol was not beneficial, so that prescriptions of wines and liquors could be discontinued; until then alcohol was prescribed.⁶ Even though Roe's study focuses on western medicine, more specifically in the United Kingdom, alcohol was used in treatment in other parts too, and was included in the pharmacopeia of the time. It was and is still used in medical practices in Goa.⁷

So ingrained was the medical tradition of alcohol in therapeutics that it did not die out until about the twenties of the twentieth century. Indeed, the reaction against the use of

² Please see note n^o.193 in Chapter II for Anglo-Portuguese Treaty.

³ Daphne A. Roe, *Alcohol and the diet* (Connecticut: Avi Publishing, 1979), 16.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 20. Palm *feni* is used as an appetizer and it is believed that it keeps the doctor away; Biula Pereira, *One for the Road* (Saligao: Goa 1556, 2015), 142.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁷ For more on the therapeutic uses of alcohol in treating various ailments in Goa, please refer to Pereira, *One for the Road*, 141-46.

alcohol as a drug only began in the early nineteenth century and parallels the development of the Temperance Movement.⁸ The early supporters of the movement first began to question the need for alcohol as a restorative of health and later supporters instituted clinical research with the objective of demonstrating that alcohol could be deleted from pharmacopeia and eventually removed.⁹ However, to date, alcohol is used in many medicines as a tonic and solvent for other ingredients, especially in cough syrups, which also act as tranquilizers.

Doctors in Goa did not seem to be lagging behind in prescribing medicines imported from overseas and which contained alcohol as one of their components. Reading through the advertisements in the local papers shows that tonics that contain alcohol as one of the compositions were regularly advertised to cure different ailments. Huxley's 'Ner Vigor' is prescribed as fortifying tonic, for weakness, loss of nerve strength, weakness of blood, and depression. Another one is 'Sanatogen Tonic'.¹⁰ 'Vinho Tónico EFKA,' a Tonic Wine is advertised as 'the bigger and better than of the other Tonic wines.' This red wine with added herbs or compounds like iron salts was strong and sweet. In those days it was thought to have medicinal benefits, though now considered otherwise.¹¹

Wincarnis, another popular wine, was considered as a tonic drink to cure all ills that would provide strength and energy to those of a nervous disposition and cure a whole range of disabilities by building up the nerve forces. *Wincarnis* advertisement said that 'it was 'the key to the enjoyment of life,' as it gave a strong constitution, it was the food of the blood, the life-giving fluid which carries vitality and vivacity wherever it flowed.'¹² Besides imported, there were also locally manufactured *vinocarnis*. One was manufactured by Paulino Dias (1874-1919) who is best known as a Goan poet, and was a doctor and pharmacist by profession and owned a pharmacy in

⁸ Temperance movement was an organization dedicated to promoting moderation and, complete abstinence in the use of intoxicating liquor started in Saratoga, New York in 1808 and spread rapidly under the influence of the churches in the United States of America. This movement was required as the drinking habit amongst the people had reached overwhelming levels. It was responsible to get the ratification of the Prohibition Amendment to the Constitution in 1919. This movement spread beyond the USA including several European countries, Australia, India, and southwest Africa. Temperance and abstinence became the objects of education and legislation in many regions. A World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union was formed to back the movement.

⁹ Roe, *Alcohol and the diet*, 16.

¹⁰ *Heraldo*, 4 July 1926, 3.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Vinocarnis* was the choice of many lactating mothers. The name is derived from 'wine carnis', from the Latin meaning 'of meat.' It is a fortified wine (17%) now made to a secret grape juice, malt extracts, herbs, and spices recipe but it no longer contains meat.

the city of Nova Goa, where he made a number of medicinal concoctions.¹³ In advertisements in the newspaper *Comércio* of 1909, he promotes his own *Vinocarnis*.¹⁴ ‘Take the Great medicine ideal for anyone to recover energy. Wine of Meat of Dr. Paulino Dias.’¹⁵ The other manufacturer was Costa and Company, which continued to manufacture it even into the eighties of the twentieth century. *Vinocarnis* became very popular throughout the world, with many other countries manufacturing it, the reason why the advertisement of Heitor Peres emphasized that he was selling ‘*Wincarnis*. Wine of life,’ from the original manufacturer Coleman from Norwich and to be ‘beware of imitations.’¹⁶

Antonio Peregrino da Costa said that it was difficult to know what was the right dose for improvement of health when it is known that alcohol is ‘a bad food, a food that is detestable.’ He quoted Lauder Brunton and B. Sanderson, who affirmed that ‘alcohol is not a necessity; a man lives better without alcohol: even in small doses there are nutritional changed disturbances.’¹⁷ According to Peregrino da Costa alcoholism is hereditary and can give rise to the next generation of alcoholics in the family.¹⁸ And this problem unfortunately can also be carried by the woman alcoholic, especially those who breast-feed babies. He gave an example of a family of a baker, which lived in his neighbourhood in Aquem. The parents were alcoholics and had seven children: ‘three suffered from tuberculosis and died, one was an idiot and another suffered from nephrite.’ On the other hand, a *boia* who abstained from drinking led a long life.¹⁹

¹³ For details on Paulino Dias please refer to Aleixo Manuel da Costa, *Dicionário de Literatura Goesa* (Macau: Instituto Cultural de Macau and Fundação Oriente, n.d.) vol. I, 344-48; Duarte Drumond Braga, ed., *O País de Súrria. Obra Reunida do Paulino Dias*, (São Paulo: Alameda, 2020).

¹⁴ *O Comércio*, 15 October 1909, 2.

¹⁵ In the olden days, the doctors prescribed what was popularly called *poção* (mixture), a liquid medicine administered in volume, by spoons or measured using a paper cutting in hexagonal shape, glued to the bottle, to show the quantity to be given to the patient. This concoction was prepared by the pharmacist and also doctors on the basis of pharmacopoeia and many had alcohol as one of the components. Some were given as restorative to recover strength. A popular *poção* was *Tintura de Poejo*, which was given for colic, and stomach aches and prescribed for children and had Port wine as an ingredient. *Poção* was prescribed by doctors even in the seventies of the twentieth century. Pharmacies stopped preparing because the Indian government did not allow the import of some of the required ingredients.

¹⁶ *Heraldo*, 4 July 1926, 3; Pereira, *One for the Road*, 142. Among upper-caste Hindus, it was common practice for the nursing mother to have some wine as an appetiser for three months as it is believed that it helps during lactation and recovery from the trauma of delivery, including blood loss.

¹⁷ Francisco Correia Afonso, “O Alcoolismo na Índia Portuguesa – Relatório,” *Sétimo Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa*, ed. Balcrisna Datarama Sinai Sacardandó (Nova Goa: Tip.Bragança, 1927), 13.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 16.

¹⁹ *Boia* was a labourer who used to carry a *machila*, a carriage. Four *boias* were required to carry it on their shoulders.

In Goa, alcohol, especially palm and cashew *feni* was used for medicinal purposes. Not necessarily consumed, but also for local application, as an antiseptic to disinfect the area to be treated or as an analgesic. It could be the area for injection, a wound, during childbirth and to treat the umbilical cord when antiseptics were not available. It was also used, for joint pains and bone setting.²⁰

A few drops of *feni* were added to the baby's bathwater as protection against the common cold. After the bath, a person dipped a finger in the *feni* and gently rubbed it on the baby's tongue to cleanse and protect it from a cold.²¹ *Feni* is also used as an anti-flatulent to treat stomach disorders, its ingestion and rubbing on the belly of a person helps loose motions to subside. It is used in de-worming children by applying it to the head and stomach. Also, used for grinding different ingredients to make pastes to be used for the treatment of worms. Pastes are also made to cure other ailments like swellings, pains, orthopaedic problems, etc. In this case, either palm or cashew *feni* is used to grind the herbs and spices. A popular paste for local application for pains or swelling was made of cumin seeds ground with palm *feni* which is used even today. Some barks or roots of trees with medicinal properties are scrubbed on a stone with palm *feni* and the mixture is applied to the area to be treated. And a warm concoction of cashew *feni* and sugar is used to cure a cold.²²

A small dose of palm *feni*, was recommended in the 1930s by a well-known physician of the times, to those who suffered from malaria. This was to be taken before dinner, to ward off any shivering that might be caused because of the infection.²³

The belief that alcohol actually increases the resisting power of the body to the poisons of certain diseases and is good for health, was the wrong notion. This assumption was debated by many, especially by those in the Temperance movement. It was also debated by participants at the Seventh Congress Provincial. A paper authored by Dr. Peregrino da Costa²⁴ is discussed and often cited by Correia Afonso in his report,²⁵ proving the argument that alcohol was bad for health even in small quantities. In fact, he argued that one way to enter the regular diet of an individual was supposed to be its dietetic and medicinal value. To

²⁰ Pereira, *One for the Road*, 142.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*, 143.

²³ See footnote n^o 5.

²⁴ Antonio Peregrino da Costa a physician who graduated from the Escola Médica de Goa, was from Aquem, Margao and was practicing at Navelim. He was popularly known as 'Aquem doutor'.

²⁵ Afonso, "O Alcoolismo na India Portuguesa – Relatório," 1-60.

some extent it was correct; however, there was nothing more unscientific than the way this vulgar conception was formed. For example, according to Peregrino da Costa, the small dosage of alcohol taken as *ração* (a gram of alcohol contains 7 calories), though a source of energy like other food, was bad food, as it destroyed the organs in the body to various levels and destroyed the albuminoid substances of the organism and increased the elimination of nitrogen.²⁶ It also disturbed the processes of internal oxidation and altered the function of the stomach, liver, brain, etc. Alcohol was therefore a luxury food, harmful, and therefore damning.

ALCOHOL AS RAÇÃO FOR THE LABOURERS

It was a tradition in some villages in Goa to pay the labourers in cash and also give them a dose of alcohol, which is known as *ração*. For some of them, it would be an initiation into drinking alcohol, to which they would be addicted after regular consumption of the same. Why was this *ração* given to the labourers? Was it to enhance their power or energy to work? Or, was it benefitting the landlord monetarily? Or was it a deliberate way to get them addicted and thereby have control over them?

Studies show that after consuming alcohol, on the first day the performance increased and from the second to the third day it started reducing.²⁷ In fact, it was found that those who did not consume alcohol worked better than those who consumed it.²⁸ In the manufacture of *feni*, the landlord was given by the lessee of the coconut trees from which toddy was extracted, a certain quantity in kind, depending on the contract. The same would apply to those who leased the hillock from where the cashews were plucked and used for distillation. Sometimes the landlord himself would directly undertake the distillation. Consequently, the landlord would have in stock *feni* that he used to partly pay the wages in kind and thus pay less in cash. This arrangement financially benefitted him but not the labourer, who after regular consumption of alcohol became addicted and enabled the landlord to have control over him.

Medical science tells that even the first glass can lead a person to addiction. If taken regularly it gets into the system and is very difficult to get rid of it, and the person becomes a consummated alcoholic. And, this kind of dependence was very common in Goa, with the

²⁶ Ibid., 12

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Please refer to the “Relatório” of Francisco Correia Afonso where the research paper of Peregrino da Costa is often cited and details of causes and alcoholism are given.

poor Goan labourer spending part of his wages if not all, in satisfying his addiction. Further, when he was not paid in kind, the labourer spent part or sometimes the entire wages on buying alcohol to the detriment of his family. Since all the money was spent in a tavern and there was nothing left for buying food, it brought misery to them. It was still worse when he did not work. He would buy alcohol on credit and the debt went on increasing because he had no means of paying.²⁹

Berta Menezes Bragança (1911-1993) touched the most sensitive chords when in a poignant story ‘Debts were paid’,³⁰ in her book *Tales from Goa* she narrates a family’s misery due to alcoholism. How it led a man to do things one cannot perceive that he would ever do and bring misfortune to the entire family.³¹ This is the story of a poor family who migrated to Goa from Karwar as they were told by a Goan cook who worked there, that in this state one could make money and nobody experienced hunger. Allured by this information, the parents along with the children, a six-year-old boy, and two girls, aged five and one and a half, came to Goa. The truth was bitter for them when they found out how hard it was to get one and the odd jobs were barely enough to buy food for them to survive. When there was no work, the husband idled his time at a tavern watching men playing *tablam-fer*.³² The tavern owner demanded that the player who lost had to pay in kind with palm *feni*. After watching for some time, he also joined them and became addicted and when he had no money, he asked for credit from the tavern owner. Unable to repay the loan driven by despair he gives away his child, without the knowledge of his wife, to the tavern owner who had no children. The wife could not bear the disappearance and frantically searched for her child and ends becoming insane. The father repents and is unable to come to terms with his action, and suicide. This story shows how the greed and astuteness of the tavern owner led to the addiction and misery of a family. And, also how idleness and other vices can also be responsible for alcoholism.

ALCOHOLISM AND VICES

That alcoholism and vices go hand in hand are also portrayed in a poem by an unknown poet who writes that when a person becomes alcoholic, he gets attracted to playing

²⁹ Berta Menezes Bragança, “Debts were Paid,” *Tales from Goa* (Bastora, Goa: Tipografia Rangel, 1991), 27-38.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ “Berta who possess a rich heritage of talent and name has seen life in its meanest as well as in its most edifying aspects. These short stories are just an expression of these two faces of life.” Preface by Prof. Dr. Manohar Rai L. Sardesai.

³² A local board game, played by two persons. For details, please refer to Maria de Lourdes Bravo da Costa Rodrigues, *Games that we Played* (Merces: L & L, 2012), 37.

cards. According to him, alcohol and cards have a very close relationship and are responsible to destroy fortunes, homes, and families advise that people should stop drinking.

*Ixtt Bebdicaiêcho Vortouta Khêll Cartancho*³³

Gambling is a Friend of Drunkenness

When Man gets the vice of drunkenness
He promptly yearns to play with cards
Under the hammer of liquor
He shuts his eyes and loses his money.

In the play of drink and cards
True relationships are naught to be found
Man! Use your mind and think
And correct yourself a little.

Drunkenness brings beggary upon a respected family
Wickedness wreaks old age upon youth
The yoke of debt falls on the neck of the drunkard
And raises clouds of darkness in his mind.

Man's heart burns with liquor
His body aches, his heart shudders
The limbs of his body are torn with weakness
His chest is parched, the voice turns hoarse.

Man, please think and see
How your wife and children suffer
Swollen eyes come staggering
Your children's curses will cause boils in your heart.

Alcohol was also known to have an effect on the brain. People could lose their sanity and get influenced by moral attitudes, even leading to criminal acts by the alcoholic. It disorganized their thinking who may not have the strength to control their perverse instincts. In this context, Berta Meneses Bragança gives us another example where alcohol, was responsible for the death of a friend. In the story titled 'Surrender.' a man kills his friend over a discussion on the money he owed him, after having some shots of *feni* in the tavern. Before entering the tavern, they had amicably settled the matter, but the rounds of alcohol they drank roused the bad instinct in them and they started discussing and the quarrel led to one of the friend's deaths. The killer laments with remorse that it was the *feni* that killed him 'if only they had not gone into the liquor-shop! It was the liquor-shop, *feni*, that had done it all. It was

³³ *Porjecho Avaz*, 6 November, 1930, 2. Translation from Konkani by Jose Lourenço, engineer, writer, and author of *The Parish Churches of Goa. A Study of Façade Architecture*, 2007.

feni that had murdered his friend. Not he; no, no, not he. Never again would he go into a liquor shop. Never, never taste that vile liquid again.’³⁴

From the beginning of the twentieth century, in Goa, the consumption of alcohol had reached a level that could be considered an ‘epidemic.’ However, it was not seen as one by the government authorities, which looked at alcohol as a revenue earner for the state coffers, though some individuals did raise concerns and wrote about it. Alberto Osório de Castro well-known writer of the time, who spared no efforts to study the various problems which the community faced and help overcome them, sent a proposal to the Junta Geral de Província to curb alcoholism.³⁵ He concludes it with ‘There are known ways of combating alcohol consumption. Let's be human! That the greed of the yield from *sura* of the palm tree does not seal the eyes of intelligence and of heart. Since alcoholism is the scourge of society, this scourge sheds its purulence on all classes.’³⁶

CONFERÊNCIA SANITÁRIA (1914) AND CONGRESSO PROVINCIAL... (1916-1931)

It was in 1914, that a Provincial Sanitary Conference, was held to celebrate the 72nd anniversary of the formal Escola Médico-Cirúrgica de Nova Goa.³⁷ This acted as a catalyst for future academic endeavours. The Conference was not only an academic exercise, but it tried to mainly inform and clarify in general, and the government in particular important health problems and therefore ‘the material and moral well-being of the territory, the best and highest interests of this land.’³⁸

At the *First Health Conference 1914*,³⁹ many scientific papers connected to health problems and administration were presented by doctors, administrators, and others. These

³⁴ Bragança, “Surrender,” 19.

³⁵ Alberto Osório de Castro (1868-1946) writer, poet, ethnographer, archaeologist, and botanist, he was the founder editor of *Oriente Portugues*, the scientific journal of the Archaeological Department, Índia Portuguesa. In Goa, he was the Attorney of the Crown and Revenue and Judge (Procurador da Coroa e Fazenda e Juiz de Direito).

³⁶ Filinto Cristo Dias, *Esboço da História da Literatura Indo-portuguesa* (Bastora: Tipografia Rangel, 1963), 68.

³⁷ The Escola Médica de Goa was formally established in 1842 in Nova Goa. It was the pioneer in western medicine education which had a beginning in the sixteenth century at the Royal Hospital in the City of Goa, today's Old Goa, and therefore claims to be the first western Medical School in Asia. The Conference was held from December 1 to 6, 1914.

³⁸ Translation of the author.

³⁹ Primeira Conferência Sanitária, 1914.

were published in two volumes.⁴⁰ However, there was only one paper, on alcoholism titled *Suggestions to combat the alcoholic hazard in Goa* by Hipólito Policarpo Pegado, who was a Military doctor of the rank of Captain (Capitão médico).⁴¹ According to Pegado, it was the lifestyle of the people that led to alcohol consumption by family members. He gave the example of the labourers who visited the tavern at the end of the day or on a holiday and took children along and gave them a little spirit to kill worms or because they asked for it to drink. This practice tended to become a habit and create future alcoholics.⁴² Years later in her paper at Seventh Congress, Ermelinda Stuart Gomes also corroborated with Pegado, ‘the horrible habit of parents of taking children to the tavern to ‘wet the tongue.’⁴³ This habit seems to be well-entrenched and continued amongst Goans, as written in a poem titled “Tooth of wine” by R.V. Pandit:

In Goa
Some children
Learn to drink
Before teeth are born

And then...
When Wisdom teeth are born...
These teeth
are of alcoholic wisdom,
that grind themselves...⁴⁴

Pegado also pointed out that alcoholism was considered the harbinger and influencing the cause of many a disease. Indeed, chronic alcoholic offers an appropriate and fertile field for tuberculosis bacillus and several other diseases and no organ or viscera in the body escaped its destructive action, especially the liver, kidney, and brain. The proof lies in the number of deaths due to tuberculosis as seen in the statistics, which show a higher number of causes of death are related directly or indirectly to alcoholism. Tuberculosis of the respiratory system has a total of 239 deaths, out of which 167 are males and 72 are females. It also shows that 8 children under one year died of tuberculosis, 5 males and 3 females, 2 one-year-olds, and 2 between 4 to 9 years.

⁴⁰ Serviço de Saúde da Índia Portuguesa, *I Conferência Sanitária. Em Comemoração do 72º Aniversário da Escola Médico-Cirúrgica de Nova Goa. (1-12-1914 a 6-12-1914)* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1914), 2 vols.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Hipólito Policarpo Pegado, “Sugestões para Combater o Risco do Alcólismo em Goa,” 149-58.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 151.

⁴³ Ermelinda Stuart Gomes, “A Repressão do Alcoolismo,” in *Sétimo Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa*, 6.

⁴⁴ R.V. Pandit, “Dente de Vinho?,” published in *O Herald*, 13 December 1968, 2. Originally written on 22 August 1962 at Vengurla, Maharashtra, India.

Table 5.1: Deaths due to Tuberculosis of the Respiratory System

Age	Male	Female	Total
Adults	167	72	239
Children below 1 yr	5	3	8
1 year	2		2
2 years	--		--
3 years	--		--
4 years	1		1
Between 5-9 years	1	--	1

[Source: Government of Goa, Daman and Diu, *Statistical Year Book, 1961*. Panaji: Government Printing Press, 54-57]

Tuberculosis of other forms: adults: total 23 (10 male, 13 female), 3 (children between 5–9 years, 2 male).

There is a sizeable number of deaths due to cirrhosis 277 in total, out of which 174 are male and 103 females. It interestingly shows that there are 46 deaths in lesser than 1 year of age, 28 male and 18 female. There are also deaths among the other age group in children. Cirrhosis can be caused by hepatitis or alcohol consumption. The statistics do not show any entry under hepatitis. So, we can presume the deaths due to cirrhosis are alcohol-related. And the sizeable number of children below one year confirms the fear that it may be related to alcoholic nannies and mothers feeding the children.

Table 5.2: Causes of Death Due to Cirrhosis

Age	Male	Female	Total
Adults	174	103	277
Children below 1 yr	28	18	46
1 year	9	12	21
2 years	8	14	22
3 years	7	16	23
4 years	2	3	5
Between 5-9 years	3	3	6

[Source: Statistical Year Book, 1961, 54-57]

Pegado discussed another important cause of alcoholism, that of milk nannies (amas de leite) since a number of them were alcoholics and when they fed the babies, alcohol got into the babies' system. This could cause convulsions, similar to epileptic and meningitis attacks. It was observed that these symptoms stopped when feeding was discontinued. Later, the child could also manifest problems like gastrointestinal disturbances and certain symptoms of chronic alcoholism, such as nightmares, nocturnal tremors, and nerve sensitivity disturbances. It would be interesting to connect Pegado's comment to the death statistics as shown above.⁴⁵ It's really surprising that the cause of death of a number of children was due to cirrhosis. However, Pegado's comments on alcoholic milk nannies may throw some light on this issue.

There was a system where nannies were engaged to look after new-born babies. Many of them also doubled up by giving the service of offering to feed the babies. This was possible if the woman had given birth to a child. This service was solicited in cases where the mother of the new-born was not too well or did not have enough milk to breastfeed her baby. But there were also many well-off ladies who despite being healthy and having the possibility to nurse the baby, refused to feed under the premise that they would change in physical shape and beauty. Many of the nannies could have been addicted to alcohol. It is in this context that Pegado refers to the nannies being carriers of alcoholism and infecting the infant.

There are other sicknesses, which if not directly related to alcoholism are an outcome of it. These include nephritis and nephrosis which is a disease affecting the kidneys, which again show a big number of deaths amongst adults with a total of 377, 167 males and 210 females, and also includes children.

Table 5.3: Causes of Death due to Nephritis and Nephrosis

Age	Male	Female	Total
Adults	167	210	377
Children below 1 yr	8	12	20
1 year	1	7	8
2 years	5	7	12
3 years	1	3	4
4 years	-	4	4
Between 5-9 years	7	3	10

[Source: *Statistical Year Book, 1961, 54-57*]

⁴⁵ *Statistical Year Book, 1961*, gives details of death according to the age, sex and their causes, 54-57.

Alcohol interferes and affects the brain, central nervous system, heart, liver, and pancreas, which in turn leads to other problems. Drinking also makes it difficult for the brain to create long-term memories and reduces the ability to think clearly and make rational choices. Goa's Death Statistics show a big number under senility. It's the highest of other deaths. The reason for this could be various, like old age, hereditary risk, mental and neurological disorders such as Parkinson's disease, depression, and of course, alcohol abuse. So, we can say that such a big number in Goa could be due to alcohol, as one of the reasons for such a big number of deaths under senility, since in spite of all the recommendations to reduce alcoholism, there was no positive response from the government. Alcoholism can lead people to lose their memory and create mental and neurological disorders and takes its toll on the brain, liver, pancreas, heart, and other organs too.

Table 5.4: Senility Without Mention of Psychosis, Ill-defined and Unknown Causes

Age	Male	Female	Total
Adults	565	694	1259
Children below 1 yr	5	4	9
1 year	1	2	3
2 years	-	1	1
3 years	-	-	-
4 years	-	-	-
Between 5-9 years	-	2	-

[Source: *Statistical Year Book, 1961, 54-57*]

Pegado also suggested the constitution of the Society of Temperance to fight against alcoholism.⁴⁶ However, the suggestion just remained as one, until 1934, when the Society of Temperance was established due to the efforts of Dr. Baronio Monteiro.⁴⁷

At this conference, another two delegates refer to alcoholism. J. J. Roque Correia Afonso⁴⁸ in his paper on the rural public "Rural Sanitation of Portuguese India in its Relation

⁴⁶ Pegado, "Sugestões," 158.

⁴⁷ Baronio Monteiro was a trained allopathic doctor from the erstwhile Escola Médica Cirurgica de Goa who propounded naturopathy and was even known as *médico naturista*.

⁴⁸ J. J. Roque Correia Afonso, advocate, politician, landlord, and an agriculturist, hailing from Benaulim, was a well-known personality of the time. Well-versed in the problems affecting Goa, wrote extensively on important issues like agriculture, emigration, and judicial matters, for the betterment of the territory. He was the President of the Third Congresso Provincial and presented papers on different topics at the various Provincial Congresses.

with Administrative Organisation,”⁴⁹ views the village as an administrative unit for public health management and discussed various points for the improvement of rural health. The first one was on the diet, in which he proposed modification, as it consisted of “only polished rice and that too twice boiled, with chillies as curry, without any fruit or fresh salad for vitamins...” as insufficient and deficient. According to him a house, clean and hygienic, along with bread is not enough for good health and suggested that there should also be healthy entertainment that aroused an instinct for art in those who worked. Since they lacked it, they went in search of the instinct in the tavern and the brothels, which act as means to take away the fatigue of the spirit and of the body. He adds that alcoholism was essentially a social problem dependent on the education of the masses. And Correia Afonso concludes that ‘alcoholism more often is an instrument of art without honest means of satisfaction’⁵⁰ and it had ruined many and continued to do so daily amongst the people.⁵¹

Another essay on tuberculosis by A. Filipe Pinto Cordeiro prayed that there should be vigilance and a war against alcoholism which is responsible for the spread of tuberculosis.⁵² Interestingly, despite there being references to the problem of alcoholism, in the Conference on Health in 1914 when the Provincial Congress was formed and the issues were listed for discussion in the objectives, there was no mention of alcoholism. And, this in spite of knowing that the tentacles of alcoholism as a scourge was reaching far and wide from proletariat to elite.

Worst of all, alcoholics lost dignity amongst friends, colleagues, and even as heads of family, sometimes abandoning the welfare of the family to brutality. Violence against wives and children was common, bringing misery to them. It is not only the physical threat but the financial repercussions when the money earned was spent on drinking, leaving families in hunger. The rich even went to the extent of selling their properties. It also caused psychological problems to the family and in special way to the children, who were exposed to such violence, sometimes leaving lifelong scars. Not to forget the reaction of the society, where people point fingers at the alcoholics, forgetting that it is not a vice, but disease and sometimes become the laughing stock of those around them. Ermelinda adds that

⁴⁹ J.J.Roque Correia Afonso “O Saneamento rural da Índia Portuguesa na sua relação com a organização administrativa,” *Primeira Conferência Sanitária*, 332-40.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 333.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Ibid.*, 176.

unfortunately, it is not only men who are affected by the vice but also women, especially those without any work, who idle their time by getting intoxicated.⁵³

THE CONGRESSO PROVINCIAL DA ÍNDIA PORTUGUESA AND ITS OBJECTIVES

The Congresso Provincial was conceived as an autonomous body “free from any interference, either from the government or from any faction or party.”⁵⁴ The Goan intelligencia felt that they were away from the renaissance movement taking place in British India, which had a brilliant history that her intellectual elite wanted to show with pride to the colonialists and others. This was done through the Indian National Congress (INC), (1885), which was established as the great public manifestation led and promoted by great men and visionaries, and constituted to defend its political hegemony. Around the INC many seminars and conferences – scientific, economic, political, and social were held in British India, where papers presented were useful in practical life.⁵⁵

However, Portuguese India remained away from this revival, though, after the formation of INC, some local newspapers had discussed and proposed the formation of Congresso Provincial in Goa, which unfortunately did not materialise at the time. In 1915 arrangements were being made in Portugal to commemorate the 4th centenary of the death of Afonso de Albuquerque. Encouraged by the success of the Sanitary Conference, the local intellectuals approached the government to support and give financial assistance for arrangements to organize a conference, to discuss Goa and different aspects of Goan life. The committee members pointed out that the British government had given this kind of support in the beginning to Indian National Congress. It was the right time, for the learned members of the society, who with the support of Governor Couceiro da Costa, inaugurated the first Congresso Provincial on April 2, 1916.⁵⁶

‘The Provincial Congress had two functions: to expose to the Government the true needs of the state and to promote through propaganda the results arrived at by the Congresso.’⁵⁷ A Committee was appointed to organize the Congresso and under the

⁵³ Gomes, Ermelinda, “A Repressão do Alcoolismo,” 6.

⁵⁴ Translation of the author.

⁵⁵ Antonio Maria da Cunha, *Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa – Subsídios para a sua História*, Vol.I (1o. and 2o. Congressos) (Nova Goa: Casa Luso-Francesa-Editora, 1924), 3.

⁵⁶ Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa (1916-1931) was created by the Governor Couceiro da Costa, by Portaria no. 282 dated June 22, 1915.

⁵⁷ Translation of the author.

presidentship of the Governor, Couceiro da Costa, and Miguel Caetano Dias, who was President of the Municipality at the time, the first Congresso Provincial was held. Altogether nine Congresses took place every year or second year. The last one was held in 1931.⁵⁸

The objectives of the Provincial Congress were various. A list of the issues to be discussed directly of interest to the economic and moral development of this territory (país) included:

1. Agriculture
2. Industry and Commerce
3. Public Transport
4. Primary Education
5. Taxes, Fiscal and Municipal and
6. Any other subjects not included in the list, but which have a close relationship with the social needs of the people.

As seen from the list, the Congresso Provincial did not include alcoholism in its objective. Probably, when the Committee was formed and met to discuss the different issues that needed attention to solving the problems affecting Portuguese India, alcoholism was not considered a priority to them, although it was a major, if not the chief problem, having reached ‘epidemic’ proportions amongst Goans, not only in the territory but also within the emigrants’ community. There was an indifferent approach to this problem despite individuals raising the issue and the same being raised during the first ‘Congresso Sanitário da Índia Portuguesa.’ Besides, it was a known fact that the administration was not taking any action to overcome this menace for obvious reasons, as the production and consumption of alcohol filled the coffers of the government. It, therefore, became an economic-political and social problem for the government and the community. It is under these premises that the problem was debated in two of the Provincial Congress of Portuguese Índia, that is, at the Second and the Seventh.

THE SECOND PROVINCIAL CONGRESS

In the Second Provincial Congress a panel on alcoholism titled ‘Alcoholism and Abkari’ was included. There were four papers related to alcohol, out of which two were on *abkari*, and a general paper on wines and salt.⁵⁹ Only one direct paper was on social problems

⁵⁸ For details of the dates and papers presented in all the Congressos, please refer to Aleixo Manuel da Costa, *Dicionário de Literatura Goesa*, vol. 1, 192-202.

⁵⁹ Teodoro Miranda, “Regimen do Abcari para o Distrito de Goa” and Azarias Condorcet Lobo “Abcari em Goa: Antes do Tratado Anglo-Luso na Índia”. The Congresso was held on January 27, 1918.

and anti-alcoholism.⁶⁰ The two on *abkari* were related to manufacturing and taxation of the products of the alcohol industry.⁶¹ They mainly took up the importance of *abkari*, as an administrative and revenue-earning matter of the territory and how to solve any issues connected to it, rather than the problem of alcoholism as a social problem and its effect on the addict, his family, and those around him. However, both speakers discussed and pointed out that imposing higher taxes would reduce alcoholism.

Alcoholism went on to become a dominant issue in the twentieth century in Goa, and one of the reasons was the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878. The problem of alcoholism cannot be studied without looking into the effects of this Treaty, which although benefitted the government, with a higher collection of revenue, caused hardships to the people. Before it was implemented, a tax was collected only on trees used to produce spirit. The toddy collected for jaggery, vinegar preparation, and leavening of bread were exempted from tax payments.

After the Treaty's implementation, a tax was imposed on all the trees. This caused unhappiness among the people who resented this tax as it would burden the ailing local manufacturing, especially jaggery, which substituted sugar for the locals. Vinegar was used in food preparations and was exported to British India along with palm jaggery, which earned profits for the fabricator. But, the British, under the treaty increased the tax on alcohol, so that it benefitted the governments in spite of the reduced number of trees used to tap the toddy.⁶² The manufacturers and the toddy tappers revolted and stopped tapping the trees.

After the signing of the Treaty in 1878, there were changes in the pattern of revenue to the government. At that point in time, Goa was exporting country liquor, vinegar, and toddy worth 19.320 rupees.⁶³ However, this export faded away due to the system of *abkari* introduced by this treaty. Instead, imports of sugar and sugar cane jaggery increased from 176.855 in 1878-1879 to 504.717 rupees in 1918. This led to an economic imbalance. Besides the export problems, the increase in manpower for collecting and implementing of taxes as

⁶⁰ L.M. Condorcet Pereira, "Campanha anti-alcóolica".

⁶¹ Both the speakers Azarias Condorcet Lobo and Teodoro Miranda discussed the need to change the existing regime of *abkari* as it is outdated and not beneficial to the government neither to the public or the businessmen.

⁶² During the period of the treaty, the income derived from the *abkari* went on increasing from Rs. 65,714:04:01 prior to the treaty to an average of Rs.635,559/- for the period from 1885-1889, which was nine times more. This increase was not due to the progress of the industry but due to the increase in the duty of toddy tapping. The maximum revenue earned from the auctioning of taverns was Rs. 277,786 in the triennium from 1886-1888, when a large number of workers of railways and Mormugao port, were attracted to taverns. The treaty came to an end on January 14, 1892. The total revenue earned during the period of the treaty was Rs. 4,819,053:02:09. The toddy-tapping industry suffered a lot during this period and as a result, a number of members of toddy-tapping families were forced to migrate.

⁶³ Palm feni –17.450, of cashew – 950, vinegar and toddy – 920 rupees.

emphasised in the treaty also caused a loss to the treasury. In addition, there was the loss of manual labour, who out of frustration decided to emigrate, as they could not accrue good income to manage their livelihood, owing to the heavy taxes and decrease in the export, which was caused due to reduction in the number of coconut trees used in the industry.⁶⁴ The Treaty made it easier for the people to travel with the establishment of the Railway line connecting Bombay to Mormugao Port. Those who remained in Goa had to look for an alternative income and since many were not available, they took to drinking to bury their sorrows. Coupled with this, the Portuguese government increased production to benefit from the added income since the revenue accrued on alcohol was big. This decision made more alcohol available to the local populace which increased consumption.

Teodoro Miranda in his presentation at the Second Congress suggested that if the reforms in the regime were accepted and implemented it would reduce alcoholism. According to him, this could be achieved by not making available for sale alcohol of higher grade, which was in fact harmful. It was assumed that the workforce would not be able to consume because it was beyond their buying power and therefore caused less damage to those who were habitual drinkers. His argument meant that majority of the alcoholics were the labour force.⁶⁵ Another point that was discussed was the government's tax on toddy tapping on the basis of the individual coconut tree. If this measure accrued higher returns to the government, it caused financial burdens to those producing palm jaggery, which was used as sugar by the common men, as well as to those producing vinegar.⁶⁶ Although Miranda does not mention it in his paper, it would also benefit the bread industry, in a limited way, since fresh toddy was used to leaven the flour batter, instead of yeast. For improving their financial conditions, he suggested that family members could join in the production of jaggery and vinegar which would give them returns. He added that the export of native liquor, would bring revenue to the government and proposed that the industry of cashew liquor should be encouraged because it is less harmful and the nuts would add to the income, as they are in demand.⁶⁷ However, Miranda did not explain why and how, and neither there was any scientific evidence to prove that cashew liquor was less harmful. In fact, the distillation grade of alcohol and not the type was detrimental and injurious to the consumer.

⁶⁴ José Maria Sá, "Relatório," *Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa. Subsídios para sua História*, 266-71; Maria Pia de Menezes Rodrigues "Taverna and its Socio-Economic Impact in Colonial Goa," in *Metahistory. History Questioning History. Festschrift in honour of Teotónio R. de Souza* (Lisboa: Vega, 2007), 195.

⁶⁵ Afonso, "Sétimo Congresso Provincial – Relatório," 54.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 55.

Azarias Condorcet Lobo in his presentation recommended that the tavern owners should pay the taxes of *abkari* and if it was accepted and implemented, then this measure according to him, would improve the production of toddy and manufacture of jaggery. These taverns could be classified and accordingly, the tax imposed on them and directly collected from the owners, making it easier to coordinate the collection and also to increase it in case the government needed more revenue. Lobo had also suggested that the tax levied on alcohol could be reduced and instead, to decrease the consumption, an additional charge to be levied on tavern licenses, which amount could be used for public assistance for the sick. This measure would also help the alcoholics, who constituted a sizeable number of those seeking public assistance.⁶⁸

While Lobo suggests an increase in tax of the tavern to raise the revenue, L. M. Condorcet Pereira in “Campanha anti-alcoólica”, suggested that the problem of alcoholism could be solved by decreasing the number of taverns in Goa”.⁶⁹ In the introduction to his paper, he gives the example of an alcoholic who when questioned about his drinking vice, pointed his fingers at the number of functional taverns in and around his place. The drunkard’s argument was that “if there were no taverns, he would not drink.” Pereira also argued that closing or reducing the number of taverns, would not be the only solution and many people might not agree to such decisions. He was right, especially after the other two presenters and delegates holding discussions on this issue had suggested that taxes to be imposed on consumers and taverns. If Pereira’s suggestion of decreasing the number of taverns was accepted, government would lose revenue, which those present at the Congresso were trying to safeguard and augment. He also proposed that the government finds some other substitute for the closure of taverns. Pereira proposed a space where people could go to and enjoy some good meals and non-alcoholic drinks, and suggested a ‘people’s canteen’ (cantina popular), where other entertainments could also be provided like gymnasium, books for reading, of which majority should be in Konkani.⁷⁰

This measure, if implemented might have solved the personal problem of the alcoholic in particular and the social problem of the community, keeping in mind that the tavern was considered to be the meeting point of the people of the village. However, the income to the government, an important issue, if not the most, would decrease with the

⁶⁸ Ibid., 56.

⁶⁹ L.M.Condorcet Pereira, “Campanha Anti-alcoólica,” in *Segundo Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa* (Nova Goa: Casa Luso-Francesa: 1917), 119.

⁷⁰ Ibid.,120

reduction in the number of taverns; this would mean a decline in revenue, for which Pereira also suggested solutions. One was to increase the license fees of the tavern which, would add up to the revenue. With the decrease of coconut trees used for extraction of toddy, more coconuts would be obtained as the spathe of the tree would now be allowed to grow. Coconuts would add revenue for the owners of the plantation. The extra production could be used for export since coconut and copra were one of the main export items from Goa to British India. Likewise, copra could be used for the extraction of oil for cooking, lighting lamps, and personal grooming. He explained that the renewed energy of those who stopped drinking would give much better output in the form of work that they carried. However, when the papers were discussed and deliberations made Pereira's suggestion was not even considered for discussion. This was despite his request that his proposal regarding the fixing of the number of taverns be accepted and voted on. In fact, there was opposition from delegates Isidoro Alvares and Adv. Jose Antonio Pinto do Rosario, who observed that with a fine imposed on the tavern owner, alcoholism can be reduced.⁷¹

In the same Congress, the problem of alcoholism was also mentioned in a session on *Emigration* by Socrates de Noronha, Junior, and Francisco Correia Afonso's 'Fate of the Goan emigrant in the focus of emigration. (Suggestions for its improvement).'⁷² They brought into focus the unhygienic and inadequate conditions faced by Goans who lived in the various *cuddas* existing in Bombay, which were used by many as they could not afford independent accommodation.⁷³ According to the paper presenters, one of the health problems faced by the emigrants was alcoholism.⁷⁴ They added that "some of the *cuddas* were dens of vice, where alcoholism and immorality reigned within unhygienic conditions and unruly behaviour."⁷⁵ The problem of alcoholism was also broached by J. J. Roque Correia Afonso in the essay 'Emigration: causes and remedies,'⁷⁶ which discussed measures to reduce and stop emigration. He suggested that people in Goa, should be kept busy and the government should establish village-level industries, which would employ all the available hands and provide honest recreation to them and felt that such activities were expected to put a stop to the tavern

⁷¹ *Segundo Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa*, 271.

⁷² *Ibid.*, Socrates de Noronha, Junior and Francisco Correia Afonso "A Sorte do Emigrante Goês no Foco da Emigração. (Alvitres para o seu Melhoramento)."

⁷³ *Cuddas* are rooms or a set of rooms in which the proletariat Goan emigrants lived in association and shared in paying rent and other expenses. This helped the emigrant who came for the first time to Bombay till they had a place of their own and also the seafarers who had a place to stay before starting a journey and when they returned.

⁷⁴ *Segundo Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa*, 2 (The papers are numbered individually).

⁷⁵ Translation of the author.

⁷⁶ "Emigração: suas causas, seus remedios."

and *zagores*.⁷⁷ These two papers showed how the vice was carried by the emigrants across the border and instead of sobering down, saving their earnings and helping the family back home in Goa, they spent on alcohol.

José Maria de Sá had to elaborate a report (Relatório) of the session *Alcoholism and Abkari*.⁷⁸ It was clear from the report, that the revenue from *abkari* was more important to the organizers than controlling or stopping the vice of alcoholism. In the very first line, he writes that ‘the regimen of *abkari* is one of the important problems of public administration of this province, linked to momentous problems.’⁷⁹ He calls them ‘important economic-political problems, which evidently needs to be attended to with urgency.’⁸⁰ After the papers were read and discussions and deliberations have taken by those present, a proposal was sent to the Government Council (Conselho do Governo) to only tax the taverns and not the coconut trees which were used to tap the toddy. However, this was not implemented by the Portuguese government as it was not ready to lose the much-needed revenue it obtained from *abkari*.

José Maria de Sá reported that the government should try to fill up the gap of the loss of revenue through increased taxes on alcohol and that the solutions to the problems by both the delegates who had presented the papers Condorcét Lobo and Teodoro de Miranda should be considered. He emphasized that both the speakers had assured the interests of the Revenue department.

It was only at the end of the session that the need to control alcoholism was discussed by the delegates who suggested that the enhanced *abkari* taxes would solve the problem and the Second Congress Provincial voted that these should be imposed directly on the consumption of alcohol in the territory. It was also proposed that the extraction of sap from coconut trees and other products of cashew and toddy in Goa, should be free from taxes, to

⁷⁷ *Segundo Congresso Provincial*, 38. *Zagor* is defined by Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado as a comic representation in Konkani by illiterate amateurs; a rudimentary theatre in Goa. It was prohibited by the ecclesiastical authorities under severe penalties since it was no more immoral than many European theatres. The penalties included excommunication as per the Archbishopal decree of November 14, 1777, applicable to those who attend the *zagor*. In spite of this order, the *zagor* continued to be performed well into the twentieth century. Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, Vo.II (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1988), 436.

⁷⁸ José Maria de Sá advocate, journalist, and government officer has left a sizeable literature on subjects related to agriculture and Comunidades. The introduction, and preliminary notes of the second edition of Filipe Neri Xavier’s *Bosquejo Histórico das Comunidades Agrícolas de Goa*, 1907, can be considered an independent work and bears testimony to his scholarship. He also contributed to various journals and papers on the same topics.

⁷⁹ “O regímen de abkári é um dos mais importantes problemas da administração pública desta província, concatenando-se com outros problemas também momentosos.” Cunha, *Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa. Subsídios para sua história*, 266. Translation of the author.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 267. Translation of the author.

overcome the problems faced by the manufacturing units.⁸¹ Another suggestion was to increase the fees of licences, except for wine and beer, on non-native alcohol.⁸² As can be seen, the increase in taxes was the only reference made to reduce alcoholism; other proposals were all connected to improve and organize the services associated with the collection of taxes to benefit the revenue department.

Governor Jaime Morais, discussed that the income would be reduced for the following main reason, besides others. The revenue accrued on *abkari* was through the forecasting method (processos de previsão). According to him, for the current year, it was calculated by Lobo as 600.000 rupees. On the other hand, the government had an income of 640.000 rupees, which would mean that in the very first year government would lose around 50.000 rupees.⁸³ The local and central government seems to have paid heed to the protest of the paper presenters and accepted some of the proposals, as has been claimed by the report of the Committee of the Congresso Provincial which informs that a couple of legislative diplomas were issued linking to the conclusion and proposal.

The Second Congress had voted for the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating drugs outside the pharmacies and drugstores and without medical prescriptions.⁸⁴ Another proposal that had the approval of the government, was the application of a fine to be levied on the owners of the establishments which sell alcoholic beverages, and admit in their premises on any pretext, minors or apparently those less than 18 years.⁸⁵ However, much was desired about the implementation of these laws, and the fact that the same was enacted in 1927 and 1928 shows the lethargy of the authorities to take action with regard to the orders.

The Comissão de Estudos of the Sétimo Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa included alcoholism as one of the topics for study and discussions.⁸⁶ It was held in 1927 and had various themes on which to deliberate besides alcoholism: labour employment, fish industry, tourism, education, emigration, taxation and others. However, Francisco Correia Afonso⁸⁷ in his report on the session, titled '*O alcoolismo na Índia Portuguesa,*' highlighted

⁸¹ Ibid., 268.

⁸² Ibid., 317.

⁸³ Ibid., 56.

⁸⁴ Diploma Legislativo no.234, dated 2.3.1927, Boletim Oficial no.10, 4 February, 1927.

⁸⁵ Diploma Legislativo no.334 dated 17.9.1928, Diploma Legislativo no.339, dated 17.10.1928, Portaria Provincial no.583 dated 10.12.1928.

⁸⁶ *Sétimo Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa. Comissão de Estudos. Relatório.* (Nova Goa: Tip.R.M.Rau & Irmãos,1927), 2.

⁸⁷ Francisco Correia Afonso was professor of English literature, poet, speaker and a well known literary personality amongst the Goan diaspora in Bombay where he taught and offered his services and knowhow for

that the most important theme of the Seventh Congresso from those selected for study was the issue of alcoholism in Portuguese India. He stated that ‘it was a major problem from those that so far had been studied in the earlier Congress, as in some way or other it was connected, as either cause or outcome, of all other problems that we had to face.’⁸⁸

The very fact that the Congresso took nine years to look into alcoholism as a social problem that was so important to the community, contradicts the statement of Correia Afonso. To begin with, the Congresso Provincial did not include alcoholism in its objective in spite of its seriousness. It made its presence in the Second Congresso, as already discussed, as a politico-economic issue and not social. The need was felt to include it in the Seventh Congresso because addiction had gone beyond the proletariat and common men and by now was also affecting the elite and the *bhatkars* as discussed in the press and literature.

PROHIBITION OF THE SALE OF ALCOHOL

Was there any other reason why alcoholism was planned to be discussed, besides those elaborated by the paper presenters and delegates at the Congresso Provincial? In 1920s a climax was reached worldwide with people and governments opposing the manufacturing and sale of alcohol, as it was causing havoc not only among those addicted but also on their families and society. They wished to put an end to this evil drink and the United States went a step ahead to impose prohibition. It was a nationwide constitutional ban on the production, importation, transportation, and sale of alcoholic beverages from 1920 to 1933. Though it had to be revoked it was found that reduction in alcohol-related problems such as alcoholism and family violence was reduced during the period. On the other hand, crimes related to bootlegging increased.

Prohibition was initiated as part of the Temperance movement, which asserted that alcohol and intoxication was responsible for crime, murder and other negative aspects of society. However, it became highly controversial among medical professionals, because alcohol was widely prescribed by the era's physicians for therapeutic purposes. The U.S. Congress held hearings on the medicinal value of beer in 1921. Subsequently, physicians across the country lobbied for the repeal of Prohibition as it applied to medicinal liquors. The American Government also decided to revoke it, as an important source of revenue was lost and moreover, they were Great Depression years.

the improvement of the educational system. He also taught in Dharward and Belgaum. He was fellow of the University of Bombay and member of the Board of the Univeristy Journal amongst other positions that he held.

⁸⁸ Afonso, “O Alcoolismo na India Portuguesa – Relatório,” 2. Translation of the author.

Closer home, in British India, Gandhi had started a movement against drinking. And the Goan intellectuals were closely following what was happening there. He was a champion of the temperance movement and viewed foreign rule as an obstacle to national prohibition. He said alcoholism was more damning than robbery and prostitution. Sometimes it will be father of both. In the constructive program in the non-cooperation movement, he enumerated five tasks, the second of which was regarding stopping the consumption of liquor.⁸⁹ He suggested for the plan's success, people's cooperation and asked them to join hands and invited women and youngsters along with men to stand near liquor boots and try politely to enlighten intending customers.⁹⁰ This *modus operandi* was called picketing.

Since Gandhi was not happy with the way the Congress workers functioned in this regard, he told them that 'they should shake off their lethargy and give up empty talk, demonstrations and speeches and go on working all the time.' And added that if India wished to reach this goal through non-violent effort, then the party should not leave to the future government the fate of lakhs of men and women who are labouring under the curse of intoxicants and narcotics.⁹¹

Gandhi asked his workers to accept his evidence regarding the drinking problem, that the country as a whole was sick of drink curse. 'The country is simply impatient of the evil itself, those unfortunate men who have become slaves to the habit required to be helped.' And he invited the workers to take advantage of the wave of feeling that had been aroused against the drink traffic.⁹²

SÉTIMO CONGRESSO PROVINCIAL (1927)

The following papers were presented during the Sétimo Congresso in the session on alcoholism and deliberated by the delegates in the discussion which followed. *Campanha contra o alcoolismo* by Bascora M.S. Borcar, *A Repressão do Alcoolismo* by Maria Ermelinda dos Stuarts Gomes, *O Alcoolismo (causa e seus remédios)* by Nogar Prudente Lourenço and *A Redução do Alcoolismo em Goa* by Solon de Quadros. The titles of the papers do not leave any doubt that repression of alcoholism was the main objective of the delegates at this session.

⁸⁹ *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, vol.20 (New Delhi: Publications Division Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1958),119.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 25, 149.

⁹² *Ibid.*, vol.20, 190.

Most of the delegates at the Congresso were of the opinion that alcoholism should be reduced and controlled. They knew that complete stoppage which would lead to prohibition like in the United States of America or attempts at it, by neighbouring British India, was not possible in Goa. This aspect of the problem was discussed by the delegates, and Ermelinda Stuart Gomes commented that ‘our aspirations are modest as it was limited to be restricted to saving, especially the youth and women falling in excess.’⁹³ Another speaker, Nogar Prudente Lourenço also said that ‘promulgation of dry law is not feasible in Goa, as long as it is ensconced in the British Territory.’⁹⁴ Solon de Quadros went a step ahead by suggesting that the tavernas should be stopped and the government should have a centre for sale in each parish, after auctioning the rights in public.⁹⁵ Probably Quadros was looking at controlling the sale of alcohol, which would reduce the vice and the measure would also give revenue to the government. Most of the speakers and delegates discussed that for the reduction in alcoholism to be achieved, limiting the number of tavernas was a must, a suggestion that had been reverberating from the time of the Second Congress, but not accepted for implementation by the government for fear of loss in revenue.⁹⁶

The local taverna became synonymous with the ambience of a village and many writers have portrayed them in their works. Orlando da Costa, in his novel *O Signo da Ira* entwines the narrative around it, and depicts – as the centre stage for meeting, gossip and discussions of the poor labourers –, the *mundkars* of *bhatkar* Ligôr, who drop in to have a drink of local *feni*, before they go home, spending part if not the entire amount earned for the day. He portrays Pedru, as an alcoholic, who wastes himself by drinking beyond his means and the deplorable condition of his wife, satiating her craving for alcohol by kissing his lips: ‘The other one... she waits for me every night and wants to kiss my mouth like in other times, she wants to kiss me and clings to my lips until she gets the taste of *feni*.’⁹⁷ This narrative shows the level of degradation of the alcoholic, who in this case is bedridden, but the desire to drink surmounts the physical weakness, and is satisfied with the remnants if any and the odour of the *feni* on the lips of her alcoholic husband. Costa also uses *feni* as a metaphor for

⁹³ Gomes, “A Repressão do Alcoolismo,” 6.

⁹⁴ Lourenço, “A Redução do Alcoolismo em Goa,” 9.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 7.

⁹⁶ Condorcet Pereira, Ermelinda S. Gomes and Bascora S. Borcar also made this suggestion.

⁹⁷ Orlando da Costa, *O Signo da Ira* (Lisboa: Temas da Actualidade, 1996), 67. Translation of the author.

lust. Rumão, the tavern owner offers Pedru free *feni*, with the intention of gaining access to his daughter Coinção, which he almost succeeds.⁹⁸

Since individual efforts would make it difficult to handle successfully, in the concluding remarks on alcoholism, Pereira suggested using joint decisions by various means: from the people, by a collaboration of all the social forces, utilizing all the available means to eliminate alcohol from their habits; from the government, by reform of the regime of *abkari*, phase wise, in which the administrators successively lost interest in the income it enjoys at the cost of alcohol vice.⁹⁹ However, these suggestions remained only on paper as even the laws which were promulgated were implemented only where they benefitted the government.

The census report also showed that there was a rise in deaths which were reported from 1885 to 1924, though there was no sensible growth in population. Peregrino da Costa relates the cause of this high number of deaths to alcoholism. The table below gives the figures for five years. The average for the years 1915-1919 was not taken into consideration because of the deaths due to the plague in 1918.¹⁰⁰

Table 5.5: Average 5 years Death Statistics from 1900-1919

Average for 5 years	Birth	Death	Deaths by thousand	Excess of births over deaths	By thousand
1900-1904	193	187	23,3	6	0,75
1905-1909	200	183	22,7	18	2,25
1910-1914	198	190	23,7	8	1
1915-1919	215	238	average is not taken into consideration because of the year 1918		
1919-1924	220	201	25,1	19	2,36

[Source: *Sétimo Congresso Provincial da India Portuguesa*, 1927, 20]

The table shows that mortality, increased to 25.1 not taking into consideration emigration.¹⁰¹

The taverns had also increased in number and gives the example of his own parish, which had around 8000 habitants, and the number of taverns had increased three folds if not more. Another reality was that alcoholism caught up with the masses who were uneducated

⁹⁸ Ibid., 68. Costa's tavern is like many others that populate the edge of the roads that pass the villages, 41.

⁹⁹ Cunha, *Congresso Provincial da India Portuguesa-Subsídios para a sua História*, 16.

¹⁰⁰ *Sétimo Congresso Provincial da India Portuguesa*, 1927, 20. Please see the Table 5.5 for details.

¹⁰¹ Afonso, 'O Alcoolismo na India Portuguesa – Relatório,' 20.

and the wages of the labourer *curumbim* were raised. This directly affected the landlords and elite whom they served who had to shell out more money. Peregrino da Costa also commented that instead of our people being physically fit, with a conducive warm climate, since the needs for nutrition, environmental protection, and virulence of sicknesses are less than in cold countries, the opposite was observed. The reason for this was the vice of drinking alcohol which was more in the rural areas than in the city and also a contrast with the Hindu population, who were teetotalers. However, the population rate had not increased reasonably, as can be seen from the above table. The motto of ‘maximum revenue with minimum consumption’ as suggested at the Second Congresso, was not followed by the government.¹⁰²

An article that appeared in the paper *O Ultramar* by Manuel de Albuquerque, blamed the Revenue Department as responsible for the increase in alcoholism.¹⁰³ He writes that in 1925, the Legislative Council (Conselho Legislativo), had voted for taverns to be away from schools, public offices, temples, and religious institutions far beyond 250 meters and also, for an increase in taxes. While the new taxes were implemented, that of maintaining distance was not, though it was approved unanimously by the members of the Council. Albuquerque gave the example of his village Rachol: at a distance of 50 meters from the Church there were two taverns, on the side of the postal services and even after complaining to the authorities to close the same, they did not take any action and continued business as before. He commented that money earned by the government goes to the treasury and to the savings of the tavern owner, who was busy buying properties belonging to the *bhatkars* who had no brains.¹⁰⁴

This seems to be true, as the government was not keen on reducing the taverns and the *bhatkar's* addiction to alcohol who sold his properties to satisfy his vice. In *Chivalry*, Bragança portrays the *bhatkar* as a mean person, an alcoholic who pesters his *mundkars* and who due to his vice ends up selling almost all the properties. With no money left to fulfill his desire, he lost moral value and harassed *mundkars* to give money, while even trying to abuse the modesty of the wife of a *mundkar*.¹⁰⁵

The Government Council's decision was implemented only when another Diploma Legislative issued measures by passing a law that within 1200 meters of the institutions,¹⁰⁶ no

¹⁰² *A máxima de receita com o mínimo de consumo.*

¹⁰³ *O Ultramar* dated 14 October, 1925.

¹⁰⁴ Afonso, *Sétimo Congresso Provincial*, 36.

¹⁰⁵ Bragança, *Tales*, “Chivalry,” 3-13.

¹⁰⁶ Schools, public offices, temples and religious institutions.

taverns could be established.¹⁰⁷ Another clause included in the same diploma was of forbidding entrance to drunken people, ladies, and minors of less than 15 years in the taverns. Besides, the timings were also reduced from nine in the morning to eight in the evening and would be closed on Sundays except if it was a festive day. This was issued during the tenure of Governor Massano de Amorim. However, it was not successful in thwarting alcoholism and even reducing the number of taverns, which went on increasing.

Thus, this is how Peregrino da Costa sums up the moral effects that alcoholism had in the increase in crimes and vices ‘gloomy and moral and material misery, manifesting itself under multiform aspects: female emigration, prostitution, robberies, perjury, and even assassinations coldly premeditated.’¹⁰⁸ All these brought deprivation and ruin not only to the individual but their family and society in general and of course to the administrators of the territory.

A paper presented by Borcar with statistics to support his claim showed that there was an increase every year in the production of alcohol, instead of a reduction, which aided in the rise of alcoholism and defeated the purpose of eradication. He argued that the production and consequently consumption of alcohol was increasing (for the reason that according to him its export across the borders was smuggling and its use for industrial purposes was nil).¹⁰⁹ This is despite the increase of taxes on the coconut trees from two rupees to ten rupees. He also pointed out that ‘alcoholism was more pronounced amongst the Christians, where there was no distinction amongst the consumers: it included, a rich and poor, a proprietor and a *manducar*, the government employee and the proletariat, the teacher and the student, the director and the peon in the government department; sadly, there is no exception to the women and children.’¹¹⁰

The following statistic shows the increase of coconut trees for toddy extraction, despite the increase in taxes.

¹⁰⁷ Diploma Legislativo no.334 dated September 17, 1928.

¹⁰⁸ Afonso, *Sétimo Congresso Provincial*, 23. Translation of the author.

¹⁰⁹ M.S. Bascora Borcar, “Campanha Contra o Alcoolismo,” in *Sétimo Congresso Provincial*, 3. (the papers have been individually numbered in the book).

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 2. Translation of the author.

Table 5.6: Year-wise Coconut Trees for Toddy Extraction

Year	No. of coconut trees for toddy extraction
1914	43.614
1915	45.848
1916	48.888
1917	46.338
1918	49.320
1919	50.545
1920	52.774
1921	52.497
1922	59.963
1923	59.623

[Source: *Sétimo Congresso Provincial da India Portuguesa*, 1927, 4]

From the above statistics, it can be seen that the number of coconut trees in the year 1914 was 43.614 increased to 59.623 in 1923 which means the proportionate increase is 38%. Since the number of trees has augmented, the quantity of alcohol produced has also increased. The table below shows the increase.

Table 5.7: Year-wise Quantity of Alcohol Extraction

Year	Quantity of alcohol extract in gallons
1914	1.348.744
1915	1.455.724
1916	1.552.194
1917	1.471.231
1918	1.565.907
1919	1.604.802
1920	1.674.618
1921	1.666.776
1922	1.902.550
1923	1.893.030 ¹¹¹

[Source: *Sétimo Congresso Provincial da India Portuguesa*, 1927, 5]

¹¹¹ Ibid., 7.

The above statistics show that coconut spirit production has increased by a proportion of 39%. To this can be added the production of cashew spirit from 1918 to 1922.

Table 5.7: Year-wise Production of Cashew Spirit

Year	Quantity of alcohol extract in gallons
1918	198.833
1919	138.025
1920	227.980
1921	218.990
1922	215.890

[Source: *Sétimo Congresso Provincial da India Portuguesa*, 1927, 5]

This shows that the increase in cashew spirit production is in the proportion of 8% during the five years, and it is presumed that this increased percentage will rise to 20%.¹¹² According to Borcar, the number of licences issued to sell native spirits is 2144 and commented that people, especially the proletariat, could not move around in Goa, without approaching a tavern. The number of taverns was increasing every year: in 1918 there were 1143 and in 1923 it reached 1383¹¹³. And by 1927 the number had increased to 2144.¹¹⁴

But what was more alarming, was not only the increase in the production of alcohol and the number of taverns but the death rate vis a vis the birth rate. Statistics showed that there was an increase in deaths and presumably they were directly or indirectly due to alcoholism.

The sole motto of the delegates for the Seventh Congresso, as discussed, was to decrease alcohol consumption or total eradication, the latter being a very difficult if not impossible task in the present circumstances. Domingos Roque Sousa presided over the first session which was on 'Alcoholism in Goa. Its causes and remedies.' In his speech, he said that in times of alcoholism whatsoever is done to fight this social bane, which has become a

¹¹² Ibid., 8.

¹¹³ Ibid., 7.

¹¹⁴ Afonso, *Sétimo Congresso Provincial*, 10.

deadly pandemic, even though little, is welcome. Till now nothing serious has been done to stop the scourge and therefore this need is felt.¹¹⁵

Domingos Sousa pointed out that it was important to understand the difference between the fight against alcoholism and the repression of drunkenness. He advocated a radical change in social habits and lifestyle to help fight alcoholism as the need of the hour. And added that this change should come from the delegates, as they belong to the educated class and in turn pass on to the labourer and the analphabet population. He also suggested that decisions taken by the delegates should be viable and practical, for this is the only way the government will attend to the request for reforms of the existing *abkari*, so important to curb alcoholism.¹¹⁶

There were also suggestions that the appeal to eradicate alcoholism should not only go to citizens and private bodies, but also go to the Government's official and semi-official institutions.¹¹⁷ According to him, their support would give weightage to the movement as exemplary behaviour should begin with the higher-ups. At the Official functions, alcoholic beverages were served and the masses were ready to imitate. Another suggestion was to prohibit women and children to sell alcohol at the tavern. His argument was that if those dispensing medicines need to be qualified, then why not those who sell alcohol for consumption. It is not only damaging to the consumer but also had affected the family and descendants and suggested that a line be added to the deliberations 'do not trust the sale of alcoholic beverages to the minors and women.'¹¹⁸ And the Congresso voted unanimously that the profession of *taverneiro* should be controlled by rules.¹¹⁹

According to the delegates, the present regime functioned only under the fiscal criteria and not to the motto proposed in the report of the Second Congresso Provisional, which deliberated 'maximum revenue with minimum consumption.'¹²⁰ The delegates at this Congress also agreed that the restriction against alcoholism face difficulties because Government will have to stop the production and sale of alcohol, directly and through the tavernas. This would mean a major stop of revenue to the coffers as no tax would be collected

¹¹⁵ Cunha, *Congresso Provincial da India Portuguesa – Subsídios para a sua História*, vol.4, 27. Translation of the author.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹¹⁷ This suggestion was made by Jaganata Visnum Camotim, one of the delegates.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* Translation of the author.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 46.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 30

on alcohol. Leave aside, from eradicating alcoholism, the government was not ready to reduce the number of tavernas, and instead, fresh licences for new ones were issued.

However, the government failed to understand that the losses would not be big if they took into consideration the expenses incurred in administering the increase of madness and death due to alcoholism. This would also result in loss of manpower for work, which was reduced alarmingly because of emigration. Besides expenses would also be incurred for the suppression of crimes and assistance towards those plunged into misery, due to alcoholism. It was found that many a time when the alcoholic did not have money to buy a drink, he would rob things, coconuts, livestock, anything that was saleable. This was a known fact in the villages because the salary, even if it was exorbitant, was not sufficient to kill the thirst for alcohol.¹²¹ Usually, the tavern owner bought the items at a pittance or for some alcohol in return. This showed the level of the moral degradation of the alcoholic.

In the final session, the delegates at the Seventh Congresso suggested that there should not be the sale of alcohol for local consumption with a percentage above 13 or 14 graus which were similar to *urraca* or *cajuló*. Another suggestion was the reduction in the production of native liquor/alcohol by 25% from the present rate. They did not fail to discuss, the increasing number of taverns which was also raised during the Second Congresso by Condorcet Pereira, whose suggestion to reduce them at that time was not even taken into consideration for discussion, let alone recommended. It was also decided to recommend prohibiting the establishment of new ones in localities where the public had easy access and restricting the hours to be kept open and closed during festive days. Prohibiting the sale of alcohol to women and children was also mooted, and neither would they be allowed to sell. It was recommended to increase the tax amount on the import of products as well as increase the license fee and make effective the legislation against drunkenness.¹²²

ALCOHOLISM AND THE CATHOLICS

There was a conception that the Catholics were prone to drinking alcohol and therefore addiction was predominant amongst them. Such allegation did not go well with the Church, which decided that it was time to take a firm decision to control this menace. The religious authorities agreed that there was a problem amongst its flock. The voices at the seminars and writings in various newspapers, be those in Portuguese, Marathi, or Konkani,

¹²¹ Afonso, *Sétimo Congresso Provincial*, 56.

¹²² Cunha, *Congresso Provincial da India Portuguesa – subsídios para a sua História*, vol. 5, 221.

from Goa, Bombay (Mumbai), or even in Portugal, broached and discussed the problem of alcoholism in general and amongst the Catholics in particular. In addition, there were statistics to prove that the mortality rate was higher amongst the Catholics and the main cause was alcoholism – directly or indirectly.¹²³ Yes, it was not easy for the Church to look on the other side and say, that nothing is wrong with the Catholic community, and decided to take remedial action.

For the Church, it was not a new problem. This existed even in the past, albeit in lesser numbers and intensity. The Church correspondence and pastoral letters show clear evidence that the problem of alcohol consumption existed within the clergy as well as amongst the laypeople.

PORTARIA OF 1931 AND CIRCULAR OF 1934 ISSUED BY THE ARCHDIOCESE

The Patriarch obvious of the grave problem, supported the decisions taken by the Seventh Congresso Provincial, which laid emphasis on joint decisions from the people and collaboration of all the social forces to eradicate the scourge. Therefore, instructions were issued by a *Portaria*, (of the Archdiocese) prohibiting serving food and drinks in the sacristy or any attached room near religious buildings.¹²⁴ Such instructions were not new, as earlier similar ones were issued by the predecessors of the present Patriarch. It also prohibited the use and offering of alcohol to any person in the parochial houses. Strictures were also passed regarding the celebrations of a feast in the precincts of the Church. The *Mordomo* of the feast was ordered not to serve food in the parochial house if ladies were present.¹²⁵

It gives the impression that the *Portaria* did not make much headway and since he was not happy with the outcome, the Patriarch issued a Circular to all the parish priests in the Archdiocese that he disapproved, and considered drinking of alcohol at the celebrations of *Ladainha* as a real sickness, and not only condemned but also prohibited it.¹²⁶ Lucio Rodrigues writes regarding preparations of *Ladainha*: ‘There was the visit to the local market for gram, a bottle of *branco* (wine)... The gram ... boiled to the correct degree of softness,

¹²³ For details on deaths according to religion please refer to Estado da Índia. Repartição da Estatística. *Censo da População do Estado da Índia em 26 de Fevereiro de 1931* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1935),18-21.

¹²⁴ Dated 14 October 1931. The *Portaria* no. 52 renovates the prohibition orders issued by Manuel de S. Galdino, (Pastoral of 11 August, 1812), and later by D. Antonio Valente, registered in the Diocesan Synod of 30 December, 1898.

¹²⁵ *A Voz de S.Francisco Xavier (Boletim da Arquidiocese Primacial de Goa e Damão e Patriarcal das Indias Orientais*, 2 October 1931, 58.

¹²⁶ Circular dated 3 April 1934.

while coconut chips were sliced to be mixed up... The inevitable bottle of coconut or cashew *fenni* (liquour) gave the preparations a touch of finality.¹²⁷ According to the circular, celebrations of *Ladainha* are good traditions and should be encouraged and practised.¹²⁸ However, the serving of *feni* at this religious function was not welcome and also hurt the Patriarch's feelings, who considered this as a sacrilege and also a shame for the Catholics who should give a good example of good manners, faith, and devotion to all others by drinking less and therefore the Circular was issued.

The Parish priest was made responsible to implement and see that the Circular was followed. To make it more stringent, the Patriarch informed if anyone did not follow the same and this practice continued, then those not observing it would be punished according to the Canon Law. Vicars and chaplains were asked to read the Circular in the local language, as many times as needed, during the preaching or sermon, so that more people understood.¹²⁹ The Patriarch also pointed out that while selecting and appointing staff to the different positions in the Church, the candidates should be abstemious.

The circular was criticised by the paper *O Bharat*, which had led a campaign against alcoholism and had all along pointed a finger at the Catholics, the church and the government authorities for denial and aversion to take any action. The editor Govinda P. Hegdo Dessai, spared no words when he wrote that the very fact a circular was issued, showed that the patriarch for the first time acknowledged in a public document the problem of alcoholism and commented 'About litanies or prayers, or where these religious acts are performed, alcoholic beverages are drunk, such as *feni*, etc' constituting 'a true scandal for non-Christians.'¹³⁰ According to Hegdo Dessai there was deliberate silence on the part of Catholic newspapers and the so-called 'Defensors' and propagandists of religion. He added that the scandal due to drinking that goes on the occasion of the minor acts of Catholic worship had reached such levels that it was visible to anyone, that the religious authority cannot deny and pretend the indecent spectacle of drunkenness organized on the pretext of religion, almost daily. The

¹²⁷ Lucio Rodrigues, *Of Soil and Soul and Konkani Folk Tales* (Bombay: Laura D'Souza Rodrigues, 1974), 27.

¹²⁸ *Ladainha* was sung or recited, on the occasion of an engagement, a marriage, a christening, birth or wedding anniversary, the feast of a patron saint, the return of an emigrant, or his departure on expiry of home leave. The devotion was practised when making a vow to a popular saint or in thanksgiving for favours received. Rodrigues, *Of Soil and Soul*, 26. There are more references to the *Ladainha* in chapter III "Food, the memory connector. A study of the Goan folk and other forms of literature".

¹²⁹ *Ave Maria*, a Bombay based Goan paper, comments on the circular and writes that no alcoholic beverages are to be served for litany, either at the cross or at home. *Ladahinic soro pienaiye khursac vo gharan kelear. Ave Maria*, 22 April 1934, 1.

¹³⁰ *O Bharat*, 12 April, 1934, 1. Translation of the author.

editorial points out that if there were statistics maintained by the police, they would know the percentage of fights and crimes on the occasion of Catholic feast days and religious observances, which help to cover the ignoble drunkenness.¹³¹

Hegdo Dessai is sceptical about the implementation and success, as he comments that it is doubtful if this circular prohibiting alcohol in the religious feasts and the penalties mentioned therein, will stop or even reduce the habit of drinking 'as it is so deeply rooted amongst the Catholic population of this land, even admitting that the patriarchal circular will be executed.'¹³² The editor doubts the seriousness of the circular, which came so late. According to him, the authority was so indifferent to taking any action that it could have been just a 'platonic manifestation' (*manifestação platónica*), not to be taken seriously. He also takes an opportunity to take a gibe at the Patriarch who had promised a Pastoral Letter at the time of the Congresso de Acção Católica, showing that the gravity of the problem was not well-thought-out by the religious or civil authorities. He emphasised that the problem of alcoholism cannot be settled or solved by pastoral letters, sermons, circulars, temperance leagues, or other manifestations of this type promoted with the aim of throwing dust on the eyes of the public. Nor will those dependent on the revenue take any action which will prejudice them. It cannot be solved by deliberately ignoring that the main cause of this illness was the unlimited production of cheap alcoholic drinks, permitted by the public administration with the aim of having an easy revenue. And concluded that the circular helped in accepting the existence and immoderate use of alcohol during *ladainhas* and other religious acts and the responsibility that this custom had in the propagation of the vice of alcoholism! The editor was right in his inference that even if the circular was put into practice there would not be much headway, as such circulars or actions were issued or proposed many a time and did not materialise.

On the occasion of the IV centenary of the Archdiocese of Goa, (1933), a Seminar, *Congresso da Acção Católica*, the first of its kind, was organized at the Convent of S. Francisco de Assis, at Old Goa. Various essays on different subjects relevant to the Catholics were discussed at this event.¹³³ On the very first day, there was one on vices of alcoholism and tobacco, titled *Alcoholism and Tobacco* by Dr. Baronio Monteiro.¹³⁴

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Translation of the author.

¹³³ It was a two days event held on 12-13 September, 1933.

¹³⁴ *A Voz de S. Francisco*, 12 September, 1933, 137.

During the discussion after the papers were presented Cannon A. J. Heredia agreed that alcohol and tobacco were dreadful, but questioned if these could be totally banned. He commented that he was against a total ban. *In medio consistit vitrus* (the virtue is in the middle) and is away from extremes. He added that the Scripture assured that wine makes happy the man's heart -*Vinum laetificatcor hominis*- and cited the example of the wedding at Cana, where Christ converted miraculously water into wine, which according to Heredia showed that in social functions, the use of wine can be permitted. Another Cannon João Paulo de Sousa said that if medical sciences and hygiene condemned alcohol and tobacco, then it should be banned. However, he believed that alcohol in small dose was food, for which Monteiro had disagreed. Sousa added that he also read an authorised doctor's (médico autorizado) opinion, that alcohol in small quantities can be very useful to the human organism.¹³⁵ Heredia's argument that Christ's miracle of converting water into wine gives consent to use it for social functions is not plausible, because what Monteiro was discussing was the abuse of alcohol and not its use at social functions. And the point raised by de Sousa that alcohol in small quantities can be very useful as the food was discussed by many as not valid as it was "bad food", and therefore unhealthy for those who consumed it.

The Patriarch at the valedictory function of the Congress while commenting on the paper of Monteiro, remarked that the vice of alcoholism was like cancer that had invaded the Archdiocese in a frightening manner.¹³⁶ He acknowledged that it was grave, and corroborated that it was especially a moral problem, as mentioned by some of his colleagues, in the press. Therefore, he mentioned that as head of the Archdiocese it was his responsibility to take measures to stop the vice and had therefore long back, begun to write a Pastoral Letter. But his busy schedule had not allowed him to finish it. However, it looked like the need and urgency to tackle the vice and criticism of Hegdo Dessai, made him write without delay anymore, as he issued the Pastoral Letter while on his vacation in Wellington. It was titled 'Carta Pastoral sobre o alcoolismo: D.Theotónio Manuel Ribeiro Vieira de Castro.' It was dated June 8, 1934. It appears that he was looking for divine blessings, as the Letter was issued on an important day to the Catholic Church, the feast of the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

With the Pastoral Letter on alcoholism issued, the Patriarch called upon the legislators of Goa, (Conselho do Governo) who are the law makers, to apply the same enthusiasm to

¹³⁵ Ibid.,147.

¹³⁶ Ibid.,170.

achieve comfort and material progress of the people of Goa and to take care of their physical and moral sanitation with regard to the nefarious vice of alcoholism. To attain this, it was suggested that rigorous implementation and perfecting the rules, referred to the supply of alcoholic beverages to be followed. It also suggested imposing severe penalties on the transgressor. The Patriarch urged the government to overlook any loss in income if the rules are implemented as the losses would be compensated in favour of the family and the State. He writes that people would have a strong body, there would be fewer crimes and mortality, an increase in births, reduced expenses with social assistance, and the honour and prestige of India Portuguesa would go high in stature.

In the same way, he requested the priests of the diocese to unite with him in the crusade against alcoholism and suggested the need for them to be conscious of being the first to give a good example for all, the faithful and the unfaithful and zeal, timely and prudent refrains. Though the Church was trying to overlook alcoholism, it was not a new problem for the religious authorities. Historically it had to face this problem amongst the clergy and the people. So, it was not surprising that the Patriarch calls the attention of the priests that they should be the first to practice restraint as they are not above the law. Many of them were prone to drinking and became alcoholics. This trend of the past probably continued in the present. A paper by Maria de Jesus dos Martires Lopes throws some light on the problems of addiction amongst the Catholics and the clergy which shows how the past and the present may not differ.¹³⁷

As far as addiction to alcoholism was concerned, the accused were, as a rule, compelled to sign a good behavior bond, make a confession, and pay a pecuniary fine. (Usually, the fine imposed on the denounced who were accused of alcoholism was ranging between 2 to 6 *xerafins*. In rare cases it was raised from 25 to 30 *xerafins*).¹³⁸ In the case of priests, the punishment was very much similar, aggravated further by reclusion in a Convent and suspension of priestly orders, and this proves that the punishment was proportionate to the degree of responsibility of the individual in the society. The cases of relapse were more severely punished, especially of the priests, with ‘externment’ to another parish for some time.¹³⁹ On the other hand, it was worth recalling the importance the Catholic church assumed in the Goan society and the process of acculturation that took place in the east.

¹³⁷ Maria de Jesus dos Martires Lopes, “Then Goan Society of the Second Half of XVIII Century Analysed by Catholic Texts of “Pastoral Visits,” *Boletim do Instituto Menezes Bragança*, no.169 (1993): 225-46.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 245.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 239.

Notwithstanding these observations not always favourable, the clergy seems to have responded well to the ecclesiastical duties.¹⁴⁰

According to Lopes, the documentation under study, brought to light the constant preoccupation and eagerness on the part of the high dignitaries of the Church to avoid as far as possible or, when necessary, to curb the excesses – easily committed, particularly at the level of parochial clergy which was less subject to the control of their superiors due to the fact that they were isolated in the rural surroundings.

The delicts that the priests were accused of, are generally not of dogmatic-religious nature, but mainly that of social incidence and represent a clear violation of ecclesiastical statutes. Many of them were accused of not following properly their priestly duties and also of carrying on practices forbidden by canonic law such as business or indulging in alcoholism.

Out of 128 accused among the regulars, 51 were classed as habitual drinkers (drunkards) and their state of drunkenness (39.8%) was such that they were unable to carry out their divine obligations.

Whether the denouncers are worthy of belief, what were the factors responsible for a such high incidence of alcohol addicts? Could be a vice very much spread among the members of this society of which the clergy was also affected, following the ‘fashion of their parishioners’? In fact, it was noted that alcoholism assumed a high percentage, though not the highest, in the list of offences.¹⁴¹ Lopes questions the reason for such incidence of alcoholics amongst the clergy and feels that they are attracted to it as they could not have amorous links, in a society in which roughly, everyone is acquainted with each other, as the deviations in the sex behavior are next on the list.

In another article, also based on the pastoral visits, the author writes that the clerics are more frequently accused of the vice of drunkenness.¹⁴² And ironically comments ‘apparently, when other pleasures of the flesh were denied to them, the clerics seem to have taken the commendation of wine by St. Paul a little too seriously.’ And gives the example of the parish priest of Velsao (Salcete), who was accused in 1748 of drinking so excessively, as

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 232.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 231.

¹⁴² Teotónio R. de Souza, “The Voiceless in Goan Historiography,” in *Portuguese History Sources and Problems*, ed. John Correia-Afonso (Bombay, Oxford University Press: 1981), 126.

to be incapable of doing his duty of celebrating Mass for his parishioners even on Sundays and days of obligation.¹⁴³

In the article “Poetry in the Histories of Goan Literature in Portuguese”, Helder Garmes discusses a poem titled ‘Desejos de um bêbado’ (Wishes of a drunkard).¹⁴⁴ The poem is a satire by an anonymous poet who writes about different alcoholic beverages connecting them to geographical identities. He dwelled in the western places and then came to the Coast of Coromandel and included Cochin, Diu, and Goa. The second last stanza of the poem refers to *feni* and the Mandovi river and the last to Christianity. In the poem, the poet wishes that *feni* flows the Mandovi:

Wishes of a drunkard

Oh! God! what satisfaction
for a soul of Christian!
it's so happy;
But for proof of the love
I have to my country,
I also fervently ask
that the great beautiful Mandovi
be all of Feni.¹⁴⁵

Garmes comments that the poem addressed a theme that is very Goan; the drinking of alcohol, not common amongst Hindus and Muslims, functioning as a brand, in this case somewhat irreverent, of Christianity. Garmes wrote that *feni* was an alcoholic beverage distilled from cashew, mostly consumed by the Goan proletariat. He probably had not come across another important *feni*, that of the coconut palm, which was manufactured, as already mentioned, much before the Portuguese arrived. In fact, palm *feni* accounted for the majority of quantity produced throughout the year and its export gave a huge revenue to the government.¹⁴⁶ Besides, it gave employment to thousands of *rendeiros*, a class by themselves, who extracted toddy from the tree.¹⁴⁷ Statistics show the quantities manufactured

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Helder Garmes, “A Poesia nas Histórias da Literatura Goesa de Língua Portuguesa,” *Navegações*, Porto Alegre, v. 9, n. 2 (Jul-Dec. 2016): 136-43. The poem “Desejos de Um Bêbado” (Anonymous), published in *Tirocinio Litterário*, no.11 (April 1862): 86-87.

¹⁴⁵ Garmes, *ibid.*, 141.

¹⁴⁶ In the story “Debts Were Paid,” Berta makes it a point to say that payment is made with palm *feni*, because this was consumed by the majority of people, especially in the South. In this part of Goa, if you ask for *feni*, you will be served palm, unless you specify cashew.

¹⁴⁷ Toddy extraction is a tedious job for the toddy tapper, who has to climb the tree, three times a day, morning, noon, and evening. The toddy is collected from the spike of the tree and the collection is done in the mornings and evenings, whereas at noon he climbs the tree mainly to take care of the spike so as to activate the flow of sap, which is commonly known as applying *cheu*. Usually, toddy is extracted from three spikes at a time, which

of both the *feni*. Referring to the last verse suggests that God could also be included among drunks since he drinks wine, which would extend to the whole congregation of Catholic priests who do so in the celebration of Mass.¹⁴⁸

...
which you drink, my Lord,
give me in hiding
four chosen barrels."¹⁴⁹

Garmes wrote that the theme of alcohol, treated anonymously in a subtle way in 1862, would make history and gain a significant expression in Goan social history, first linked to Christianity and then to the Westernization of Goa. Indeed, in the twentieth-century alcoholism became the main scourge amongst not only the proletariat and the Catholics, but included all segments of society. There is no doubt, however, that abstention being a religious precept in both Hinduism and Islam, the introduction of Western customs, increased manufacture, and availability, greatly facilitated the demand for alcohol.

There seem to be no changes in the way alcoholism was perceived as *Jornal das Comunidades* wrote what so often had been saying ‘The population of Goa, especially the Christian proletariat population, is overwhelmed by alcoholism. There is not a celebration, a litany, a baptism, a birth, or even a death in which the *feni* is not abused... even for a silly reason, the *feni*! There is no sadness or joy that is not celebrated with *feni*...’¹⁵⁰

The pressure on the Church to take action against alcoholism came from all quarters, Catholics as well as Hindus, journalists as well as intellectuals. The best example of this drive would be the conference papers and discussions of the delegates during the Congresso, when it was pointed to the Catholics as the main culprits. They even blamed them for showing the way to members of other communities. Even at the church’s doorsteps during Congresso de Acção Católica, Baronio Monteiro pointed out the community’s role in alcohol addiction in his paper. The criticism had to be viewed on the positive side, as he was trying to impress upon those present and others the grave situation that was caused by this scourge. The Circular issued by the Church was not enough and was also criticized by some papers. There

is tapped every day to rupture the cells and induce the flow of the sap. The first collection of toddy is normally made on the eleventh day. José Joaquim Fragoso, *Technica da Lavra de Sura do Coqueiro e Outras Industrias Dependentes* (Nova-Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1909), 1; Rodrigues, “Taverna and its Socio-Economic Impact,” 186.

¹⁴⁸ Garmes, *ibid.*, 141.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ *Jornal das Comunidades*, 5 September, 1937, 1. Translation of the author.

was no option for the Patriarch but to take a more serious stand. This came in the form of the Pastoral Letter, which was long overdue. In that letter, the Patriarch tried to cover almost all the relevant aspects related to alcoholism and acknowledged that the scourge prevailed in Goa. He also, admitted that unfortunately, addiction was not only amongst the illiterate of the Goan society, but it was widespread amongst different social classes, corroding the youngsters and the adolescents. To make his point, he referred to some ignorant illiterate parents who frequently gave *feni* and other alcoholic beverages to their children of tender age.¹⁵¹

The Patriarch was concerned about the bad example that the Catholic alcoholics set for people in a country which had various other religions, like Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, and Jains, who by rule, do not touch alcohol. To quote: ‘Therefore, what a great scandal, they give to the followers of the only true religion, if they do not only use, which is allowed to them when there are just motives, – but abuse these drinks.’¹⁵² Nevertheless, the Patriarch tried to fight alcoholism and the *portarias*, circulars and Pastoral letters issued by the church authorities are proof of their efforts although most of it remained on paper and nothing much was done in practice.¹⁵³

A Committee was formed to follow up with the recommendations and proposals at the Catholic Action Congress which would insist with the Government to fulfill integrally the existing law restricting the sale of alcoholic beverages, place, time, etc, in the intuition of moral health and physicality of the population. In fact, a war needed to be started against the abuse of alcoholic beverages and therefore recommended avoidance of even the moderate daily use; children and adolescents not to be allowed to drink and in this regard, the Congress requested support from parents, teachers, and educationists.¹⁵⁴

ALCOHOLISM AND THE PRESS IN GOA

One would think after so much exposure against the vice of alcoholism, from individuals to organized entities, at the Congresses, the church authorities, the press, and others the government would take some concrete action, but nothing much happened. Even the laws which were enacted were not implemented to the core. However, many individuals

¹⁵¹ Article 1. This point was also raised by others during the Provincial Congress.

¹⁵² Translation of the author.

¹⁵³ *A Voz de S.Francisco Xavier*, April 18 1934, 368.

¹⁵⁴ The Committee was formed of Mons.Tomaz de Aquino Barreto, Germano Correia, Antonio Maria da Cunha, Benedito Gomes and Luiz de Menezes Bragança. *A Voz de S.Francisco*, September, 12 1933, 174.

continued the fight. Baronio Monteiro established the *Liga Economico-Social da India Portuguesa* with the objective to help the Goan community live a better life.¹⁵⁵ He was against alcohol and tobacco. The objective of the *Liga* was to propose to simplify things, enhance moral values in life, fight alcoholism, and increase local food production. Since he was not in a position to reach people from far away, he decided to start a periodical for the people to read and understand the objectives and support them in their endeavours. The first issue of *A Reforma, Revista Mensal, Orgão da Liga Economico-Social*, was launched in September 1932, on the first year of the foundation of the *Liga*.

Although the *Liga* was fighting the consumption of alcohol and in that way alcoholism, the editor writes that they were not for the prohibition of alcohol but for moderate drinking, especially during social functions, where drinks were served without any restriction. He also added that the *Liga Economico-Social da India Portuguesa* should not be confused with the *Liga de Temperança* and decided to form a *Liga Anti-Tabago-Alcoolica* with physicians Jacinto da Silva, Peregrino da Costa, and Baronio Monteiro at its helm for fighting against alcohol and tobacco.¹⁵⁶ Sometime later in 1934, the long-awaited *Liga de Temperança de Goa* was established and its bye-laws were published in the *A Reforma*. It seems to have received a positive response from the Church authorities because the by-laws also appeared in the *Voz de S. Francisco Xavier*, which was the official organ of the Church.¹⁵⁷ A committee was formed and all the members were physicians, except for Pedro Correia Afonso, who was an agronomist.¹⁵⁸

This came at a time when the Temperance Movement around the world was dwindling. In fact, in 1935 Alcoholics Anonymous started the movement against alcoholism.¹⁵⁹ Monteiro had hoped that through it, people would be able to understand the evil that alcohol was and this would lead them to reduce or give up drinking. However, it had a small following, and nothing much happened on this front either. Other attempts made at trying to reduce the scourge also do not seem to have had desired effect on reducing alcoholism. The problem persisted because the authorities were not serious about implementation.

¹⁵⁵ *Liga Economico-Social da India Portuguesa* was established in 1931.

¹⁵⁶ The first meeting took place on March 5, in Margao.

¹⁵⁷ *A Reforma*, vol.2, no.2 February (1934): 36-38.

¹⁵⁸ Jacinto da Silva, Inacio Manuel de Miranda, Sales da Veiga Coutinho, Baronio Monteiro, Peregrino da Costa, Jaime Rangel were the other members.

¹⁵⁹ Alcoholics Anonymous was founded in 1935 by Bill Wilson and Bob Smith in Akron, Ohio. It is an international mutual aid fellowship whose stated purpose is to "enable its members to stay sober and help other alcoholics achieve sobriety."

We find that the other newspapers were also active in criticizing the use of alcohol in Goa. *Porjecho Adar*, points out several reasons why alcoholism is prevailing in Goa. An article ‘Ladainha vo Ters. Amcheam Gaunvanim’ criticizes the serving of alcohol at these religious practices. The writer says that it is worst because youngsters who accompany the elders for these practices learn to smoke and drink.¹⁶⁰ Drinks were also served in the villages during the wedding celebrations when people had parties for a number of days and spent money although many could not afford it. In a series of articles written by Bulhão Fratel on the tradition of wedding celebrations in the villages of Goa by the proletariat by spending money beyond their means, advises them to not have such unnecessary expenditures which results in a financial onus for many years, even sometimes during their lifetime. In these articles, he also criticizes the serving of alcohol to the guests at the several functions linked to the wedding, which is detrimental to their health.¹⁶¹ But, to emphasize alcohol being present in all types of events – happy or sad – a write-up titled *Soro interranc* dwells on how no sooner the death of a person is informed, a neighbour will come to assist and help with the formalities.¹⁶² The first thing he will ask to do is buy a *garrafão* of *feni* to serve those who come to pay condolences and to those who come to say the Rosary during the seven days after the funeral. He also advises buying alcohol to be served, after the funeral, near the cemetery to those who were present.¹⁶³ This tradition benefitted the alcoholics who would attend a funeral because they would get free alcohol. *Inter vo Monnam* was another one that discussed alcoholism at a funeral.¹⁶⁴

The Portuguese paper *O Século*¹⁶⁵ from Lisbon carried an article on alcoholism in Goa, which wrote that certain means had been proposed to the government of Portuguese India by which to resolve the problem surrounding the regulation of taverns. Through this, it had come to light that there was one tavern for every 200 inhabitants, many of these within 10 meters of each other. These comments were made in 1932 and in 1937 José Inacio de Loyola vulgo Fanchu writes under the title ‘Alcoolismo’: ‘Alcohol is gradually poisoning the population of Portuguese India. The people are visibly weakening, losing their past physical and intellectual virility.’ Also, the damned vice of alcoholism enjoys an unbridled reign in every stratum of society and taverns are mushrooming at a frightful pace, selling alcohol at

¹⁶⁰ *Porjecho Adar*, 23 January 1930.

¹⁶¹ Bulhão Fratel, “Cazaram Amcheam Gavanim,” 7 August 1930 onwards.

¹⁶² “Soro interranc”, *Porjecho Adar*, 23 April 1931, 1.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ “Inter vo Mornam”, *Porjecho Adar*, 30 October 1930, 1.

¹⁶⁵ *O Século* (Lisbon), 19 February 1932. The article was transcribed by José Inacio de Loyola in *Portugal e Colónias*, for the benefit of his local readers on 19 March 1932, 3.

all times of the day or night. He too blames the big number of taverns for this sorry state of affairs: ‘there are taverns – the source of irradiation of the vilest immoralities – at regular intervals, in centres, alongside roads, taverns in the heart of the towns and cities, the entire territory of Goa has been converted into a paradise of drunkenness.’¹⁶⁶

He blamed the State, for allowing taverns, as the revenue accrued from these, was one-fifth of the total income provided by *abkari*, which was the income from alcohol business, including distillation. This was reason enough for the State to zealously protect its interests and was far from eager to take the initiative to promulgate a law, which though morally beneficial to society, would curtail its revenue. Fanchu, therefore made an appeal for a collective movement by the people of the country – having at its head all those men who are representatives of Indo-Portuguese intellectualism – that could persuade the government to bestow upon this problem the attention it deserves. Like others, he also felt that the fight against alcoholism by an individual would be difficult and hence asked others to join and suggested that the government should find other means to cover the losses if the number of taverns was reduced.

This campaign against alcohol by *Portugal e Colónias* was seconded by other newspapers like *Jornal das Comunidades*, *Correio de Bardez*, and others who appreciated the effort of José Inacio de Loyola. *Jornal das Comunidades* wrote that the Congress government in the Bombay Presidency was determined to impose ‘dry law’ to control or put an end to alcoholism. Surprisingly the British government did not oppose this move, citing loss of revenue. Instead made arrangements in the budget of the Presidency of Bombay¹⁶⁷ to counterbalance the losses. The paper asked why these measures could not be made applicable to Goa, which because of the abuse in alcoholism was called ‘essentially alcoholic and tavern of Hindustan.’¹⁶⁸

In fact, in the earlier decades, it was the vernacular press that was in the forefront of writing on alcohol vice. For example, *A Luz do Oriente - Prachi-Prabha* of which Ramchandra P. Vaidya was the editor and Sitaram Quercar, secretary and in-charge of the Portuguese section. Quercar writes that the main fundamental causes of our ruin were illiteracy, alcoholism, employment (*empregomania*) and superficial westernisation.¹⁶⁹ He

¹⁶⁶ *Portugal e Colónias*, 19 May 1937, 3.

¹⁶⁷ *Jornal das Comunidades*, 5 September, 1937, 1.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.* “Essencialmente Alcoólica e Taverna do Indústão.”

¹⁶⁹ *A Luz do Oriente - Prachi-Prabha*, 25 January, 1922, 1.

wrote that the paper's mission was to fight against the evil of alcoholism and would constantly write on it, beginning from the first issue.¹⁷⁰ Quercar also wrote that it was difficult for a state to prosper when the vice had completely ruined the people and the proletariat and their families by creating disorder, hunger, weakness, immorality, etc.¹⁷¹ He described the taverns as 'destructive agents of alcoholism'¹⁷² and commented that nothing has been proposed by the government as if it does not mean anything and does not prejudice the people. *O Bharat* with Hegde Dessai as editor was also on a war footing against the vice. He felt that the Catholic press was not doing enough. Both were prominent papers of Goa that had a good readership.

At the Sétimo Congresso Provincial it was decided to establish the Liga de Temperança and many of those present at the Congresso had signed in its favour. However, since many were themselves followers of Bacchus this idea fizzled out even before it could start.¹⁷³ As per an article on the *O Herald*, the same had happened in the attempts made at Margao and Chinchinim.¹⁷⁴ The Government Council, had appointed a committee to oversee the problem of alcoholism. The writer who hails from Chandor, Salcete wrote that in this village, there are almost no living *curumbins* above 40 years of age. Instead, one finds young boys of 25 and above with blotted faces and bulging tummies, who are not fit to undertake any hard work. Why was this happening? The toddy tappers sold the bottle of *feni* or *cajuri* at just 4 *tangas* a bottle.¹⁷⁵ Then, there was the deprivation of social customs which did not anymore consider those addicted as criminals. On the contrary, it was observed that offering liquor and having a peg or two at social functions was welcome. To make matters worse, people did not attend any functions, including religious and funerals, if liquor was not served.¹⁷⁶ From this behaviour, we can say that the circulars, *portarias*, or the formal Pastoral Letter issued by the Church did not have much effect. Moreover, unfortunately, this trend was seen even in the New Conquests, for example in Netorlim, Rivona, and Curchorem strong and able-bodied labourers were now into the vice of drinking. Besides the licensed official tavern, there were also those selling illegally, which increased the number of drinking dens. In Curchorem, there were 3 licensed taverns near the railway station and at least five

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 24 May, 1922, 1.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 25 January 1922, 1.

¹⁷² Translation of the author.

¹⁷³ In Roman mythology, Bacchus was the God of wine, parties, leisure, pleasure, and revelry. Son of the god Jupiter (God of the day) with the mortal Semele.

¹⁷⁴ "Adoradores de Baco", *O Herald*, 26 August 1942, 1.

¹⁷⁵ Each rupee had 16 tangas and one tanga 6 paise; J.Estevam Afonso, "Cancro Social", *O Herald*, 26 August, 1942, 1.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

other illegal places where liquor was sold.¹⁷⁷ Goa with such a big number of taverns for this small territory got the sobriquet of “Land of Taverns” (Terra de Tavernas).¹⁷⁸

Libério Pereira in an article titled ‘Chaga Social’ refers to number 14 of article 48 of *Reforma Administrativa Ultramarina*,¹⁷⁹ which defines stopping the production and sale of alcoholic and fermented beverages, exercising rigorously the law in vigour or through agents and having active surveillance over indigenous life, so as to give alcoholism tough fight without a ceasefire. Number #5 of article 28 of the same *Reforma* also imposes on the administrative employee to fight against alcoholism.¹⁸⁰ But, in spite of these official instructions, nothing had been done in Goa by the government to enforce them and control the menace.

The Mandates in Central Africa of the Covenant of League of Nations recognised the need to protect the indigenous from the traffic of alcohol.¹⁸¹ Pereira pointed out the provision in the Mandate and impressed upon the reader and the government that it is important to act to solve the menace and suggested that it (the Mandate) should be applied to Goa to protect the local native, which comprised the majority of the proletariat. He added that the press of British India was also following what was happening in Goa.

This adamant attitude of the government continued throughout the period of study because they were not ready to lose the much sought-after revenue for the government coffers, which it felt would not be able to substitute by raising taxes on other items. Here are figures that show the revenue for 1942.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 2.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Portugal, Ministério das Colónias, *Reforma Administrativa Ultramarina, Decreto Lei. no.23.229 dated 15 November, 1933* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1934).

¹⁸⁰ Decreto-Lei no. 23.229, 15 December 1933. Disciplinary Statute of employees and agents of Central, Regional and Local Administration in force in the Portuguese colonies of Angola, Moçambique, Cabo Verde, Guiné, Estado da Índia, São Tomé, Macau e Timor, effective from the 1 January 1934. (Estatuto disciplinar dos funcionários e agentes da Administração Central, Regional e Local, a Vigorar em Todas as Colónias Portuguesas, Designadamente Angola, Moçambique, Cabo Verde, Guiné, Estado da Índia, São Tomé, Macau e Timor, a Partir do Dia 1 de Janeiro de 1934). Translation of the author; Libério Pereira. “Chaga Social,” *O Heraldo*, 4 September, 1942, 1.

¹⁸¹ Mandates of League of Nation, Mandate ‘B’ “... subject only to the maintenance of public and moral order, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms, and beverage trade...”; The *curumbim* and the *gawda* are the two prominent tribes of Goa, which were most affected.

¹⁸² *O Heraldo*, 19 September, 1942, 1.

Table 5.8 Revenue from Taxes collected for 1942

Tax on license for extraction of coconut toddy in Goa.	406.700 Rupees
Revenue of taxes of distillation of cashew spirit and sugarcane.	78.500 Rupees
Revenue of taxes of license for the sale of local spirits in the Taverns	85.00 Rupees
Of wines and non-Indian spirits	10.800 Rupees
Total	581.400 Rupees ¹⁸³

[Source: Maria P. Rodrigues, "Taverna and its Socio-Economic Impact," 193]

Rodrigues in her paper gives a comparative example of taxes collected under the provisions of *Diploma Legislativo* no. 551 of 1 April 1932,¹⁸⁴ shown under the title 'Industries in special tax regime' (*Industrias em regime tributário especial*) and those collected on the basis of the *Diploma Legislativo* no. 1770 of March 15, 1958, which was issued, approving the rules and regulations for the industrial contribution. This contribution was much needed by the government to pay the salaries of the government employees who had been given a raise.¹⁸⁵ Even though the fight was taken up by the Church, intellectuals –

¹⁸³ For various rules and regulations on alcohol in the Portuguese period please refer to Rodrigues, "Taverna and its Socio-Economic Impact," 193. The article also gives different tariffs for taxes collected over the years.

¹⁸⁴ *Diploma Legislativo* no. 551 dated 1 April, 1932, "Regulamento do Abcari de Goa e da Venda de Tabaco no Estado da India" in *Legislação* 1932, appendix, 21-43.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 197. In 1945, a decree was issued introducing legislative measures to be made applicable for government services and staff of different colonies, The Estado da India was covered under article 35, by virtue of which, measures had to be taken to improve the salaries of government staff, owing to the rise of the cost of living and devaluation of rupee in relation to the escudo. In order to meet this additional expenditure, the industrial contribution of the state was to be reshaped, and the contributory regime of *abkari*, was to be merged into it. Art. 35, Decree no. 35:231 dated 8 December, 1945, in *Legislação* 1946, 83.

Catholics and Hindus alike – and others, it was observed that not much was done by the government to stop alcoholism. The reason was its dependence on the revenue collected from the alcohol manufactured and sold, which was second only to mining in Goa, even during the troubled period of economic blockade.

CHAPTER SIX

ECONOMIC BLOCKADE AND THE PANGS OF HUNGER

INTRODUCTION

The government of India did not want to use any military force against the Portuguese territories to solve the impasse created by the stubbornness of Oliveira Salazar, Prime Minister of Portugal.¹ His unwillingness to hand over the territories led Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister after independence, to impose an Economic Blockade, which impacted the Goans considerably. This action taken by the Indian government created a crisis for the Goans, with everyday items rendered unavailable, and difficulties in obtaining food like rice, wheat, pulses, green vegetables, onions, potatoes, chillies, cooking oil, *vanaspati*, sugar, and jaggery. These were some of the items that were imported from the neighbouring Indian territories for local consumption.² This chapter examines the impact of the economic blockade during 1955–1961 on Portuguese India and the people.

The fact that Goans had emigrated to these areas and beyond enabled them to send home remittances.³ These financial transfers helped both the families who received them and the government administration. However, when the blockade was imposed postal correspondence and remittances, were put on hold, and therefore no money could be transferred to the relatives in Goa.⁴ When Portuguese India refused to accept Indian currency as legal tender and the *escudo* was reintroduced as a monetary measure it added to the misery

¹ Estado Portugues da India in 1947 comprised of Goa, Daman, Diu, Dadra, and Nagar Haveli.

² In a radio talk by Gerald Pereira, freedom fighter, member of the Central Committee, Goan People's Party, and trade union leader, broadcast by Bombay Radio, he remarks on the food that was imported into Goa: "Our necessities – foodstuffs, grains, cereals come from India...All things big and small – sugar, jaggery, rice, wheat, jawar, tamarind, spices, and chillies are Indian. Even vegetables and fruits – oranges, plantains, cabbage or cauliflower always went from Belgaum." He added that "similarly, coconuts, arecanuts, salt and other goods from Goa always found a market in India", "Goa, its Wealth and Prospects", *Free Goa* (Hereafter F.G.) 10 February 1958, 2.

³ The largest number of Goan emigrants were in Bombay. Other centres were Karachi, Madras, Calcutta. They also moved to other British colonies in Asia and Africa and to Portuguese Africa.

⁴ When the Indian Government took the decision to stop the postal money orders and value payable articles sent to Goa and other Portuguese settlements, *Free Goa* supported such an announcement and commented: "comes at a time when Portuguese are feeling the pinch of shortage of Indian currency for use in making their purchases." "Goa strikes", F.G., 25 July 1955, 8; Emili Marini, *Goa Tal Como a Vi* (Lisboa: União Gráfica, 1956), 147.

of the Goans. However, the smuggling of food and other items during the period affected the successful implementation of the blockade, which actually resulted in famine in Goa.

Many have written about the economic blockade⁵ and its historical, political, and economic aspects. However, its effect on the consumption of the different social strata in Goa has been neglected. Consequently, this factor needs to be examined, searching to understand how, during the period, Goans changed their food habits.

It may be noted that even when diplomatic relations were not established, both governments maintained an amicable attitude, though there were undercurrents between the two. There used to be cooperation in managing the affairs between the two, especially with regard to the supply of the commodities on which Goa was almost fully dependent on the neighbouring territories.⁶ In fact, Goa's economy was entwined with that of British India and in a special way with the then Bombay Presidency. Although the political set-ups of Portuguese India and British India were different and there were customs barriers between the two territories, trade was relatively free and population movements were unregulated. The port of Mormugao and its rail link served not only Goa but also a large hinterland within the territory of India.⁷ She was not only dependent on commodities but also on jobs, for its growing population since Goa was unable to provide them. However, undercurrents come up

⁵ There is an extensive body of research on the impact of the Economic Blockade of Goa. Among them: Olivinho Gomes, "The Economic Blockade of Goa – Implication and Consequences," *Boletim do Instituto Menezes Bragança*, no. 159, (1989): 69-95. This article is based on the records from the Indian Customs and Revenue Department and some personal experience of the author, a high-ranking officer in the department in the 1970s. Though the paper includes personal woes experienced by Goans it does not talk about the impact of unavailability of food and starvation; Maria de Lourdes Bravo da Costa Rodrigues, "Economic Blockade", *Boletim do Instituto Menezes Bragança*, No.170, (1994): 135-46 is an overview of the blockade and by the same author in *100 Years of Goa Chamber of Commerce and Industry (1908-2008)* (Panaji: Goa Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 2008), 37-46 has a chapter on "Economic Blockade" analysing the role of the Goa Chamber of Commerce and Industry during the period. Harischandra Tucaram Nagvenkar, "Salt and the Goan Economy (A Study of Goa's Salt Industry and Salt Trade in the 19th and 20th Centuries during the Portuguese Rule)." PhD diss., University of Goa, 1999, 409-68, includes a chapter, titled "Economic Blockade by India, the Goan economy and salt" which discusses the difficulties in the sale and export of salt during the said period; Murelle da Costa, "History of Trade and Commerce in Goa: 1878-1961." PhD diss., Goa University: 1999, 243-62, has a chapter on "Impact of the Economic Blockade and World Events on Goa's Trade." It only examines the trade and economic aspect of the period; R.P.Rao, *Portuguese Rule in Goa, 1520-1961* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1963), 131-40, has a chapter titled "Economic Blockade"; Mario Cabral e Sa, *Song of the Golden Gateway 100 Years of the Port of Mormugao and the Peninsula* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing House, 1985) 85-91, also has a chapter titled "The Blockade Years", which reflects on the Port's activities during those years.

⁶ 'The economic life of Goa is inevitably connected with India's,' Nehru at the Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee in Sitapur on 21 August 1955, *Nehru on Goa*, (New Delhi: Goa Freedom Publications, n.d.), 37; Nuno Alves Morgado, "Notas para um Estudo do Desenvolvimento Económico do Estado da Índia," *Boletim Informativo da Junta de Comércio Externo*, hereafter BIJCE, ano I, sr. I (May 1961): 6-19.

⁷ Morgado, *ibid*; *Techno-Economic Survey of Goa, Daman and Diu* (New Delhi: National Council of Applied Economic Research, 1964), 18; Nagvenkar, Harischandra Tucaram, "Salt and the Goan economy," 412.

at the time of the establishment of consular offices and the appointment of diplomatic representatives.

When British India attained independence in August 1947, India still had territories ruled by France and Portugal.⁸ At the time, Gandhi and Nehru thought that through diplomatic efforts the occupied territories would be handed over to India without using any forceful action. While France⁹ reluctantly gave in, Portugal refused to leave giving various reasons for the denial.¹⁰

In the meanwhile, both India and Portugal agreed to set up diplomatic offices, and one of the important issues on the agenda for discussion, as far as India was concerned, would be handing over the territories.¹¹ For Portugal, it was a non-issue. It took nearly two years to set up a legation because of India's reluctance and doubts about Portugal's sincerity in establishing relations, as well as her friendly attitude towards Pakistan and the Princely State of Hyderabad, which was under Nizam's rule. India claimed that Portugal was in discussion with the latter to sell Goa, a claim refuted by Portugal.¹² Another bone of contention between them was the issue of the *Padroado*, between the Holy See and Portugal by which certain privileges were given to her, for having rendered services in the spread of the Catholic faith. Accordingly, Portugal kept the right to intervene in some religious appointments in the Indian Archdioceses. The Government of India wished that these privileges are revoked and all

⁸ Pondicherry, Karikal (both in Tamil Nadu) Mahe (Kerala), and Yanam (Andhra Pradesh) Chandernagar (Bengal) were French territories. The latter was merged with India in June 1949.

⁹ In October 1954, the French settlements were transferred *de facto* to India. By 1956 an agreement was signed to give a *de jure* status to the transfer. For details see, "Treaty of Succession of the French Establishments of Pondicherry, Karikal, Mahe and Yanam", *Indian Yearbook of International Affairs*, V (1956): 175-88.

¹⁰ Portugal claimed that the territories were under its administration for centuries, the people were lusitanised (following the Portuguese lifestyle) and different from the rest of India, amongst others. Gonçalves Pereira, *My Personal Deposition in the Case of Goa* (Lisboa: Agencia Geral do Ultramar, 1953), 9.

¹¹ Portugal, Ministério de Negócios Estrangeiros, *Vinte Anos de Defesa do Estado Português da Índia, (1947-1967)* (hereafter M.N.E.), vol.I. (Lisboa: 1967), 119. Vasco Garin took charge on 27 January 1949 and later, on 19 November 1949, Parekhet Achuta Menon presented his credentials to President Carmona in Lisbon, as the Indian Minister. Thus, it can be seen that Portugal was the first, to set up a Legation office; Arthur Rubinoff, *India's Use of Force* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1971), 48; Pratima Kamat, *Farar Far (Crossfire): Local Resistance to Colonial Hegemony in Goa, 1510-1912*, (Panaji: Institute Menezes Braganza, 1999), 286.

¹² M.N.E, vol.I, 7; *Hindustan Overseas Times*, 18 September 1954, 20 *apud* Rubinoff, *ibid*, 44.

dioceses are administered directly by the Holy See.¹³ Also, to consider the re-delimitation of the Archdiocese of Goa and its jurisdiction which should not extend to the Indian Territory.¹⁴

The Legation offices functioned for a short time since Nehru closed the Indian office in Lisbon on 11 June 1953 in reaction to the Portuguese government's refusal to discuss the Goa problem, that is, its integration into India.¹⁵ The Indian government had not asked, until then, for the closure of the Portuguese legation, since they expected that it would be possible to reach a solution peacefully. As there was no breakthrough in the discussions and it was not serving any purpose, and since Portugal had rejected various offers of negotiations, coupled with the recent happenings in Goa – the anti-Satyagraha and anti-terrorist movement by the Portuguese authorities, Nehru decided to close the Portuguese legation on 8 August 1955.¹⁶ However, he stated that it did not mean a cut-off of the diplomatic relations, as a Portuguese Consulate was maintained in Bombay and an Indian in Goa.¹⁷ Therefore, the diplomatic ties were not closed by June 1953 as written by Susheela Sawant Mendes.¹⁸ He justified the closure because the objective for which it was set up was not fulfilled as Oliveira Salazar, was adamant about not negotiating and handing over the territories.

In the meantime, the freedom movement of Goa had picked up momentum after India's independence. Freedom fighters in Goa believed that India would take immediate action in order to liberate the territories of Portuguese India. However, as mentioned above, this expectation did not materialize as Nehru was obstinate in using any force and was still hoping that the territories would be handed over peacefully. On the other hand, Salazar

¹³ An *Aide Memoire* was sent by India to the Portuguese government, objecting to the Archdiocese's role in the religious affairs of India. For details, see M.N.E.,100. Nehru even met the Pope and after his audience, stated that His Holiness had confirmed that the Goa issue is purely a political question and not a religious one; *Goa. Goan Point of View* (London: The Goa League,1956), 16.

¹⁴ M.N.E.,135; Tristão Bragança Cunha criticized the relationship between the Church and the Portuguese government in various articles in *Free Goa*. These may also be read in his book *Goa's Freedom Struggle* (Bombay: Dr. T.B. Cunha Memorial Committee,1960).

¹⁵ Rubinoff, Arthur, *India's Use of Force*, 49; M.S.Deora, ed. *Liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu from Portuguese rule (now a territory of the Indian Union)* (New Delhi: Discovery Publishing House, 1995), 268; "O encerramento da Legação de Portugal em Nova Delhi e a suspensão do comboio", *Heraldo*, 27 July 1955,1; *A Vida*, 28 July 1955, 1.

¹⁶ Nehru announced in the Parliament that the Government had handed over a note to the in-charge of Portuguese affairs in New Delhi on July 25. The news appeared on *Heraldo* 26 July 1955, 1; Maria de Lourdes Bravo da Costa, "Economic Blockade," *Boletim do Instituto Menezes Bragança*, no.17 (1994): 137.

¹⁷ *A Vida*, 28 July 1955, 1. Other local papers also carried the speech of the Prime Minister in the Parliament; M.N.E., Vol.II, 484.

¹⁸ As stated by the author in "Jawaharlal Nehru and the Liberation Struggle of Goa" *Indian History Proceedings, 67th Session, 2006-07*, 551. The ties were formally cut off when the lower diplomatic level consulates of both the countries in Goa and Bombay and Honorary consulate offices in Calcutta and Madras cities respectively, closed on 1 September 1955.

refused to leave and contested that the territories were not colonies, but an integral part of metropolitan Portugal. He commented that ‘if the ‘case of Goa’, meant the transfer of sovereignty of the Portuguese territories to the Union of India, then for sure this problem would not be solved in a peaceful way.’¹⁹

In order to avoid the question in the future, the territories were renamed as ‘Overseas Provinces.’²⁰ To add credence to this theory, he introduced a new statute, ‘Estatuto do Estado da India’ dated 1 July 1955, to meet the charge that the Portuguese administration was not dictatorial. It proclaimed Portuguese India to be an autonomous unit enjoying administrative decentralization.²¹

Nehru was caught up between the ideologies on which the Indian nation was built – of non-violence – and the call of the opposition in the parliament and the Goan freedom fighters who demanded forceful action against Portugal.²² While the Indian National Congress unanimously approved the stand taken by Nehru, the members of the opposition and their supporters protested against his approach.²³

IMPOSITION OF THE BLOCKADE: STOPPING THE RAILWAY

With no alternative left and to avoid using military force, Nehru imposed formally an economic blockade on 25 July 1955 which continued till the liberation of territories.²⁴ On that

¹⁹ A *Vida*, 26 July 1955, 1.

²⁰ The *Acto Colonial* was passed by the Portuguese Parliament and became a part of the Portuguese Constitution on 8 July 1930 by decree no.18570. At the time Salazar was acting Minister of Colonies in the government of Domingos da Costa Oliveira during the period of National Dictatorship, which preceded the Estado Novo (1933-1974). It was published in order to substitute Chapter V of the 1911 Constitution. Article 7 of the amended Act, dated 21 May 1935, specifies that this law was applicable to the Overseas Colonies of Portugal. This act denied civil liberties to the Goan people and designated the citizens of Goa as *assimilados* (assimilated) and *indígenas* (indigenous) or ‘nativos’(natives). Subsequently, by a legal change dated 11 June 1951, the Constitution was amended (Law 2.048) and art 134 transformed the then overseas territories into “provincias” (provinces) of Portugal, thus transforming the empire into a political constellation. This decentralization process aimed at guarantying politico-administrative autonomy to the provinces (art 148).

²¹ Portaria no.6415 (Decree no.40216, 1 July 1955) and implemented in Goa from 1 August 1955. *Boletim Oficial* (hereafter B.O.), Sr.I, Supplement to no. 28, 18 July 1955.

²² Rubinoff, *India’s Use of Force*, 48; *Heraldo*, 26 July 1955; The leader of the Socialist Party, Prajah Kripalani said that the government had only two alternatives: to permit the movement of the Satyagrahas (Passive resistance) or to start and continue a limited war with Portugal because of Goa; the communist leader Gopalan suggested economic sanction against Goa and if necessary, policing action. A correspondent of *Observer* from Bombay also suggested that unless war is declared there is nothing that Nehru can do at this juncture and would be difficult to liberate Goa without violence. He also added that economic restrictions need to be imposed since funds that amount to 100.000 pounds are monthly sent to their relatives in the Portuguese territories, and non-receipt will cause big difficulties to women and children.

²³ ‘We attach great importance to the basic principles governing our policies, international policies especially’, Nehru at a news conference in New Delhi, 31 May 1956. *Nehru on Goa*, 15; “O Congresso apoia – métodos pacíficos para resolver a questão.” *A Vida*, 27 July 1955, 1.

²⁴ On 19 December 1961, the Indian Army liberated the three Portuguese enclaves of Goa, Daman and Diu.

day, the railway traffic across the border into the Portuguese territory and vice versa were stopped.²⁵ This decision was taken without any prior intimation to the Portuguese Government. Thus, Goa was isolated from the Union of India, as the railway connection between Castle-Rock and Vila de Curchorem, commonly known as Sanvordem, was stopped.²⁶ This meant that people and goods could not come directly from India into Goa. Under the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty, the Portuguese government signed a contract with the British company, the West of India Portuguese Guaranteed Railway (previously designated as W.I.P.) as the concessionaire to explore the Port and Railways of Mormugao. But this company, with the accord of the Portuguese government, by a contract of 1902, handed over the operations of the concession to Southern Mahratta Railway Company of British India. This contract was regularly renewed between both parties for the last fifty-three years. However, when the blockade was imposed by Nehru, the Southern Mahratta Railway was asked to cease its activities as a concessionaire. It notified the Portuguese in October 1955 that they would cease to carry its operations of the Port and the Railways from 22 December 1955. In doing so, it did not adhere to the period of notice which should have been of six months, as stipulated in the contract.²⁷ The Portuguese took over the running of the Mormugao Railways on December 31, 1955.²⁸

When Nehru was questioned in the Parliament about why this unilateral measure was taken, he explained that it was taken because of certain difficulties regarding the functioning of the railways. The Prime Minister was referring to the presence of Portuguese soldiers posted at the stations. He was apprehensive that they could hurt the passengers and also

²⁵ *A Vida*, 26 July 1955, 4; *Diário de Goa*, 26 July 1955, 4.

²⁶ *Ibid.*; Marini, *Goa Tal Como a Vi*, 145; Alban Couto, "Economic blockade 1955 – The Goan Economy". India-Seminar.com/2004/543%20alban%20couto.htm; "Goa's changed economy", *The Economic Weekly*, 9 July 1955; Earlier on 26 January 1955, the Indian District Traffic Superintendent asked to temporarily suspend the trains between the stations at Gorkhevadi (India) and Caranzol (Goa) because some persons wanted to cross into Portuguese territory and had threatened to lie on the tracks. In this connection B. K. Apte under subsection 'Nationalist Movement' in the *Gazetteer of the Union Territory Goa, Daman and Diu*, writes: "on this date, the Government of India imposed an economic blockade on Goa and the workers of the National Congress (Goa) organized a satyagraha at Castlerock, to stop the railway traffic to Goa." vol.1, 203. But this was one of such random happenings that took place during the period that have been wrongly attributed to be an economic blockade; Maria Manuel Stocker, *Xeque-Mate a Goa* (Lisboa: Temas e Debates, 2005), 112.

²⁷ *A Vida*, 26 July 1955, 4; *Diário de Goa*, 26 July 1955, 4; The former Southern Mahratta, which later had been transferred into a nationalized railway of the Indian Government, denounced from 31 December 1955, the 1902 agreement hoping decisively to prejudice the maritime and railway communications of Goa, and, consequently, the whole economy of organized State of Portuguese India. Article 4, Decree Law No.43.517, dated 25 February 1961. *Legislação do Estado da India* (hereafter *Legislação*), 1961, Vol.I (Imprensa Nacional, 1961): 237. *Diário do Governo*, Sr.I, no.46, 25 February 1961; Supplement to B.O., Sr.I, no.11, 17 March 1961; Amaro A. Pereira, compiler, *History of Mormugao Port*, (Vasco da Gama, Mormugao Port Trust, 1978), Appendix XXIX, 181. (A cyclostyled copy).

²⁸ "Porto e Caminho de Ferro de Mormugao," *A Vida*, 21 April 1956, 1.

alleged that dynamite was used on the tracks and added that the railway from India to the Portuguese territory would continue to ply.²⁹ The Portuguese authorities refuted the claim and said that soldiers were there only to protect the train and passengers from any attack. Perhaps, Nehru used the safety of the passengers as a cover or justification, to move away from his policy of trying to solve Goa's issue, without the use of force. According to Acharya J.B.Kripalani, nothing would happen, as Nehru refused to take any action, as his only endeavour was to protect his international image which was important to him.³⁰

There are different versions regarding the enforcement of the blockade, especially on the timings when it was imposed. Sarto Esteves writes that after the freedom fighters liberated the territories of Dadra and Nagar Haveli, 'the Portuguese fearing military action by the Indians sealed the border and cut off the rail link between Goa and India. India replied ... by imposing an economic blockade'. Further, he mentions that all trade between India and the Portuguese territories officially ended in 1954.³¹ Similarly, there are other scholars who have continued with Esteves and attributed the actions of India to Portugal.³² On the contrary, although Portugal did take measures to guard borders, it did not suspend the only rail link connecting India – almost eighty per cent of daily necessities that Goa consumed were imported through railways. Moreover, Nehru's statement in the Parliament mentioned above, shows the actions taken by India.

According to Arthur Rubinoff measures were taken by the Portuguese in order to block the march by Praja Socialist Party on 15 August 1954, with the 'suspension of rail and ferry services, highways and bridges were mined, trenches were dug, all foreign newspapers and journals were banned, schools were closed, and a night curfew was established.'³³ Rubinoff has relied on the New York Times which carried news distributed by France Press based in Bombay. However, governor Bernard Guedes had refuted in a public statement that the news distributed by France Press was not true, and denied that any curfew would be clamped from 15 August.³⁴ Rubinoff also writes, that India prohibited the transfer of its

²⁹ *A Vida*, 28 July 1955, 1.

³⁰ Champa Limaye (ed) *Goa Liberation Movement and Madhu Limaye* preface by Jayantrao Tilak, (Delhi: B.R.Publishing Corporation, 1996), xi.

³¹ Sarto Esteves, *Goa and its future* (Bombay: Manaktalas, 1966), 87.

³² Fatima da Silva Gracias, *Health and Hygiene in Colonial Goa (1510-1961)* (Delhi: Concept, 1994), 41; Nagvenkar, "Salt and the Goan economy", 410.

³³ Rubinoff, *India's use of force*, 51.

³⁴ *A Vida*, 6 August 1954, 1.

currency through the mail to Goa, which was dependent on remittances.³⁵ However, the formal economic blockade was implemented in 1955 and not in 1954.

SOME MEASURES BEFORE THE IMPOSITION OF THE BLOCKADE

Much before the decision to close the Legation and take the crucial step of stopping train services, India had initiated some restrictions to put pressure on Portugal.³⁶ India had imposed the need for a permit to enter her territories with effect from 7 September 1954. By a notification dated 10 April 1954, the Government of India imposed restrictions on travel from the Portuguese territories to the Union of India. Under the new regulations, all local government officials, (including Goans) of civil, military, or other departments of the Government of Portuguese possessions were required to obtain permits from the Indian Consulate General in Goa for entry into or transit through Goa. Similarly, the Government of Bombay Province imposed restrictions on motor traffic between Daman and Nagar Aveli.³⁷

The Indian authorities knew the importance of rice in the diet of the Goans. Their staple food, yet not available in enough quantity. As written earlier, the locally grown cereal was sufficient for only five to six months, and therefore depended on imports to meet the demand of the population. Using rice as a means to defeat the Portuguese was, therefore, the right decision. The reasons behind the rice insufficiency have been discussed in detail in the first chapter “Rice, the perennially ‘insufficient’ Goan Staple. A Study of *O Signo da Ira* (*Sign of Wrath*) and other historical literature”.

Consequently, when the Governor of Goa requested seeds for cultivation, the Indian authorities took months to inform that it will not be possible to supply them, leaving no option, as the time to initiate the cultivation had already lapsed. He claimed that the Indian authorities, not only did not supply the seeds but also had imprisoned and imposed a fine on some Goans who went into the Indian Territory, to buy some kilos of paddy.³⁸ The next time, even though the matter was sorted out well in advance and accordingly permission granted, the permit issued was nullified at the last minute. This, despite the agreement that the Portuguese Government would supply rice in lieu of the seeds and the promised quantity was proportionally beneficial to India, which claimed that times were difficult for food production. According to the Governor, this claim was not justified and reiterated that the

³⁵ Rubinoff, *India's use of force*, 51.

³⁶ *O Heraldo*, 1 September 1954, 2; M.N.E., 262.

³⁷ *O Heraldo*, (Suplemento) 3 September 1954, 2; F.G., 10 September 1954, 5; P.P.Shirodkar, *Goa's Struggle for Freedom* (Delhi: Ajanta Publications, 1988), 108.

³⁸ M.N.E., Vol. I, 262.

solution to solve such problems lies in using own recourses and self-reliance. Interestingly, at this point in time, he had envisaged that dependence on India for seeds had to be brought to an end, if not, it would mean that they were handing the power in parts.³⁹

Another incident the Governor refers to is the transfer of funds to Burma for the acquisition of rice which was made difficult by the Indian Government which requested the Portuguese authorities to try to solve the snags. Although Burma was ready to accept Indian rupees, the Reserve Bank of India refused the transference and asked the payment in pound sterling, which was a valuable loss of foreign currency to the Portuguese that could be used for future needs.⁴⁰ According to some Indian newspapers, the reason for such action was because India alleged that fifty percent was used to buy weapons to send to Lisbon.⁴¹ Others said, that the decision to suspend was temporary and it was implemented because of the ongoing negotiations between both governments on the 'question of Goa'.⁴²

The Governor also warned the Portuguese Government that the proposal from India to start public transport from Bombay to Goa, by Bombay transporters was not viable. An objection was raised to such a move because the transport system in that city was nationalised. He feared that since the road transport was under the control of the Indian Government it would definitely jeopardise the free flow of traffic from across the territories. This would lead to severe repercussions on the movement of people and goods. This fear of the Governor appears to have come true when the latter political developments took place and the railway was stopped at the boundary of the Indian Territory.⁴³ In doing so, a formal economic blockade was slapped on the Portuguese territories, which brought at a standstill any kind of transportation to and from Goa. The Indian government hoped that the stoppage of the transit of products would cause problems for the people and thereby embarrass the Portuguese.⁴⁴

Given the scenario of rice scarcity in Goa, the problem of its un(availability), was more pronounced during the economic blockade, which was intended to stop food supply and currency to the territory. In this period, food import from the neighbouring country was stopped and imported from overseas. It would also be smuggled into the territory, from across

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 264.

⁴¹ Stocker, *Xeque-Mate*, 91.

⁴² M.N.E., 261.

⁴³ On 25 July 1955.

⁴⁴ *A Vida*, 26 July 1955, 1.

the border, which would increase its price and bring hardship to the Goan people. In order to diminish the scarcity, the Portuguese Government ordered the rationing of rice.⁴⁵

The first stanza of the poem *My Goa* written by Manohar Sardessai in 1955, explicitly describes the scarcity situation that the Goans faced during the blockade period.

Land of cattle and of pastures green
Thirsty is my Goa for a drop of milk,
Fertile land, land of paddy fields,
My Goa goes begging for a grain of rice⁴⁶

The situation during the blockade was so grim that even the Portuguese military man voiced their discontent:

In Portuguese India life is miserable, full of starvation and terror...They (Goans) eat leaves from trees, as I have often seen, in consequence of the famine conditions created by Salazar fascist government. The main food in India is rice, but there was not enough of it for the people, who were reduced to hunger as ourselves, the soldiers. The toilers go on without food and in torn clothes since their daily wages are of one or two rupees at the most. An orange costs eight annas and an apple twelve annas and other things are also expensive...But food is scarce and that is why we were hungry.⁴⁷

EXECUTION OF THE BLOCKADE

An economic blockade is carried out by means of the termination (prohibition) of trade, financial credit, and other economic ties with the blockaded state. It may be extended simultaneously to all economic ties or only to particular forms of such ties with the blockaded country.

Scholars usually distinguish between negative and positive sanctions. Negative sanctions are the best-known economic instruments of diplomacy. They are imposed in order to inflict economic damage to one or more countries. Otherwise, positive sanctions are measures devoted to fostering cooperation among some countries. It is possible to look at economic sanctions regarding (i) the objective; (ii) who is involved; (iii) the object of

⁴⁵ Despacho do Governo Geral - Postos de venda de arroz (normas para o seu funcionamento), dated 29 June 1956, *Legislação*, 1956, Vol.II, 171.

⁴⁶ F.G., 10 November 1959, 8. The poem was written on 18 May 1955 in Paris. The original Devanagari version appears in a collection of poems in the book *Goem Tujea Moga Khatir* (Mumbai: Gomant Bharti Prakashan, 1961), 23.

⁴⁷ F. G., 25 October 1956, 5; Antonio Correia de Lima, *O Fim dos Séculos: Goa, Damão e Diu* (Lisboa: Bertrand Editora, 1997), 193. Lima writes that there were at least ten cases of deserters, including an officer from the army who asked for shelter in India; Later in another news report, the situation in Goa is given. "Revolt! Portuguese soldier's description of conditions in Goa", F.G., 8 September 1957, 1. In the same paper news regarding the conditions in Diu is described where the poorer classes are living in semi-starvation. According to the news report when the ship *Lurio* arrives in Diu the goods are pounced upon by the Governor of the district and the officers with very little left for the soldiers. As to the fate of the native population, the authorities show very little concern.

sanctions. As regards objectives of sanctions, following Barber (1979) it is possible to group the objectives of sanctions into three categories. There are ‘primary objectives’ concerned with the actions and behaviour of governments against whom the sanctions are directed. The ‘secondary objectives’ are related to the status, behaviour, and expectations of governments imposing sanctions. Finally, the ‘tertiary objectives’ are concerned with the broader international considerations, relating either to the structure of the international system as a whole or to some parts of it. These three categories do not exclude each other but can coexist and overlap in some cases. Sanctions may be unilateral when the initiative is taken by only one and multilateral when imposed by more than one on the target country.

Looking at the objective of sanctions, we can distinguish three kinds of sanctions: boycotts, embargoes, and financial sanctions.

A boycott is a restriction of imports of one or more goods from the target country (the one on whom the sanction is imposed). It takes place to lower the demand for certain products from the target country. Moreover, it attempts to reduce the target’s foreign exchange earnings and therefore its ability to purchase goods. In this case, Goa had limited export since its industrial production was limited and it catered mainly to the local population.⁴⁸ However, there were some local produces that were mainly exported to the Union of India which refused to buy them, and therefore the producers and exporters suffered. These included coconuts, copra, coconut oil, arecanut, and salt. The government tried to overcome this problem by exporting the products overseas. A special order was issued to solve the depreciation of arecanut by exporting to some other friendly countries.⁴⁹

Table 6.1 Local Products Exported from 1955-1961.

Year	Coconut	Mangoes	Arecanut	Copra	Salted Fish	Cashew nuts	Dry Fish
1955	607980	5540	242	-	454	23680	11687
1956	386800	35000	21104	3589	227	17472	2975
1957	453110	9625	2514	14309	492	14778	5293
1958	218328	8140	5510	3159	295	21914	9926
1959	189677	5520	7740	-	551	21172	4836
1960	16265	8387	7997	-	756	35072	8428
1961	1560	1035	12194	-	-	31879	-

[Source: Goa, Daman and Diu, *Statistical Year Book, 1961*, Panaji: Government Printing Press, 301-303. The figures are shown in *maunds* (15 kilos), and numbers for coconuts and mangoes]

⁴⁸ Goa did not have any industry worth its name. At the most, they could be designated as cottage industries. There were only a few manufacturing units and the activity was limited to a few small scales and cottage industries. José Conceição Almeida, *Goa Administration and Economy. Before and After 1962* (Panjim: Civitas and Broadway, 2013), 80.

⁴⁹ Order of Governor-General dated 24 July 1956, B.O., Sr. II, no. 30, 26 July 1956. India was the main market for arecanut.

The table shows the decline in export during the years. However, arecanut shows an increase in export probably because of the measures taken by the government. Cashew nuts maintained a steady export as most of it was exported beyond India and therefore was not affected by the blockade, although in 1956 and 1957 it had a low.

The sanctions also aimed to induce damage to a particular industry or sector of the target country. They are usually criticized as ineffective because target countries are able to find alternative markets or arrange triangular purchases to circumvent import controls. In the case of Goa, it was definitely ineffective since it hardly had any industry worthy of producing and exporting the end product as Goa lacked an industrial basis. Except for mining, on which Goa was dependent for its economy, others were producing goods that were mostly absorbed by the locals, and surplus, if any, was exported.⁵⁰ With production being insufficient, goods were imported to make up for the deficiency.

The status of Goan manufacturing and production is best evaluated from a talk delivered by the Governor of Goa, at the Portuguese Industrial Fair (Feira das Indústrias Portuguesas), held in 1951, at Lisbon.⁵¹ He points out that the local production, which he classified as industrial, of sugar cane, jaggery, ice, and cold drinks..., were all locally purchased. There was no surplus for export. Among the bigger local production, he pointed out the export of coconut, copra, and oil, cashew nut as giving some revenue to the government. However, the production of cashew nuts was not sufficient and these had to be imported from Mozambique to fulfill the need of the manufacturer. Another important manufacturing unit was tinned food, of which there were two in Margão, Salcete.⁵² The export of salt also earned some revenue.⁵³ However, with the introduction of the blockade, salt could not be exported to neighbouring India which was the main market for this product. The table below shows how the export of salt was inconsistent during 1955-1961. Though it was high in 1956 and 1958, in the remaining years it was negligible. The table below shows the decline during the blockade period.

⁵⁰ Though the revenue from mining was able to support the economy, it was not declared as an industry, neither then nor even today.

⁵¹ Fernando de Quintanilha Mendonza e Dias (1948-52). *O Herald*, 11 July 1951, 1.

⁵² Costa and Company and Monte Silva, which continue to manufacture today.

⁵³ For more details on salt production and related topics may please refer to Nagvenkar, "Salt and the Goan economy." You may also read Reyna Sequeira, *As Dear as Salt...The Story and Neglect and Decay in a Traditional Occupation in Goa* (Saligao: Goa 1556 and Golden Heart Emporium, 2013).

Table 6.2 Salt Export from Goa

Year	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
Quantity in tonnes	0.118	65.233	0.214	3867.133	0.426	0.324	0.113

[Source: *Anuário Estatístico do Estado da Índia, 1959, 299; Statistical Yearbook, Estado da Índia, 1961, 303*]

To add to this, there were working units of rice and flour mills, all over Goa used for husking the paddy. The cashew nut industry was perhaps the most important, after mining, and in 1961 its production was worth about 38 to 40 lakhs rupees. As against this, total industrial production that year was only 63.5 lakhs.⁵⁴

RESTRICTION OF EXPORTS TO THE TARGET COUNTRY

An embargo also restricts the exports of certain products to the target country. This is the most common technique. The prohibition on exports may be partial or complete. The Indian Government kept the applications pending, for granting import licenses on essential goods. Exports to Goa of any merchandise, and foodstuffs to other Indian Portuguese territories were prohibited and roads linking Goa, Daman and Diu with the Union of India were blocked.

The impediment was removed only after the liberation of Goa when the Military Government, which controlled the administration of the Portuguese territories, issued a proclamation regarding the movement of goods in Goa. By this order, restrictions of both controlled and decontrolled items, from the rest of India, were lifted by the Government of India and the merchants were at liberty to procure tea, coffee, cereals, potatoes, vegetables, onions, fruits, sugarcane jaggery, etc, from the Indian traders. Accordingly, appropriate instructions were given to the Export, Control, and Customs Authorities.⁵⁵

By another notification published in the Official Gazette, the Government had allowed free movement of all articles from the erstwhile Portuguese possessions and no custom's duty would be levied on the commodities on import into India. Betel nuts, cashew nuts, and fresh canned fruits of Goan origin were therefore permitted to be freely moved out of Goa into the rest of India.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Rodrigues, *100 years*, 55.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.; *Government Gazette*, Sr. I, 24 May 1962.

THE ROLE OF THE PORT AND DOCK WORKERS OF BOMBAY

For the blockade to be successful the sea route had also to be taken care off. Goa had access to the Ocean with a natural port of Mormugao which could be used during all the seasons and many other smaller ones, which were in a position to partly if not fully solve the problem. To overcome this drawback, the Port and Dock Workers of India on their own, decided to take action against the Portuguese administration. Thus, the joint workers Union in Bombay moved a resolution supporting the freedom movement of Goa and was supported by the Calcutta Port workers. The Bombay Port Trust General Workers' Union by a decision of the general body meeting decided not to handle any ship coming to Bombay after visiting Goa or intending to visit Goa from Bombay.⁵⁷ At the same time, the Transport and Dock Workers' Union of Bombay by a decision directed its 20,000 members not to participate in the cargo-handling activities on ships from or to the Portuguese possessions in India irrespective of the Flags they flew.

To counteract such moves which were only creating difficulties for them, the Foreign Shipping Companies and Agents in order to placate the workers, gave them written assurances that their ships would not call at Goa. The agencies also guaranteed the workers' Unions that their companies would not handle any ship which had called at Goa or intended to call at Goa or any of the Portuguese ports in India. However, some of the Foreign Shipping companies threatened to impose 35 percent surcharges to offset the so-called losses as a result of the cancellation of Goa from their trade route. Nehru reacted to this threat and on 22 August 1955 made the following statement in the Parliament "India could as well do without the foreign shipping lines if they enforced any surcharge on the Goa boycott issue".⁵⁸ This came as a surprise as the decision to boycott the ships was taken by the workers and not the authorities of the Bombay Port trust which in reality declared the boycott as illegal and promised action against them. However, the threat did not deter them and they continued without giving in, till December 1961.

⁵⁷ S. Maitre, "Port and dock workers determined to make boycott successful," in *Goan Tribune*, (hereafter G.T.) 26 August 1956, 6. Maitre was the General Secretary of Bombay Port Trust General Workers' Union, Bombay.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

PROHIBITION ON THE MOVEMENT OF INDIAN GOODS AND SERVICES AND VARIOUS NOTIFICATIONS ISSUED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

The Government of India issued various Legislations, which would help the execution of the blockade.⁵⁹ Under the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act, of 1947, a notification was issued to put restrictions on the transmission by post of articles containing a bank or currency notes, cheques, securities, and financial instruments to Goa unless a license was obtained for the purpose from the Reserve Bank of India by the authorised dealers in foreign exchange.⁶⁰

This notification was followed by a Postal notice, which said that any article posted in contravention of any of these restrictions would not be accepted by the Post Office in India, and if inadvertently accepted, it would be returned to the sender of it or detained by the Customs authorities empowered on that behalf, without any refund of postage or other charges paid by the sender of the said article.⁶¹ These notifications assured that the remittances would not reach the family in need, thereby causing them financial constraints.

Besides the above, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, issued the Export Trade Control Order under the Import and Export Control Act, 1947 prohibiting the export of goods like food grains, sugar, *vanaspati*, cooking oil, kerosene (used for cooking), etc.⁶² Similarly, an Import Trade Control Order was issued under the above same Act, banning imports into India from Portuguese territories including Goa. This meant that no food would be allowed from across the border and scarcity would be created, and cause famine. The Indian government also instructed the Customs authorities at the minor ports along the west coast not to pass shipping bills of goods meant for Goan ports.⁶³

Notwithstanding the above legislations, the Indian government also made adequate arrangements to throw a physical cordon of Customs personnel on the entire land border with a string of as many as one hundred and twenty-eight Chowkies or Outposts of Customs, manned by sizeable force.⁶⁴ The whole area affected by the Blockade was headed operationally by a high-ranking officer called the Assistant Collector of Customs and Central

⁵⁹ Gomes, "The Economic Blockade of Goa," 76.

⁶⁰ Ibid. Notification No. F.E.R.A. 37/55 R.B. dated 2 May 1955 issued under the Foreign Exchange Regulations Act, 1947.

⁶¹ Ibid. Postal Notice issued under No.C.69.5/55 on the basis of the Director-General, Posts and Telegraphs, endorsement No. N.C.69-5/55 dated 25.8.1955 and endorsement later by the Central Board of Revenue letter No.90/56/55 L.C. dated 10.9.1955 from its Land Custom's Wing.

⁶² Ibid. Custom's Manual, Central Board of Revenue, 1955, New Delhi.

⁶³ Ibid., 78.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

Excise, who was headquartered at Castlerock on the up-Ghats to the east of Goa's borders. According to Gomes, (who himself was a high-ranking officer of Customs, Government of India) the importance of successful implementation of the blockade can be gauged from the appointment of an officer of the Assistant Collector status when at that point of time there were only three Collectors of Central Excise for the entire country of India!⁶⁵

In addition to these measures, a tall wall was built near Castlerock railway station on the up-Ghats, the headquarters of the Customs and Central Excise, blocking the tunnel and the railway track linking Goa with the rest of India.⁶⁶ A portion of the said railway track variously estimated around and up to one kilometre of length had been removed along with its fish-plates, thus making the Economic Blockade of Goa a visually threatening reality and physically prohibitive to boot.⁶⁷ A Special Reserve Police Force (S.R.P.) as well, was set up, especially for this purpose which backed up the Customs authorities. The main task of the Police was to deal with violations of passports, restrictions, and movement of persons from Goa in particular without valid documents which were difficult to obtain. Such decisions of the government of India were more harmful to the Goan people rather than the Portuguese government. It was affecting the people who worked and travelled across the border. Besides them, those doing business also crossed the border often time. But, the plight of the Goan came to the fore during the summer vacation, when hundreds of Goan emigrants came to Goa, through the Manali check post. At the crossing, the Indian police harassed the emigrants, and the situation was so serious that the Goan press in Bombay criticized the happenings. It led Lambert Mascarenhas of the Goan Tribune to write a letter to Nehru, to stop the ill-treatment and harassment meted out to the emigrants.⁶⁸

A section of Goans had money invested in India, in various financial businesses like government securities, banks, and shares suffered because of the inability to get any income from the investment as the government of India had frozen the accounts. Many of the investors depended on this income for their living. To make matters worse the local government increased taxes, both direct and indirect. Customs duties were increased from 1 to 3 percent on ad valorem imports of goods from Portugal and other colonies from 3 to 5,

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ G.T. The letter was published on the first page to make a stronger statement.

and on foreign imports from 3 to 5 and 5 to 8 per cent. This increase would affect all the consumers of foreign goods.⁶⁹

In spite of the above effective measures taken by the Indian Government to implement a blockade on the Portuguese territories, it made a debatable statement that it was not an economic blockade but that these were economic measures. This was revealed by the deputy minister for External Affairs, Anil K. Chanda in the Rajya Sabha session on 22 August 1955. He added that while the government did not impose sanctions on Portugal, the Dock Workers Union of Bombay and other ports in India passed resolutions not to handle ships that touched Goa.⁷⁰

After another year, on 6 December 1956, J.V.K.Vallabh asked if the government planned on reviewing the economic blockade on Goa. Once again Anil Chanda denied that it was a blockade and informed that economic measures had been taken, but could not be referred to as a “blockade”. He said these were reviewed from time to time but it would not be in the public interest to make the details of the measures known.

MEASURES TO OVERCOME THE BLOCKADE

The Portuguese government had to save face and take action to get food for the people to overcome their hardship and more importantly, to create a politically motivated scenario to show the Indian government, that the blockade imposed by them was inconsequential: that neither the government nor the people were affected by the embargo. The two main problems that they had to tackle on priority were the availability of food and the accessibility of cash. The latter affected people who were fully dependent on remittances from their relatives working in the Union of India and also those abroad since the postal services across the Indian Territory had stopped. Those who were dependent on the income of export of their products were also in misery.

Various measures were taken to overcome the scarcity of food to make it appear that everything was normal. So, some committees were appointed to help ease and solve the unavailability. These had to arrange the import and distribution of food to the people. To begin with, the Co-ordinating Committee for Imports and Exports and the Committee for

⁶⁹ G.T., 29 July 1956, 1.

⁷⁰ The Bombay Port Trust General Workers Union decided to boycott all ships going to Portuguese territories from 12 August 1954, even though Bombay Port Trust declared that refusal to handle any particular ship on the political ground was a serious breach of discipline. G.T., 26 August 1956, 6.

Economic Affairs were given this task.⁷¹ The latter issued ration cards to collect the monthly quota. However, the people had to endure the hardship of remaining in a queue to obtain a card. The authorities had to check any hoarding by unscrupulous persons, who took the opportunity to make money by sometimes creating a shortage of goods. This would allow them to sell in the black market and make a higher profit. Therefore, measures were taken by the government to control hoarding and black-marketing, by restricting the quantity of food to be sold to individuals or businessmen. One such notice tells that in order to avoid hoarding potatoes imported by the local businessman, the committee with the concurrence of the Governor decided that the potatoes will be sold in retail.⁷² To tighten the control, the retailers were asked to report weekly to whom it was sold, what quantities, and at what price among other details like the name and address of the buyer. We do not know how successful these measures were. But the truth is that it was hurting the people as the food was restricted. The sale of other essential commodities also followed regulations and included sugar, wheat flour, tea, coffee, natural and artificial (sic), milk (condensed, powder, skimmed), and spices.⁷³

In this, they were assisted by the department of Police which had a section called *Serviços Contra Assambarcamento e Especulação da Polícia*.⁷⁴ It would help find any malpractices and check misconduct by the businessmen or cultivators who were also responsible to keep a check on the quality of food.

Local press carried various notices to the public, issued by the Committees informing when and where goods will be sold. In order to control overcharging, the sale price was notified. To facilitate the public to buy food without hustle, shops were appointed as retailers in various parts of Goa. The government also opened several units from where rice, imported and locally grown, was distributed to the people. It was keen to increase the production and therefore different measures were taken to help local cultivators grow more rice and buy their produce.

Licenses for importing food, especially rice were issued to those who applied. The government also took steps to import food, and have rice in stock for distribution to the people. It had opened 99 centres (postos) as per the notice issued by Comissão de Assuntos

⁷¹ Comissão Coordenadora de Importações e Exportações and the Comissão de Assuntos Economicos.

⁷² The limit was set at not more than 16 arrateis (1 arrátel about 450gms).

⁷³ As mentioned in the notice issued by Comissão de Assuntos Económicos dated 1 February 1955.

⁷⁴ *Serviços Contra Assambarcamento e Especulação da Polícia*.

Económicos, dated 30 May 1955.⁷⁵ At some point in time, there was more than required, so the government decided to stop the import and close the distribution centres.⁷⁶ Was this the right position or was the government trying to create an atmosphere to show that everything was normal.

It was not only rice that was sold by the Comissão Coordenadora das Importações e Exportações. It also imported other commodities like oranges and lemons all the way from Mozambique. The availability and sale were publicized through an advertisement, a notice, called 'Aviso' so that a wider number of people could buy. They were also available on the days of the local market fairs held in the various villas of Goa.⁷⁷ These notices also helped the government to show that there was no shortage, even if it was to the contrary.

While the Portuguese administration claimed that the distribution to the people was done effectively and there was no shortage, the people from the villages and remote areas maintained that food distributed through the centres did not reach them, as these were mostly centred in the city thereby causing a shortage of food.

The imports by the Comissão Coordenadora de Importações e Exportações included apples, apricots, pears, and vegetables like cabbage, tomatoes, carrots, and radishes transported and made available for sale at its office situated in the building of the Custom House, Panjim. These were not common men's fruits and vegetables. This food was meant for the elite, the colonizers, and the financially well-off. Also, the common man did not have enough money to buy these items, he had other priorities. He had to first feed his family the essential food for sustenance before thinking about spending money on luxuries like fruits. However, he ate those grown in their orchards or in the garden, or beside the house, if there was an open space. The common fruit seen almost everywhere was the banana. Papayas, guavas, and sapota(chikoos) were also found in Goa, besides the seasonal mangoes, jackfruits, and those fruits that grew wild on the hillocks during the summer.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ B.O., Sr. III, no.22, 1 July 1956.

⁷⁶ B.O., Sr.II, no.31, 2 August 1956.

⁷⁷ The district of Goa was divided into Concelhos, known as talukas after 1961. From 1917 there were altogether 11, with each having an administrative headquarter in the important city or villa of the Concelho. The other two Concelhos were of Daman and Diu. The imported foods were sold in the offices of the Concelhos de Administração of Salsete, Bardes, Mormugão, Ponda. Pears, apples, prunes, cauliflowers, carrots, tomatoes, turnips. The price of the pears and apples was Rs.5 and 4 a dozen, respectively. Tomatoes one rupee and turnips, 10 annas a pound, respectively, G.T. 9 September 1956, 13.

⁷⁸ An average agricultural labourer got a wage of Rs.2 to 2.50 and a mine worker Rs.5 to 7 per day; a government clerk Rs.250 and a school teacher Rs.350 to 600 per month. Data were taken from the *Techno-*

The Committees created by the Government vide a Decree⁷⁹ to regulate imports, exports, and Economic Institutions, were amalgamated to create Junta de Comércio Externo (JCE), which began operations on 1 May 1956.⁸⁰ From now the Junta controlled imports, exports, and distribution in Portuguese India.

In the meanwhile, some institutions and associations in Portugal started collecting food and other items to be sent to the soldiers who were posted in the Estado da Índia Portuguesa to help mitigate their problems. Cigarettes, tobacco, wines; chocolates, jams, medicines, books, tin stuff, flour, etc were collected by Portuguese Caritas from donors.⁸¹

The “Obra das Mães pela Educação Nacional” also sent clothes for babies and 20 kilos of honey which was needed in Diu. Probably there were press releases and requests published in the Portuguese papers for food and other items needed by the soldiers in the Estado da India. This proved that the blockade was successful and caused scarcity and hunger. There were others who also suffered. Many Goan students went across to Bombay, Dharwar for studies, since there was not much scope in Goa, with professional education limited only to medical or pharmaceutical courses. These students needed to carry money with them and because of the difficulties created due to the inaccessibility of Indian currency, the hoarders cashed on the situation. The exchange rate varied depending on the person’s need. Each ten rupee note fetched eleven Portuguese rupees. Sometimes, it worked the other way around. This ongoing trend was commented on by the columnist adding that although there are draconian laws forbidding this kind of trade in currency notes the authorities pay no attention to such exploitation because they are too busy unearthing political plots. “This is what is happening in Goa. While the rich are growing richer, the poor and the middle-class people are being sucked completely dry and deprived of the little they have.”⁸²

The obstinacy of both the heads, the Indian to take forceful action, and the Portuguese not to hand over the territories to the first, was not accepted by the freedom fighters who were

Economic survey of Goa, Daman and Diu, 8; according to *Statistical Yearbook, 1961*, 193 an agricultural labourer’s lowest wage was 12\$00 and the highest 18\$00 for a man. Women were paid the lowest at 6\$50 and the highest at 10\$00. According to the exchange rate, one rupee was equivalent to 6 escudos.

⁷⁹ Decree of 5 May 1937.

⁸⁰ Decree of 12 April 1956.

⁸¹ *A Vida*, 16 September 1954, 2.

⁸² G.T., July 15 1956, 5.

demanding action by the Indian Government and to consider Goans as Indians and their problem as a prime national problem.⁸³

FREE GOA AND GOAN TRIBUNE. THE PRESS IN EXILE

Tristão Bragança Cunha, the founder of the Goa Congress, favoured the merger of Portuguese Territories without delay. Since the Indian Government was not taking measures in this direction, in 1953 he decided to start a fortnightly, *Free Goa*.⁸⁴ Its aim was to carry the movement's voice and problems faced by the inhabitants of Portuguese India to reach more people.⁸⁵ Another reason was the lethargic attitude of the Indian press which did not give coverage and considered Goa and Goans as separate identities from India.⁸⁶ Therefore, *Free Goa* became a fighter to align with the Goan patriotic forces in their struggle against foreign usurpers.⁸⁷

A number of parties were active in the freedom movement of Goa, but these had very limited Catholic representation. Therefore, a group of Bombay Goan Catholic intelligentsia and elite came together to form an apolitical group, called *Goa Liberation Council*, with Aloysius Soares, an educationist, political thinker, social worker, as the president.⁸⁸ They needed a platform from which they could disseminate their desires and in 1956 started a fortnightly *Goan Tribune*, with Soares as the editor and Lambert Mascarenhas as assistant editor.⁸⁹ The need also arose, because *Free Goa* was a political paper and therefore had a limited readership and reached few people.⁹⁰ It was the organ of the *Goan People's Party*, which had links to the *Communist Party of India*, and was unpopular with the Catholics. Besides political issues and problems that Goa and the Goans faced, the fortnightly would also cover social functions, community news, weddings, and other features of Goan life: "It is one of the aims of the *Goan Tribune* to educate public opinion everywhere in the world in the realities of the Goan question, and thus to pave the way to that freedom and self-government

⁸³ F.G., 10 October 1953, 1.

⁸⁴ The first issue of the fortnightly, is dated 10 October 1953 and the editor was Antonio Furtado, followed by Bragança Cunha. On his death, Berta de Meneses Bragança became the editor. Initially, it was bilingual, English and Portuguese.

⁸⁵ F.G, *ibid*.

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 3.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*.

⁸⁸ Irene Heredia, "Liberating Goa: The Laudable Role of the Goa Liberation Council in Securing Goa's Liberation", *Goa Today*, June 2005, 41. Francisco Correia Afonso, L. J. de Souza and Prof. Wellingar were Vice Presidents. J. N. Heredia was the secretary along with J. M. Pinto and Nicolau Menezes.

⁸⁹ The first issue is dated 17 June 1956. J.S. Sousa took over as editor from Soares from 13 July 1958, till 13 December 1959. Lambert Mascarenhas became editor on 10 January 1960 and continued till the end in May 1962. In the intervening period Cajetan Lobo, who was the publisher for a number of years, was the editor.

⁹⁰ J. Clemente Vaz, *Profiles of Eminent Goans, Past and Present* (New Delhi: Concept, 1997), 264.

which are at once our right and our responsibility.”⁹¹ The comment made by Sarto Esteves aptly defines the role of Aloysius Soares, when he says that the movement for Goa’s freedom would not have made so much headway without the *Goan Tribune*. He adds that “Aloysius Soares wielded his powerful pen with the skill of a craftsman to prepare the ground for the liberation of Goa.”⁹² Thus, *Free Goa* and *Goan Tribune* took the mettle of addressing the issues related to the freedom movement and especially on the impacts of the blockade after this was imposed. The misery of the masses was felt and experienced by many and some dared to voice it out in letters and articles. These were supported by editorials or comments which depicted the suffering of the common men in Goa during the period, caused not only due to scarcity of food but due to other factors, which were its direct outcome.

According to Aloysius Soares, the blockade’s economic effects were not meant to penalize or victimize the Goan community; rather, its primary aim was to make the maintenance of the Goan economy an increasing burden for the Portuguese rulers, and also, to show the dependence on Goa on Union of India. He also writes that in such a situation considerable discomfort and hardships were inevitable for those affected. Soares suggests a realistic approach to learning about the effects of the various measures, economic and other, as the sanctions were meant to either control or ban the free movement of persons, goods, and money, obtained formerly from the rest of India.

However, he also criticized the Portuguese government’s comments that the Government of India was starving the people. He refuted this argument stating that Goa was not an enclave in the Indian Territory and it had access, with a land wide open, to the sea and a first-class harbour that could take in large freighters.⁹³ Interestingly, Mohan Ranade, made a similar statement to show that the blockade was not successful, as the territory had a huge coastline and a number of large ore mines and therefore the Portuguese could import whatever they desired.⁹⁴

There were others, who also criticized it as not an effective measure because those who suffered were the Goan people. Gerald Pereira, who before it was enforced, argued for a ‘complete economic blockade,’⁹⁵ later in a review of the situation, censured the Indian government for not taking action to solve the ‘Goa Problem.’⁹⁶ Rendering his perspective, the situation had deteriorated economically for the people as there were restrictions on the

⁹¹ G.T., 17 June 1956, 2.

⁹² Esteves, *Goa and its future*, 81.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Mohan Ranade, *Struggle unfinished* (Ribandar: Vimal Publications, 1988), 88.

⁹⁵ Pereira, “Last Phase of Goa’s struggle”, F.G., 25 July 1955, 4.

⁹⁶ Pereira, “Economic Blockade-A fiasco!”, Ibid., 25 January 1956, 4.

remittances by the Goans from India. He added that the situation was so bad that even if goods were available, people had no money to buy them. On the other hand, the Portuguese government was not affected and the blockade had not made any political advancement. According to him, the remittances amounted to more than two crores of rupees per year.

It was not a secret that both foreign and Indian goods were available in the Goan market which were brought by foreign steamers that directly come to Goa. In reality, the territory was flooded with foreign goods like watches, fountain pens, silk, and other luxury items which Pereira wrote in his article. However, he emphasised that the most important factor was the availability of Indian Goods in Goa: cloth, spices, jaggery, cattle, and other goods found open in the market. He questioned how these goods reached Goa and points out at the authorities in Bombay which allowed these to be transported through with bribes being paid. Surprisingly, Pereira does not mention the availability of imported foodstuff. However, one has to only look into the local papers and will find a variety of kinds of foods imported and advertised in the various local newspapers of the time. He impressed on Jawaharlal Nehru that earlier the problem was solved it would be better for Goans, Indians and for the establishment of Peace in the World.

Ranade reacted sharply against the blockade and criticized the Indian government alleging that the implementation was with the intention to divert the people from the real struggle. According to him, the police posts on the border, which were asked to exercise the strictest vigilance, were just a farce. As an example, he cites the trouble that students from Sawantwadi studying in Ratnagiri had to undergo as they were not allowed to carry lunch across Goa.⁹⁷ For him, the stoppage of import of Goan goods into India was a serious and unfortunate result of the blockade, which led to the suffering of those longing for liberation! In reality, these people found themselves trapped in a sort of economic labyrinth. To prove his argument, he writes that the prices of betelnut, for example, crashed all at once because India was the sole market for this product. The outcome was a desolation in the groves and it made the labourers uprooted wanderers.⁹⁸

Ranade belonged to the Azad Gomantak Dal, the underground movement, which according to him, played the most effective role in the economic blockade of Goa, as it concentrated its energies on disrupting work in the mines, the nerve centre of Goan economy and export. He favoured the use of force for liberating Goa from colonial rule and was

⁹⁷ Ranade, *Struggle unfinished*, 87.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 88.

skeptical about achieving Goa's liberation by the imposition of the economic blockade and felt that it brought more hardships to the people than otherwise. Ranade refers to a statement made by a Congress leader at a meeting in Sawantwadi, when he was describing the situation in Goa, 'This is exactly what we desire. When there is misery in Goa the people will revolt against their Portuguese rulers!'⁹⁹ That one ought to cause destitution as a matter of policy in order to provoke the people to rise in revolt came as a shock to Ranade! For him, the economic blockade turned out to be a farce!

He recollects his days in prison and his conversation with Agente Monteiro who jokingly remarked to him: 'Your economic blockade has stopped the import of jaggery into Goa. But does your government seriously think that we Portuguese are fond of jaggery and need it badly? It is your Goan people who cannot do without it. We can get all the sugar we want from Europe.'¹⁰⁰ What he said was a fact, the Portuguese did import their sugar and other requirements from Europe and elsewhere. Sugar was imported from Mozambique, whereas jaggery was not at all available in the Goan market due to the economic blockade.¹⁰¹

It was not only food scarcity or money that were important factors that led to the suffering of the people. There were no jobs available locally and, to make matters worse, there was a serious problem of unemployment caused due to the sealing of the Indo-Goa border. The Portuguese tried to solve this by opening new vistas for migration to Pakistan, Brazil, and African colonies. But the number of migrants being extremely negligible, the economic problem remained unsolved.

Ironically, the Portuguese government, to garner sympathy from the emigrants who had been deported from India because they were considered its supporters, promised them placements in any of the overseas territories and in friendly nations. Since it would take some time to get a placement, a subsidy was offered to them to tide over their financial problems, till they got a job. By order, an "Emigrant's Fund", a subsidy to the emigrants, who were expelled, was created.¹⁰² Accordingly, a Committee of Inquiries for the Situation of Emigrants was formed, to scrutinize and decide on the individuals' applications. To verify if

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Casimiro Emérito Rosa Teles Jordão Monteiro was a military intelligence and law enforcement officer during the Estado Novo. He was entrusted with the interrogation of those involved in the independence movement in the Portuguese Territories. In Goa, he tortured the freedom fighter prisoners and suspects and was feared by the people for his inhuman behaviour.

¹⁰¹ Ranade, *Struggle unfinished*, 89.

¹⁰² Despacho – Subsídios aos emigrantes expulsos da União Indiana e Comissão de Inquérito a Situação dos Emigrantes signed by Governor General, *Legislação de 1956*, Vol.II, 173.

the subsidy was admissible, the amount to be paid, the professional aptitude of the individual and placement.¹⁰³ There is no information on how many people were benefitted under this scheme.

To solve the scarcity of food and paucity of money, people resorted to migrating across to India, even by illegal means, without the required permit.¹⁰⁴ According to the press of the time, hundreds fled. Some were arrested, imprisoned, taken to Court, and depending on the judgment, sometimes deported back, and others were allowed to stay after paying a fine. In this connection, the chairman of the Goa Action Committee, Dr. T. B. Cunha, protested against the deportation and externment of emigrants and refugees from Portuguese territory.¹⁰⁵ In a particular case, it was reported that twenty-six Goans, who fled from hunger and tyranny, were arrested by the police and charged with entering illegally into the Indian territory. They were anxiously waiting for the decision of the magistrate and would not mind paying a fine or imprisonment, because they did not want to go back to Goa, where they suffered. Fortunately, the magistrate asked them to pay a fine of rupees fifteen per person and allowed them to stay.¹⁰⁶ This sort of illegal migration was made possible by some agents who made a lucrative business with this *modus operandi*.¹⁰⁷ There was also an exodus from the other two Portuguese territories of Daman and Diu. When the question regarding illegal immigration came up in the Parliament, Nehru answered that in 1955, eighty-one fisher folks, including women and children, entered India from Daman as a result of an acute shortage of food grains, other essential supplies, and lack of means of livelihood and that they were granted facilities on compassionate grounds, to remain in India.¹⁰⁸

REMITTANCES, A SECURE FINANCIAL BASE

Goa presented very limited job opportunities, with no industry which could generate jobs. The only solution left for the people was to migrate in search of employment.¹⁰⁹ Later, the landed gentry, which looked at the emigrants with contempt and had labeled them as ‘Bombaistas’ or ‘Mumoihares’, also joined the exodus since the land was not giving them

¹⁰³ Ibid, point 2.

¹⁰⁴ Aurel Mendonça, *India's Policy and Goa* (Bangalore: author, 1957), 7.

¹⁰⁵ Cunha criticized the Indian Government for not considering the political implications of these deportations and requested that the refugees be given the same status as those from Pakistan and other countries; Mendonça, *ibid.*, 8.

¹⁰⁶ G.T., 9 September 1956, 1.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid; Gomes, “Economic Blockade of Goa”, 82.

¹⁰⁸ G.T., 30 December 1956, 14.

¹⁰⁹ Berta Menezes Bragança, *Landmarks in My Time. Selected writings* (Margao: author, 1992), 28.

enough to live a life of ease.¹¹⁰ The problem of emigration was so important for the community, that during the Second Provincial Congress,¹¹¹ it was debated by various participants. Most of them concluded that the main reason for the exodus was economic, that is, hunger. Though rice is the staple food of Goans its production was sufficient to last for about five to six months. For the remaining months, people depended on imported rice. For that, they required money, which was also not available since the job opportunities were very limited and the vast majority of people were agricultural labourers, for whom there were only seasonal jobs available. For the rest of the year, they had to fend for any other work that would give them some money with which they could buy food for themselves and their family. A number of youngsters and second-generation emigrants joined schools and institutions of advanced education to better their social and professional status. This enabled them to draw higher salaries which would improve their financial position and permit them to send a higher amount of money for the family back home.

A big percentage of the money to purchase the commodities came through remittances of emigrants working outside Goa, as well as from those on the ships, who had signed Indian articles of agreement, to be paid in Indian Rupees, which were also legal tender in Goa.¹¹² Money remitted by these emigrants sustained the economy and enabled their relatives to purchase goods that were available in the market, mainly originating from India. Therefore, the problem of stoppage of remittances was a major dilemma for the Goan people. Some of them voiced their sufferings in the letters to the editors because their family members could not receive the money they needed; it had become very hard to manage the day-to-day affairs. One such letter challenges the Portuguese statement that everything was normal in Goa.¹¹³ According to the writer they used the press and the radio to make such claims. But he points out the reality of the situation of those dependent on the remittances from their family to buy consumables and were unable to do so because of the unavailability of money. To make matters worse, the Indian hundred rupees, which was exchanged at a premium of Rs.25, after the blockade got only Rs.3 as commission.¹¹⁴ This meant a great loss to the family.

¹¹⁰ J. B. Pinto, *Goan Emigration*, (Saligão, Goa: author's edition, 1962), 3.

¹¹¹ The Congresso Provincial was established by the Goan intelligentsia to discuss various problems that affected Goa and Goans. For details on the Congresso, please refer to the chapter on "Drinks that cheers and bring back tears".

¹¹² Gomes, "Economic Blockade of Goa", 76.

¹¹³ G.T., 15 July 1956 11.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

It may be noted that the remittances had given a secure financial base for the families in Goa, which in most cases solely depended on this money to run the house and buy the basic needs. It was, therefore, the common men who suffered the most. In another letter, signed by an *Afflicted Indian-Goan* from Bombay, he questions why people should suffer and requests for a change in the policy that attacks the innocent inhabitants of Goa and other enclaves, rather than the foreign government, by the imposition of controls, chiefly monetary and food.¹¹⁵ The outburst was from a person, himself a victim, as he needed to send remittances to his mother who was sick. As a rejoinder to this letter, the editor defends the blockade saying that it is the only pressure the Government of India is in a position to apply.¹¹⁶

FOOD SHORTAGE AND SUPPLIES

The availability, the shortage, the price, the production, or whatever was linked to rice, the Goans' staple, gained significant importance and was used to gauge the food situation, despite introducing various other imported foods to help ease up the problem during the thorny period.

Thus, anything related to rice was discussed in the press. For instance, a news item informed that though the cost of rice was much less than in the forties, people could not buy, because the purchasing power of Goans was lower than it had ever been during the past fifty years.¹¹⁷ Those who could not afford to buy had to suffer starvation. It also reported that poor people, during the summer months, filled their hungry stomachs with the mangoes and the jack-fruits, which were cheap, because of the producer's inability to export. The reporter concludes by questioning what would be the outcome after the mango and the jack-fruit season was over as "the poor people do not know how to keep their souls and bodies together".¹¹⁸

The production of rice had been poor in the previous year (1955) due to the floods and therefore the government reintroduced rationing to satisfy the demands of the people.¹¹⁹ They prayed for a good yield in the current year. However, there were apprehensions that till the new crop was harvested there would not be enough stock, as rice from Pakistan was not

¹¹⁵ Ibid, 23 September 1956, 2.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 26 August 1956, 11.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Despacho do Governo Geral - Postos de venda de arroz (normas para o seu funcionamento), dated 29 June, 1956. *Legislação*, 1956, Vol.II, 171.

imported, because there was a famine in East Pakistan.¹²⁰ On the other hand, the Portuguese authorities sought to demonstrate a show of apparent normality and used the press to give publicity to a government order which banned long queues in rice shops. According to the authorities, the queues had several meanings, the most important – it implied that the government stocks were not sufficient to guarantee normal supply. The other was the psychological state of the people, which favoured a certain type of deleterious propaganda that tried to spread rumors of the scarcity of rice in Goa.¹²¹ The government to assure people that everything was normal, clarified that it was wrong to say that there was a shortage of rice as there was enough stock till the next one arrived.

But then, in reality, the territory could not be maintained without stretching the beggar's bowl to its neighbors, and the rationing of the Goan staple was but a natural consequence of the interrupted economic relations of Portuguese India with the Indian mainland.¹²²

Nevertheless, it was observed that the measures taken by the government to cover up the deficiency of rice were not always in line with people's needs and wishes; sometimes they even went against them. For example, people were shocked to learn that the Portuguese government had, in 1955, collected ten lakhs of rupees from a surtax on rice. This tax, fixed in the early thirties, functioned as a protective measure to the local farmer, when the price of the locally produced rice had come down to less than eight rupees per *khandy*.¹²³ Fearing that rice cultivation in Goa would suffer from foreign competition, the government of the day had created a surtax on imported rice so that the locally produced would be sold at rupees twelve per *khandy*.¹²⁴ However, the present measure was criticized by the local press as well as the Goan press in Bombay.¹²⁵ The *Goan Tribune* writes: "The protection given to the cultivators of rice still goes on, though the rice sells at 50 or more rupees per *khandy*. As the government needs money for its bacchanals the consumers of rice are heavily taxed."¹²⁶

It was reported that in the year 1959, heavy rainfall caused floods which produced tremendous damage and losses, very particularly in the communal fields. The cause was

¹²⁰ G.T., 12 August 1956, 4.

¹²¹ Ibid., 26 August 11; *Legislação*, 1956, Vol.II, 171.

¹²² G.T., 15 July 1956, 11.

¹²³ Equivalent to 20 *maunds*.

¹²⁴ G.T., 2 December 1956, 11.

¹²⁵ *Herald*, 13 November 1956. A letter by a consumer, titled 'O preço do arroz', writes that the production was not good because of untimely and excessive rains in 1956 and the tax was uncalled for.

¹²⁶ G.T., 2 December 1956, 11.

linked to the breaches in the bunds, produced by the movement of the mining barges.¹²⁷ This was expected to affect very seriously the rice production for that year, even those who generally produced at least sufficient rice for their own consumption. They would have to purchase the imported rice,¹²⁸ though this would not be possible because there was no money or remittances.

The situation was so bad that the Governor-General reacted by issuing an Order to the *Board of External Commerce* to decrease the price of imported rice. The second measure was a proposal to be placed before the Governor's Council authorizing the *Comunidade* and *Temples*, which are the owners of the cultivable land, to forgo collection of land revenue from the cultivators who had suffered 'total losses' of their crops due to breaches in the dykes protecting the low-lying fields watered by Mandovi and Zuari rivers and consequent floods.¹²⁹

The embankments, designed to protect the low-lying rice fields along the river courses, gave way under the impact of the heavy barge movements. About 11,000 hectares (ha) were thus reduced into swamps. Heavy silting of *nalas* and rivulets also damaged the sown area. Silting of tanks reduced the irrigation facilities. All this resulted in a decrease in farm output. The local press also highlighted this problem and suggested how to eliminate it, because the floods were creating a famine-like situation. At the same time, there was also criticism regarding the import and distribution of rice as it was alleged that there was a racket crying to the heavens. A letter published in the *Goan Tribune* gives more or less insight into the situation in Goa regarding the above problem.

The tremendous damage caused by the recent floods, very particularly in the communal fields, is bound to affect very seriously the rice production this year. People who generally produced at least sufficient rice for their own consumption shall have to purchase the imported rice. But, where is the money to come from? The money from the mines goes into the pockets of the exploiters of the mines and of labour, which to a large extent is from across the border.¹³⁰

¹²⁷ Ibid., 20 September 1959, 3; Silvia de Mendonça-Noronha, "The Economic Scene in Goa (1926-1961)" in *Goa Through the Ages. An Economic History*, vol.ii, ed. Teotonio R. de Souza (New Delhi: Concept Publishing House, 1990), 267.

¹²⁸ G.T., 12 July 1959, 5.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 20 September 1959, 3.

¹³⁰ G.T., 28 June 1959, 11.

The status of rice in the diet of the Goans can also be evaluated from the importance it has gained in a meeting and discussions held by the authorities of the Board of External Commerce (JCE) regarding the import of rice for public supply. The JCE authorities claimed that in most countries of the world, the rice import is left to the government and not to private enterprises. They insisted that in Goa, the same system should be followed. However, there were private entrepreneurs who were interested to import rice so that they could benefit financially from this business. Those opposing Government's control over the trade pointed out that in the past when the Government imported through the office of *Direcção de Fazenda* (Revenue Department) there were some incidents, which the public resented and the issue was even broached in the *Conselho de Governo da Provincia*.¹³¹ This issue was discussed by the former Director of *Fazenda*, Vasco Ferreira Martins who argued that there was no legislation of any kind to execute the supply of imported food by the department. Taking note of the impossibility to fix responsibility on it or any other public service the Central Government thought of handing it over to an autonomous body or maybe to Junta das Importações e Exportações.¹³²

During the discussions held the management of the Junta emphasised the care needed in the storage and supply of rice to the public, and the need to take into consideration two factors:

‘1. Rice is the basic staple of the population. It is also of the people who live in this geographical region. Its importance is such in the idealization of politics of our neighbouring countries, that none of these *dares to trust to the private parties the supply of this item*. It is the Government that imports the rice, and, sometimes to entice the voters – fix the price at the cost of loss to the public treasury.

2. The rice is an item that is subject to price oscillations, which in our particular case, can result due to the following factors: behaviour of the prices in the world market; the local production; and how regular the transportation is.’¹³³

Therefore, the management stressed that any good politics of supply of rice should look into the above two factors before taking any decision. Consequently, the authorities were reluctant to hand over the supply of rice to private dealers because they may not be able to do it regularly. They reiterated that ‘It can even be said that, in the current difficult

¹³¹ Government Council of the Province. The Government governing body.

¹³² Established in this Estado by Decree no. 35.849 dated 6 September 1956.

¹³³ BIJCE, Abril, 1961, Ano1, Série I, no.3,10.

situation of national life, a breakdown in the public supply of rice would have far more pernicious effects than any act of sabotage or terrorism that the detractors of the present situation could carry out.’¹³⁴

To defend its stand, the Junta also pointed out that in the past when rice import was affected by merchants, the supply was irregular. This irregularity aggravated by the political upheavals affecting, directly or indirectly, the market situation of the main rice-supplying countries led, the Board of External Trade to take over the assignment of importing, the commodity through reliable channels in large consignments to ensure regular supplies. Besides, the Board was in a position to store the imports as it had spacious storage warehouses.¹³⁵ It also imported sugar and other foodstuffs for the districts of Daman and Diu, as well as frozen meats.

Only four businessmen, out of 103, were opposed to the import of rice by government authorities. They claimed that the imported rice could be cheaper than at present. However, authorities decided that fixing the price lower than the local product will act as a deterrent to local agriculture, which could not compete with the international market. In the past, the government had taken measures to protect the local farmer by imposing a surtax on imported rice and the consequences were still hurting the people as seen above.¹³⁶ In fact, the editorial of the BIJCE discusses the auto-sufficiency of the territory, especially on the food front.¹³⁷ It stressed that instead of importing cheaper rice the focus should be to encourage rice cultivation and the profits accrued with its distribution by the JCE ought to be used to improve agriculture and pisciculture. The emphasis had been on auto-sufficiency. This can be said to be an outcome of the economic blockade.

The government also claimed that import by multiple businessmen is not feasible, as the simultaneous interest of various buyers creates amongst the sellers an illusion that there is an increase in demand, besides transporting small cargoes would be difficult. Therefore, the Conselho do Governo deliberated and passed the following order: ‘The Government Council took the unanimous decision that the decree under review should be implemented, and the Board of Import and Export of India (Portuguese), also has the function of distribution of

¹³⁴ Ibid. Translation of the author.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 11.

¹³⁶ For more on the sur-tax please read Chapter-II.

¹³⁷ BIJCE, Abril, 1961, Ano1, Série I, no.3,1. Translation of the author.

food.’¹³⁸ This was needed keeping in mind the happenings of 1954 and the political outcome and atmosphere in which the Afro-Asiatic nations pretended to involve Portugal, and these are only two of the manifestations of evolution that times have suffered, unfortunately only to aggravate our conditions.¹³⁹

REFUSAL TO ACCEPT THE INDIAN RUPEE AS LEGAL TENDER AND REINTRODUCTION OF *ESCUDO*

In retaliation, to the economic blockade, the Portuguese government stopped the circulation of Indian currency, which was a legal tender in the territories. Reacting to this uneconomic move, a citizen, Quintino do Carmo Lobo wrote an article, criticizing the decision taken by the government.¹⁴⁰ Lobo argued that when issues regarding money were considered, it had to include all the monetary riches, whether in circulation or not, local or foreign, which the free trade had channeled into the country and included money brought in by the emigrants.¹⁴¹

Our statistics show that in 1952, in India (Portuguese India), entered currency of Rs.173,170.33, with the following monetary circulation: Notes Rps. 86,727,57. Cedula Rps. 1,712, Metallica Rps. 9,12,5,500. These should include money from India which has been brought in by the emigrants, and which should be an integral part of monetary circulation, showing the value earned by our motherland (paiz).¹⁴²

Lobo added that the problem of circulation of the rupee had repercussions on the economic life of the people because the internal commerce had been rejecting it for some months, especially for the poor people, who patriotically sided with the government in the struggle against the economic blockade.¹⁴³ Besides restricting the acceptance of the Indian rupee, monetary inflation was created by the National Overseas Bank (Banco Nacional Ultramarino), which was empowered to circulate currency cashable only in Portuguese India. It was done by depreciating the exchange rate of Indian currency from eight to ten per cent. This move generated greater suffering for the emigrants’ families, who solely depended on the rupee.¹⁴⁴ However, at the same time, the bank gave interest-free loans payable in debased

¹³⁸ Ibid.,11. Translation of the author.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Lobo was a well-known philatelist and contributor to *Heraldo*, *O Herald* and *A Vida* in which he wrote on different topics. Post-liberation he also contributed to the *Navhind Times* with a column on philately.

¹⁴¹ “A Não Circulação de Notas da União Indiana é um Flagelo Economico-social,” *A Vida*, 11 February 1956, 1.

¹⁴² Ibid. Translation of the author.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ G.T., 4 November 1956, 1.

Portuguese currency to some well-known Goan merchants, to the total amount of 55 lakhs.¹⁴⁵ This money would be used to procure much-needed goods from Singapore, Aden, and other places and reduce the effects of the controls imposed by the Government of India.¹⁴⁶ This step showed how desperate the Portuguese were in obtaining the goods to cover up the shortage in the territory and show the world everything was fine that they even waived the profit of interest.

The problem of currency continued and worsened when the Portuguese government decided to change from rupee to *escudo*. After the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878, Portuguese India used a similar currency to that of British India, except for the effigy.¹⁴⁷ This was done as circulation of the money was important to continue to maintain the good neighbourly relationship.¹⁴⁸ The Portuguese and the Indian rupee maintained the significance of the traditional common economy when both circulated in Goa, but the Indian rupee had a higher value given its backing of the metallic reserve. Interestingly, it continued to be used even after the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty was revoked after a decade, despite drawbacks and trouble to use the currency.

Decree 41.680 reissued the *escudo* as currency which would have its own scale.¹⁴⁹ The issuing authority was the local branch of National Overseas Bank and would be legal tender only in the territories of Goa, Daman and Diu. The *escudo* could not be used even in the other Portuguese overseas territories and its export was prohibited. The change would be effective from 1 January 1959 independent of the condition if the new currency was issued or not. However, the Overseas Bank was not in a position to recover the coins under circulation and thus allowed people to continue using the existing ones. The inaccessibility created difficulties for the public which strongly criticized the government and led the Governor to issue orders to overcome them.¹⁵⁰ The Governor of Goa issued an Official communication which also directed the Directorate of Economia, along with that of Revenue (Fazenda) and Printing Press (Imprensa Nacional), to promote the posters, leaflets, and other material required to implement the laid down clause.¹⁵¹ Also, to affix necessary tables showing the

¹⁴⁵ The following names were listed: Damodar Mangalji, Tarcar, Furlencar, Neogi, Timblo and Abdul Latif.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Decree no. 41.680 dated 16 June 1958.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., Article 1.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Order dated 29 December 1958; *Heraldo*, 3 January 1959, 4.

¹⁵¹ Order dated December 1958. A comment to solve the difficulties faced by the people appeared in the *Heraldo*, 3 January 1959, 4.

equivalence of the transaction of rupees and its parts, vis a vis the escudo at treasury offices of departments as well as commercial establishments and various transport systems, to make people aware not to fall prey to any cheating.¹⁵²

The change in the currency brought about a crisis for those who were visiting their hometown and added to the plight of the emigrants. Rumours made the round that the Indian rupee would not be accepted in the banks in exchange for *escudos* and the people panicked because they would not be able to have money to spend or give their relatives. This situation gave full advantage to those who illegally exchanged the money to fleece the emigrant to the extent of twenty four percent of the value of the Indian paper money. This state of affairs was commented with a warning by Dr. Jaime Rangel,¹⁵³ in a letter in the *Heraldo* and transcribed in the *Goan Tribune*.¹⁵⁴ He wrote that the present imposition of the *escudo* together with heavy industrial and land taxes not only consecrates the artificial devaluation of the rupee but comes to complicate and deceive the economy of the Goan people.¹⁵⁵

As if this change in currency was not enough to bring difficulties into the day-to-day life of the people, nature also lent a hand to create a miserable life for them. In summer there were unprecedented rain downpours which spoiled the crop of chillies, which would have earned some money out of the sale that would enable them to buy food for the family. Another means of income was lost for them!¹⁵⁶

Fortunately, the value of the rupee was restored in May 1960, when the emigrants protested the devaluation of the rupee to the tune of fifty per cent. The restoration also pretended to show the world that everything was well in Portuguese Indian Overseas Territories.¹⁵⁷ Rangel pointed out that in Goa, Indian currency circulated freely, and everybody used the coins in day-to-day affairs. However, after the economic blockade, which was used as a political weapon, the Overseas Bank was caught up in a quagmire – for some time it accepted the deposits and paid the depositor in the same currency whenever he chose to withdraw. He also commented that the absence of coins in new denominations created difficulties in transactions and caused losses to the people. For example, petty agriculturists growing vegetables, bananas, and onions could not sell their products due to the

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ Jaime Rangel, physician, journalist, President of Bardez Municipality had occupied many official positions and represented Portugal at some international Labour Conferences.

¹⁵⁴ “Monetary Crisis. Wanted Immediate Action,” G.T., 14 June 1959, 7.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ *Herald*, 13 November 1956.

¹⁵⁷ F.G., 25 May 1960, 8.

unavailability of coins. The same happened with fish, which began to rot. Rangel concluded that the losses to the public must have amounted to thousands of rupees and it was, unfortunately, continuing and spreading.¹⁵⁸

In such a situation people with small means, who were dependent on the sale of their homegrown products to meet their day-to-day expenses, and those who used horticulture as a means of living, suffered the most. The problem arose after the new currency was introduced because the shopkeepers did not agree to take the rupees which hitherto was accepted as legal tender, even though the new *escudo* coins were unavailable. In addition, the prices of the food being low were purchased by using the Indian currency.

FINANCIAL SANCTIONS

Finally, financial sanctions restrict or suspend lending and investing into target economy. Besides, foreign assets of the target economy may be frozen. In this regard, the currency from the Union of India was used by the people of Portuguese India. Restrictions enforced on the money's export to Goa placed the Portuguese in an awkward position. We have seen how the Reserve Bank refused to send the money to make payments. In the beginning of January 1959, Banco Nacional Ultramarino ceased to accept Indian Currency. In the same way, in January of the same year, the Goa Accounts Department stopped accepting the Indian Currency. On twelfth January the River Navigation Department affixed at its ticket counter a notice informing the commuters that they will not accept any Indian currency henceforth.¹⁵⁹ Later, on second February the Customs, the Railways and the businessmen stopped accepting it. Since the currency was not accepted by the bank, the local businessmen could not transact with the Indian currency nor make payment with it.¹⁶⁰ The outcome was that the businessmen had money accumulated with them and which they could not use. Customs duties were levied on individuals crossing the Indian borders and restrictions on goods taken from the Union of India to Portuguese enclaves.¹⁶¹ As already mentioned, the investment by Goans was also frozen by the Indian government.

SMUGGLING: A FALLOUT OF THE BLOCKADE

Clandestine trading from across the border on both sides was going on a big scale and became a lucrative business, with many deciding it was a good opportunity to make money.

¹⁵⁸ G.T., 14 June 1959, 7.

¹⁵⁹ Rodrigues, 100 years, 39.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

From the Indian territory was smuggled especially food grains, oil, onions, kerosene (used for cooking).¹⁶² But these sold at high prices and went beyond the reach of the average Goan, leave alone the poor. While from Goa, imported luxury items like gold, watches, cigarettes were much in demand.

Right from the beginning, *Free Goa* brought to the notice of the Government the existence of trafficking across the border which benefitted the Portuguese, because they were able to get the much needed Indian currency that would be used to buy commodities and the much wanted rice.¹⁶³ The currency gained importance because Portuguese money had no acceptance by the foreign countries who sold supplies to them.¹⁶⁴ In fact, the Portuguese were in negotiation to get the rice from Burma and Pakistan to supply to the people who were wary about its availability. In order to avoid scarcity, Goans were stocking rice smuggled from India with the help of the Goan custom staff.¹⁶⁵

While measures were taken by the Indian Government to force the Portuguese to leave the Indian soil, there were people with vested interests who interfered with the efforts, as they were benefiting materially from this situation. In fact, some Indian politicians in power protected their businessmen carrying profitable speculation in Goa with the full connivance of the Portuguese officialdom.¹⁶⁶ There were allegations that Bombay merchants sabotaged government measures. Ajit Prasad Jain, then Indian Food Minister referred particularly to ‘some traders of Bombay’ who had purchased Government rice and sent it to Goa and Pakistan then sold it at considerable profit. On this issue, a columnist comments how continuously and repeatedly this issue of smuggling, especially the deliberate sabotage of the Government’s policy against those territories, has been reported but no action taken.¹⁶⁷ Goa was considered a haven for smugglers.¹⁶⁸

The problem was acknowledged by almost everybody including Nehru, who commented that the “foreign pockets were centers of smuggling and intrigue and nests of

¹⁶² Gomes, Olivinho, “Economic Blockade of Goa”, 81.

¹⁶³ F.G., 8 November 1953, 2.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid; M.N.E., 264.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid, 7.

¹⁶⁶ Read “Portuguese Occupation of Goa Supported by Indian Merchants”, F.G., 25 July 1958, 1, which lists names of those involved: Chowgle & Co. Ltd., Damodar Mangalji & Co. (India) Ltd., Gangadhal Agrawal, Hiralal Khodidas, Khantilal & Co. Ltd., Mineira Nacional Ltd., Shantilal Khushaldas & Brothers, Subraya & Co., Timble Brothers Ltd., V.M.Salgaonkar & Brother Ltd., V.S.Dempe & Co. Ltd., Joao Hugo Siqueira, Madev Sinay Talaulikar, A. Abdulzarak, Sesa Goa Ltd. (Germano-Italian), W.I.P.Railway (British), Mingoa Society (Italian).

¹⁶⁷ F.G., 25 May 1956, 4.

¹⁶⁸ Rubinoff, *India's Use of Force*, 106.

trouble, danger spots even in time of peace".¹⁶⁹ Morarji Dossai, the then chief minister of Bombay, while speaking in the open session of the All-India Congress Committee, in 1954 held in Bombay, advised people to subject the persons engaged in smuggling across the Indo-Portuguese borders to social boycott.¹⁷⁰ Another writer of an article questioned the Indian government's apathy to take serious action against the perpetrators of crime and referring to Dossai's remarks, comments that the social boycott suggested by him is an imprecise thing. He claimed that the Union and State governments possessed adequate machinery for dealing with them, which a private individual or the community did not possess and therefore did not hold the same advantage.¹⁷¹

It was not only the Indian press that carried reports about this nefarious activity. A Singapore paper vehemently denounced some Indian merchants in that country who had been gaining from the economic blockade by importing and re-exporting to India goods from Goa and vice versa.¹⁷² A member of the Indian Merchant's Chamber in Bombay revealed in a public statement, that Indian businessmen in Tokyo and Singapore were also engaged in smuggling goods from Goa and re-exporting them to India at a good margin of profit. However, as mentioned earlier, the food was available only for those who could afford to pay for it.

This activity was going on both sides of the border on a big scale and it became the main result of the blockade.¹⁷³ Those involved from the neighbouring territories of India smuggled in foodstuff, which would fetch them a good profit. The Indian authorities could not fully abate it despite the measures taken by the customs in increasing the control over the borders and even building the wall. This was mainly because the transportation of smuggled goods was done by boats and clandestinely over the border with the connivance of customs authorities who were unwilling to take action or overlooked what was happening. Many a time they profited or had a share in the smuggling. It was happening not only in the Goa territory but also from Daman and Diu. It was evident that the Portuguese authorities were not serious and they would break the rules very often and their nefarious activity did not help in the implementation of the economic blockade.

¹⁶⁹ F.G., 10 October 1953, 1; Speech made by Nehru, 17 September 1953, in *Nehru on Goa*, 3.

¹⁷⁰ F.G., 10 June 1954, 4.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., 10 June 1956, 6.

¹⁷² Ibid., 10 June 1954, 4.

¹⁷³ Bragança, *Landmarks in My Time*, (Margao: author, 1992), 29.

The Prime Minister told the Parliament that the Daman-based coastal vessels registered in Portuguese India were transgressing and entering Indian territorial waters. Replying to a question by Dr. Lanka Sundaram, Mr. Guha, the Minister for Revenue and Defence Expenditure replied that a certain amount of smuggling into Goa was being carried on by country crafts from the coastal ports. According to him contraband goods valued at Rs.1,65,553 had been seized between February and June 1956. The minister added that progressively intensive steps were being taken to stop this trade.¹⁷⁴ The Government had received reports that goods were being transhipped to Portuguese boats on the high seas as also as the actual landing of the smuggled Indian goods on the Goa coast. Answering a short-notice question by Mr. Kajrolkar, who stated that “there was reason to believe that some of the owners or masters of the country craft plying on the coast were engaged in smuggling,” the minister informed that country craft on the west coast were asked to execute bonds for obtaining the license.¹⁷⁵ This was required because without them it was difficult for the government to take action against smugglers and in view of the importance of anti-smuggling measures on the Goa border being made more effective.¹⁷⁶

The Portuguese used smuggling to augment their economy. In fact, Morgado¹⁷⁷ in his official report, under the subheading ‘external commercial activity’, cites smuggling as a favourable factor. He suggested “clandestine contraband of certain products that would give significant profits and in exchange food and other needed items to be sneaked into Goa for local consumption”.¹⁷⁸

Though the problem of smuggling had reached such proportions and was creating financial loss to the government of India, Tristão Bragança Cunha complained that nothing had been done to curb it, although contraband worked to the detriment of Indian economy, with great losses to state finances and administration. According to him, the huge trade deficit of Portuguese India with imports several times higher than exports was being met largely

¹⁷⁴ G.T., 26 August 1956, 15.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., 23 September 1956, 14.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Nuno Alves Morgado was appointed to conduct a survey by Governor Vassalo e Silva. Morgado, a Law graduate from the University of Lisbon attended the reputed Instituto de Estudos Superiores Ultramarinos. The latter delivered higher education in 'Overseas Sciences', preparing the frameworks for overseas administrations, and cultivating an investigation of scientific problems related to the valuation of the overseas territories, their population, and the study of people and their languages. He held various senior management positions, such as Provincial Secretary of Angolan Economy, Director of Technical Secretariat, Vice-Governor of Bank of Angola and Secretary-General of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers. He has a number of publications to his credit.

¹⁷⁸ Translation of the author.

with the smuggling of gold, liquor, and other articles of contraband into India.¹⁷⁹ Earlier, he had suggested to the government of India “to fight the smuggling business carried on to and from the Portuguese Territories.”¹⁸⁰

COMPANHIA NACIONAL DE NAVEGAÇÃO (C.N.N.)

The Portuguese government could not sit with their fingers crossed and pretend that nothing was wrong. In reality, Salazar had predicted that Nehru might use a blockade to force them to hand over the territories. “The question of Goa is the most delicate and serious ... India has many possibilities, best said indefinite, to create difficulties and complicate the life in Goa: it has territorial contiguity, economic dependence, employment and economy of our immigrants are the weapons that can be used effectively against us.”¹⁸¹ Steps to provide food and pretend that everything was normal and that people were not affected by the economic blockade, needed to be taken. Since the doors were closed to any import of food by road, the other two alternatives left for the Portuguese government were the sea and air transport. The first was looked at as an immediate alternative, with the vast Ocean encircling Goa’s coast on the western side. However, it had a disadvantage, being a delayed option. Ships used to come to Goa with passengers from Africa and goods shipped by foreign businessmen were sent by this route. Many of these touched the Indian ports in transit before they arrived at Mormugao and did not come on a regular basis but only when the cargoes justified the delivery. On the other hand, the ultimatum of the Dock Labour Associations of India was obstructing any delivery coming from abroad. Means and ways had to be found to circumvent this problem. Ships had to be asked to come directly to Goa with the cargo and the onus of organizing this transportation was laid on the Commercial Association of Portuguese India, (Associação Comercial da Índia Portuguesa), presently Goa Chamber of Commerce and Industry which played a very important role during this crisis. The Association stepped in and to start with succeeded in arranging a Portuguese steamer, *Timor*, to collect the goods from Europe. The ship belonged to the Portuguese shipping company ‘Companhia Nacional de Navegação’ (C.N.N.).¹⁸² The company was requested by the Portuguese authorities to help the local

¹⁷⁹ Teotónio de Sousa comments on this affair: “Pascoal Menezes, represents the Goan business class that benefited from the economic blockade of the Union of India, from 1954, and from the smuggling that this blockade promoted.”, Teotónio de Sousa, “Lógicas Imperiais e Processos Contemporâneos. Analisando Algumas Memórias Coloniais recém-publicadas em Goa e em Portugal”, *Babilônia*, Dossier Mestiçagem Linguística e Cultural, n.º 4, 58.

¹⁸⁰ Cunha, *Goa’s Freedom Struggle*, 169.

¹⁸¹ Salazar in his speech delivered on 20 October 1949, M.N.E., 157. Translation of the author; Shrikant Ramani, *Operation Vijay. The Ultimate Solution* (Panjim: Broadway Book Centre, 2008), 21.

¹⁸² Rodrigues, *100 years*, 41.

government overcome the problem of the blockade and pressed their ships to collect and deliver goods to Goa. In 1956 it had only two annual sailings, which later increased to 12.¹⁸³ To help with the supply of food C.N.N. started routing their ships from East Africa to Mormugao port, bringing goods from overseas for the merchants of India Portuguesa.¹⁸⁴

The Association coordinated with the Committee and informed about the cargo that required to be transported to Goa, from different foreign ports, so that it could coordinate with the C.N.N. to transport them. Although the latter went all out to help bring in goods, it also tried to get mileage from this transportation by increasing the freight charges which were more expensive than foreign ships, to which the Association protested.¹⁸⁵

The following table shows imports for consumption by the Estado da India. Under Foreign Trade the statistics give a comparative figure in tons and values in escudos (1.000 escudos) which shows the rise in import of goods, the highest being in 1961.

Table 6.3: Import for Consumption in Tons

	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
Tons	167.305	125.283	172.01	143.845	145.411	192.744	198.330

[Source: *Anuário Estatístico do Ultramar 1961*, 259]

Table 6.4: Import for Consumption in Value in Escudos (1.000 esc)

	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
Escudos	729.221	684.311	849.935	874.319	750.678	1030.636	1243839

[Source: *Anuário Estatístico do Ultramar 1961*, 259]

Table 6.5: Number of Ships that Entered Goa and those with Portuguese Flag

	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
Ships in general	3.625	3.238	2.147	815	860	917	873
Portuguese	721	350	480	529	560	541	551

[Source: *Anuário Estatístico do Ultramar 1961*, 15]

The numbers depict how many trips were made.

¹⁸³ Ibid., 42.

¹⁸⁴ During the period a number of ships belonging to C.N.N were included in the transportation of goods from abroad: Lurio, India, Zambezia Rovuma, São Tome, Timor, Moçamedes were some of them.

¹⁸⁵ Rodrigues, Maria de Lourdes Bravo da Costa, *100 Years*, 43.

TRANSPORTES AEREOS DA INDIA PORTUGUESA (TAIP)

The transportation by sea was not adequate. The best way would be to use the airlines. There was an airport in Goa at Mormugao and the authorities decided to start in August 1955 a regional airline Air Transport of Portuguese India.¹⁸⁶ Incidentally, Goa was the only colony to have its own airline. “This was considered as one of the biggest steps taken by the Portuguese administration in the Estado da India.”¹⁸⁷ The genesis of the formation of this service was the need to break the undeclared economic blockade imposed by the Indian government, which had maintained that it would continue with the agreements that existed between Portugal and the government of British India.¹⁸⁸ To come to Goa, one had to use Bombay as a base for maritime as well as air transport. With the imposition of the blockade, communication was stopped and prohibited the movement of people by sea, road or railway line. TAIP made it possible to bring goods by air from Karachi to the Portuguese territories.¹⁸⁹

To add to the services and for better connectivity, which would facilitate the import of food and other items from other Portuguese colonies, an air link between Goa, Angola and Mozambique was established, which improved commerce between them. Later, the need to have a direct connection with Lisbon was felt and the Portuguese Airlines Transport (Transportes Aereos Portugueses) (TAP) introduced direct flights from Lisbon to Goa and vice-versa from July 1961.¹⁹⁰ The Portuguese government also started importing goods by air from Pakistan, Malaysia, Singapore, and as far as Holland, Denmark, Australia, and Portuguese Africa.¹⁹¹

Table 6.6: Year-wise Information of Air Transportation

	1955	1956	1957	1958
Planes that landed	186	422	200	304
Number of Passengers	463	1.898	1.889	3.163
Cargo transported (Kg)	529	4.478	16.056	80.839

[Source: *Anuário Estatístico do Ultramar 1961*, 15]

¹⁸⁶ Transporte Aereos da India Portuguesa (TAIP). Started in August 1955 with two planes in the fleet, which would fly from Goa to Daman then Diu and from here to Karachi.

¹⁸⁷ Translation of the author.

¹⁸⁸ “TAIP – do primeiro ao Último Voo”, 1 February 2018, 1.

¹⁸⁹ The Chief of TAIP, Solano de Almeida, in an interview to the local newspaper informed that “in the first three months they had done 90.905 kilometers, more than two times around the world. The planes transported 4.787 kilos of postal matter between Estado da India, the Metropolis and other overseas provinces...”

¹⁹⁰ Rodrigues, *100 Years*, 42.

¹⁹¹ Ibid; Sá, *Song of the Golden Gateway*, 86.

The table gives the number of planes that have landed, passengers that have alighted, and goods transported by them. It shows the increase in all the three sectors during the years and how important the air service was for providing access to food.

PORTUGUESE METROPOLITAN AND OTHER PORTUGUESE TERRITORIES

India's blockade was beneficial to the metropolitan territory as well as other colonies. In fact, a perusal of the statistical table for the period from 1956-1961 of the Anuário Estatístico, clearly shows that Mozambique was the highest exporter to Goa, amongst the other Portuguese Overseas territories.¹⁹² The annual import of rice itself was around an average of 20,000 tons. Mozambique wanted to use the blockade to its advantage by overcharging the goods. Its offer of selling excess production of 40,000 tons of rice was not accepted by the local authority because of the price. In a remark made in one of the journals of the JCE, this was pointed out 'the price of the rice should also be economical to Índia Portuguesa. None of the colonies should suffer any loss. The equilibrium of the Mozambican economy should not be made at the cost of the economy of Indo-Portuguese consumers, whose cost of living is determined, basically by the price of rice.'¹⁹³

Table 6.7: Year-wise Import of Goods from Portugal and Colonies

Year	Territories of origin	In kgs	%	Value in escudos	%
1959	Portugal	9.309.839	6.40	85784839	11.43
	Angola	9.075	0.01	203570	0.03
	Macau	77.805	0.05	1849062	0.24
	Mozambique	975.847	6.71	34427650	4.59
	Timor	11.162	0.01	252000	0.03
1960	Portugal	22.691.572	11.77	102220540	9.92
	Angola	6.330	0	125900	0.01
	Macau	1.680.577	0.09	3511563	0.34
	Mozambique	11.842.991	6.25	42510993	4.13
	Timor	18.300	0.01	311980	0.03
1961	Portugal	18.942.643	9.55	104761971	8.42
	Angola	11.682	0.01	153950	0.01
	Macau	146.291	0.07	3386580	0.27
	Mozambique	10.581.225	5.33	38209791	3.07
	Timor	16.883	0.01	334390	0.03

[Source: *Statistical Yearbook, 1961, 266*]

¹⁹² Goa, Daman and Diu, General Statistics Department, Statistical Yearbook, 1961, (Panaji: author, 1963), 266. For details, please refer to the table.

¹⁹³ BJCE, Ano I, Sr.II. no.9, October 1961, 23. Translation of the author.

The table shows the imports from Portugal and its Overseas Possessions, which clearly indicates the benefits accrued by Metropolitan Portugal and Mozambique.

FOOD IMPORT AND CHANGE IN HABITS

By the time the blockade progressed into the late fifties and early sixties it looked like there was no shortage of food since the best was available. The newspapers were full of advertisements in the local papers, which showed the existence of a wide range of products: from children to adults, tinned and frozen foods, alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages, medicines, tonics, etc. Nevertheless, these were accessible only to the elite, well-to-do, government employees whose salaries were doubled, as well as to the colonizers. Those without money could not buy the products. These included the otherwise middle class, which depended on remittances to run the household. However, advertising doesn't reflect directly what people actually bought.¹⁹⁴ And it is un(known) how it influenced actual practices of material consumption. At this stage, the question was of survival.

The advertisements publicized the importance of the products viz its economics, taste, instructions and time saved in preparation amongst other qualities. In this regard, a correspondent makes a very pertinent comment:

Let us leave the mangoes and go to the other sector of agriculture. Have you observed the show-cases in our shops and the advertisements in the newspapers? Vegetables' soups of all kinds and for all the palates come to us from all places: Switzerland, Holland, Germany and Patagonia. You have only to open a packet and throw the powder in a cup of hot or cold water, place it on the fire and in five minutes have a soup for six persons. This is what the advertisement says.¹⁹⁵

He was reviewing what was happening in Goa on the food front and picks up the thread from poor mango production which was not only because of climate but also lack of care of the trees by the landlords who did not work to get a good crop because of fall in export.

As we know, Goa depended on imported goods for sustenance. However, during this period the Portuguese Government went all out to get food from almost all the continents.¹⁹⁶ Both *Free Goa* and *Goan Tribune* acknowledged and criticized this action. But it was the

¹⁹⁴ Douglas E. Haynes and Abigail McGowan, *Towards a History of Consumption in South Asia* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010),13.

¹⁹⁵ G.T., 3 May 1956, 6.

¹⁹⁶ For details of trade of Portuguese India, please refer to Goa, Daman and Diu, Statistical Yearbook, 1961, p.259-305

local Goan press that bears the testimony of products that were for sale with pages filled with advertisements. The bounty led many people to change their eating habits due to the accessibility of a variety of products. Tinned stuff replaced fresh products for cooking, for example, tomato puree (tomatada), tinned vegetables, and olive oil were added to the diet by many. *Bacalhau* – dry codfish – also flooded the market. Fruits, pulses, butter, cheeses, alcohol, etc made their appearance in different brands, from various countries. Frozen beef was imported and distributed by the government while chicken was suggested by the advertisement. Food enhancers like *Maggi* were introduced. In fact, in those days *Maggi* ruled the kitchen, especially in the preparation of soups and *pulav* (Arroz refogado). There were other brands, but this was the most sought-after. Tinned milk in condensed or powder form substituted fresh milk for many. Nestlé advertised various products which changed the diets of children by replacing the traditional preparations.

FINAL REMARKS

The blockade was a political attempt to generate an oppressive situation forcing Portugal to give up its territories in India which would lead to the surrender of the Portuguese government. It acted as a catalyst to speed up the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu.¹⁹⁷ Nehru felt that the implementation of the blockade was the appropriate step and the key message that India will not accept a refusal from Portugal with regard to the integration of the territories in the Union of India. However, the common people had to face the burden as the food was used as a tool, in spite of the very discrete way it was made. In fact, closing the territorial communication and blocking the currency exchange was a hidden measure to make the availability of food difficult.

Both the papers, *Free Goa* and *Goan Tribune* reflect the sufferings of the masses due to scarcity of food, currency, and the ways in which the elites and the government employees largely benefitted. As the salary of the government officials doubled, they emerged as the privileged class living on imported goods.¹⁹⁸ The others, who lived on the earnings of the exports suffered, as prices crashed owing to the ban on Goan goods in India. For example, before the imposition of the blockade, the price of betelnut was 18 to 29 rupees a *maund* (15 kilos), which came down to four or five rupees.¹⁹⁹ Due to scarcity businessmen started selling

¹⁹⁷ The other two enclaves of Dadra and Nagar Haveli were liberated by the Freedom Fighters on 22 July and 7 August 1954, respectively.

¹⁹⁸ G.T., 12 August 1956, 11. *Estatuto do Funcionalismo Ultramarino e Remodelação de Vencimentos*. Decree no.40.708 and 40.709, 31 July 1956.

¹⁹⁹ Ranade, Mohan, *Struggle unfinished*, 88.

the available food at a higher price. This meant life was tough for those who did not have enough resources. Ironically, even people with some money found it difficult to get food and had to wait in long queues!

Nevertheless, the local press carried news only about the government's efforts to maintain normalcy. There are no editorials or news that speak about the miseries of the people. The Portuguese government notices which appeared on the press spoke for itself, that food had to be imported from countries other than the Union of India due to shortage. Instead of garnering sympathy and support, many criticized the government of India's policy in imposing the blockade, as it was only hurting the common people who were suffering due to the pangs of hunger. Mohan Ranade and Gerald Pereira are examples of those who protested the blockade and instead wanted India to take direct action, like using military force against the territories.

It was not only rice, but potatoes, onions, chillies, and pulses on which the locals depended for their meals that were difficult to find or were very expensive. This meant that only those with more economic power could accede to the opportunities offered by the parallel market. And among them, we can include especially Catholics living in urban spaces and with food habits being closer to the Portuguese ones because the alternative goods offered by the market were mainly imported from Europe. People with economic difficulties and not so close to the Portuguese habits started feeling hardship to get food. As the products were from far away destinations, they were not fresh. This was especially with vegetables and fruits. Another example was the availability of beef, which earlier came from neighbouring territories. The Government now tried to fulfill the need for beef with imported frozen meat. This was done on an experimental basis. From the notice, it looks like it was sold only in Panjim market and if you wanted the best then you had to go early in the morning to buy and be sure to get it. The sale was not a regular feature. It depended on the arrival of the ship with the consignment.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

Food has been important in the context of Goan society during the last six decades of the Portuguese occupation and has directly influenced the community. The staple rice was not available to the people of the territory especially unique to them which shaped their history in a diverse manner.

The poor suffered due to the insufficiency of rice in the territory which was used as a tool by the landlords, the Comunidade, and the government for their benefit and to the detriment of the underprivileged masses. This situation created an atmosphere where politics were played using rice by those interested to have an upper hand and control over others, that is, the *mundkar* and the poor.

The study also viewed the policy of the Portuguese government with regard to British India. The people of Goa depended on imports from neighbouring territories, the majority of which were under British rule by the early twentieth century. Commercial activity in Goa depended almost entirely on the import of goods.

This doctoral research also attempts to analyse how politics affected the local Goan populace. After India gained independence in 1947, Jawaharlal Nehru asked Portugal to hand over the territories. After the diplomatic efforts failed the only alternative was an Economic Blockade. The impact of the Blockade on the daily food consumption of the average Goan family is studied in this work.

Another direct link to food is the study of memories that it evokes amongst people. When a particular food is consumed, the taste allows them to build their personal and community history through memories of the past. Folklore, short stories, and personal experiences have been used to study this connection.

Food is also a part of rituals and traditions and has been observed by people for years. These factors have been studied from published sources, interviews, and conducting fieldwork. Three religious celebrations of the Catholic community have been analysed. The study also shows that feasts are not only about celebrations but there is also desolation amongst the families due to the traditions that need to be followed and the financial burden experienced by them.

The research also focused on the consumption of goods that are socially undesirable, like alcohol. Consumption of alcohol reached a level that could be considered an ‘epidemic’, during the period of study. Undoubtedly Goan society underwent changes due to four and half centuries of Portuguese rule. Consumption patterns drastically altered.

The food history of Goa revolves around rice which is the staple of the community. However, its production is insufficient during the period of study and even before that, so this insufficiency allowed the influential to play politics. The study of the plight of the subalterns at the hand of the Goan *bhatkar* is made through the novel *O Signo da Ira* (1961) by Orlando da Costa. The novel focuses on rice cultivation and production, both important for the subaltern and the *bhatkar*. For the first, as means of survival, and the other as an instrument of power. It is on the basis of rice that social dynamics are established. Whoever controls and dominates its production, somehow dominates the social system.

Land ownership distribution was one of the factors that affected rice production. Most of the land was left in the hand of private owners, almost 53.7 and the government 31.65 and the Comunidade 11.38 per cent. It is seen that the agrarian economy of Goa before 1961 was dominated by relatively small and micro holdings. Out of the total number of the holdings, as many as 85 per cent are found to be less than 2 hectares each (that is, less than 5 acres each), thus indicating a large number of smallholdings. These were economically unviable units and most cultivators lived a hand-to-mouth existence. The area of land held by them was only 15 per cent.

The existing system of leasing the fields by the *bhatkars* and the Comunidades to the cultivators shows how it was detrimental to the tenant cultivator. The auction was important to the bidders – who were well-off individuals – and made money by sub-letting, and the tenant cultivator had to pay an exorbitant, sometimes even, double the lease amount. A system that deprived the tiller to enjoy the fruits of their labour and who wished to cultivate the fields for their individual and family sustenance were dependent and at the mercy of the *gaunkars* who were the only ones allowed to bid for unlimited fields as long as they were the highest bidders. They acquired the fields in order to sublet to those who were actual cultivators, but at a much higher price.

The government tried to improve rice production by taking a few measures like increasing the area of cultivation, starting a ‘Rice Campaign’ (*Campanha de Arroz*) and

attempting to improve the methods, and introducing new ones. However, this did not materialize as envisaged by the government and nothing concrete came out of it.

In addition, the government laws often instead of helping the people, were detrimental to them. The decision to restrict the quantity of rice to import and introduce a surcharge on the import to protect the local produce are examples of such measures.

During the Second World War, rice was in shortage because there was a limited supply from British India. There were also difficulties in importing overseas rice because of the tense unstable situation due to war. Therefore, the Portuguese government ordered the rationing of rice. The shortage led to smuggling and hoarding of stock by the businessmen, who wanted to monetarily benefit from such conditions by raising the prices, which also added to the woes of the people.

Food, the memory connector. A study of the Goan folk and other forms of literature analyses the folk literature of Goa. The summer season brings a variety of fruits that people eagerly wait for. Mangoes, wild blackberries (*kandans*), kokum, *jambhalam*, (*Syzygium cuminis*) *jangama*, *zamang* (*Flacourtia cataphractis*) *churnam*, etc, are some. However, it is the mango, the king of the Goan fruits that easily brings memories for those who lived in Goa. It has been discussed in all its varieties and forms, raw, ripe, fresh, or cooked, and used to connect past memories to the present. Stories, poems, and novels showed the importance of the mango to a Goan.

The importance of the coconut tree in the Goan scenario is also discussed, which not only provides income to the *bhatkar* but also revenue to the Government accrued on the export of coconut, copra, and sale of palm *feni*. The coconut tree was looked at as a provider of sustenance to the family as no part of the tree was wasted – the fruit and sap (toddy) for consumption, the rest as artefacts, fuel, or rafters for the house.

The colonizers left an indelible mark on Goan food, especially Catholic food when they introduced a number of Portuguese dishes like *sarapatel*, *cabidela*, *vinha de alho* (*vindalho*), *feijoada* and the epicurean *sausage*, the *chouriço*, which underwent changes according to the taste of the Goan community and have their independent identity from the original one. These dishes also bring back nostalgia to the expatriate who longs to eat these delicacies. Some have penned an ode to the *chouriço* while another to the *sarapatel*.

The most convincing answers after having discussed many studies show that the sensuality of eating transmits powerful mnemonic signs, mainly through smells and tastes. Though this answer also has limitations, as the scholars tend to emphasize forms of bodily memory compatible with Western views of food and the body. However, not much attention is paid to other types of sensualities, less gourmet, and sometimes less pleasant, which includes whether fullness, energy, lethargy, hunger, sickness, or discomfort. Another observation is that both taste and smell have been emphasized to explain the connection between food and memory. This approach has left aside others like touch, sight, and hearing, though these also play an important part in bringing back memories. Some examples using Goan cases show how effective these three are to construct memories. Although there is no direct literature on Goan food and memory, this connection between the two has been shown using different literary forms like novels, folklore, poetry, and even a song.

A study of people's customs in connection with religion and food, the traditions present in the celebrations, and the consequences of the celebrations on the lives and families of those who borrow to observe the existing traditions are studied.

Many aspects of Catholic social structure and organizations remain similar to those of Hindu caste society. One significant area of correspondence is the organization and manner of celebration of the feasts of the ritual calendar of the church. For example, in most churches, only the *gaunkars* are allowed to celebrate and be the *mordomo* of the feast.

These festivities beyond the church rituals and popular traditions had more to them than was apparent. People needed money to celebrate with family and friends and those who did not have, borrowed to bear the expenses, thus creating a financial burden, which was difficult to overcome for those who had limited income. But still worse, were those who eagerly looked forward to being the *mordomo*, who patronized most of the expenses of the feast, which involved the religious rituals as well as traditions. It was an honour and a person keenly waited for his turn to celebrate the feast. The people also looked forward to dressing up in the best outfits, spending money to make new ones, and cooking and serving the best of the food, even if they had no money since they wanted to join in the celebrations with great pomp. Usually, it was once in a year event and they did not want to miss it, floundering their clothes and jewellery on the occasion. In the case of *mordomo*, for many of them, it brought misery and suffering for themselves and their family for the reason that they had no money to

pay for the expenses. But the show had to go on. The only way to achieve this was through borrowing or taking a loan. And to repay loans many even sold their property.

So as seen, feasts were not only joy and celebrations, but they also brought suffering to the people. To maintain the traditions and honour their names and that of the family, the patrons (*mordomos*) of the feast wasted their hard-earned money and those who borrowed for the expenses had to work hard to repay the loans, living in indebtedness and anxiety, with the family in anguish until the loan was repaid. A tardy process in view of the prevailing financial situation.

Drinks that cheers and bring tears discuss alcoholism, a deep social problem for the Goan community, especially from the beginning of the twentieth century. It had adverse effects on the consumers, the family members, and the community as a whole. The problem was increasing every year, and, the government wasn't seen to be doing much, probably, fearing the loss of revenue, for the state exchequer.

Some short stories and poems have been analysed to show how alcohol and addiction have created problems for the individual, family, and society. The intellectuals and elites tried to point out to the government the consequences of alcohol addiction and pray to the government to take action and control the menace. This was needed because addiction had gone beyond the proletariat and into the rich's realm.

There was a conception that the Catholics were prone to drinking alcohol and therefore addiction was predominant amongst them. The allegation did not go well with the Church, which decided that it was time to take a firm decision to control this menace. The religious authorities agreed that there was a problem amongst its flock. The voices at the seminars and writings in various newspapers, be those in Portuguese, Marathi, or Konkani, from Goa, Bombay (Mumbai), or even in Portugal, broached and discussed the problem of alcoholism in general and amongst the Catholics in particular. In addition, there were statistics to prove that the mortality rate was higher amongst the Catholics and the main cause was alcoholism – directly or indirectly. Even though the fight was taken up by the Church, intellectuals – Catholics and Hindus alike – and others, it was observed that not much was done by the government to stop alcoholism. The reason was its dependence on the revenue collected from the alcohol manufactured and sold, which was second only to mining in Goa, even during the troubled period of economic blockade.

Economic Blockade and the pangs of hunger examines the impact of the economic blockade from 1955 to 1961 on Portuguese India and the people. Using the blockade was the right tool for Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru which not only stopped the flow of food to the people, but it stopped the transportation into Goa of people and goods and above all, it stopped the remittances which were sent by the Goan emigrants from across. There were no jobs in Goa for the people to work and sustain themselves and their families so they migrated to British India, and also to other British colonies in Asia and Africa, and Portuguese Africa.

Given the scenario of rice scarcity in Goa, the problem of its un(availability), was more pronounced during the economic blockade. During this period, food was imported from overseas. It would also be smuggled into the territory across the border, increasing its price and bringing hardship to the Goan people. In order to diminish the scarcity, the Portuguese Government ordered the rationing of rice. However, there were some local produces that were mainly exported to the Union of India which refused to buy them, and therefore the producers and exporters suffered and were in misery. These included coconuts, copra, coconut oil, areca nut, and salt.

The blockade was a political attempt to generate an oppressive situation forcing Portugal to give up its territories in India which would lead to the surrender of the Portuguese government. It acted as a catalyst to speed up the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu. Nehru felt that the implementation of the blockade was the appropriate step and the key message that India will not accept a refusal from Portugal with regard to the integration of the territories in the Union of India. However, the common people had to face the burden as the food was used as a tool, in spite of the very discrete way it was made. In fact, closing the territorial communication and blocking the currency exchange was a hidden measure to make the availability of food difficult. However, during this period the Portuguese Government went all out to get food from almost all the continents. Both *Free Goa* and *Goan Tribune* acknowledged and criticized this action. But it was the local Goan press that bears the testimony of products that were for sale with pages filled with advertisements. The bounty led many people to change their eating habits due to the accessibility of a variety of products.

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