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ROBERT SAMUEL NEWMAN
DELFIM CORREIA DA SILVA
EDITORS
TRACES
ON THE SEA
PORTUGUESE
INTERACTION
WITH ASIA

A collection of solidly grounded texts by renowned Portuguese authors, focusing on multiple aspects of the long historical and cultural relationship between Portugal and its former possessions in Asia, Traces on the Sea provides relevant scientific material in the areas of history, linguistics, architecture, and ethnomusicology focusing on Goa, as well as on other parts of Asia where the Portuguese presence was felt over the centuries. This book is a valuable reference and contextualization for academic studies on Goa and also a source of stimulating ideas for future research.

I N V E S T I G A Ç Ã O

I|U

EDIÇÃO (PUBLISHING HOUSE)
Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra (Coimbra University Press)
E-mail: imprensauc@ci.uc.pt
URL: http//www.uc.pt/imprensa_uc
Vendas online (Books online purchase): http://livrariadaimprensa.uc.pt

COORDENAÇÃO EDITORIAL (EDITORIAL COORDINATION)
Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra (Coimbra University Press)

IMAGEM DA CAPA (COVER IMAGE)
Gatis Marcinkevics -Unsplash

DESIGN DA CAPA (COVER DESIGN)
Pedro Matias

PRÉ-IMPRESSÃO (PRE-PRINTING)
Margarida Albino

EXECUÇÃO GRÁFICA (GRAPHICAL EXECUTION)
KDP

ISBN
978-989-26-2293-4

ISBN
978-989-26-2294-1

DOI
https://doi.org/10.14195/978-989-26-2294-1

NEWMAN, Robert Samuel, e outro

Traces on the sea : portuguese interaction with Asia / Robert

Samuel Newman, Delfim Correia da Silva. - (Investigação)

ISBN 978-989-26-2293-4 (ed. impressa)

ISBN 978-989-26-2294-1 (ed. eletrónica)

I - SILVA, Delfim Correia da

CDU 316

ROBERT SAMUEL NEWMAN
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EDITORS

TRACES ON THE SEA

PORTUGUESE INTERACTION WITH ASIA

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We dedicate this book to the memory of
Madhavi Sardessai and Alito Siqueira
Goan scholars and friends.

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DA BRANCA ESCUMA OS MARES
SE MOSTRAVAM COBERTOS,
ONDE AS PROAS VÃO CORTANDO
AS MARÍTIMAS ÁGUAS CONSAGRADAS

***Os Lusíadas*, Canto I-19**
Luís de Camões

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PREFACE

Harilal Bhaskara Menon, Vice-Chancellor of Goa University

Goa University offers the most advanced study programmes of Portuguese in all of India. In addition to the Certificate and Diploma courses of Proficiency in Portuguese, open to the general public, students at the *Shenoi Goembab School of Languages and Literature* are offered undergraduate and post-graduate programme in Portuguese and Lusophone Studies.

Goa has historically assumed the role of an incredible and extraordinary platform for encounters with diverse people and civilizations, especially in the Lusophone World. The Indo-Portuguese heritage is the historical legacy of the long relationship with Portugal, which has indelibly marked the culture and landscape of the territory, especially in the "Old Conquests".

From the contact language with Indian languages, several Indo-Portuguese creoles have developed and thousands of Portuguese words were adopted in local languages. In the case of Konkani over 2000 words have been borrowed.

Portuguese influences are found in various artistic expressions, with ethnomusicology being a fertile intercultural hub, literature in Portuguese language developed by a plethora of vibrant Goan writers, mainly in the 19th and 20th centuries and in the religious and architectural heritage that attracts, besides numerous national

https://doi.org/10.14195/978-989-26-2294-1_0

and foreign researchers, thousands of tourists to this State of the Republic of India.

The Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara Chair, funded by Camões, I.P., was established 6 years ago in Goa University, in the memory of a multifaceted personality who uplifted the Konkani language in Goa in the XIX Century and researched the history of Portuguese presence in India. Since its inception on 23rd November, 2016, the Chair has contributed to the academic prestige of Goa University and strengthened the Visiting Research Professorship Program, owing to the invaluable contribution of five internationally renowned Portuguese experts.

The book, *Traces on the sea: Portuguese interaction in Asia* will surely be a valuable document in Indo-Portuguese research and studies, from a post-colonial perspective, covering several areas of knowledge, such as history, linguistics, religion, heritage and music.

PREAMBLE

João Ribeiro de Almeida, President of Camões, I.P.

The book ***Traces on the Sea: Portuguese Interaction with Asia***, a publication of IUC (University of Coimbra Press), collates scientific texts written by the professors of the Cunha Rivara Chair and, simultaneously, representing an assessment of the research carried out and paving the way for deepening this research, projecting the ambition and excellence that shapes the Chair's work.

The Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara Chair was inaugurated at the Goa University with the support of Camões - Instituto da Cooperação e da Língua on **23rd November, 2016**. Till date it is the only chair funded by Camões chair in Asia. Its Organizing Committee, part of the University's Directorate of Visiting Research Professor Programme, is headed by the renowned academic **Prof. Dr. Savita Kerkar**.

Goa University has been at the forefront of the promotion of Portuguese Studies in India, hosting, besides the chair, a Camões Lectorate and a Portuguese Language Centre, which plays a very important role in the training of local Portuguese language teachers and also, in the collaboration with other higher education institutions in the region, namely the St. Xavier College in Mapusa and Parvatibai Chowgule in Margao.

I would also highlight the importance of India's recent liaison with the CPLP, as an Associate Observer, and the contribution that Goa University may assume, through the activities of the Cunha Rivara

https://doi.org/10.14195/978-989-26-2294-1_0.1

Chair, in the dialogue with Portuguese-speaking countries, particularly in the Indian Ocean space where the common cultural legacy and heritage are more relevant.

Named after its patron, the historian and orientalist Cunha Rivara, the Chair's main objective is to strengthen the promotion of Portuguese Language and Culture at Goa University and to foster the development of research projects in the area of Indo-Portuguese studies.

The visiting professors who compose the Chair, Amélia Polónia, Hugo Cardoso, Ângela Barreto Xavier, Walter Rossa and Susana Sardo, have been invited for their recognized expertise in a range of topics related to the historical presence of the Portuguese and their legacies in Asia, in addition to the courses they conduct at the Goa University, to enrich the development of synergies with other Portuguese universities with a view to further research projects of relevant mutual interest.

COIMBRA UNIVERSITY PRESS: PUBLISHING BOOKS SINCE 1772

Alexandre Dias Pereira, Director of Coimbra University Press

Vasco da Gama's arrival in India by sea in May 1498 was the beginning of a long relationship between a southwestern European country and an ancient Asian nation. The book now published by Coimbra University Press (IUC), Traces on the Sea: Portuguese interaction in Asia, brings together different points of view on the historical relationship between Portugal and the Asian continent, especially with India. Amélia Polónia presents "New historiographical perspectives on the Portuguese overseas expansion", identifying "transcultural networks in the first global age" through "an approach 'from below'". Hugo Cardoso writes about "Indo-Portuguese language contact seen from Goa", and Ângela Barreto Xavier tells us a story "of revelation and resistance" involving the "Catholic Brahmans between Goa and Europe". The "Goan cultural heritage of Portuguese influence in a global context" is the contribution of Walter Rossa, and the book closes with a challenging proposal by Susana Sardo entitled "Lusossonia: postcolonial cartography of sounds and memories".

The Coimbra University Press is very glad to publish this book. The Institution dates back to the 1772 Pombaline Reform, which aimed to provide the University with a typographic office that could, under the terms of the Alvará d'El-Rei, be useful and make itself respectable for the perfection of its characters, and for the abundance and cleanliness of its ideas. The Reform reinforced the University's role in book printing, and it has even received the exclusive privilege of printing

https://doi.org/10.14195/978-989-26-2294-1_0.2

of the Ordinances of the Kingdom. In the 20th century, in 1934, the Estado Novo would extinguish the Press, leaving the University without its publishing house of scientific books and journals. But after more than half a century, the new Statutes of the University of Coimbra of 1989 contemplated the (re)creation of the Press, giving it as a specific mission the definition of the University's editorial policy, and also the publication of works of cultural, scientific and pedagogical interest, as well as managing the distribution, sale and exchange of publications. The new UC Press would get back part of the legacy of the old Press that had been entrusted to the National Press, including copper engravings, wooden types, metal types and vignettes, some of which are presumably remains of the material seized from the Jesuits during the Reform. On the history of the IUC, see Fernando Taveira da Fonseca, José Antunes, Irene Vaquinhas, Isabel Nobre Vargues, Luís Reis Torgal, Fernando J. Regateiro, University of Coimbra Press: a story within history, Portuguese, Coimbra: Universidade Imprensa, 2001; and https://www.uc.pt/imprensa_uc/imprensa/historia

Currently, the Press is governed by the 2008 Statutes of the University of Coimbra and by Regulation No. 657/2020, of 13 August. The IUC is one of seven units of cultural extension and support for the formation of the UC, being endowed with pedagogical, cultural and scientific autonomy. Its attributions, under the terms of article 3 of the aforementioned Regulation, are: a) to define and implement the editorial policy of the UC; b) to program, coordinate and guide the publication of works of cultural, scientific and pedagogical interest; c) to develop activities and promote initiatives of a cultural, scientific, pedagogical nature and promotional activities that fit its purposes.

The UC Press is not only the oldest, but also the largest and the most innovative publishing house in Portuguese-speaking academics. It has a very rich catalog and a range of notable authors, as well as a team of qualified, competent and dedicated workers.

The UC Press will continue to publish works by national and foreign authors, not only from Coimbra University, but also from many

other scientific and cultural institutions, in an open and inclusive way. The UC Press serves an increasingly global public, disseminating knowledge and science according to open access policies and by means of digital platforms.

Historically the UC Press had played a relevant role in setting Portuguese as a language of culture and science not only in Portugal but also overseas, notably in Africa, Brazil and Asia. The language of Camões wrote a golden page in the history of Humankind and it will continue to do so. For the UC Press the interaction with Asia is not only a point of history, but mainly a mission for the future. The University of Coimbra is UNESCO World Heritage Site and the UC Press is proud to be part of it.

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INTRODUCTION (FOREWORD)

Delfim Correia da Silva

I. The inception of the Cunha Rivara Chair at the Goa University

The Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara Chair, instituted by the Camões, Institute for Cooperation and Language, I.P., was inaugurated at the Goa University on November 23, 2016, in the presence of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, Dr Teresa Ribeiro. The Chair is a product of a Cooperation Protocol signed between the Camões, IP and the Goa University on 7th April, 2016. On 6th September, 2019 this agreement of understanding was renewed, and will be in effect until 31st December, 2022.

The inception of the Cunha Rivara Chair, the only chair of the Camões, I.P. in all of Asia, is the recognition of the consolidation of Portuguese Studies in the upcoming and progressive Goa University. After a hiatus of a few years (2001-2005), a complete academic training programme in Portuguese Studies (undergraduate, postgraduate, postgraduate research and doctoral degrees, since 2020-21) has been developed, in addition to several free and optional courses. The Department of Portuguese and Lusophone Studies is the only one in India, and one of the few in Asia to facilitate such an advanced curriculum, through its qualified and permanent teaching faculty. The faculty comprises four local assistant professors, trained within the Department, a Portuguese assistant professor and a lecturer from the Camões I.P., who is

https://doi.org/10.14195/978-989-26-2294-1_0.3

the coordinator of the Chair and also responsible for the Centro de Língua Portuguesa in Panjim.

The chair was named after Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara (it is worth remembering that in the late 1990s, the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi hosted the Diogo do Couto Chair for some years, filled by well known historian and researcher, Professor Inês Zupanova), an eminent figure in the historiography of the presence of the Portuguese in Asia who earns the recognition of both Indians and Portuguese, even today. With the Cunha Rivara Chair, an attempt is being made to deepen Portuguese studies programmes at the Goa University, thus, opening up fundamental lines of research in the history of Indo-Portuguese cultural relations. In this sentiment, in the 1st triennium, five renowned Portuguese specialists were invited as visiting professors – Hugo Cardoso (Linguistics Centre of the Faculty of Arts of Lisbon), Susana Sardo (University of Aveiro-INET-md), Amélia Polónia (CITCEM-Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto), Walter Rossa (CES-University of Coimbra) and Ângela Barreto Xavier (Institute of Social Sciences, University of Lisbon), who, in addition to providing accredited optional courses, held conferences and developed contacts with students, Indian researchers and other faculty members.

In this 2nd triennium 2020-2022, the objective is to develop an interdisciplinary doctoral programme, for Goan and Asian students interested in the Indian Ocean region, assuring them advanced academic training culminating with a doctorate (PhD) in Portuguese culture, in English and Portuguese. The subject areas will be History, Ethnomusicology, Linguistics, and in particular the linguistic connection between Portuguese and the languages of the Asian subcontinent, Architectural and Artistic Heritage, and Comparative Literature.

The relocation of the hub of Indo-Portuguese studies, from its erstwhile location at the College of São Paulo, to Goa, is what the Cunha Rivara-Camões/Goa University Chair aims to do. Its focus is

to attract students and researchers from neighbouring Asian regions, recovering the spaces of dialogue within the Indian Ocean, as well as developing partnerships with the other 50 Camões Chairs, spread across the five continents.

II. Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara: a true patron of Indo-Portuguese studies

It would be our responsibility and duty to honour the memory of Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara, an outstanding orientalist[1], who became one, more through force of circumstance rather than by a genuine conviction. In the words of Goan historian, Gerson da Cunha, a "distinguished Portuguese savant" who, just like other "reinóis", from early on, recognised that the linguistic and cultural reality of Portuguese Goa did not match up to the expectations that he had fostered on the day he set sail from Lisbon, on the 23rd of September 1855, accompanying the new Governor-General António César de Vasconcellos Correia, Viscount of Torres Novas, to take up the post of Secretary-General of the Government of the Estado da Índia until 1870, after which he was replaced by Tomás Ribeiro, another distinguished Portuguese orientalist.

According to his various biographies, and most importantly, his very own Memórias[2], Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara was a progeny of foreign grandparents who, towards the end of the 18th century, had sought a more comfortable life in Lisbon; João Rivara, Italian,

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[1] Cf. Machado, Everton (2009). "A experiência indiana de Cunha Rivara" in Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara, 1809-1879. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal; Lisboa: BNP, pp.25-38. In this short essay Everton Machado raises incisive questions regarding the comparison of Cunha Rivara with other orientalists, specifically from British India, seeking to justify, in the light of various ontological and epistemological viewpoints, the integration of the Portuguese historian in the small roster of European researchers who dedicated a large part of their life and work to India.

[2] Rivara, Cunha (1929). Memórias Biográficas de Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara (followed by an annotated bibliography of Padroado Português no Oriente by Álvaro Neves). Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade.

and Maria Madalena, of Spanish origin. The three sons, João Caetano, José Joaquim and António Francisco, would grow up at the Casa Pia de Lisboa upon the death of their father, who had had a successful professional and academic life. The father, António Francisco, a physician who graduated from the University of Coimbra, would go on to marry D. Maria Isabel da Cunha Feio Castello Branco, initial reluctance of the wealthy family notwithstanding, in particular, from the bride's father, Joaquim José da Cunha Feio Castello Branco, also a physician from Coimbra. From this marriage, they would have four children, José Jacinto, João Nepomunceno, António Elói and Joaquim Heliodoro, all who would graduate from the University of Coimbra.

Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara was born on the 23rd of June, 1809 in Arraiolos and died on the 20th of February 1879 in Évora after a brilliant career in the Civil Services spanning 40 years, 22 of which were spent in the Estado Português da Índia. He received a Bachelor's degree from the Faculty of Medicine and Surgery at the University of Coimbra in 1836, was a physician, professor of Philosophy at the High School of Évora (Liceu Nacional de Évora), librarian, historian, certified palaeographer from Torre do Tombo de Lisboa, politician, editor, Secretary-General and Commissioner of Studies, researcher, poet, journalist and playwright. These are the most significant qualifications and functions performed courageously and efficiently by him throughout his professional and scientific life, as reflected in the certificates he received from the Governors of Portuguese India and the awards he was decorated with, in particular, that of Commander of the Order of the Immaculate Conception of Vila Viçosa (Comendador da Ordem da Nª Senhora da Conceição de Vila Viçosa (1860) and Commander of the Order of S. Tiago (1866) (Comendador da Ordem de S.Tiago). However, a career such as his could hardly have been devoid of unpleasant episodes and difficulties, often created by detractors, who would, from time to time, make treacherous allegations and raise unfounded suspicions

against him. The ingratitude, jealousy and contempt of some of his compatriots[3], whether in Goa or the metropolis, are recorded in a short painful testimony in his Memórias. Of particular significance, is the farcical dismissal of his appointment as Secretary-General by the minister Latino Coelho, on account of "the ridiculous illusion of my electoral omnipotence in Goa" (Rivara, 1929:213) on the 30th of June 1869, then reinstated in October of the same year by order of the new minister, the Marquês Sá da Bandeira, and subsequently, six months later, permanently replaced in the position, on the 8th of May 1970, by Tomás Ribeiro. Cunha Rivara would continue in Goa until 1877 as Commissioner of Studies, a role that he had already been performing, pro bono since 1868, in pursuit of the "selfless" mission of completing his unfinished history of the presence of the Portuguese in the Orient.

In his Memórias, he admits that he owed his academic qualifications, his education in philosophy and training in pedagogy to his father, who had given him and his three brothers the same impetus to complete their graduation in Coimbra, to Frei João de Santa Águeda, his mentor in philosophical studies and to Doctor Carlos José Pinheiro, professor of Anatomy at the Faculty of Medicine. The confinement at home, due to the closure of the University during the Portuguese Civil War of October 1831 until the expulsion of D. Miguel in 1834, enabled him to acquire competencies and skills tailored to the role of encyclopedist, which would be established later. At the same time

[3] In his Memórias, Cunha Rivara transcribes a few paragraphs that appeared in the newspaper O Conimbricense, nº 2370 on the 12th of April 1870, such as excerpts from the article "A report on the notable services rendered to history and diplomacy in Coimbra and Évora" written by Augusto Fillipe Simões, his successor at the Public Library of Évora, praising the figure of Cunha Rivara and condemning the lack of awareness of his commendable service. "Évora, however, and I'm ashamed to say so, did not do justice to its librarian. His service is frequently ignored, and even if acknowledged, is appreciated only by a few. For a fact, we can confirm Sr Rivara's reputation is greater elsewhere, rather than in the city that owes him so much." (Rivara, 1929: 34).

his love for historiographical research[4] developed, as he himself recognised:

> Time has shown me that those three years of interruption of studies at university, which my parents, friends and I had rued as wasted years, were indeed the most productive years of my life. Without this interruption, I would have certainly completed my education while still very young, and I fear, totally devoid of the assistance needed to guide an individual in the first few steps of his professional life. (Rivara, 1929:19)

Before even imagining that one day he would serve in India, Cunha Rivara prepared himself through intense and meticulous research at the registry office, and through the reading of old documents at town halls and libraries, equipping himself with the necessary tools to initiate the monumental historiographical and philological work that he would later accomplish during the nearly 22 years of his life in India. From early on, he shared his knowledge and the results of his research in newspapers and magazines of the time such as the Panorama, the Revista Litteraria of Porto and the Revista Universal Lisbonense, run by António Feliciano de Castilho.

Frustrated at not having had the opportunity to practice his profession as a doctor, he decided to change careers and was appointed to the post of First Administrative Officer of the Civil Government of the District of Évora in 1837, although "less dazzling, but more stable and more suited to my literary practices" (Rivara, 1929:24). His penchant and genuine vocation for education and pedagogy soon became evident in the private courses of Philosophy that he taught in Évora, and later, officially, in the first teaching report that he presented to the Board of Directors of Primary and Secondary Education upon conclusion of the first academic year as a lecturer of Philosophy at the High School of Évora. This document,

[4] Cf. Rivara, 1929: 17-18.

published in the Revista Litteraria of Porto, was revealing of his concern regarding the methods of teaching and course content of the subject, which he termed as "Moral and Political Sciences"[5]. In December 1838 he was appointed as the Director of the Public Library of Évora where he became renowned for his commitment, scientific rigour, and diligence with which he carried out his office, his ceaseless endeavour leading to the reorganization of the entire library catalogue and the Manuscript Catalogue, which till today, continues to be of great utility. Cunha Rivara would later refer to this institution, with an unconcealed nostalgia and passion as "my beloved library" (Franco, 2009:11). Before the age of 30, he had already practised two of the most important professions which moulded his humanist and scientific spirit; professor and librarian. In India, his concern for matters related to education was conspicuous. His innate pedagogical qualities, combined with a unique sensibility in the evaluation of learning contexts, led him to speak out against the inappropriate methodology of public instruction and the educational legislation in force in Portuguese India, which did not factor in the specific social, cultural and historical realities of the territory. The promotion and integration of Konkani as the mother-tongue as mediums of instruction in primary education were fundamental to the success of education. Commenting on the Educational Legislation of 1844, he draws attention to some of the problems, specifically, to the methodology of instruction and curriculum:

No progress shall be achieved from the current methodology of instruction used in India if we do not start from the beginning, that is, by teaching the Portuguese language through, and on par with the mother-tongue, Konkani or Marathi, should the latter be required for this purpose. And with a view to not repeat what has been written elsewhere, I urge your Excellency to consider as part of my

[5] Cf. Franco, Luís Farinha (2009). "Cunha Rivara: bibliotecário oitocentista" in Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara, 1809-1879. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal; Lisboa: BNP, p. 9.

recommendation the "Advice to Primary School Teachers regarding the teaching of Konkani", approved by the Decree of the Governor-General of the State, nº 151 of 25th October 1859 ("Boletim", nº 84) Silveira, 1946:66-69).

To address these deficiencies, the Secretary-General[6] and the Commissioner of Studies[7] of the Estado Português da Índia had already initiated the promotion and publication of dictionaries, glossaries and compendiums of Portuguese grammar "with the rudiments of the Konkani language included".

In 1847, he married D. Sabina Plácida Monteiro da Silva Rivara who would go on to accompany him throughout his mission on Indian soil. His journey in 1855 is recorded in an authentic travel account, published in 1856, titled: De Lisboa a Goa pelo Mediterrâneo, Egipto e Mar-Vermelho, em Setembro de Outubro de 1855: carta circular que a seus amigos na Europa de dirige". (Cf. Farinha, 2009:21). ["From Lisbon to Goa via the Mediterranean, Egypt and the Red Sea, in September and October 1855: circular letter addressed to his friends in Europe". (Cf. Farinha, 2009:21).]

While still in Portugal, Cunha Rivara had already begun studying Indian conditions through contacts with "Indian natives" and by

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[6] Cunha Rivara, a member of Parliament since January 1853 was appointed as Secretary-General to the Government of India by Royal Charter of 17th July 1855. He was dismissed by the Minister Latino Coelho by the Decree of 12th May 1869, but with the appointment of the new Government of Marquês Sá da Bandeira, he was reappointed to the post by the Decree of 31st August 1869, resuming the office of Secretary-General from 14th of October 1869 to 8th of March 1870. In the diplomatic mail which carried the order of his reappointment, were also letters announcing the names of the future Governor José Ferreira Pestana, Viscount of São Januário (Decree of 3rd of February 1870) and of Tomás Ribeiro (Decree of 23rd of February 1870), the new Secretary-General of the Estado Português da Índia who would permanently replace Cunha Rivara as Secretary-General.

[7] Besides holding the office of Commissioner of Studies by the Provincial Ordinance of 6th June 1868, a pro bono posting, renewed later by Ministerial Ordinance of 4th March 1870, Cunha Rivara features in the Catálogo dos Reitores [List of Principals] of the Liceu Nacional de Nova Goa [High School of Goa] (Cf. Annuário do Liceu Nacional de Nova Goa de 1890). Of particular note are the speeches made by Cunha Rivara on the occasion of the commencement of the academic year at the Liceu on the 1st of June 1869 and for the second consecutive year, the speech at the opening of the Curso da Escola Normal de Ensino Primário [Regular Primary School] in 1856.

consulting the Bibliotheca Lusitana that described Konkani as a language without grammar. Upon arrival in Goa, he carried with him in his luggage, two manuscript copies of the "dictionary" of Konkani partially translated into Portuguese. Despite his prior knowledge, Cunha Rivara was soon able to get a clear picture of the situation in the Estado Português da Índia, particularly in what concerned linguistic expertise.

The disparity between what he expected to find and the harsh Goan reality was fully in line with the testimonies of the previous governors[8] and would be confirmed a century later by the Report of Orlando Ribeiro of 1953. He had to face the failure of the project of the "lusitanization" of Goa, which was conceptualized as an extension of the metropole.

Recognizing the ill-treatment of native/local languages, Cunha Rivara undertook, besides the "crusade" on behalf of the Portuguese Padroado[9], one of his best-known battles: the defense of Konkani and of local languages. He started a widely recognised work of edition and publication of grammars, glossaries and dictionaries. He reprinted the Arte Canarina of Father Thomas Stephens, originally printed at the Rachol Seminary in 1640, a "Grammatica antiga do Dialecto do Norte" (The Old Grammar of the Northern Dialect) and

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[8] In a letter addressed to the king in the metropolis, D. Manuel da Câmara, the then Viceroy of India (1823-1825), he denounced the appalling state of the dissemination of the Portuguese language. Not even with the notable teaching reforms of the Governments of D. Manuel de Portugal e Castro (1827-1835) and of the interim Governor D. José Joaquim Lopes Lima (1840-1842) did the quality of the teaching-learning process and the dissemination of the Portuguese language achieve the minimum levels, much to the disappointment of Cunha Rivara.

[9] Cunha Rivara's concern for the defense of the Portuguese Padroado against the onslaughts of Propaganda Fide, which he would classify as "invasions from Rome against the rights of Portugal" (Cf. Memórias Biográficas de Joaquim Heliodoro de Cunha Rivara, p.229), results in a vast bibliography composed of dozens of letters, pamphlets, texts and notable public manifestations, in the wake of Archbishop D. António Feliciano de Santa Rita Carvalho who, from 1837 to 1839, stood out "fighting the historical errors and doctrines of the propagandist papers to victoriously defend his canonical jurisdiction, which they dared to deny him and refute the Brief 'Multa Proeclare'" (Rivara, 1929: 56).

another manuscript in Portuguese by an Italian priest, brought from Portugal, the Diccionario portuguez-concani of an Italian missionary, remaining, however, to edit and publish the Diccionario concani-portuguez elaborated by the Jesuits and which existed in manuscript form. The most emblematic work of Cunha Rivara that stands out in this project is undoubtedly the publication of Ensaio histórico da língua concani by the Imprensa Nacional, Nova Goa, in 1858, perhaps as a result of the reflections started in Portugal by the disturbing content of Bibliotheca Lusitana.

By the Ordinance of May 31, 1858, the Minister Marquês Sá da Bandeira entrusted the Secretary General of the Portuguese State of India to continue writing the Décadas of Diogo Couto and João de Barros in India, providing Cunha Rivara with all the necessary means. This mission resulted in the publication of Arquivo Portuguez-Oriental, a monumental historiographic work on the Portuguese presence in India, comparable to Alexandre Herculano's Portucaliae Monumental Historia, which, due to its dimension, had its first issues published in the newspaper Chronista de Tissaury, a periodical founded by Cunha Rivara, and in the Boletim do Governo do Estado da Índia, a work which earned high praise from Sousa Viterbo (1845-1910), a poet, journalist, archaeologist and historian who, like Cunha Rivara, had a degree in medicine (Farinha, 2009: 22).

His knowledge, which was apparent through his fluency in several European languages[10], enabled him to translate several works by German and French authors. Cunha Rivara translated into Portuguese the famous "The Voyage of François Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies"[11]. Less known is his poetic vein. In fact, he also gave some literary expression to his writing by composing

[10] During his studies in Coimbra, Cunha Rivara studied Greek, Latin and German, besides English, which, he confesses, despite his rudimentary knowledge, would be very useful to him from 1855 onwards in India.

[11] Voyage de François de Laval contenant sa navigation aux Indes Orientales, Maldives, Moluques, Brésil depuis 1601 jusqu'à 1611. Paris. 1615-1616.

some verses in the aforementioned narrative of his crossing of the Mediterranean in 1855, being noteworthy the descriptive accounts of his "trabalhos em comissões extraordinárias de serviço público" (work in extraordinary commissions of public service) that he highlights in his Memórias Biográficas. They occupy the third and longest part of the book and comprise of pages of high ethnographic, socio-cultural and even literary value, in a style that combines travel narratives and diary-like recordings, sometimes repeating certain common oriental stereotypes[12] (Rivara, 1929: 69-201).

III. Cunha Rivara as seen by others

Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara lived in a very troubled period of Portuguese history. He witnessed the surrender of the Miguelists and the September Revolution, getting his academic training and holding public service positions in a time of great political and social instability, before (and after) the Regeneration, having voluntarily distanced himself from political party disputes[13]. However, he never shied away from criticising the ineptitude of other bureaucrats of the Secretariat of the Kingdom, being, as he made a point of noting, loyal and dedicated to his superiors,

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[12] At the beginning of this text, we mentioned the problem in the classification of Cunha Rivara as an orientalist. The author's more informal and even, if it may be referred to as, less well-known writing, reporting his travels in extraordinary commissions, however, out of the scope of the public service and administrative duties, ended up integrating him in the group of other orientalists: "Travel literature played an enormous role within orientalism, helping to understand, in a mistaken way most of the times, the Oriental Other" (Machado, 2009: 34).

[13] He took up his seat as a Member of Parliament, for the Évora circle, in the Chamber of Deputies in January 1853, having participated actively in several Public Administration Commissions. From his experience in Parliament, at the end of the first session of 1853, he produced the pamphlet Apontamentos sobre os oradores parlamentares (Notes about Parliamentary Speakers), "which, naturally, pleased some and displeased others" (Rivara, 1929: 42).

> invariably following the maxim of always sharing my opinion frankly and with loyalty, and religiously complying with the Governor's resolutions, without caring if in the end they were not in conformity with my opinion (Rivara, 1929: 46)

His intense editorial, historiographical and administrative activity did not go unnoticed by the Portuguese or even the foreign cultural milieu. Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Lisbon, as a correspondent in 1853, member of the Brazilian Geographic-Historical Institute and the Royal Asiatic Society in the Bombay section, Cunha Rivara was referenced along with important figures of the nineteenth century. The Portuguese, José Feliciano de Castilho, Almeida Garrett and Alexandre Herculano, with whom he exchanged various correspondence, as well as the Count of Raczynski and Ferdinand Denis quoted him in prestigious French publications[14].

In India, the work and figure of Cunha Rivara, marked by a humanist and tolerant vision, are also highly valued. According to Everton Machado, on one hand, compared with the English orientalist William Jones, Cunha Rivara falls somewhat short by not fulfilling certain criteria to be classified as a "perfect" orientalist, due, in large part, to the vision of "his orient" being restricted to the presence of the Portuguese (Machado, 2009: 25). On the other hand, the author of Ensaio Histórico da Língua Concani, thanks to his labour in the defence of native languages, can, in fact be integrated "in a positive way in the scope of the orientalist, at least regarding his campaign for the social and cultural restoration of Konkani (Idem, 27), because his action counters the tendency of glottophagy from the beginning of the Portuguese colonisation. Cunha Rivara also published an important text, Brados a favor das comunidades das aldeias do Estado da Índia, a fundamental work for the understanding of the peculiar social

[14] Cf. Memórias Biográficas, pp. 39-40, where Cunha Rivara transcribes passages of praiseworthy mentions made to him by the authors.

and economic organisation of local comunidades (gaunkari), a system of pre-colonial administration.

Citing Vimala Devi and Manuel Seabra, authors of the most extensive and systematic account of Indo-Portuguese literature[15], Everton Machado highlights the importance and impact of Ensaio Histórico da Língua Concani in Goa's culture, being much more than a historiographical production, a great achievement of Cunha Rivara that "resided, above all, in his work (one could almost say his campaign) to return to the Konkani language its long-lost prestige" (Devi & Seabra; 1971: 151).

For other Goan personalities, such as the poet Manohar Sardessai (1925-2006), winner of the Sahitya Akademi prize and author of "A History of Konkani Literature", Cunha Rivara commendably advocated a "historic step in the cultural revival of Konkani" (Machado, 2009: 33).

A plethora of disciples and followers in philological studies and historiography would form with the arrival of Cunha Rivara in India. Some more than others pursued the work of the co-founder of the Vasco da Gama Institute. In philology, the figure of Mons. Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado stands out. In historiography, Mariano Saldanha, Filipe Nery Xavier, Miguel Vicente de Abreu, Jacinto Caetano Barreto Miranda, José António Ismael Gracias or Anastácio Bruto da Costa are some of those who directly or indirectly benefited from Cunha Rivara's work (Cf. Machado, 2009: 33-36).

IV. Conclusion

[15] Devi, Vimala & Seabra, Manuel (1971). A Literatura Indo-Portuguesa. Lisboa: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar.

For Luís Silveira, one of his most dedicated biographers[16], Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara "put at the service of Portugal all the splendid mental agility of a superior man". The last positions assigned to him in India by the new Marine Minister, Rebello da Silva, through the Ordinances of March 1870, entrusted him with continuing his historiographical work and appointed him Commissioner of Studies, a position he had already held before by the Government of India Ordinance of June 8, 1869.

The following is the attestation of Governor José Ferreira Pestana, Viscount of São Januário[17], who, by the Decree of February 23, 1870, exonerated Cunha Rivara, nominating Tomás Ribeiro as the new Secretary:

> I attest that the Advisor Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara, for his illustrated zeal in public service, for the varied knowledge he has of India, and especially of our administration, and finally for his noble character, has been entrusted with the charge of Secretary of this Government, with untiring application, and in such a way that my obligations, as Governor, because he illustrates them, have been smoother and easier to fulfill.
>
> As regards his behaviour in general, I must declare that His Excellency has always been able to maintain an independent position which his light and excellent qualities mark out for him; and I do not have to repeat to his credit the honourable concept and praise which are justly expressed in the annual Information sent to the Ministry.
>
> Panjim, June 18, 1869 – The Governor General – José Ferreira Pestana

After 40 years of selfless public service, 22 of which were in the Estado Português da Índia, Cunha Rivara returned to Portugal in 1877. During this trip back to his homeland, which seemed to have forgotten him, he passed through Rome, in a final attempt to confirm the denunciation of the propagandists' mishaps in the East.

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16 Cf. Silveira, Luís (1946). Idearum. Antologia do pensamento português. Lisboa: SNI.

17 Rivara, 1929: 219-220.

Cunha Rivara died in Évora, on February 20, 1879. His widow, Dª Sabina Plácida, whose marriage to Joaquim Heliodoro bore no children, donated the entire estate of the illustrious historian to the Évora Library.

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INTRODUCTION

Robert S. Newman

Once, many years ago in Australia, I was asked to be best man at a friend's wedding. He was a Pakistani man who was marrying the daughter of Italian immigrants. I attended the wedding with my wife, who comes from Meerut, in Uttar Pradesh, India. When I stood up to give the traditional toast, I had to say, "I'm a Jewish-American whose grandparents came from the old Russian Empire. I'm married to a Hindu woman from India. So who better to give a toast when a Muslim Pakistani marries a Catholic Italian-Australian?"

In writing the introduction to this volume, I feel a bit like that again. The five authors are Portuguese, interested in the ways in which Portugal impacted Asia, in particular Goa. I am from an ancient minority, whose grandparents migrated to a country that did not exist when Afonso de Albuquerque arrived at that port on the west coast of India. I might claim to have some knowledge of Goa, to have at least visited Portugal a number of times, and to have set foot in such places as the Açores, Brazil, Batticaloa (Sri Lanka), Daman, Malacca, and Macau, but my professional connection to the study of Portuguese history and culture is quite tangential. I speak Hindustani fluently, not Portuguese, and I was drawn to Goa because of its unique place in Indian civilization. Though nobody can deny that Goa exists as a separate entity today because of its long connection with Portugal, I was interested more in how local Indian culture adapted to or absorbed the Portuguese who arrived some thousands of years after

https://doi.org/10.14195/978-989-26-2294-1_0.4

the beginning of Indian civilization. My task as an anthropologist, as I saw it, was to analyze and describe the culture that grew up in Goa over the centuries between 1510 and the present. I was interested in how two very different religions slowly adjusted to each other, how some Indians, become Christian early on, absorbed Christianity and Portuguese culture into an Indian framework, the only framework they had. How Hindus, belonging to a much more eclectic religion, slowly came to terms with the erstwhile "foreign" religion and created bonds linking them to it and to the people, who, after all, remained their kin, intrigued me. In short, the creation over centuries of a new Goan culture has fascinated me for half my life. I was introduced to Portugal by way of India, while the five authors writing in this volume came to India by way of Portugal. So, in explaining how I come to be introducing this work, I recall that long ago wedding oration. Just as my Pakistani friend and I were linked to different cultures by marriage, so I am linked by "a marriage" of my academic interests to Goa and to the five Portuguese writers' work presented in this volume.

In a second opening comment, before discussing the work itself, I would like to make the observation that the Portuguese language and Portugal itself have often gotten short shrift in India. Though the Salazar dictatorship refused to give up its colonies peacefully, that was nearly sixty years ago. How much time did it take between the Jalianwalla Bagh massacre of peaceful protesters in Amritsar and Indian independence? Less than thirty years. Yet Indians who after that tragedy remained Anglophiles were legion and occupied top positions in the national government and military. No such obscenely violent acts had marred Portuguese rule in Goa for a very long time. I have seen and heard accusations of Goans being "pro-Portuguese", of people not being patriotic enough because they cling to the language they grew up with, and to customs handed down through the generations. While definitely not being an admirer of colonialism, I would merely ask, "Are the prevalence of the English language in India and the desire of millions to emigrate to the English-speaking

West signs of being 'pro-British' or of a lack of patriotism?" The Indian elite not only spoke English, but they had absorbed a lot of British culture as well. Was the Goan elite expected to be different? If people in India and Portugal are interested in the Lusitanian culture once brought to Indian shores, if people want to inquire about the remnants of the Portuguese past around the coasts of Asia, if people wonder about the process that created and maintains various small communities across the world, isn't that only normal? I would argue that it certainly is. That, in short, is why I am very glad to write positively about the present volume.

After the absolute break that prevailed in relations between India and Portugal between 1961 and 1974, an ever-increasing connectivity began to appear. There is no need to trace the various increments that took place. Suffice to say that by the second decade of the 21st century, a serious effort to create academic ties had evolved. A new cooperation agreement between Goa University and Camões, Instituto da Cooperação e da Língua, I.P., began to operate in the academic year 2016-2017 and has been extended up to the end of 2022. In 2019 the Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara Chair was integrated into the Goa University´s Visiting Research Professorship Programme. The project involved inviting research professors from Portugal to Goa who would teach courses. These courses, conducted by such visiting professors, would be coordinated by the Goa University's Department of Portuguese and Lusophone Studies. The five authors represented in this volume are those who taught in Goa during the first cycle. They were all respected staff members of Portuguese universities who were recognized as experts in various aspects of the historic Portuguese presence, not only in Goa, but in all Asia. The five papers presented here in Traces on the Sea: Portuguese Interaction with Asia reflect the interests of the visiting professors. The title refers to the long-lasting effects, if not extremely prominent in the modern world, of Portugal's contact with Asia over many centuries and to the way (by sea) the Portuguese arrived.

At various times throughout human history, sudden incursions have erupted over wide areas, triggered by religion, commerce, or the simple wish to expand. One can recall the Romans, originally confined to a small section of Italy, but who came to rule a vast area stretching from the Scottish border to Armenia, completely surrounding the Mediterranean Sea. Then there were the Arabs, a remote, mostly nomadic people, galvanized by the inspiration of Islam, who in an amazingly short time controlled an empire stretching from Spain to Central Asia. A third example is the expansion of several small European countries over several centuries (roughly 1500-1850) to control virtually the whole planet. Portugal, an amazingly small country even then, led the way. Without rehashing a well-known history, we may observe that with a fighting spirit honed by wars with Muslims in Iberia as well as with Spanish kingdoms, and with a knowledge of navigation, they made their way to the imagined "Spice Kingdoms" of Asia. A fourth incursion, which proved a contrary example, was of the Mongols in the 13th century. The Romans and Arabs left their language, their religion, and some of their customs in the places they came to rule, they also left a large architectural heritage, literary styles, and much more. The Mongols – the contrary example – absorbed the cultures of the conquered and in a short time (historically speaking) disappeared as a distinct cultural force. There is very little today that shows they were ever in Europe or large parts of Asia.

That wave of Europeans that colonized nearly all the world left an indelible impression. As the first and oldest part of the wave, Portuguese adventurers, priests, merchants, and soldiers established a vast network of what some writers have referred to as "limpet ports"[18], clinging to the shores of Africa, South and Southeast Asia, China and Japan.

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[18] For example S. Halikowski-Smith "More than a People of the Sea:" in the Portuguese Studies Review 12 (2) 2004-05, p.88. But many writers have used the same words.

They also established the European presence in Brazil. Faced with competition by stronger European powers and opposition by local rulers, the Portuguese tide receded, leaving a handful of small colonies surviving in Asia, and small pools of language, culture, and religion in places where their rule disappeared entirely.

It is these impressively long-lasting remnants of Portuguese influence that concern our five scholars. To examine various aspects of this influence is the overall theme of the book. In turn they look at five separate aspects of the Portuguese heritage in Asia: historiography, language, the religious encounter, architecture and music. As Goa was the historical centre of Portuguese expansion in Asia, the religious and economic heart of the eastern part of the Empire, and because Portuguese rule there lasted for 451 years, ending only in 1961, it is appropriate that it assume the central role in the various contributions.

Amélia Polónia examines some current ideas about the expansion of the Portuguese overseas. Her historiographical essay posits that "complex systems produced and coordinated by the central government [in Portugal] relied heavily on membership and cooperation of individuals" who formed networks which worked in tandem with the government or at times, against it. To understand such networks is "essential for a better understanding of the mechanisms of the construction of a global world." In other words, we need to look beyond the figures prominent in standard histories. We need to think about other motivations for action than the ones usually attributed to historical figures of the time (for example, trade and religion). Polónia's paper is wide-ranging, tying in to trans-cultural transfers of knowledge, the creation of trans-national markets, and the transfer of culture, religion and language which led everywhere to varying degrees of synthesis. I particularly liked such observations because, perhaps immodestly, they tie very well into my own work on the nature of Goan culture.

Hugo Cardoso's work is outstanding because of its absolute clarity and because he not only describes the influence of Portuguese on

various Asian languages and the influence of those languages on Portuguese, but he challenges contemporary or future researchers to delve more deeply into many unknown areas. If the present book is to be of use to students in Goa and elsewhere, then this chapter presents a large number of questions that might be answered, hopefully sooner rather than later, by scholars working in Goa. Though the number of people in Goa who can use Portuguese has shrunk over the decades, if anyone is going to study Indo-Portuguese creoles, and the contact linguistics field as it pertains to India and Goa, it surely will be Goans. I think the relevance and worth of this paper will be long-lasting in the field of linguistics as applied to Goa and Portuguese-in-Asia.

One of the perennial topics to do with India is caste. Though caste is commonly believed to define Hindus, in fact it has remained relevant to any other religion that either arrived on the subcontinent or sprang up there. Caste is a factor among Muslims, Sikhs, Jews, and Christians even though all these religions formally support the idea of a community of believers equal under God. Ângela Barreto Xavier asks what the role of religion was in the making of the Portuguese empire in India, plus she asks how conversion to Christianity shaped the identities of local societies and how local groups used Christianity to their own advantage. She goes on to give examples of how Goan Brahmins, converted to Catholicism, still insisted on their social superiority, even to the colonizers, and struggled to force the Portuguese to accept them as equals. When such acceptance was not forthcoming, some Brahmins led a revolt, eventually put down severely. Whatever the initial motivation for conversion may have been, Catholic Brahmins dominated Goan society up to Liberation in 1961, playing a strong part in the Catholic church, and since then have still maintained an outsize role (in politics, the economy, and in the church) in contrast to their numbers. This paper has definite relevance to present-day Goa.

The Portuguese left a substantial architectural and urban heritage in Goa (and also in Daman, Diu, Macau and other areas that they formerly controlled). Walter Rossa, in an essay which is extremely relevant to issues of contemporary importance, first introduces some ideas to do with cultural heritage in general, then discusses Goa's heritage in particular. As someone who has come to the conclusion over the years that Goan culture should be considered an entity in itself, not merely an "Indo-Portuguese" amalgam, I was glad to see that Rossa agreed. I have argued that all cultures are syntheses of previously existing ones so that it is not useful to label Goa "syncretic". Rossa argues that even the Hindu temples in Goa have unique features and that Goan architecture should not be called "Indo-Portuguese". His heartfelt cri de coeur for Goa's cultural and natural environment is most timely. He warns of the imminent destruction of a precious heritage by uncaring commercial and political interests. Anyone concerned with Goa cannot help but agree.

While some of the other essays in the book focus on Goa, Susana Sardo sheds light on such seldom-heard from communities as those of Portuguese heritage in Daman, Sri Lanka, Malaysia and Indonesia. Her work on music, complete with some scores and words of songs, illustrates the tenuous but long-lasting connection of the Portuguese language and its creoles to several parts of Asia. Besides language, musical styles also reveal the historic presence of Portugal in South and Southeast Asia. Sardo attempts successfully to create a cartography of Lusosonia ("the world of Portuguese sounds") a mapping of memories now faint, but still extant. Simultaneously with the creation of a musical map, she argues that music is a timeless indicator of cultural identity, the Portuguese-influenced songs and musical styles having lasted for centuries after the "wave" of Portuguese receded from Asian shores, leaving only traces, in places now seldom associated with Portugal. We may regard her gaze as almost one of saudades, or at least empathy, for those small communities that could not become nation states, whose identities were then challenged

by the nationalisms of the post-colonial world. Her well-received book, Guerras de Jasmim e Mogarim: Musica, Identidade e Emoções em Goa (Alfragide: Texto Editora, 2010) was the first to describe Goan music academically, while this essay points the way for more research throughout Asia on the Portuguese heritage in music.

Since it is expected that this volume will be of use to students in courses to do with Indo-Portuguese history and the cultures of those parts of Asia with Lusitanian influence, it is vital that Goan viewpoints be supplemented by Portuguese writers, as well as the views of other outsiders, Indian or foreign. A complete picture, if such is possible, will consist of this. It will also require more work on the special culture of Goa – from khazan to khetri – to underline the ways in which Portuguese/Catholic elements merged with local Hindu beliefs, practices and world view, Portuguese language with Konkani, to create a particularly Goan culture. In the long search to know how this Goan culture came into being, what the process was and how it is playing out today, work in many fields is still necessary---anthropology, art and architecture, history, linguistics, and music. In Traces on the Sea: Portuguese Interaction with Asia, we find valuable views of Portuguese scholars on the impact of their culture on Asia. Problems are posed and useful questions asked. Perhaps we can look at Traces on the Sea: Portuguese Interaction with Asia as a challenge to coming generations of Goans to do the research and try to answer the questions because it will be they who are best suited to do it. As the most central and vibrant of the Portuguese-influenced places in Asia, Goa plays and can play in future a crucial role in creating better understandings. Let us hope that the research and knowledge found in this book will play a part in developing that understanding.

Marblehead, Massachusetts

July 2020

NEW HISTORIOGRAPHICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE PORTUGUESE OVERSEAS EXPANSION. TRANSCULTURAL NETWORKS IN THE FIRST GLOBAL AGE. AN APPROACH "FROM BELOW"[19]

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Abstract: The paper presents some of the current historiographical perspectives on the Portuguese Overseas Expansion, which tend to revise or add to the traditional interpretations of the European expansion and colonisation processes in the Early Modern Age. Such an approach aims to bring to the fore the performance of anonymous people, and informal networks that contributed as much to the building of a global world as the formal powers did. It argues that their collective performances were much more important than any traditional historiography has been suggesting. Such historiography has focused on the leading role of central characters who were selected as being leaders of a process in which the common people had a considerable role.

Key Words: Informal networks; Empire building; Portuguese overseas expansion; Individuals versus state

[19] Texto datado de 23 de outubro de 2019.

https://doi.org/10.14195/978-989-26-2294-1_1

Introduction

This chapter aims at presenting some of the current historiographical perspectives on the Portuguese Overseas Expansion, which tend to revise or just add to the traditional interpretations of the European expansion and colonisation processes in the Early Modern Age. Such an approach aims at bringing to the fore the performance of anonymous people and informal networks that contributed to the building of a global world, as much as the formal powers did. We argue that their collective performances were much more important than any traditional historiography has been suggesting until now, focused as it has been on the leading role of central characters who were once elected as leaders of a process in which the common people had a non-negligible role.

Since History, as a discipline, has several layers, as does reality, and several strands, as do the mountains, one must question these other layers, these other strands, in order to produce less simplistic and less generalist overviews of the reality.

There are, no doubt, forms of consensus which can hardly be debated. Stated opinions stress that an intense communication existed within different universes long before the beginning of the Iberian overseas expansion. This applies, e.g., to the movement of men, ideas and commodities that used to run in the Indian Ocean,[20] or those that were provided by the caravan routes in Africa, or the silk route in Asia. Despite the existence of these communication networks and material transfers, only the Early Modern European expansion, beginning with the Portuguese expansion, contributed decisively and definitively to a global process of real decompartmentalisation, and to globalisation, giving rise to what is now conceptualised as "The First Global Age," comprehending the period between 1400 and 1800.

[20] See Frank (1998); Lach (1965-1993); Reid (1988-1993).

This process contributed to the creation of a new world, resulting from the intersection of many different worlds; it promoted civilisational encounters, but also dynamics of confrontation; it granted transfers of information and commodities as well as men and women on a truly global scale. It seems strange enough that this reality has been predominantly the subject of national, if not nationalistic research, led by a historiography mostly focused on central power strategies, imperial rivalries, commercial monopolies, or naval warfare. This kind of historiography has been analysing, in a simplistic way, processes that require much more complex explanations.

The traditional colonial empires' perspectives of analysis tend to exclude the role of individuals and groups of individuals, and the operation of informal mechanisms in the making of this world, the same way they tend to ignore the action of indigenous communities, failing to acknowledge the existence and the importance of negotiation and cooperation agendas.

New theoretical issues, new analytical perspectives, new sources of information, new methodological approaches tend to revise these guidelines. The maritime dynamics are now seen as the result of an intersection between the local and the global; maritime communities are seen as microcosms of privileged observation; individual and anonymous agents are now placed at the heart of navigation, trade, migration, and cultural processes.

Simultaneously, the creation of a world economy is now seen as supported by competitive strategies, but also by an active collaboration that went beyond territorial and political boundaries. It is assumed, and it has been empirically proven, that such cooperation was also based on self-organised networks (without compulsory coordination exercised by the central power) that went beyond the formal boundaries of kingdoms and "empires."[21]

[21] See Antunes & Polónia (2016).

These new foci of the question do not deny the role played by the central government and the formal structures. They were essential for the construction of overseas empires, including the Iberian ones. What they maintain is that complex systems produced and coordinated by the central government relied heavily on membership and cooperation of individuals; and that the performance of these networks, working for or against the formal policies, are essential for a better understanding of the mechanisms of the construction of a global world. Indeed, these interactions generated paths that crossed political, economic, cultural and religious boundaries, creating truly global circuits.

Iberian experiences are full of examples of colonial achievements deriving precisely from this wandering, this mobility of agents between empires. And this applies both to commercial experiences, highlighting the performances of merchant networks, including those of new Christians, and to other fields, such as the transmission of knowledge, which, by definition, has no frontiers. Cartographers, pilots, sailors, and shipbuilders circulated among empires, as later on engineers and architects would: João Batista Lavanha, chief cosmographer of the kingdom of Portugal, or Filipe Tércio, architect and engineer, are some of the names that stand out in times of the Iberian Union, as examples of circulation between states and empires.

They are just the tip of the iceberg: thousands of Portuguese, legal and illegal immigrants, in the Spanish Indies; the networks of Iberian businessmen, in Europe and overseas territories, including the Far East, through the articulation Manila-Macau; slave trafficking networks, visible and invisible in the asientos de esclavos kept in the Archivo General de Indias, in Seville, document some of the aspects of what we could classify as cooperation between rivals.[22]

This transversality, these networks of cooperation, were not, moreover, only Iberian. In addition to Italians, foreign travellers

[22] (Polónia & Barros, 2012, pp. 111-144).

crossed the spaces of the Portuguese empire, with and without royal consent, and brought to Europe, and published in Europe, news of a universe that formally had borders, imposed by the Iberian settlers and discussed by European powers, but were in fact crossed by a myriad of agents, networking in a global world. Among those who have public visibility, we can mention the travelers Jean Baptiste Tavernier (1605-1689), François Pyrard de Laval (ca. 1578 – ca. 1623), Johan Albrecht de Mandelslo (1616-1644), Jan Huygen van Linschoten (1563-1611) in the East, André Thevet (1502-1590), Hans Staden (1525-1579), Charles l'Écluse (1525-1609), Lopez Medel (1520-1583), Jean de Léry (1536-1613), José de Anchieta (1534-1597) Adriaen van der Donck Cornelissen (1655), Gabriel Meurier (1557) or John White (1585), in America. All contributed to the literary, scientific and mental construction of those other worlds where cooperation overlapped rivalry.

Based on these findings and these theoretical perspectives, we will explore some dimensions of analysis and discuss some hypotheses:

The first one insists on the fact that if it is true that the Portuguese expansion, as much as the Iberian and the European contributed to a global world by promoting continuous flows of men, ideas, commodities and information, the fact remains that those processes resulted themselves from transfers between universes of knowledge that were prior to these expansionist experiences. The concepts of production and circulation of knowledge developed by Livingstone and Kapil Raj[23] result from an analysis that specifically targets processes of syncretism. In this process, brokers and go-betweens became main objects of analysis and protagonists of a story, of a History where they used to have a secondary place.

Secondly, it is true that the interplay between European powers, such as the Spanish and Portuguese, Dutch, French and British, was based on mechanisms of conflict, rivalry, competition, involving

[23] (Livingstone, 2004; Raj, 2009, pp. 105-150, 2010, 2013, pp. 337-347).

economic, political and military struggles, which included privateering, piracy and naval warfare. But it is also true that, at the same time, there were active mechanisms of cooperation and collaboration between agents, official and unofficial, legal and illegal, including the European ones, who promoted ways of colonisation that relied on the interdependence between empires and between rival powers.

Thirdly, one should be aware that the construction of colonial "empires," the colonisation process, was not only fed by methods of enforcement and domination, nor can the construction of a global world be seen as a European achievement. If one cannot deny the infliction of forceful means and the interplay of colonial exploitation acting against the interests and the will of indigenous peoples, it is also true that these same colonised territories and cultures projected onto European universes their contributions and their footprint. Moreover, indigenous populations, political forces, religious and cultural agents were voluntarily or involuntarily involved in those colonial set-ups: there are no one-way transfers and there are no colonisation dynamics without phenomena of syncretism, some of them genetic and cultural.

Today, a connected history, after the revitalising trends proposed by an Atlantic History, a World History and a Global History, gives account of these compelling inter-dependencies between worlds, located in Africa, America, Asia and Europe, which all eventually contributed to the world we live in today. Multiculturalism and a dominant multiracial society in Brazil and North America resulted from those dynamics. The waves of emigration towards Europe and the current European reflux towards Africa, Asia, and Brazil are still a reflex of those interconnections. The competitive economic and financial policies between Europe and Asia; the religious and cultural clashes we witness every day; the scientific, technical and academic rivalries between the United States of America, Europe and Asia, which assume also forms of collaboration, when required, reflects, on a new

dimension, pathways that were launched in those times. The need for international cooperation and solidarity programs; the reversing levels of divergence and convergence between the "developed and developing" countries; the creation and maintenance of institutions which aim at worldwide collaboration and representativeness, such as the UN and UNESCO were largely generated within this world of the First Global Age. They were fed and required by the connected histories of those past worlds that still nourish the world we live in. It is not therefore of no importance to ask ourselves about the mechanisms that allowed the construction of that, and this, global world.

The working hypotheses that have been proposed presume the submission of new concepts – the ones of cooperation, self-organisation, and bring to the fore new players in History – individuals, ordinary men and women, networks of anonymous and common agents. These networks were often trans-national, trans-imperial and cross-cultural by nature, as we will seek to approach this reality in this paper, based on the analytical axes that follow.[24]

Trans-national and trans-cultural transfer of knowledge

Let's begin by a common assumption: The Portuguese were the first Europeans, even if not the only ones, to globally connect oceans and continents in the Early Modern Age. However, this was not done by themselves alone; their experience was a synthesis of contributions from ancient and modern times and from knowledge of Islamic, Chinese and European backgrounds.

The Portuguese revolution in nautical science was in actual fact an evolution and showed a very successful process of continuous

[24] Some of these topics have been discussed within the scope of other contributions by the author. See e.g. Polónia (2012a), pp. 121-142, (2012b), pp. 349-372, (2013), pp. 133-158.

empirical adaptation to new needs and technical demands. During this process, the astrolabe, the compass, and basic mathematical and astronomic knowledge that they used as their main tools were the result of a chain of transfers, which resulted in the Portuguese undertaking technical adjustments and improvements so as to launch their own explorations.[25]

The basic mathematical and astronomical knowledge contained in the Libros del Saber Astronomico[26] and the Tablas Alfonsinas,[27] a compilation ordered by Afonso X of Castile, underwent a similar process. The books were the outcome of intense assemblage and translation at the School of Toledo, which included Muslim, Jewish and Christian scholars, in order to recover and publish Arabic astronomical texts, dating from the time of Ptolemy onwards. This 'storehouse' of knowledge used by the Portuguese derived in fact from that Greco-Judeo-Arabic scientific, mathematical and cosmographic tradition, both theoretical and applied.[28] Portuguese seamen used the information contained in these books as basic knowledge to orient and sustain the technical needs of navigation.[29]

Even if the Portuguese were able to question numerous beliefs of that tradition, and enrich it with new topographical, cartographic, navigational, commercial, political, religious and ethnographic information, the fact remains that they were inheritors of various cultural and civilisational influences, which they used in a syncretic and transformative way, based on their empirical experience.

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[25] Polónia (2005), pp. 9-12; Domingues (2007).

[26] The Libros del Saber de Astronomía currently consists of 16 treaties. Most of the books were written between 1254 and 1259, although they were not compiled until the 1370s. This is a major scientific work initiated by Alfonse X the Wise and put together by the translators of the Toledo School and numerous copyists and illuminators.

[27] The Alfonsine Tables are a medieval compilation containing astronomical tables, delivered on the initiative of Alfonso X the Wise. Its main target was to provide an outline of practical use to calculate the position of the sun, moon and planets according to Ptolemy's system.

[28] Russell-Wood (1998), p. 15.

[29] Albuquerque (1989a); Albuquerque (1989b).

Transfers between oceans and cultures thus emerge as a main factor of knowledge-building, resulting in the improvement of techniques, adaptation processes and finally, supremacy, built or lost, based on technical and scientific 'weapons'. Another domain of active transfers, understood as an outcome rather than a condition of Portuguese or European expansion, was knowledge of diseases and their therapeutic and pharmacological treatment. A Portuguese doctor, Garcia de Orta, a New Christian (i.e. a converted Jew), made significant efforts to draw attention to the pharmacological powers of Oriental botany and the therapeutic approaches of Oriental medicine.[30] The work of Cristovão da Costa, Tractado de las drogas, y medecinas de las Indias Orientales…,[31] is noteworthy for documenting the input of Eastern scientific contributions to Europe.

The same could be argued about the active incorporation, sometimes perceived as dangerous and quite obnoxious, of Amerindian and African curative methods. The fact that Philip II of Spain sent his court physician, Francisco de Hernandez, to New Spain to collect the secrets of Amerindian medicine is indicative of the relevance, even to the Crown and the institutionalised powers, of the potential contributions of this alternate knowledge. The monumental 1570s survey of about 3,000 plants, including their description and medicinal virtues, revealed the successful collaboration Hernandez had with Amerindian herbalists and healers.

The impact of the incorporation of detailed botanical and pharmaceutical knowledge into the Western medical corpus and thereafter its circulation in elite circles, is nevertheless insignificant when compared with the daily uses of that knowledge, practices and healing techniques by the Europeans in the 'new worlds', as it has been shown by the collective book edited by Daniela Bleichmar, Paula de Vos and Kristin Huffine.[32]

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[30] Orta (1563).

[31] Costa (1578).

[32] Bleichmar, de Vos, & Huffine, ed. (2009).

If the importance of knowledge and technological transfers is, at this point, unquestionable, the same can be argued for human transfers.

Trans-national maritime markets

Portuguese expansion in the Early Modern Age favoured and even depended on active exchanges between European nautical officers and men, as well as between Europeans and indigenous crews, particularly pilots and seafarers.

In carrying out explorations around the Mediterranean and in the Atlantic, Genoese seamen fulfilled key roles from the beginnings of the Portuguese expansion. The Genoese involvement and commitment resulted from a long line of cooperation that included the earlier presence of Genoese seafarers commanded by Manuel Pessanha, nominated admiral of the Portuguese navy during the reign of Dinis I (1279-1325). Those Genoese are taken to be important to the renewal of Portuguese navigation, bringing in contributions from the Mediterranean world.[33]

Similarly, Florentines, Genoese, and Venetians were the main contributors in the launching of the Portuguese overseas expansion. The activities of the Venetian Alvise da Cadamosto and of the Genoese Antoniotto Usodimare and Antonio da Noli during the Portuguese exploration of the west coast of Africa are well known. The life of Alvise da Cadamosto,[34] and the circumstances in which he arrived in Portugal and became involved in maritime explorations testify to increasing maritime connections between Italy and Flanders. These connections helped the Portuguese overseas expansion. Furthermore, it explains the presence of Italian traders and navigators in Portugal

[33] Barros (2005), pp. 794-797.

[34] "Cadamosto, Alvise da," (1994), pp. 156-157.

and the way they took advantage of ongoing opportunities created and/or promoted by Portuguese agents or the Portuguese Crown.

The examples of Cadamosto, Usodimare and da Noli set the context in which Christopher Columbus later achieved a leading role. Columbus can be seen as a major example of the transfer of knowledge and cross-cultural dynamics, since he brought to Portugal the Genoese expertise in trade and navigation, and to Spain the additional knowledge he accumulated during his stay among the Portuguese, in Porto Santo on the Atlantic. Similarly, his adventures in the service of the Spanish Catholic kings only anticipated the career of Amerigo Vespucci under the rule of the same monarchy, and that of the Portuguese Ferdinand Magellan, whose work at the service of Castile resulted in the first circumnavigation of the world.

On the other hand, on the other end of the planet, in the East, the Portuguese crossed unknown waters with the assistance of local pilots. When exploring the Indian Ocean, they largely used the services of pilots from the Indian Ocean region. Arab, Gujarati, Javanese and Malay pilots were present on Portuguese voyages from Malabar to Ceylon, Melaka, the Sunda Islands, Java, the Maluku islands, Sumatra and Siam. Chinese pilots were frequently taken on board for the Melaka-Macau-Japan run.[35] Similarly, when the Portuguese arrived in the Indian Ocean, they were conducted from Sofala to Calicut by a Muslim pilot.[36]

These are outstanding examples of a trend involving anonymous seafarers and pilots who acted on behalf of political and colonial powers different from their own. It is particularly noticeable in the case of Portuguese pilots in the service of the Castilian Crown.[37] But it applies also to their presence in the navigation channels of Southeast Asia or the China seas.

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[35] Russell-Wood (1998), p. 15.

[36] Velho (1999).

[37] Laguarda Trías (1988), pp. 6-7; Polónia & Barros (2012).

This significant movement of technicians, as well as sharing of logistic and technical knowledge did not thus take place only in the West, between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic worlds, but equally between the East and the West, and among European counterparts, as proven by the significant number of foreign mercenaries hired by the Portuguese for the conquest of North Africa. The fighters in the field, hardly considered to be regular armies or troops, included not only Portuguese, Spanish, German, French and Italian troops, but also Central European soldiers.[38]

Moreover, a simple reference to a flux of coerced or indentured slave manpower from the East and Far East, namely, China and Africa, to the Americas and Europe testifies to this reality. European colonial empires depended on a coerced labour force and always needed additional manpower. These men (and women) crossed oceans and continents and came to be indispensable players in the construction of colonial economies and in the building of 'European empires'. These transfers of humans played determining roles as central agents of cross-cultural dynamics. All those processes required "translation" processes.

Intercultural and interfaith transfers

The role performed by the indigenous agents in the success of European expansion is even better understood if one thinks of the levels of dependency at the point of local cooperation. For the Portuguese in the East, for instance, they were provided by local agents with skills, information and intelligence, which contributed substantially to their presence in the Indian Ocean. Hindu merchants from the Coromandel, who subsequently assumed important roles in developing Portuguese trade in the Malay Peninsula, assisted the

[38] Cosme (2004).

Portuguese in the capture of Melaka in 1511. Portuguese recognition of the existence of key points and key ports in the Eastern trade depended on information transfer. Only such a process explains how the Portuguese themselves became significant brokers in the maritime trade routes connecting the East and the Far East.

If the circumstances were different, the mechanisms were not necessarily diverse in Africa and Brazil, the Atlantic borders of a world which is more complex than a simple addition of different worlds, be they African or American.

Information transfer took place at all levels of daily life. Even if official registers insist on the role of diplomats, ambassadors, missionaries and church dignitaries as information providers to the Portuguese Crown, individuals like soldiers, sailors, merchants, adventurers, farmers, naturalists, men of science, or physicians were also agents of information transfer. This dynamic was supported by an active person-to-person contact that involved local agents and the autochthonous population as key elements. The importance of the translators, the línguas, both local and Portuguese, testifies to the role of communication and cooperation as the basis of the spread of European domination in other worlds.

In Asia, Africa and the Americas, the survival of settlers depended upon the efficacy of their adaptation to new environments and cultures. The life of the first settlers or groups of settlers long deprived of institutional European frameworks; the distance, real and symbolic, from the European universe; the numerical disadvantage and the need to adapt to the conditions of a totally new and unknown habitat, accelerated unavoidable acculturation processes in a different direction than expected or described by a historiography inspired by imperial perspectives. Intense material transfers resulted from such adaptations: Europeans had to be receptive to new patterns of food, hygiene, daily agendas, new techniques of exchange and new linguistic and cultural paradigms for survival. According to this perspective, indigenous people were active contributors to the process

of transfers on which the overall construction of a First Global Age was based. Linguistic and material needs determined, by themselves, the inevitability of active cultural transactions.

The evangelisation process was one of the main mechanisms and the most formal strategy of imposing acculturation according to European patterns. Frequently, evangelisation worked as an active tool of colonial domination. However, acculturation also became an adaptative process which had an impact upon Europeans: missionaries had to be flexible towards the linguistic, cultural and religious universe of the local populations, to effect conversion. Spanish and Portuguese missions in Latin America highlight strategies that avoided, at first, an imposition of European patterns upon local people as a means of evangelisation and even avoided contacts with the colonists, in order to preserve what was seen as a pure stage of humankind. They tended to promote research institutes such as the college of Santa Cruz, created in Tlaltelolco in 1536, thereby converting themselves into ethnologists.

If these examples can be seen as strategic tools of conversion, eventually they also resulted in the acculturation of Europeans to local cultures. The criticism directed against the Jesuits in Japan by European ecclesiastic supervisors is an eloquent testimony of the institutional disapproval of the way the priests in the field adapted themselves to the material culture, houses, food, schedule and clothes of the local population, becoming, in their looks and habits, more similar to, than different from, the local people.[39]

These circumstances led to inevitable processes of syncretism. Those are, however, domains for which we lack measurable testimonies, precisely because these people functioned outside the framework of the "conventional empire". The same process of adaptation and assimilation is supported, for instance, by the existence of a lingua franca such as the creole in Cape Verde, São Tomé or Angola; or

[39] Polónia (2013); Curvelo (2009), pp. 337-342.

the use of Portuguese as lingua franca among the local people and other European agents in the East. This active porousness derived also from the miscegenation processes and the ensuing constitution of multi-ethnic families. As stated by Charles Boxer, "The relative scarcity, or the total absence, of white women [...] resulted in the fact that the barrier of colour was largely ignored,"[40] leading to miscegenation, for which the genetic patrimony in Cape Verde, São Tomé, Brazil and even in parts of the East is proof.

The impact of the slave trade and the intensive use of indentured labour must feature in this worldwide process of transfers. The coerced migration of African slaves to America or even the less abundant, but still important, transfer of slaves from the East and Far East to Africa and Europe were responsible for a process of ethnic, cultural and linguistic flows, whose impact remains to be fully understood and evaluated.

The Brazilian case is still one of the most illustrative of a society resulting from an active process of reciprocal transfers between European, Amerindian and African cultures. The language, beliefs, music, religion, and ethnicity in Brazil – mostly in north-east Brazil, where the miscegenation process was more extensive – are testimony of a dynamic process of cultural transfer. This process initiated a different culture and a totally different society from the one of the first colonisers. These were absorbed in a cultural and ethnic mosaic in which their contributions were only one of several other components. What has been said for Brazil could be stated, on a different scale and with different results, for the Caribbean world, namely in the areas of French influence. Sociological and political studies prove that this process did not happen without ruptures, conflict, processes of compression and loss of identity in the groups and cultures involved.[41]

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[40] Boxer (1988), p. 115.

[41] Bailey (2009).

Trans-imperial dynamics: cooperation among rivals

The same way none of the described processes of acculturation and cooperation denies the existence of forceful mechanisms of colonisation, also competition and rivalry between European empires did not prevent an intense cooperation between agents of the diverse political entities performing as rival imperial powers. In fact, over time the French, British and Dutch seem to have succeeded in interfering with Portuguese trade, not only by privateering or piracy, but also through a very active collaboration with Portuguese agents, placed sometimes on the fringes of the system, sometimes as core agents of the formal colonial setup.

At the end of the 16th century, French and English corsairs on the Guinea coast were so active that in 1584, in a description of a trip from Luanda to Lisbon, friar Diogo da Encarnação explained: "That day, God let us see another miracle, by delivering us from three French ships which (as we later learned) had taken two ships from Sevilla returning from the West Indies and loaded with much wealth. The French presence around three (Canary) islands is such that it is indeed a wonder for a ship to escape from their hands."[42] The French were not only privateering, however. More and more, Portuguese maritime itineraries reported places frequented by French interlopers on the African coast.[43]

Following in the footsteps of the French, whose traffic continued to develop on the coast of Guinea throughout the 17th century, the British took part in the race, in particular after 1572. According to the data collected by Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, they caused the most severe setbacks to the Portuguese monopoly in the region.[44]

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[42] "Carta de Frei Diogo da Encarnação, 27 September 1584." Quoted in Ballong-Wen-Mewuda, (1993), vol. 2, p. 464. (author's translation).

[43] "Viagem de Lisboa para a Mina, 21 Novembro, 1613." Quoted in Ballong-Wen-Mewuda (1993), vol. 2, p. 464.

[44] Godinho (1969), p. 220.

In the preparation and implementation of their expeditions, they had, like any other interlopers, Portuguese accomplices. They usually dealt with Portuguese agents unwilling to comply with the rigid monopoly officially imposed by the Portuguese crown. Apparently, the English succeeded in their attempts to establish, at the same time, a frequent and continuous relationship with the African peoples of the Gold Coast.[45]

Those activities, apparently supported by the British crown, could not succeed, nevertheless, without the knowledge, the networks and the cooperation of Portuguese agents, whether pilots, merchants or other individual mediators operating upon their own account. The same pattern can be found between the Portuguese and French. In 1566, Gaspar Caldeira, a member of the house of Cardinal Henry, at that time Governor of Portugal, turned out to be one of the main perpetrators of a brutal privateering attack upon Funchal, Madeira. As a ship master on the Mina maritime run, he had been caught and convicted for illegally transporting gold from the Mina region. In revenge, he associated himself with Braz Montluc, a French corsair, and took Funchal by surprise, with a brutal attack, using his knowledge of the military setup of the island. He was later captured and sentenced to death. It seems to us that this outcome was not too frequent, as the Portuguese crown had to fight, in the 17th century even more than before, against this kind of deceitful mechanism of disobedience and, according to the formal patterns of empire building, treason.

During the 17th century, this time on the Angolan coast, after the loss of the Mina settlement to the Dutch in 1637, smuggling activities involving ivory and slaves were paramount. Slave export was protected under monopoly rights ceded by the Crown to individuals or rental partnerships through a royal tax-farming contract. The contracts allowed the recipient to collect taxes on each slave and award licenses to business associates to become factors and

[45] See "Letter of Francisco da Costa Pontes, 5 October 1564." Quoted in Ballong-Wen-Mewuda (1993), vol. 2, p. 465.

purveyors, as well as to hold exclusive privileges to trade within the constraints of the monopoly. A major conflict occurred in Loango about this framework. In 1690, Diogo da Fonseca Henriques, himself a tax-farming contractor, was caught in a scandal that sent him to prison.[46] This gives evidence to the fact that smuggling, "treason," and evading mechanisms were not exclusive to those acting on the fringes of the system. They were inherent to practically all formal agents of empire building, as it is the case of the prominent Diogo da Fonseca Henriques.

The cooperation patterns reported here, the courtesies and the symbolic codes of solidarity between those who were, by nature, rivals and competitors, cannot fail to impress us even today.

Identical cross relations between agents of different "empires" expected to exhibit rivalry instead of the documented cooperation could be found in Brazil. The "Dutch Brazil" (the dominium of Olinda and Pernambuco by the Dutch between 1630 and 1654) depended on the collaboration of Portuguese settlers that remained in the region,[47] before the Dutch presence was not totally eliminated with the Dutch defeat in the Guararapes battles, won by the Portuguese settlers, with the participation of African slaves and Indian platoons.[48]

The Methuen Treaty itself, by legitimising to some extent the British trade with Brazil, was nothing else than the ex-post acceptance of the pre-existing smuggling networks between Portuguese and British subjects, which became legal, and thus subject to taxation – a fact that would benefit both crowns.

Simultaneously, international research and internationally-funded research projects have been paying more attention to the fabric of an Atlantic system, with emphasis on Africa, the African slave

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[46] Harvey (2012).

[47] Mello (1998); Mello (2001).

[48] Polónia, A. (2011). A acção da coroa e dos indivíduos na constituição do território e da identidade do Brasil colonial. As batalhas dos Guararapes como estudo de caso. XXXVII Congresso Internacional de História Militar (Rio de Janeiro, 29 Agosto – 2 Setembro 2011.

trade, and an Atlantic world, which does not, however, dispense with the dynamics of the Indian Ocean. Global history brought new perspectives, which emphasise movement, transference patterns, and mobilisation of agents across the so-far compartmented colonial sub-universes. The concept of connected worlds proposed by Sanjay Subrahmanyam[49] goes beyond this perception and proposes the focus on processes of cross-continental and transoceanic transferences.

In this context, debates on the role of the go-betweens, the intermediaries among European and local bearers of knowledge are taking on a central role. The cultural translation processes requiring both the comprehension of local processes of knowledge production and the mechanisms of a global circulation of persons, commodities, information and knowledge are also paramount, opening new avenues of research.[50]

New analytical proposals are currently expanding the parameters of inquiry, according to which some aspects of modern science and the modern world are understood as global while being the result of intricate local processes. Circulation and locality became core concepts of these theoretical approaches. The analysis of processes that combine polycentric and local production of knowledge with its global circulation turns out to be fruitful in historical analysis[51]. Those have as well unequivocal projections on new analytical paths applied to the Portuguese Overseas Expansion.

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INDO-PORTUGUESE LANGUAGE CONTACT SEEN FROM GOA[52]

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Abstract: The long-lasting presence of the Portuguese in Asia had an evident impact on several domains of culture, knowledge, and social practice across the continent, and also motivated exchanges which were carried over to Lusophone communities around the world. The products of Asian-Portuguese contacts are complex and multifaceted, and have been the object of scholarly interest since at least the 19th century – a history of academic exploration in which Goa has often taken centre stage, not just as an object of analysis but also as a centre of scholarly production focusing especially on the South Asian sphere. Despite this, there is still plenty to discover with respect to the impact of the Portuguese in Asia, in various geographies and domains. In this chapter, I argue that, when it comes to the specific area of Indo-Portuguese linguistic interactions, scholars and institutions in Goa are in a privileged position to make original contributions, on account of their access to sources (written archival sources as well as spoken linguistic manifestations still in practice across South Asia), and of a unique confluence of linguistic proficiency which

[52] Texto datado de 7 de outubro de 2019.

https://doi.org/10.14195/978-989-26-2294-1_2

combines Portuguese and an array of South Asian languages (including, but not restricted to, Konkani). This is meant to highlight significant opportunities for scholars in Goa to engage productively in the area of Contact Linguistics, turning Goa once again into a centre of Indo-Portuguese linguistic research.

Keywords: Indo-Portuguese linguistics, Language contact, Creole studies, South Asia, Goa, India, Sri Lanka.

Introduction

The encounters induced by the establishment of the Portuguese in Asia in general, and South Asia in particular, were multifaceted, geographically diffuse, often contentious and unbalanced, and had an undeniable impact on the continent and on Lusophone communities across the globe. Mutual exchanges have left a mark on many domains of culture, knowledge, and social practice – from language to music, from food to the natural sciences, social organisation, agriculture, religion, philosophy, politics, toponymy, the arts, urbanism, and architecture, to name but a few. The complexity of this entanglement has received the attention of scholars of various disciplines for over a century.[53] Historically, Goa has occasionally been at the very centre of these academic endeavours, not only as an object of inquiry but also, quite importantly, as the place where scholarship was produced or published.

Nonetheless, there are still significant gaps in Indo-Portuguese scholarship, a reality which perhaps applies to different disciplines to varying degrees. Here, I will focus on the domain of Contact Linguistics – defined in more detail in section 2 – and argue that the academic community of Goa is in a privileged position to make original contributions, for two major reasons: a) access to sources

[53] For a recent collection of articles covering multiple disciplines, see Jarnagin (2011; 2012).

(not only written sources preserved in libraries and archives but also spoken linguistic manifestations still in practice across South Asia), and b) the confluence of proficiency in Portuguese and in an array of South Asian languages (not just Konkani), which facilitates the interpretation of multilingual written documents and other types of data, and makes it possible to produce solid linguistic analyses.

These reflections result from the invitation to address the inaugural session of the Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara Chair of Goa University, and were primarily conceived of as a possible road-map for research on Indo-Portuguese language contact to be taken up as part of the Chair's activities. However, they should be seen to apply to the Goan academic community at large, including not only scholars residing in Goa but also those who can develop their research there. In what follows, after a section introducing the objectives of Contact Linguistics and the context of Indo-Portuguese linguistic interchange,[54] I will simply highlight a few pressing and promising areas related to Indo-Portuguese language contact that can be tackled advantageously from a Goan standpoint: the study of archival sources documenting European efforts to acquire and describe South Asian languages (section 3); the linguistic impact of Portuguese on South Asian languages (section 4); the transformations that Portuguese underwent as a result of this contact (section 5); and the formation and development of the Luso-Asian creole languages (section 6).

Contact linguistics

Contact Linguistics is a subfield of Linguistics which, though not recent, has seen a dramatic expansion in the past decades. Its

[54] For more detailed studies of the diffusion of Portuguese across Asia and resulting language contact situations, see, for instance, Lopes (1936), Loureiro (1992), Thomaz (1994), Baxter (1996), Tomás (2008), Clements (2009), Cardoso et al. (2012), and Cardoso (2016).

aims are to study the processes by which languages which coexist in multilingual spaces can influence each other and how social and linguistic variables condition the outcome of these processes. It also attempts to describe and classify language contact phenomena and the products of contact, which can be of various types: stable bilingualism, language shift, grammatical and lexical transfer, certain bilingual practices such as code-switching or diglossia, the emergence of new dialects of a particular language, or the emergence of new languages such as pidgins or creoles, to name but a few.[55]

As an intensely multilingual region, South Asia has always been rich in language contact phenomena, mostly involving the Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Munda and Tibeto-Burman languages present in the region. Over time, other languages, such as Persian and Arabic, came into play and left their mark too. Language contact is so prevalent in South Asia, in fact, that the region has been central to the development of certain concepts in contact linguistics, including those of convergence,[56] nativisation,[57] or the notion of linguistic area.[58]

Linguistic contact is an inescapable factor in the development of the modern South Asian languages:[59] for instance, several linguistic characteristics of Marathi and Konkani[60] have been explained by a history of either sustained contact with Dravidian languages or

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[55] For overviews of the field of Contact Linguistics and what it entails, see, for instance, Thomason (1997), Thomason & Kaufman (1988), Winford (2003), Matras (2009), and Hickey (2010).

[56] Gumperz & Wilson (1971) is a classical study focusing on convergence in the village of Kupwar, on the Maharashtra-Karnataka border; see also Kulkarni-Joshi (2016) for a reassessment. For an overview of the issue of linguistic convergence in South Asia, see the relevant chapters in Hock & Bashir (2016).

[57] This is particularly relevant with regard to the development of South Asian varieties of English. See, for instance, Kindersley (1938), Kachru (1983), Baumgardner (1996), and Lange (2012).

[58] Emeneau (1956; 1965) was a pioneer in developing the notion of South Asia as a linguistic area, followed up by Masica (1976) and many others since.

[59] See Sridhar (2008), and several contributions in Hock & Bashir (2016) for approachable synopses.

[60] Southworth (1971) was an influential work with respect to Marathi historical linguistics. For Konkani, see, for instance, Chavan (1924), Nadkarni (1975) and other references further ahead.

the absorption of previously Dravidian-speaking populations. South Asian contact languages or contact varieties, involving the long-standing languages of South Asia, also developed over time in several regions,[61] including Bazaar Hindi (an urban vehicular form of Hindi/Urdu spoken outside of its core region, e.g. in Bombay and Calcutta), Dakhini (a heavily Telugu-influenced variety of Urdu spoken in and around Hyderabad) or Nagamese (an Assamese/Bengali-lexified creole used in Nagaland).

In the grand scheme of things, then, the addition of certain European languages to the South Asian linguistic mix, in colonial times, was but one more development in a long and much larger history of contact. This perspective is important to avoid overestimating the significance of the contribution of European languages, but we should also be careful not to gloss over it. While a recognition of the impact of English on South Asian languages now seems commonplace, it is less evident that other European languages have also left a mark (especially Portuguese, but also French and Dutch), and that, in turn, all of these have also been changed by contact with South Asian languages.

In this history of Eurasian linguistic encounters, Portuguese had a foundational role. It was the first European language to have a sustained presence in Asia, starting in the late 15th century on the Malabar Coast, and quickly spread to become an important lingua franca for trade and other forms of interlingual communication across coastal Asia. As a result, not only did Portuguese have the opportunity to engage with several Asian languages and also influence the linguistic behaviour of the other Europeans who followed, but its impact is comparatively old, and often so deeply ingrained in the languages of Asia as to sometimes be hard to recognise.

Though short and tentative, Vasco da Gama's first expedition to South-western India, in 1498, did produce the first observable

[61] Smith (2008) gives a good overview of the matter.

account of Indo-Portuguese linguistic contact. The chronicle of this voyage (Roteiro da primeira viagem de Vasco da Gama à Índia), attributed to Álvaro Velho, one of the participants, includes a short vocabulary of Malayalam (identified as linguajem de calecut 'language of Calicut') containing 122 words preceded by their respective Portuguese equivalents.[62] Obviously, there is a dimension of linguistic contact to this event in that the production of such a list necessitated either bilingual knowledge or, more likely in this case, some method of vocabulary elicitation – in other words, a form of effective interlinguistic communication. This was not an isolated episode devoid of linguistic consequence but rather the starting point of a process of linguistic interchange, as seen most clearly in the case of lexical borrowings. It is interesting to notice that, in time, some of the Malayalam terms recorded in this wordlist came to be incorporated in the Portuguese language. As an example, consider the following entry from the Roteiro's vocabulary:

> por corda // coraoo

The Malayalam term given here as a translation of Portuguese corda 'rope' is coraoo, a rendition of a word which has the form kayar(u) in modern Malayalam and actually refers to a fibre extracted from the husk of the coconut from which ropes were made. Due to an involvement with trade and the produce of the Malabar and South Asia in general, the word eventually entered Portuguese with the form cairo (and in English as coir) and the original Malayalam meaning.

As we have seen, the wordlist allegedly composed by Álvaro Velho was – at least symbolically, but probably more than just that – an inaugural moment in the history of contact between Portuguese and the languages of South Asia in the age of European expansion. But

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[62] As one of the most significant travelogues in global history, the Roteiro has been comprehensively studied. For editions of the entire document or of the Malayalam wordlist specifically, see Köpke & Paiva (1838), Costa (1960), Ames (2009), and Fernandes (2016).

its significance also derives from the fact that it constitutes the first instantiation of what was to be an important tradition of linguistic description which is the object of the next section.

Early descriptions of South Asian languages

Another important product of Indo-Portuguese language contact was the production of a substantial number of descriptions of South Asian languages, in the form of grammars, dictionaries and primers written in Portuguese or in Latin. Despite its civil beginnings with Álvaro Velho's vocabulary, this documentary and descriptive effort came to be dominated by Catholic missionaries, and Goa became central. As Otto Zwartjes pointed out, "Goa was an important language centre for the missionaries, who needed linguistic skills for evangelisation"[63] and, unsurprisingly, several of these grammars and dictionaries were produced or printed here. From very early on, then, Goa nurtured a grammar- and dictionary-writing tradition that formed the background for (and in the case of Konkani, fed into) later endeavours such as those of Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara (1809-1879) and Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado (1855-1922).

Thomas Stephens' (c. 1550-1619) grammar of Konkani, Arte da lingua Canarim, is one of the most celebrated examples of this early corpus of linguistic descriptions.[64] The grammar was written in 1580, although the earliest version currently known is the one revised and published posthumously in Rachol, in 1640. In 1857, it was the object of study and a new edition by Cunha Rivara, which contributed to cement Thomas Stephens' reputation and the grammar's status as an essential early source for the Konkani language.

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[63] In Zwartjes (2011: 26).

[64] With respect to Stephens' and other early grammars of Konkani, see Saldanha (1936).

However, Thomas Stephens' work is only one item in a vast collection of early Portuguese or Latin grammars of South Asian languages. Several other works stemming from the same descriptive tradition led by Catholic missionaries (either Portuguese or of other origins) focus on Tamil, Malayalam, Marathi, Konkani, Bengali, Sanskrit, Hindi, and Sinhala.[65] For their seminal character, their comprehensiveness and their portrayal of past stages of the languages in question, these missionary grammars and dictionaries have attracted considerable academic attention. Some, such as Henrique Henriques' or Antão de Proença's works on Tamil, have been and continue to be edited, translated, annotated and researched,[66] while others still await proper linguistic treatment. There is ample opportunity for research in this domain, particularly by scholars with native knowledge of the languages described and a working knowledge of Portuguese or Latin – and Goa is perhaps the right place to produce scholars with this profile.

In addition, the manuscripts of several of these descriptive works are preserved in Goa. The State Central Library of Goa is a treasure trove in this respect. Among its most valuable manuscript holdings are various grammars, dictionaries and translations into South Asian languages, which have been surveyed by Maria do Céu Fonseca.[67] The following is a list of early manuscript linguistic descriptions of South Asian languages (in Portuguese or Latin), adapted from this survey. However, the accession numbers given by Fonseca do not always match those in the Library's catalogue[68] or the ones appended to the bundles on display at the Goa State Library. Whenever this

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[65] See Zwartjes (2011: 23ff) for a more complete discussion.

[66] See, for instance, James (2009); Hein & Rajam (2013); various contributions to Muru (2018).

[67] Fonseca (2007), a list of early imprints and manuscripts preserved at the Goa State Library.

[68] Searchable online at: http://scl.goa.gov.in/opac/html/SearchForm (accessed 27.2.2017). The basic information given is that which features in the Library's catalogue, but there is reason to be cautious about some of the data, including attributed authors and dates. This collection requires urgent digitisation and research.

is the case, for easy reference, I first provide the information as recorded by Fonseca and then the online catalogue register within square brackets:

- MS-2: Arte Malabarica e Lusitana (Anon., 18th c.)
- MS-11[12]: Dictionarium Malabarium Linguae Non-Vulgaris (1741);
- MS-12[13]: Dictionarium Tamulico-Latinum (Constantio Josephus Beschio [i.e., Costanzo Giuseppe Beschi], 1744);
- MS-15[16]: Grammatica Inedita da Lingua Tamil (Paulo Francisco de Noronha, 1890);
- MS-30a[42] and MS-30b[43]: Vocabulario da Lingua Canary, Feito pelos Padres da Companhia de Jesus que Residiam na Provincia de Salsete (Jesuit priests, n.d.): 2 volumes – a Konkani-Portuguese and a Portuguese-Konkani dictionary;
- MS-31[44]: Vocabulario da Lingoa Canary Vertida do Portuguez, (Diogo Ribeiro, 1626);
- MS-32[45]: Vocabulario Lusitano-Tamulico (Balthazar Esteves da Cruz, 1738);
- MS-33[46]: Vocabulario Lusitano-Tamulico (Anon., 17th c.);
- MS-34[48]: Vocabulario Tamulico-Lusitano Precedido de uma Arte Abreviada em Tamul e Seguido de Termos Poéticos (Antão de Proença, 17th c.);
- MS-35[?]: Vocabulario Lusitano-Tamulico Seguido d'uma Arte Tamulica (Henrique Henriques, 16th c.);
- MS-36[49]: Vocabulario Lusitano-Tamulico (Anon., 17th c.);
- MS-37/39b[50]: Vocabulario Thamulico Lusitano, para Uso dos Missionarios da Companhia de IESV (Domingos Madeyra, 1750);
- MS-38[51]: Vocabulario Tamulico-Lusitano (Anon., 18th c.);
- MS-42[56]: Grammatica da Língua Concani (Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, 1922);
- MS-49[64]: Arte Tamulica (Baltazar da Costa, 1731).

The presence of this remarkable collection of manuscripts in Goa is both an opportunity and a challenge, as there are several questions still surrounding the exact identification of some of the sources. This corpus is of the utmost importance for the currently very vital field of Missionary Linguistics, which has been uncovering such early descriptive works around the world and making them available to the wider audience. Academics in Goa are therefore encouraged to engage with these (and other) multilingual archival documents, with a view to studying, editing, commenting and translating these unique sources for the history of South Asian languages and linguistic knowledge in general.

Influence of Portuguese on South Asian languages

The impact of Portuguese on Asian languages in general, especially coastal languages, is particularly visible when it comes to lexical borrowings. Their numbers vary but, for several languages, they are in their hundreds – and, for Konkani, in their thousands. In the late 19th century and early 20th century, identifying Portuguese loanwords in Asian languages was a popular scholarly endeavour, resulting in a stream of publications dedicated to the topic. In Ceylon, for instance, we find articles and short etymological notes by A.E. Buultjens (in 1885), Louis Nell (1888/1889), and S.G. Perera (1922),[69] and several others dedicated to the lexical influence of Portuguese on Sinhala. These studies resulted in a list of around 250 words, belonging to such semantic domains as dress, food, botany, carpentry and masonry, military, religion, or education. As we will see shortly, this situation is repeated elsewhere in (South) Asia. However, significant numbers of Portuguese lexemes entered not just the autochthonous languages of the continent, but also the European colonial languages

[69] More recent revisitations of the topic include Hettiarachi (1965) and Jayasuriya (1998).

that established themselves there at a later stage. In India, Henry Yule and Arthur Burnell's famous 1886 Hobson-Jobson, an early and influential glossary of terms used in Indian English, records dozens of terms which were either of Portuguese origin or, though of Asian origin, bore the phonological mark of having been transmitted to Indian English via Portuguese.

However, it was to be a Goan, Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, to produce the most comprehensive work to date about the lexical impact of Portuguese on Asian languages. Influência do vocabulário português em línguas asiáticas (abrangendo cerca de cinquenta idiomas) [Influence of Portuguese vocables in Asian languages (encompassing around 50 languages)], was published in Coimbra in 1913. For this monumental work, Dalgado consulted dictionaries and other sources for 50 Asian languages and, in the case of Konkani, also resorted to his own native knowledge. Table 1 indicates the number of Portuguese loanwords Dalgado identified for each of the languages he analysed,[70] with those of the South Asian region identified in boldface. Konkani stands out among Asian languages in the number of Portuguese loanwords it has integrated: nearly 1800 in Dalgado's count, a figure far higher than that for the languages ranked next (Tetun, Galoli, Malay and Sinhala).

Language	Nr. of Loans
Konkani	**1776**
Tetum	774
Galoli	432
Malay	431
Sinhala	**208**
Bengali	**174**

[70] Because of the procedural constraints Dalgado's work faced, including the limited availability or comprehensiveness of sources for some of the languages, these figures are perhaps a little conservative.

Indo-English	**172**
Tamil	**171**
Malayalam	**123**
Buginese	122
Marathi	**116**
Hindustani	**107**
Javanese	106
Gujarati	**104**
Macassarese	101
Sundanese	100
Japanese	93
Kannada	**91**
Tulu	**89**
Hindustani-Lascari	**85**
Telugu	**83**
Indo-French	**62**
Achenese	56
Hindi	**53**
Arabic	50
Madurese	47
Dayak	41
Khasi	**37**
Sindhi	**37**
Thai	35
Assamese	**34**
Garo	**34**
Malagasy	34
Punjabi	**33**
Oriya	**32**
Batak	29
Nicobarese	**27**
Khmer	25

Persian	22
Balinese	21
Maluku	16
Chinese Pidgin English	15
Vietnamese	15
Nepalese	**13**
Tonkinese	8
Burmese	**7**
Kashmiri	**6**
Turkish	4
Chinese	3
Tibetan	**3**

Table 1 – Number of Portuguese loans identified in Dalgado (1913)

Over a century later and with much more effective tools to identify loanwords, these figures need to be revisited in a systematic manner. In the case of Konkani, Edward de Lima's recent Influence of Portuguese vocabulary on Konkani language is just such an attempt and has pushed the figure up closer to 2000. The other South Asian languages, on the other hand, are very much open for reassessment. It would be interesting to update these figures but, mostly, to determine how Portuguese loans have been transformed and integrated into the recipient languages, what their present currency and connotations are, how they are socially distributed, what semantic domains are represented, and which terms are more widespread in the languages of the region.

In comparison with the abundant lexical imports from Portuguese, the evidence of structural (morphological and syntactic) influence on Asian languages is scantier, but also worth looking for. So far, the only languages for which this has been observed are spoken in the territories of East Timor and Goa, which had particularly long histories

as Portuguese colonies. In the case of Konkani, several authors[71] have identified (while others have deplored)[72] potential structural replications from Portuguese. Madhavi Sardesai, for instance, noticed the productive use of a derivational suffix -saao (from Ptg. -ção) with Konkani bases, providing the example of bejaasaao 'boredom', in which the base is bezaar, a Persian loan in Konkani.[73] When it comes to syntactic replication, this appears to occur only in Catholic literary registers of Konkani. These include certain word order characteristics and the structure of relative clauses, for instance, as surveyed and summarised by Rocky Miranda.[74] The following sentence, originally published in a 1923 Goan newspaper, is given by Miranda to illustrate the first case:

(1)	avoi bapui	sabar pauttim	khens cortat	aplim	burguim
	parents	many times	complain	own	children
	aiconant	vo bexearmi cortat	munn	aplea	sangnneanc
	hear. NEG	and ignore	thus	own	instructions.for

'Parents very often complain that their children don't listen to and ignore their instructions.'

In this sentence, the subordinate clause (aplim burguim aiconant vo bexearmi cortat munn aplea sangnneanc) follows the predicate in the main clause (avoi bapui sabar pauttim khens cortat), which is contrary to the canonical word order of Konkani but matches that of Portuguese; likewise, within the subordinate clause, the object (munn aplea sangnneanc) follows the coordinated verbs (aiconant vo bexearmi cortat),

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[71] Including Sumitra Mangesh Katre (1942), Manohar Sardessai (1983), Rocky Miranda (2001), and Madhavi Sardesai (2004).

[72] See Chavan (1924), who writes "It will be seen from the … instances that the oriental way of subject, predicate, and object and qualifying sentences is given up and the Portuguese grammatical method is adopted. To a lover of Konkani, this method acts as repellent. This sort of style, with good many Portuguese words preponderating, deprives the dialect of its natural sweetness" (quoted in Miranda 2001: 59).

[73] See Sardesai (2004).

[74] In Miranda (2001: 49).

as in Portuguese, whereas in Konkani it is more usual for the verb to occur at the very end of the clause. Studies such as these are intriguing and raise further research questions:

- Are there other domains in which Portuguese structural influence can be seen to operate in Konkani?
- If so, are these current or past phenomena?
- What is/was their social distribution, and what registers is/was this influence circumscribed to?

These, once again, are questions which are best worked on by academics in Goa, with their bilingual competence in Konkani and Portuguese as well as their access to ample written and spoken Konkani resources.

5. Influence of South Asian languages on Portuguese

Just as Portuguese left an imprint on the languages of Asia, so did the languages of Asia leave an imprint on Portuguese. As expected, when we look at Portuguese as a whole, the lexicon is where this is seen most clearly – and, once again, Sebastião Dalgado's pioneering work remains the most complete and enlightening in this respect. In 1919, Dalgado published his monumental book Glossário Luso-Asiático [Luso-Asian Glossary], registering hundreds of terms imported into Asian forms of Portuguese from local languages, complete with detailed etymologies. Unsurprisingly, many Konkani-origin words are featured, including fenim 'feni', funconias 'sulking', pantim 'earthenware or brass lamp', or selim 'a cluster of coconuts'; but several other South Asian languages have contributed as well. Malayalam is a clear stand-out in this regard, which can only be attributed to the fact that, in the history of Luso-Asian linguistic interactions, the contact between Portuguese and Malayalam preceded any other contact equation. In fact, the notion that the historical primacy of contact with the Malabar

coast allowed Malayalam to have an outsized lexical influence on Asian Portuguese appears to have been evident to early observers. Garcia de Orta is very clear when, in justifying the name betre for the betel plant in his Colóquios dos Simples e Drogas da Índia,[75] he adds:

> Chamamoslhe betre, porque a primeira terra dos Portuguezes conhecida foi o Malavar... Todos os nomes que virdes, que nam sam portuguezes, sam malavares; assi como betre, chuna, que he cal, maynato, que he lavador de roupa, patamar, que he caminheiro, e outros muytos.
> [We call it betre because the first land that the Portuguese knew was the Malabar... Every name that you see which is not Portuguese is Malabar [i.e. Malayalam]; just like betre, also chuna, which is whitewash, maynato, which is a washerman, patamar, which is a courier, and many others.]

However, in this respect we need to make a clear distinction between Asian varieties of Portuguese and the Portuguese language as spoken in other parts of the world, because the wealth of Asian borrowings in the first was certainly not transmitted wholesale to the second. A few words of Asian origin did crystallise in the overall lexicon of Portuguese, including such terms as bengala 'walking cane', biombo 'screen', bule 'tea pot', canja 'rice gruel', caril 'curry', chá 'tea', chita 'chintz', mandarim 'mandarin', monção 'monsoon', manga 'mango', pagode 'pagoda', palanquim 'palanquin', pária 'pariah', tufão 'typhoon';[76] but many did not. The systematic reconstruction of the patterns of use and disuse of such terms, their distribution over space and time, their concrete etymologies and adaptations as Portuguese lexemes – all of this remains to be done.

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[75] Orta (1563: Colóquio do betre), as transcribed in Dalgado (1919a: xxii).

[76] See also Dalgado (1916; 1917), Tomás (2008), and Cardeira (2010).

Let us, however, take a step back and return to the issue of the Asian forms of Portuguese. In Asia, there are currently three major native dialects of Portuguese: a) in India – Goa but also Daman and Diu, though in a different setting which also includes the co-presence of creole languages; b) in Macau; and, increasingly, c) in East Timor. Of these (and perhaps even globally), the varieties of India, even the one of Goa, are the least well-documented and most under-researched, to the extent that we know very little of their present-day linguistic characteristics, constituting one of the clearest gaps in our knowledge of Portuguese language variation in the world; they are also the most endangered ones, since, unlike in Macau and Timor, the significant contraction that happened since decolonisation is not offset by relevant public mechanisms of language preservation and transmission.

Over the centuries, the linguistic documentation of Indian Portuguese varieties (except for the collection of lexical specificities) has been minimal in the case of Goa, and non-existent for Daman, Diu, Dadra, and Nagar-Haveli. With respect to Goan Portuguese, starting in the early 20th century, there were some short studies which, though partial and impressionistic in nature, provide tantalising evidence of important linguistic peculiarities. The first substantial descriptive approach to Goan Portuguese, published in 1900, was – once again – authored by Sebastião Dalgado. He recorded a few linguistic traits which at the time distinguished Goan Portuguese from European Portuguese, most of which are attributable to the influence of Konkani. These included, for instance:

a) the presence of an aspirated consonant [kh], even in words of Portuguese origin – such as khamisa 'shirt' (from Ptg. camisa);

b) the suppression of the copulative verb ser 'to be', as in (2):[77]

(2) Toda familia boa.
all.f family good
'The whole family [is] good.'

[77] In Dalgado (1900: 71).

c) the generalisation of certain reverential forms of address – such as tio 'uncle' for a man of an older generation; irmão 'brother' for someone only slightly older) – which could occur after the proper name (e.g. Paulo-tio, Roque-irmão);

d) the occasional placement of the verb at the end of the clause – exemplified with imperative sentences such as (3):[78]

(3) Livro traga; chave tire.
book bring.IMP key remove.IMP
'Bring [the] book; remove [the] key.'

e) the use of a Konkani reportative particle hĩ with a meaning close to 'it is said', as in (4):[79]

(4) Elle morreu hĩ.
he die.PST.3 REP
'It is said that he died.'

Another important study is that of Graciete Batalha, who, in 1982, devoted a book to the presence of the Portuguese language and culture in Goa. One chapter is dedicated to language, based on a linguistic survey done by the author as well as a few linguistic samples collected over the course of a 10-day fieldtrip. In her analysis of the data, Batalha noticed a striking persistence of some of the linguistic traits highlighted by Dalgado over 80 years earlier, which at once confirms the solidity of Dalgado's remarks and indicates a degree of stability in the linguistic characteristics of Goan Portuguese. Simultaneously, however, Batalha also identified a gradual contraction of the domains of Portuguese language use in Goa, which was corroborated by a series of studies conducted by Irene Wherrit in the 1980s.

[78] In Dalgado (1900: 70).

[79] In Dalgado (1900: 71).

In addition to these, other, shorter articles and notes reported some more "Konkanisms" in Goan Portuguese. A 1981 study by Luís Filinto Dias, for instance, noted, among other features, that in spoken Goan Portuguese the relative clause (ontem que veio) can precede the head noun (rapaz), which would be ungrammatical in most varieties of Portuguese but closely matches the word order of Konkani:[80]

(5) ontem que veio rapaz é seu amigo?
yesterday REL come.PST boy be.PRS your friend
'Is the boy who came yesterday your friend?'

Despite these short published studies, both the linguistic characteristics (past and current) and the exact present-day state of Goan Portuguese remain nebulous. Academics in Goa are uniquely suited to resolve this state of affairs. My proposal is a concerted research programme organised along two axes:

a) diachronic studies of the specificities and variation of Goan Portuguese, based on written accounts (journals, newspaper columns, articles, literature,…) available in Goan archives and libraries;

b) the constitution of a corpus of spoken Goan Portuguese, representing a cross-section of the current speech community, on which to base a description of the modern state of the language.

With respect to diachronic studies, there are indeed very interesting sources, some of which have not yet been tapped, to reconstruct past stages of Goa Portuguese and its stratification. Goan literature written in Portuguese (at least) contains several representations of colloquial speech, from different periods. Despite the potentially stereotypical nature of these records, they constitute a corpus that can be checked for consistency and, at the very least, gives information on how certain linguistic strata were perceived by the educated classes. The potential of this type of research is evident in

[80] In Dias (1981: 39).

Olivinho Gomes' 2007 exploration of one of the most revealing of the available literary sources: Jacob e Dulce, by Gip (Francisco João da Costa), published in 1896. According to Gomes, the book's depiction of spoken Goan Portuguese displays wide-ranging Konkani influence in several domains and even code-switching, which is employed there for comic effect and social ridicule.

However, Jacob e Dulce is not the only piece of literature that can be explored from this perspective, nor is literature the only relevant source for the diachronic reconstruction of colloquial Goan Portuguese. Goa's abundant corpus of Portuguese-language journals and newspapers are also filled with comments concerning language, very often from a normative standpoint, which, however, have the advantage of documenting perceived local deviations to standard Portuguese.[81] This body of diachronic linguistic evidence is largely unexplored and can hardly be tackled anywhere but in Goa, given the rarity of some of the sources.

When it comes to synchrony, the fact of the matter is that hardly anything has been done towards the linguistic documentation of modern-day Indian Portuguese (from Goa, Daman, Diu, Dadra and Nagar-Haveli). Observation of the speech communities reveals that proficiency is Portuguese is increasingly associated with older generations (disregarding youngsters who currently study Portuguese formally, in high schools and higher education institutions), a situation of advanced community-wide shift towards Konkani and English which, in the 1980s, led Irene Wherrit[82] to predict the demise of Goan Portuguese within one generation. While that has not been the case, the actual number of speakers of Portuguese in India is, in fact, unknown. However, it is clear that the estimate of 250,000 speakers

[81] A significant example is that of a highly opinionated and normative linguistic column published by José Maria da Costa Álvares in the Goan newspaper Heraldo from 1908, and collected in book form in 1909.

[82] See Wherrit (1985: 437).

provided by the Ethnologue,[83] based on an undisclosed source, is an enormous overestimation.

India's censuses are not entirely helpful to determine this information, because Portuguese is not one of the hundreds of languages considered in the resulting datasheets. As a consequence, if anyone were to select Portuguese as their mother tongue or as an L2/L3, this would be reflected in the "Others" category, alongside any other language absent from the official list. In the last census, from 2011, in the entire state of Goa (population: 1,458,545), only 1,873 people fall under this category, almost as much as in Daman and Diu (population: 243,247), at 1,718; in Dadra and Nagar-Haveli (population: 343,709), the figure is 666.[84] In multilingual societies such as those, the one language selected as mother tongue in the Census need not reflect the actual number of first language (L1) speakers of a particular language, especially if a speaker's dominant language is not given as an option or is considered foreign. Yet, these figures are indicative of how residual the (self-)perception of native Portuguese proficiency has become, especially in Goa. In addition, these figures also exclude second language (L2) and third language (L3) proficiency. If we add the numbers of speakers who have selected a language in the "Others" category as L2/L3, the total numbers do increase, but only in Goa is this significant: 11,905 for Goa, 2,386 speakers for Daman and Diu, 1,286 for Dadra and Nagar-Haveli. Therefore, the only interpretation that the 2011 Census allows is that the number of Portuguese speakers (as L1, L2 or L3) in all these territories under study must not be higher (and is likely much lower) than 15,577 speakers.

To the extent that the Portuguese language spoken in India carries the hallmark of local linguistic transformations, it is relevant

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[83] The Ethnologue (Eberhard et al. 2019) is an authoritative and frequently-updated source of data concerning the world's linguistic diversity. For the latest edition's estimates relating to the use of Portuguese in India, see: https://www.ethnologue.com/language/por (accessed 29.9.2019).

[84] Data available at: http://censusindia.gov.in/ (accessed 29.9.2019).

for the study of language contact. However, without substantial corpora – especially of oral language –, its contribution to the field is very limited. In fact, the only digital corpus to contain oral Indian Portuguese data is the Corpus de Referência do Português Contemporâneo,[85] but the amount of data is minimal. The Indian Portuguese section of the corpus (collected in Goa exclusively) contains only 1,840 words, as against e.g. 291,311,212 for European Portuguese or, within Asia, 2,093,538 for Macau and 125,984 for East Timor. No data from Daman, Diu, Dadra and Nagar-Haveli is available. In that sense, it is important to carry out documentation work for these varieties of Portuguese, preferably using the current linguistic tools which allow for the constitution of searchable, digital annotated corpora.

The Indo-Portuguese creoles

The last domain of Indo-Portuguese language contact research which can be approached from Goa relates to the Portuguese-based creole languages of South Asia – traditionally subsumed under the umbrella term of Indo-Portuguese creoles. Creole languages are, by definition, new languages that arise out of intense linguistic contact and bear the hallmarks of this circumstance. Those of South Asia, whose history hails back to the early days of the Portuguese presence in the region, were once much more numerous and widespread than is currently the case. The following map of South Asia, though not exhaustive, indicates several locations for which there is evidence of Portuguese or a Portuguese creole in the past, be it in the form of linguistic samples or only references to the presence of a form of the language (often described as "corrupted" or "jargon"):

[85] Corpus de Referência do Português Contemporâneo (CRPC), v. 2.3 2012. Centro de Linguística da Universidade de Lisboa. Available at: http://alfclul.clul.ul.pt/CQPweb/ (accessed 29.9.2019).

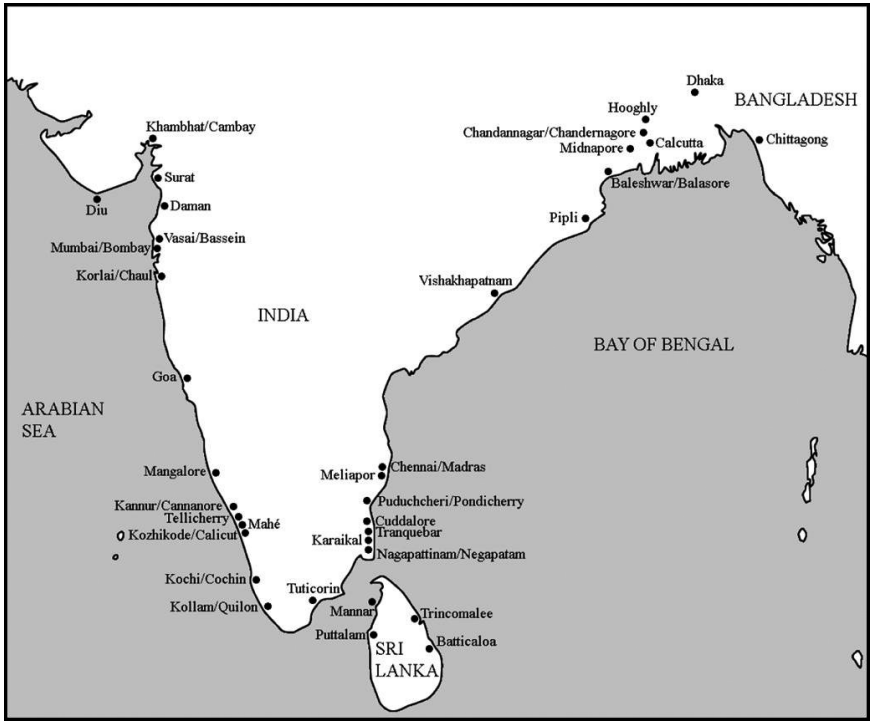

Figure 1 – Past distribution of (Creole) Portuguese in South Asia[86]

The question of whether a creole language developed or came to be used in Goa is not entirely clear. While, at present, no such variety can be identified in the territory, the fact that one formed in so many other territories with a similar Portuguese involvement (including Daman and Diu) might suggest that Goa would have witnessed the same phenomenon. In the early 20th century, a debate arose about the origin of a creole song allegedly collected in Goa and included in an 1870 collection of oral traditions.[87] Sebastião Dalgado, for instance, believed it to be a sample of an extinct creole (which he termed cafreal creole) used by people of African descent in

[86] Published in Cardoso (2009: 6). For an early but detailed survey, see Schuchardt (1889).

[87] Ramalhetinho, jornal de alguns hinos e canções populares em português e concani (d'Abreu 1870).

Goa, especially in locations where they concentrated in significant numbers, such as the Convent of Santa Mónica.[88]

The issue remains unresolved but, even if a Goan creole did develop, it has since ceased to be spoken – as have many others in the region, often before they could be recorded. The ones that still subsist or for which we have records are therefore the last pieces of a linguistic and cultural mosaic which at one point spanned the whole of coastal Asia, and their comparative study holds the promise of substantial progress in reconstructing the networks of population movements which connected them. Currently, in South Asia, the use of Portuguese-based creoles is restricted to Diu and Daman (Union Territories), Korlai (Maharashtra), Cannanore (Kerala), and Eastern and Northern Sri Lanka.[89]

In reality, over the years, these languages have elicited a fair bit of research interest (arguably more so than the South Asian varieties of Portuguese) starting with Hugo Schuchardt, who is credited with initiating the scientific study of Creole languages in the late 19th century. In the early 20th century, after Schuchardt's stream of texts concerning Indo-Portuguese (covering the varieties of Diu, Mangalore, Cannanore, Mahé, Cochin, and Ceylon), Goa became involved in the documentation of these varieties, with local publications and presses printing texts by the likes of Tavares de Mello, António Francisco Moniz, and Jerónimo Quadros about the creoles – not to mention the Goan scholar Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, whose work on the varieties of Daman, Bombay, Nagapattinam, and Ceylon was published elsewhere.[90]

The interest is perhaps motivated by the outstanding divergence between these creoles and their main lexifier language, Portuguese. It raises important questions concerning the formation, development,

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[88] See Dalgado (1919b).

[89] See Cardoso (2006); Smith (2013).

[90] For an overview of the literature on the Indo-Portuguese creole languages, see Tomás (1992); the contributions in Cardoso et al. (2012); and Cardoso et al. (2015).

and spread of the creoles, as well as the role of the South Asian languages in the process – and also presents challenges of linguistic description and analysis. As an example, consider the following excerpt of a story collected in Cannanore in 2015:

> pok an madantsə uŋ gatə ku ratə bɔmbə kambrad tinhi. olotə uŋ kazə-dɐ̃ntrə tiŋ fika, aklɔr ratə ja... gatə-sə pærtə ja-fala: agɔrə chuyv-ɔ..., chuyvə-sə orzə nɔs-kə fɔrə nu pa vay, aka-suydə agɔrə vay kãndə nɔs kizær kæra sigərə garda. olotə butikə jə-foy, uŋə grãndi uŋ jar-dɐ̃ntrə... manteygə jə-pidi. manteygə pidi kandə, uŋ igreja-sə pærtə uŋ building tinhi, kebradə kazə. ala jə-foy kã jə-kubri garda.[91]
> [Some years ago, a cat and a mouse were good friends. They lived in the same house, and once the mouse told the cat: during the rainy season we can't leave, so now as we go out we must store something. They went to the shop and bought a big jar of butter. Once they had bought the butter – there was a building, a ruined house, near a church – they went there and hid it.]

Modern corpora such as the one from which this excerpt was taken result from a surge of documentary work done, since the 1970s, on the extant varieties.[92] The Indo-Portuguese creoles have an increasing presence in the field of Creole Studies, and are represented in some of the most important publications and resources of the discipline.[93] Still, much remains to be done, not only to deepen our knowledge of these languages and their sociolinguistic contexts, but also to reconstruct their history and their interrelationships. In addition, some of these languages are approaching the end of a process of

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[91] Taken from Cardoso (2006-2015); available in Cardoso (2018).

[92] Scholars currently active in the documentation of the Indo-Portuguese creoles include J. Clancy Clements, Ian Smith, K. David Jackson, Shihan de Silva Jayasuriya, Hugo Cardoso, Mahesh Radhakrishnan, and Patrícia Costa.

[93] These include textbooks and handbooks, dedicated book series such as the Creole Language Library published by John Benjamins, or the recently-released Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures (Michaelis et al. 2013), to name but a few.

language loss, while others are still vital but in the need of support and revitalisation. According to recent research, the case of Cannanore Creole is the most critical, with the speech community now down to 5 fluent speakers. These languages are, in a way, on Goa's doorstep. With a combination of linguistic expertise in Portuguese and the relevant substrate languages, as well as easy access to the field, the Goan academic community stands to make important contributions if it takes upon itself – once again – to engage with the Indo-Portuguese creole languages and their speech communities.

Final words

In this text, I have argued that the role Goa once played in documenting and exploring the multifaceted results of Indo-Portuguese linguistic interactions may be recovered. This seems to be a natural field of inquiry for scholars working in and about Goa, not only because the reality of language contact is synchronically and diachronically inescapable in the territory, but also because Goa possesses unique material and human resources to engage in language contact research, focusing not only on its own linguistic ecology but also on South Asia overal (and beyond).

Evidently, the fact that language contact involving Portuguese and South Asian languages has been highlighted here does not – by any means – exhaust the range of research projects scholars and institutions in Goa can undertake in this domain, and even in the multiple other areas of linguistic inquiry. This particular Indo-Portuguese focus is simply intended as a very concrete proposal on how Goa's researchers and institutions may capitalise on its significant tradition of language-related scholarship.

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OF REVELATION AND RESISTANCE:
CATHOLIC BRAHMANS BETWEEN GOA AND EUROPE[94]

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Abstract: What was the role of religion in the making of the Portuguese empire in India? How did conversion to Christianity shape the identities of local societies? How did local groups use Christianity to their own advantage?

The importance of colonial rule for the transformation of Indian society has been extensively discussed by the scholarship concerning the British Empire. For one specific historical school, colonial rule was portrayed not as an imposition but as a form of dialogue between the Indians and the British, while Marxist interpretations tended to emphasise transformation as the logical outcome of capitalist development in Asian history. Other schools stress, alternatively, colonialism as a project of cultural control, namely through the conquest of knowledge and the imposition of cultural categories that identified the Indian people and elites internally and externally. In this context, religious affiliation was a particular area of dispute. What was the role of religion in the making and the internalisation of those categories?

[94] Texto datado de 30 de setembro de 2019.

https://doi.org/10.14195/978-989-26-2294-1_3

The same type of questions can be asked of the Portuguese imperial dynamics in India. In this essay, I argue that in the case of the Portuguese empire, the changes effected in Goan society were simultaneously a product of cultural imposition, as well as a form of dialogue between the Indians and the Portuguese. Following Peter van der Veer's proposals, I assume that at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese, there was neither a "pure" Goan society nor a "pure" Portuguese colonial power. I argue, instead, that the interactions between the Portuguese and the Indians of Goa shaped the identities of the members of the two groups; and that, in the case of the Indians of Goa, Christianity had a privileged role in shaping their future identity. In order to explore this path, I will concentrate on the case of Catholic Goan Brahmans. My concrete argument is that, combined with their social and cultural background, Christianity became a powerful method by which the Brahmans living under Portuguese rule could fulfil their political aspirations and their hegemony in local societies, as well as their fantasies concerning the colonial order.

In order to explain these arguments, I focus on three case-studies: on one hand, the itineraries of two Goan priests of Brahmans origin who wrote in favor of the aspirations of the indigenous clergy in the second half of the 17th century. I consider this a form of cultural resistance to the status quo of the imperial order. On the other hand, I examine the Pinto's conspiracy, a Catholic Brahmans conspiracy, which took place at the end of the 18th century, and which has been considered the most important early-modern conspiracy against Portuguese imperial power. In all these cases, priests were the protagonists. How did the internalisation of the Christian message stimulate these forms of resistance? And how did these forms of resistance, in turn, contribute to the durability of the Portuguese imperial order?

Keywords: Portuguese Empire, Goa, Resistance, Identity

Introduction

What was the role of religion in the making of the Portuguese empire in India? How did conversion to Christianity shape the identities of local societies? How did local groups use Christianity to their own advantage?[95]

In contrast with later Western imperial dynamics in India (namely British and Dutch) the Portuguese empire in the early modern period was characterised by the alliance between political power and religion. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, religion was a tool for the construction of empire, constituting one of its pillars. In the case of Goa[96] – the one that is our focus in this essay –, Christianity had an unquestionable relevance in the shaping of its identity. Changes effected in the territories of Goa were firstly a product of imposition, namely the imposition of Christianity on local populations. But these changes were also the consequence of a "dialogue", a "conversation", and "negotiation" between the locals and the "colonisers" (Mendonça, 2003; Xavier, 2008). Eventually, they stimulated resistance and conflict against the Portuguese. Something similar had happened in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries among the Southern Tswana, as described by John and Jean Comaroff in the book Of Revelation and Revolution (Comaroff and Comaroff, 2 vols, 1991, 1997), which inspires the next pages. If the word "revolution" is used by the authors to refer, firstly, to the revolution in everyday practices of the Tswana people, it also describes the processes of

[95] This essay is written in the context of the projects INDICO – Native Colonial Archives. Micro-Histories and Comparisons; and RESISTANCE – Rebellion and Resistance in the Iberian Empires (16th-19th empires). I am especially grateful to José Miguel Moura Ferreira for the investigation done in Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino. Some parts of this essay have been published in works of my authorship cited along the text.

[96] I use the word Goa for convenience. In fact, in the early modern period, Goa designated mainly the town of Goa, while the surrounding territories were named "Ilhas", "Salcete" and "Bardez", as separate entities. Here it aggregates all these territories, also known as Velhas Conquistas, under the umbrella "Goa".

political emancipation that the appropriation of the Christian message stimulated in the long-term.

It is this last dimension – the links between Christianisation and politicisation – that is discussed in this essay. The conversion to Christianity constituted for many of the inhabitants of Goa a true cultural revolution, bringing with it new forms of political consciousness. My focus here is on the expressions of resistance by the Catholic Brahmans, possibly the social group which internalised Christianity and Western ways of thinking and living most intensely. If initially, conversion to Christianity and Westernisation of lifestyles was apparently pragmatic, allowing Brahmans to keep or even increase their local supremacy, later it entailed, also, new worldviews and with them, new aspirations. As Peter van der Veer argued in the introduction to Conversions to Modernities (Van der Veer, 1996, p. 7), new imaginations of community could result from the process of conversion. In the Goan case, the idea of superiority (or, at least equality) between some of the "colonised" and the "colonisers" (namely, the colonists) was definitely new, inverting the logic of imperial domination, based on hierarchy and difference, where the "colonisers" were always superior to the "colonised", and not the other way round. Several manifestations of resistance, and the various discourses associated with them emerged (Scott, 1985, 1990), expressing well the tensions between these novel imaginations of the imperial order and the expected routines of imperial domination.

Among the Catholic Brahmans, it was the sub-group of clerics, their writings and their actions, which was privileged. The clergy were frequently the spokesmen for the interests of different social groups. Since the first half of the seventeenth century, clerics of Portuguese origin born in India (like the Franciscan friars Miguel da Purificação, Paulo da Trindade, and Jacinto de Deos, for example) wrote in defence of the interests of the Portuguese community settled in the Estado da Índia, complaining against the growing discrimination against the community they belonged to by the Portuguese born in

Portugal (Xavier, 2007). From the mid seventeenth century onwards, a similar process can be identified among the Westernised Catholic Brahmans, against the ways the Portuguese (namely those settled in Goa) treated them, but also against the Chardos, the other local elite that competed with them for the same offices and privileges. Besides writing complaints, petitions, or treatises, by the eighteenth century Goan priests were also highly involved in public life (Lopes, 1996, p. 302).

How did priests use Christianity to the advantage of the social group they belonged to? In order to answer this question, in the first section, I will concentrate on two cases: Matheus de Castro, a Brahman of Goa nominated bishop by the Pope in the first half of the seventeenth century and author of the treatise Espelho de Brâmanes, and António João Frias, a Brahman priest who published, in 1702, Aureola dos Indios, a treatise defending (and constructing?) the noble identity of the Brahmans of Goa. The second section will be dedicated to the Pinto's conspiracy (a so-called Catholic Brahman revolt), of 1787. I argue that the discourses displayed in these three instances were by-products of the Western political, cultural and social worlds, only possible because their ancestors had embraced Christianity. I also argue that they represent three different stages of the process of political emancipation of the Catholic Brahmans of Goa. However, their ways of imagining the political community were unexpected and impossible to accept for the imperial rulers.

Christianisation and equality in early modern Goa

In contrast with what had happened in the first decades of Portuguese imperial presence in Goa, from the 1530s onwards, conversion to Christianity of local populations became mandatory. The belief that the conservation of empire depended on the Christianisation (and Westernisation) of the overseas vassals dominated metropolitan

Portuguese political culture. This led to the creation of a "colonised" people who would, in the future, identify themselves with the world of the "colonisers". (Xavier, 2008; Mendonça, 2003, Alberts, 2103).

A census of the population of the Old Conquests of Goa (Matos, 2007) in 1720, pointed out that around 90% of the Goans were nominally Christian, which means that statistically, conversion had been a success. This implied that, at least in theory, the majority of the "colonised" were legally considered equal to the Portuguese ("the colonisers"). In fact, the legal principle that birth (generatio) and baptism (regeneratio) was behind the conversion dynamics, transformed the Catholics of Goa into a kind of Portuguese. This legal principle was expressed, for example, in the royal decree of 1542, confirmed in the subsequent decades, which explicitly stated that the privileges granted to the Portuguese should be expanded to people of "any other nation or generation" that married and set up residence in Goa, provided they were "Christian" (Xavier, 2018).

Initially, this promise of equality was very attractive to people of low social condition, the first to be converted. For these groups, "revelation" could entail social mobility and the possibility of escaping their predictable destiny in the local order. In this way, these poor Christians "resisted" the local "order of things", challenging the system that allowed the local elites to maintain local supremacy. The policy of granting legal and temporal privileges to the converted, depriving those that did not convert of their former rights (like the power to administer the villages), complicated even more the position of these elites. Eventually, the menace of social downgrading prompted either their escape to neighbouring territories, or their conversion for pragmatic reasons. It was in this context that the majority of Brahmans and Chardos of Goa converted to Christianity (Pearson, 1988; Mendonça, 2003; Xavier, 2008).

This meant that, instead of equality, social hierarchy would be kept inside the villages, even when all of its inhabitants were Christian;

that the Chardo and Brahman elites would become the main focus of the process of Westernisation; and that, in what concerned their relationship with the coloniser, they would take seriously the promises of equality made by the Portuguese crown, aspiring to occupy higher positions not only in the local government, but also in the imperial order. Several petitions from the sixteenth century onwards, manuscripts and published treatises, as well as other testimonies, witness the efforts of individual Goans to overcome a position that they considered to be subaltern in relation to the Portuguese. In response, decrees, institutional procedures, like the statutes on purity of blood, and implicit social norms reduced the extent of legal equality. In particular, an official called Father of the Christians pushed local Christians into what Victor Turner called a liminal condition (2011, ch. 3), that is to say, outside their previous identity, and not fully embedded in the new one.

The growing dependence of the Portuguese crown on native populations, the geopolitical fragility of the Estado da Índia, and the Iberian Union (Portugal became part of Spain from 1580 to 1640.) boosted local elite aspirations. Already by the end of the sixteenth century, Diogo do Couto, chronicler of the history of the Portuguese in Asia and head of the archive of Torre do Tombo da Índia, complained against the Catholic Brahmans of Goa, saying that they "soon learn this doctrine of ours and soon become fraudsters and cheaters, and they know better the order of judgment than the prosecutors themselves, that this is what we have been teaching them" (Couto, 1980, p. 149). These "teachings" also had an impact on the aspirations of those people following an ecclesiastic career, who would perform – as many of their Hindu ancestors had previously done – the role of intermediaries between the sacred and temporal worlds. Again, law was in favor of their aspirations. More or less in the same years, and following the decisions of the Council of Trent, the Provincial Council of Goa ruled that Indians could take ecclesiastic orders, since they belonged to "honoured lineages".

Nevertheless, even if the legal framework was in favor of the interests of these groups, local imperial dynamics were not, and the case of Matheus de Castro illustrates well the tensions and contradictions between imperial policies and social practices.

Matheus de Castro was born on the island of Divar five years after the council of 1585. Castro studied humanities in the Franciscan college of the Magi Kings, and wanted to continue his education in the Franciscan college of Saint Bonaventure, where he would have earned higher degrees. However, the Archbishop of Goa, Cristóvão de Sá e Lisboa, barred him from joining the college, arguing that Indians were intellectually inferior, and therefore, unfit for higher positions in the Church hierarchy (Sorge, 1987; Kamat, 1999; Faria, 2007; Xavier, 2008; Xavier, 2012; Xavier & Zupanov, 2015a, ch. 7).

Resisting the Archbishop's ban, Castro left clandestinely for Rome between 1621 and 1622, arriving at the Papal capital in 1625, the same years when the Congregation of Propaganda Fide, established in 1622, started its mission of recovering the power of the Papacy through the evangelisation of the world. This mission collided directly with the rights of the Portuguese crown in the context of the royal patronage of the king of Portugal, that is to say, the power and obligation of supervising the Christian religion in Asia which lay overwhelmingly under the jurisdiction of the Archbishopric of Goa. One of the strategies followed by Propaganda Fide was to support the aspirations of the "native clergy" (Mello, 1955; Boxer, 1967; Xavier, 2017), and it is not surprising, therefore, that in Rome, he was protected by Francesco Ingoli, the powerful secretary of Propaganda Fide, and by cardinal Barberini, the Pope's brother. Studying at the Oratorians, and getting the degree of doctor of philosophy and theology, in 1631, Castro became a priest ad titulum missionis, and was sent to Goa with the prestigious title of protonotary apostolic (and later of bishop of Chrysopolis) and the power to supervise the Portuguese missions and the conversion of the Indians. Ill-received by the Portuguese ecclesiastic hierarchy in Goa, Castro was frequently

off to Rome between the beginning of 1630 and 1650, complaining against the Portuguese political and ecclesiastic authorities.

If the Portuguese authorities resisted Castro, locally he had growing group of supporters among the Catholic Brahmans of Goa, some of them ordained by him as priests.[97] Settled with these priests in the sultanate of Bijapur, and after a new visit to Rome, from which he returned with even larger (but ineffective) jurisdictional powers and a mission to the Mughal court,[98] Castro wrote the treatise Espelho de Bramanes (Mirror of the Brahmans),[99] which was put into circulation in Goa by his Brahman fellows.

This treatise was an open critique of the Portuguese rule in Goa, and in particular, of the way the Brahmans were treated by the Portuguese. By using arguments that referred to European political culture and political experience, Castro explained that in Europe, there were many polities (like Portugal) where the kings reigned over 'different nations', where 'each of them benefited fully from the goods of their homelands'. However, these kings 'died like flies' (a normal consequence of the 'natural law'), when they did not perform their duties. Clearly, Castro was aware of what had happened in Britain, in 1649, and of the theory of resistance which underlined the power of the people against 'tyrant rulers'. Considering that the Catholic Brahmans of Goa were 'treated worse than the manner in which Turks and Persians treat their Christian subjects', Castro wondered why they did not revolt.

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[97] Archivio Storico de Propaganda Fide, Rome (hereafter ASPF, Rome), Actae nº 14, fl. 357, nº 28; Actae, nº 16, fls. 79v-80, 139-139v, 320-322v, 325v.

[98] ASPF, Rome, Letter of Mateus de Castro to Propaganda Fide, Acta Sacra Congregationis, nº 15, fls. 330v-331, nº 31; "Copia della Relat.ne, che mandarono li Missionari che stanno in Biccolim (…)", Scritture Originali Congregazioni Particulari, vol. 1, 121r-122v, 123v-124r; Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon (hereafter BA, Lisbon), 'Ristretto delle Lettere de Vicari Apost. Dell' Indie (…), Cod. 46-XI-1, fl. 14; Cod. 50-V-38, fls. 246-47v, Cod. 46-XI-1, fl. 1, Cod. 46-X-7, fl.103v-117v.

[99] ASPF, Rome, Castro, Matheus de, Espelho dos Bragmanes, Scritture Originali Congregazioni Particulari, 1, 180r-195v.

Castro remembered the demographic imbalance between the locals and the Portuguese settled in Goa, as well as the social superiority of the Brahmans in relation to those Portuguese settlers. For Castro, these Portuguese were mixed-blood, children of low status Indian women ("Goan market-women, Malabars, Bengalis and blacks") and low status Portuguese men. Besides that, Brahmans were among the first to recognise Christ as the son of God. Recalling a local legend, Castro remembered that Gaspar, one of the Magi kings, was a Brahman; and that St. Thomas, the first apostle to touch the body of the Christ resuscitated, went to India, where he had converted many Brahmans and was supported by them.

To sum up: Catholic Brahmans were socially superior to the Portuguese and had an older Christian lineage, too, but were ill-treated by them. Besides that, together with the rest of the population of Goa, they heavily outnumbered the Portuguese. Therefore, there was no reason why the Portuguese should not stop treating them like slaves.[100] Unsurprisingly, Castro and his fellows would be accused of conspiring against the Portuguese, because they also had the support of the Adil Shah of Bijapur and the Dutch. If there was no Brahman revolt at that time, Castro's endeavor did have an impact on the textual construction of the Catholic Brahmans' identity (Xavier and Zupanov, 2015), and in the pursuing of their social and political aspirations, namely the ecclesiastic, both in the secular clergy (by substituting for the Portuguese clergy in the parishes) and the regular clergy (by the end of the seventeenth century, an official branch of the Oratorians would be established in Goa, open only to the Brahmans).

Several texts and treatises about Brahman social superiority were written from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards, trying to persuade the Portuguese of that superiority or, at least, equivalence to the Portuguese nobility (Xavier & Zupanov, 2015b). We should note here that changes in conceptual systems (in this case,

[100] ASPF, Rome, Castro, Matheus de, Espelho dos Bragmanes, Scritture Originali Congregazioni Particulari, 1, 180r-195v.

in the conceptual system shared by the Portuguese and the locals) affect the ways people perceive the world, and, consequently, the way they act in the world (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). The goals of these treatises were therefore precise: if they were able to change the ways the Portuguese perceived the Catholic Brahmans, as a natural consequence they would change their attitudes towards them,

It was in this context that the Aureola dos Indios of Father Antonio João Frias was published in Lisbon in 1702. In contrast with Matheus de Castro, who became an enemy of the Portuguese ecclesiastic system, Frias was part of it. He was living proof that the Portuguese crown had responded to some of the Catholic Brahmans' claims. Born in the village of Talaulim, Frias had the degree of Master of Arts, and held the offices of apostolic protonotary, notary of the Bull of Santa Cruzada, judge of the qualifications of the military orders, chaplain of the king, and also vicar of the parish church of Santo André of Old Goa (Xavier, 2008, Zupanov, 2009; Xavier and Zupanov, 2014; Aranha, 2014). That his book was dedicated to the Marquês de Marialva, Dom Pedro Luís de Menezes, the Steward (mordomo-mor) of the King of Portugal, one of the two most important offices of the Royal House, shows Frias was, definitely, a "man of the system". But not completely satisfied, either.

Frias was well acquainted with the discourses of the legitimation of nobility that circulated at the time in the Portuguese kingdom. That same nobility was the intended audience of his treatise. Following the structure of a genealogical treatise, Frias speaks first "of the founder" and "propagator" of the Brahmans, "for the honor of any family consists in the dignity and excellence of its derivation", explaining that the founder of the Brahmans of South India was Cheriperimal, the king of Malabar who had lived in the first century of the Christian era, who was no one else than the Magi King already referred to by Castro (Frias, 1702, pp. 20-24). By doing this, Frias inscribed simultaneously Brahman nobility in the history of Indian royalty and in the history of Christianity.

Besides combining royal origins and Christian ancestry, the Catholic Brahmans were accomplished in several other virtues. If "hereditary nobility is always more illustrious, because it is natural", Frias said, adding that when this was joined together with science and value, it was even greater (Frias, 1702, p. 9). That was the case of the Brahmans of Goa who also combined the nobility of arms with episcopal nobility, even being responsible for the first missions in India (Frias, 1702, pp. 47-54 and 57).

All that allowed Frias to conclude that the Brahmans were

«the most noble, and foremost among the Indians, not only for their natural nobility inherited from their progenitors; but also for the others acquired by their own behaviour: making them deserving of everyone's praise, and qualifying them for the attainment of eternal glory» (Frias, 1702, p. 70).

Frias' Brahmans were definitely on the top of Indian social hierarchy and were equal to those occupying the top positions in the Portuguese social hierarchy. Consequently, they were certainly superior to all those that were of humbler origins, namely other locals, like the Chardos, and the majority of the Portuguese settled in Goa.

Catholic Brahmans' textual dynamics of the early eighteenth century can be compared with other Brahman dynamics taking place outside Goa. Parallel processes have already been identified by Veena Das, who showed that in Gujarat many of the texts produced by Brahman and Baniya groups were associated with Muslim domination and the need for these groups to state their social difference. Other scholars, like Susan Bayly, have demonstrated that the decline of the Mughal Empire corresponded to an intensification of the theory of varnas, and, with it, the recognition of the superiority of Brahmans and Kshatriyas, a process that grew throughout the eighteenth century. Still in the eighteenth century, the construction of the Palayakkarar royalty in the Tamil country involved many commissions of "dynastic chronicles" which sought to affiliate their elites with mythical and religious origins. Something analogous happened in the Nayaka kingdoms, where the

attempt at the fixing – through writing – of political identities was also common (Das, 1982; Guha, 2010, Subrahmanyam, Shulman and Rao, 1998; Bayly, 1999; Guha, 2010).

Besides being a by-product of the Portuguese imperial situation, the attitudes of the Catholic Brahmans were probably the result, too, of their knowledge of other Indian political entities. It is known that there were Brahman family networks that expanded through Goa and the Bijapur sultanate, where relatives of the Goan Brahmans occupied relevant positions in the Sultanate administration, for example. How did these networks influence them?

This is not the place to explore these other dimensions, but they need further research in order to understand, with more detail, the different sources that inspired Goan Brahmans' expectations and behaviour.

"No one can think better than us."

The textualisation of the superiority of the Brahmans towards the Portuguese of humble origins and equality with the Portuguese nobles was also a form of sublimation of Brahmans' status of imperial subalternity. In my view, it was the combination of the growing sense of superiority (which had existed since the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the Brahmans refused to give their daughters in marriage to Portuguese single men) and the persistence of imperial subalternity that prompted what has been called the "Pinto's conspiracy", of 1787.

The first systematic essay on this event was published by Cunha Rivara in 1875 (Rivara, 1875). His argument was that an assembly of priests and soldiers, living in Lisbon and in Goa, had conspired to overthrow Portuguese rule in Goa, possibly with the help of Tipu Sultan, the Muslim (and anti-Christian) ruler of the kingdom of Mysore, rival of the Portuguese, and with the French of Pondicherry. For Rivara,

the following lay at the roots of the event: Goan priests aspired to be nominated bishops of vacant dioceses within the Archbishopric of Goa; they got frustrated when facing the nomination of others for those positions; that frustration led to a conspiracy to overthrow the Portuguese. Using manuscript and published sources that were available in Goa at that time, but assuming that he had not seen the documentation kept in Lisbon, Rivara's essay still constitutes the basic reference work for this conspiracy.

However, since then, the conspiracy has been revisited by many different scholars, the majority of them of Goan origin, but whose interpretations do not necessarily coincide. Some of these scholars argue that this was a very minor revolt, indeed, which the Portuguese authorities amplified enormously in order to crush the Brahmans' power; others consider it the second revolt against colonial powers in history (after the American Revolution), or even the first revolt of native people against their colonisers (since the American Revolution was made by white colonists).) Some of the proposals of Rivara have been dismissed, like the idea that there were international ramifications of the conspiracy, while others were amplified, namely the idea that the conspiracy was the consequence of a long process of (racial) discrimination against the locals in their access and promotion in ecclesiastic, military and civil careers. All of these scholarly works turned up some new evidence – namely sources existing in the Lisbon archives, but also in the French ones – enriching our knowledge about the conspiracy (Dias, 1989; Noronha, 1993; Lopes, 1995, 1996; Kamat, 1999; Carreira, 2006, pp. 112-117).

It can be said that after the decree of 1761 by King Joseph I responded to these claims (Lopes, 1996,p.39), in which it was declared that all Christians born in the dominions of the Portuguese crown, independently of their nation, should be granted the same honours, distinctions, rights and privileges as those born in Portugal, that the gap between the growing sense of superiority and the persistence of imperial subalternity increased. And certainly even more after the

Instructions of 1774, in which the king insisted on the application of the Decree of 1761 in Goa. In fact, instead of being nominated to existing offices, Goans kept being pushed away from them (Kamat, 1999, pp. 106-107). Among such Goans were the Catholic Brahmans, who considered themselves the natural candidates for the honours and distinctions referred to in these two documents. Even if the Goan student José António Pinto could write from Lisbon to his brother, living in Goa, in 1780, "no one can think better than us, because we know both Goa and Europe",[101] this self-representation was far from being realised.

Some Catholic Brahmans were settled in Lisbon, where they sought to promote their own condition, as well as that of their relatives in Goa (Rivara, 1875, pp. 68-69; Lopes, 1995). José António Pinto, member of the Pinto family of Candolim, was one of them. Studying in Portugal, Pinto commented on the community of upper caste Goans living in Lisbon, their beliefs, their aspirations, as well as their intellectual practices. Another was Father Caetano Vitorino de Faria, and his son, José Custódio de Faria (the famous Abbé Faria of Alexander Dumas), who had lived for seven years in the house of the Pintos in Candolim, and arrived in Lisbon in 1771, where he became the leader of that Catholic Brahman group. Some of these sons of the Goan elite had studied at the University of Coimbra, others pursued ecclesiastic careers, while others, military ones. Some had connections with members of the Portuguese nobility, who usually supported their efforts. A few like Father Caetano Vitorino Faria were welcomed in the homes of important people like the Nunzio of Rome, the Cardinal da Cunha, and the Count of São Vicente, some of the most powerful men in Portugal. He even gained access to the royal court, and was known for exchanging correspondence with the Secretary of State, Martinho de Mello e Castro, advising him about the discrimination Goans suffered in civil, religious and military

[101] AHU, Índia, Cx. 380, "Carta de José António ao seu irmão", 1787.

careers, and suggesting measures that could reduce the effects of this discrimination, openly favouring, for example, the Oratorians of Goa (Dias, 1989, p. 139 and ff).

Part of this group had studied in Rome, getting scholarships to frequent the College of Propaganda Fide which reserved six places for Brahman students. These individuals moved between the worlds of Propaganda Fide and the Royal Patronage of the Crown of Portugal, trying to get the best for the Brahman clergy in general, and for themselves in particular (Dias, 1985, p. 147). Father Caetano Francisco do Couto (who had been administrator of the bishopric of Kochi, and dismissed from that position by the Archbishop friar Manuel de Santa Catarina) and Father José António Gonçalves (former professor of Philosophy in the Seminary of Chorão, in Goa) were among those. Another interesting member of this community was a certain friar Custódio de Santa Maria, of the Church of Sacramento, in Lisbon, who was followed by a group of pious women and said to have visions and revelations. These three men aspired to be nominated bishops of the Archidiocese of Goa, in the bishoprics of Meliapor, Cranganor and Malacca (Rivara, 1875, pp. 12-13) or even the Archbishopric of Goa, as it was said about Caetano Vitorino de Faria (Varthamanapushtakkam, apud Mariano Dias, 1985). They wanted to be nominated to these positions by the ruler of Portugal (at that time, Queen Mary I), which would mean the royal recognition of the social status of the Catholic Brahmans. In order to achieve that, reports had already been sent to the Queen of Portugal in which it was argued that the bishop of Cranganor, for example, should be a native of India who had been instructed and "civilised" in Europe (Rivara, 1875, p. 17).

Instead of a Goan Catholic Brahman, it would be a priest of the Syriac rite, Mar Joseph Kariattil, that would be appointed to the bishopric of Cranganor. This for many was the moment when the conspiracy started to be planned by its heads: Caetano Vitorino de Faria, sometimes designated as pater familias; José António Gonçalves, the mestre, and Father Caetano Francisco do Couto.

The latter had set out for Goa, together with Father Caetano Francisco do Couto, in 1785, arriving the next year. Some of the denouncers explained that Father José António Gonçalves stopped in South India and Ceylon, where he was looking for allies, while Father Caetano Francisco do Couto did the same in Goa. Both had returned to Goa to inspire a revolt to expel "the whites", as was said in the information sent by the governor of the Estado da Índia, Francisco da Cunha Menezes, to Lisbon, in August, 1787.[102]

The conspiracy was revealed by the end of July and the beginning of August, and prompt action took place. People were put in prison; their papers were sealed and sent to the Governor. The goal was to trace the true intentions of the conspirators, as well as their links outside Goa, both in India and in Portugal. The papers confiscated and the confessions of those already imprisoned stimulated new arrests, expanding the number of the arrested, who were found among priests, military officers and civilians. Some, like Father José António Gonçalves, were able to escape.

The news about the conspiracy reached Lisbon only in July, 1788, and the Secretary of State Martinho de Mello, imparted instructions to proceed with prosecution, to allow the sentences imposed by the court in Goa and also to arrest any Lisbon allies. They were formally accused of intending – notice the vocabulary – to form a new republic in which the natives governed themselves, establishing a parliament, and universities. They were initially accused, too, of trying to get the help of the sultan of Mysore and the French government of Pondicherry to carry out their project. The judicial sentence said that they had preached the gospel of freedom and "other similar follies". Another letter written by the Secretary of State Martinho de Mello e Castro said that the members of the conspiracy that had been captured in Lisbon were persuaded that the civil, military and ecclesiastic offices of the Estado da Índia should be given to Goans,

[102] AHU, Índia, Cx. 380, "Carta do governador Francisco da Cunha de Meneses para Martinho Mello de Castro".

instead of to Portuguese. According to the conspirators, they said, this was the only way to make the Estado wealthy and happy again.

The punishment for such "follies" was harsh. Fifteen of the accused (excluding the clerics) received the death penalty, they were decapitated, and, in some of cases, parts of their bodies were also severed. These were exposed in different places of Goa, namely in the villages of their origin. Their families were also punished, their goods confiscated for the Crown. After being publicly flogged, five were exiled, and another five, also flogged and sent to the galleys. A minority of those that had been initially imprisoned were found innocent and set free. But some were able to escape to Indian or British territory (like Father José António Gonçalves), and others, like José Custódio de Faria, fled to Paris with other Goans of Lisbon. Father Caetano Vitorino de Faria, however, would be arrested.

Among the Goan priests there were many complaints about the ways the Portuguese had investigated the event, identified the guilty people, and unjustly punished them. Some remaining documents show that several petitions had been sent to the Crown by those that had been imprisoned in Lisbon and later confined to several convents. On the 16th of September of 1801, Father Jorge Dias argued that he had been unjustly accused of being a member of the conspiracy against the Portuguese authorities. Four years later, a new petition by the same priest offers details about his imprisonment in Goa for twenty months, and then seven years in the Forte de São Julião da Barra, after which he had been sent to the Convento da Boa Hora, in the quarter of Chiado, in Lisbon, where he lived. In this second petition, Dias insinuates that he had been associated with the conspiracy (that he dismisses as such) because of the envy of his enemies who were such due to the "diversity of caste or tribe". [103]

[103] AHU, India, Caixa 126, "Petição do Pe. Jorge Dias, natural da ilha de Goa (...) 16 de Setembro de 1801"; AHU, India, Cx. 99, "Petição do Pe. Jorge Dias, natural da ilha de Goa (...), 1 de Junho de 1805".

This observation introduces a new hypothesis of interpretation: is it possible that, among the initial denunciators, some were Chardos? Is it possible that the conspiracy was a good opportunity for the Catholic Chardos of Goa to profit from it by downgrading the reputation of their main rivals…? Some of the denunciators said that they were not Brahmans, but to put forward this hypothesis, a rigorous sociology of all the actors involved is needed. Only then can we have a better understanding of the social dynamics behind the planning of the conspiracy and its denunciation.

Dias also refers in his petition to the names of other priests that had been released before him, as does, the next year, José Gomes Loureiro, a Portuguese merchant who had been in India for several years. Loureiro wrote in favor of Dias and of priest Caetano Francisco da Silva (certainly one of the most important conspirators), advocating their immediate release since they had always been loyal to the Crown. In his petition, Loureiro argues that the so-called Pinto's conspiracy had been something very small, in contrast with what the government claimed, involving very few people (five or six). He also accuses the Portuguese of having been too harsh in the punishments given to those considered guilty, not allowing many of them to defend themselves, violating the basic principles of justice. [104]

It is still not possible to have a full understanding of the conspiracy. One thing is sure, however, the testimonies of the denouncers, as well as the documents produced by the Portuguese officers that headed the criminal proceedings (the Devassa) help us to understand how, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the "gospel of freedom", when combined with Christianity, could be disruptive of "the order of things". In particular, the Christianisation of the Brahmans of Goa led to the rejection of the Christian (Portuguese) political order. Ironically, when the accused were asked why Goans had not done it in the sixteenth century, at the time of the Portuguese arrival, the answer was "because

[104] AHU, Índia, cx. 124, "Petição de José Gomes Loureiro em favor das petições de dois padres indianos (…)", 3 de Dezembro de 1806.

we were not good enough", somehow underlining the role that the Portuguese domination had in transforming them from a "not good enough" self-representation to a "no one is better than us" identity.

This inner belief helps us to understand how these people felt hurt by the ways the Portuguese treated them, barring their promotions in ecclesiastic and in military careers, for example, one of the reasons most invoked by the denunciators and the accused.[105] As Maria de Jesus dos Mártires Lopes has already pointed out, even if the orders from Lisbon were favourable to the locals, still in 1779 and 1786, the Provincial of the Franciscans, for example, refused to accept locals in his order, calling them "negroes"; and the same type of discrimination was repeated as regards other aspects of ecclesiastic, military and civil careers (Lopes, 1996, p. 299). In addition to that, the access to municipal government in Goa was also barred to the local elites, even after the decree of 1761 and the instruction of 1774. (Xavier, 2016). The poverty of the people and the poor state of the land were complementary arguments, as well as those that referred to another type of politicisation; that is to say, ideas about the nature of the government and the relationship to the territory. For example, the general vicar of Goa declared that those Catholic Brahman priests "had the strange idea that this country belonged to them, and had the right to take it back and govern it". This idea was repeated by other denouncers, who had been told by Father José António Gonçalves and Father Caetano Francisco do Couto that "the Natives had the right to the land". The soldier João Vaz had also been asked by his lieutenant whether he agreed or not with the idea that the natives should be "the lords of the land" instead of the Portuguese.[106]

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[105] See, for exemple, AHU, Índia, cx. 380, «Denúncia do tenente da Legião de Bardez, Nicolao Luis da Costa», «Depoimento do vigário da Igreja de Nª Srª do Socorro, Pe. Pedro José Cardoso».

[106] AHU, Índia, Cx. 380, « Declaração do vigário-geral, António da Silveira Menezes(...)»; «Denúncia do Pe. Pedro José Caetano Lobo»; «Resposta do sargento Balthasar Caeiro"; «Resposta do soldado João Vaz».

Similarly, the expected consequences of the expulsion of the Portuguese and the whites oscillated between practical things, such as "promotions" in the civil, military and ecclesiastic careers, the right to own the land, and the right to its riches, to more general ideas like a "better life", "more tranquility", "justice", "happiness".[107] In addition to that there were expectations concerning the political regime that would be installed. In his testimony, António Eugénio Toscano reveals that Father José António Gonçalves had said that if the raja of Sunda would convert to Christianity, the new government would be a monarchy under his rule; but if not, it would be a republic, governed by a company, for which he already had written down the rules. Pedro Costa, another denunciator, declared that he had heard Father José António Gonçalves proclaiming that a Parliament was needed in Goa. António Fernandes, another prosecutor's witness, spoke of a government by senators. Finally, Father Caetano Francisco do Couto, one of the heads of the conspiracy, confessed that he had brought with him a book about British America, showing that the American revolution was also a source of inspiration.[108]

In fact, perhaps more than the French Enlightenment, usually associated with the conspiracy, it was the American inspiration which was most relevant to the political ideas of the conspiracy's leaders. This American motivation was evident in the testimonies that explained how the conspiracy was to be put into motion. Some witnesses said that the priests would ring the bells of the churches, and assemble the people in order to persuade them to revolt; just as had been done in the American Revolution to prompt the people to revolt against the British. But a complex plan was needed before

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[107] AHU, Índia, Cx. 380, «Denúncia feita pelo Padre Francisco Jozé de Jesus Maria»; « Denúncia que fez o Cabo António Fernandes».

[108] AHU, Índia, Cx. 380, Assentada, 13 de Agosto de 1787, 1ª testemunha: António Eugénio Toscano; AHU, Índia, Cx. 380, « Denúncia que fez o Cabo António Fernandes»; «Informação sobre a província de Salcete de José Tristão Vaz Viega de Cabral»; "Perguntas ao réu Pe. Caetano Francisco do Couto".

arriving at that moment. This plan had apparently been discussed in the villages of Moira and Pilerne – the geographical node of the conspiracy –, where the majority of the assemblies of the rebels took place.[109] The plan was to create a network that involved more and more people from the different provinces of Goa, a network that had the (Brahman?) priests and their parishes as crucial allies. Priests were supposed to attract the inhabitants of their parishes to the conspiracy and other people as well. Parallel to this, a convergent network involved military people of Indian origin coming from the legions settled in Bardez and Ponda (and later, from Cuncolim and Assolna, in southern Salcete). Besides being located on the borders of Goa, they had lieutenants and sergeants that not only belonged to the local elites, but were also relatives of the priests involved in the conspiracy. Family ties played an important role in the linking of different rebels.

But mobilising the "natives" of Goa was not enough. Just as important was to neutralize the military people of Portuguese origin. There were some fantastic ideas concerning this, most of them soon abandoned, namely the ones of bribing bakers to make poisoned bread to serve the Portuguese; and of preparing a drugged alcoholic drink, that would be given to the Portuguese soldiers and senior figures to keep them out of their senses for several days. Or that the Emperor of Germany was prepared to help the conspiracy. More plausible, instead, was the idea of arresting the Governor, the Archbishop and the Portuguese leaders, and sending them back to Portugal; as well as the idea that the help of external forces would

[109] AHU, Índia, Cx. 380, "Denúncia do Pe. Pedro José Caetano Lobo"; "Denúncia do tenente da Legião de Bardez, Nicolao Luis da Costa"; "Assentada, 13 de Agosto de 1787, 1ª testemunha: António Eugénio Toscano; 2ª Testemunha: David Francisco Viegas; 3ª testemunha: Henrique Cláudio Tonelete; 4ª testemunha: Simão Gurimão; 5ª testemunha: Sebastião Noronha.

be used if needed, possibly that of one thousand men from outside Goa ready to intervene and help the revolt.[110]

Conclusions

These three stories indicate the tensions arising from the encounters between Christianity, Goan Brahmans and different cases of the use of Portuguese imperial power, and speak eloquently about Brahman strategies under Portuguese dominion in this period and about the mechanisms for maintaining Brahman exceptionalism (and identity) in the Portuguese empire.

The defence of the Brahman group within the Portuguese imperial order by Mateus de Castro is a good example. It was, on the one hand, a typical conflict between colonisers and colonised: the colonised Brahman disputed the imperial situation. With Castro, the Brahmans of Goa not only started to speak for themselves, but also wanted to change their position in the Portuguese imperial system from mere intermediaries to agents of imperial power. On the other, it was part of a social fabric that was extremely complex, one that extended beyond the imperial borders. As we have seen, the strategies of Goan Brahmans were similar to those of Brahmans attached to other Indian courts (such as Bijapur and the Mughals, for example), while, at the same time, they anticipated other Brahmans' behaviour in the British Raj.

This "anticipation" can be identified, too, in the Pinto's conspiracy, whose participants, like Castro, shared a sense of superiority towards the Portuguese. It is probable, of course, that the insistence on this superiority did nothing else but sublimate an unbearable sense of

[110] AHU, India, Cx. 380, "Denúncia do Pe. Vicente Filipe Coutinho, de Aldona"; "Denúncia do Pe. Pedro José Caetano Lobo"; "Assentada, 13 de Agosto de 1787, 1ª testemunha: António Eugénio Toscano; 2ª Testemunha: David Francisco Viegas; 3ª testemunha: Henrique Cláudio Tonelete; 4ª testemunha: Simão Gurimão; 5ª testemunha: Sebastião Noronha; "Perguntas ao réu Pe. Caetano Francisco do Coutto".

subalternity experienced and felt deeply by those people. Even so, it also contributed to the construction of what would become the Brahmans' memory, a memory that was maintained and reinforced by other treatises about their identity, of which the Aureola dos Indios is one of the best examples. By inserting Brahman history into Christian history – as Castro had done – António João Frias not only presented the Brahmans as the vortex of Indian social hierarchy, but, by doing so, as equivalent to the noblest people in Europe.

By the nineteenth century, the Catholic Brahmans of Goa would become true agents of empire, colonising (and westernising, Christianising) other Portuguese territories, namely those in Africa, or in the New Conquests, either as military officials, medical doctors, missionaries, judges, or landowners.

They were still unequal to the Portuguese, though. In fact, one of the reasons for Mateus de Castro and other Brahmans being rejected by the Portuguese as equals was due to that precise fact: they were already too similar to the Portuguese, transforming themselves, because of that, into a menace to Portuguese imperial domination.

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GOAN CULTURAL HERITAGE OF PORTUGUESE INFLUENCE IN A GLOBAL CONTEXT[111]

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Abstract: The Goan cultural heritage suffers from a series of problems that, primarily, emerge from its colonial past. That past created a smog of concealment around it that hides important questions, especially if we want to see it in the global framework of integrated and sustainable development. This text aims to contribute to the lifting of that veil and engage in discussions on Goan cultural heritage that could lead it to occupy a central role in public development policies.

I have structured this text in three parts: I. Context – a brief summary of critical aspects of cultural heritage issues today; II. Text – the architectural and urban heritage of Goa, focusing on the Velhas Conquistas, also having as a background the whole heritage of Portuguese influence; III. Out of text – summary of the situation of the Goan heritage today.

Not only because of my basic training as an architect, but also because a conviction has been growing in me that material heritage, and especially architectonic and urban planning, is extremely exposed to conflict, deliberate destruction and

[111] Texto datado de 30 de janeiro de 2020.

https://doi.org/10.14195/978-989-26-2294-1_4

erosion through time, I turn especially to its assets (including other integrated artistic expressions) and, thus, to landscapes.

Keywords: cultural heritage, landscape, contested heritage, sustainability, Goa

Introduction

My direct contact with India, and in particular with the areas that have been under Portuguese sovereignty or influence, began in 1994.[112] The missions I have undertaken in the quarter century since then have been sufficient to develop a reasonable knowledge of the extent of the existing heritage of Portuguese influence and its dynamics. These visits were initially aimed at carrying out crucial field work to develop research on the history of urbanism and landscapes of Portuguese influence, but evolved into interpreting it as cultural heritage. This largely explains why, as part of the Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara Chair, sponsored by the Camões Institute of Cooperation and Language at the University of Goa, I was among the five professors who joined it in the first three-year period (2017-2019), and was responsible for the module on cultural heritage.

In this text I intend to organize and discuss some of the ideas on this issue. I should not do so by restricting myself to Goa, because nothing makes sense without contexts, and the specific characteristics of the Goan case are only clear when confronted with them. I have therefore organised this text into three parts with clear objectives: I. Context – a brief overview of key aspects of heritage issues today; II. Text – Goa's architectural and urban heritage, with a focus on the Velhas Conquistas (Old Conquests), having also as global backdrop the landscapes of Portuguese-influence; III. Out of text – table summarising my perspective on the current situation of Goan heritage.

[112] Rossa (1997) was the result of that first field work mission.

Due to my basic training as an architect, and because I have confirmed, empirically, that material heritage, particularly architectural and urbanistic, including integrated artistic expressions, is more prone to conflicts of various kinds, to deliberate destruction and to erosion over time, I turn essentially to its assets, and, thereof, to landscapes, due to the dynamics implied in this concept.

I – Context

History and heritage are often regarded as synonymous, but they are not. Firstly, because while the former aims to investigate and explain occurrences from the past and processes critically and scientifically, the latter is what survives and is valued from it. History cannot investigate and explain all of the past, nor can all that survives from the past be considered heritage. However, it is clear that there are close links between history and heritage, since each is a crucial tool for developing knowledge of the other; they are both contemporary discursive realities. In fact, they have in common, result in and develop from nourishing or opposing interests caused by processes and political agendas arising from the context in which their knowledge and debate is produced. This alone is sufficient to explain changes in the historiography and the paradigms of heritage over the last century and a half (Lowenthal, 1985 and 1988; Harvey, 2001).

Although only briefly outlined, this reflection is very significant, not so much because of the shift in focus from history to heritage in my work on the presence of Portuguese-influenced cultural elements in India, but because it actually requires ethical and political reflection and positioning (Rossa, 2013). This is because heritage is, above all, a social construct, an acquisition, a self-legitimation pact that assumes a commitment to recognising identity and values in something, as a rule, but not necessarily, by the dominant social groups in society.

Nothing is born or genuinely created as heritage; everything needs to be subsequently recognised and legitimised as such (Smith, 2006).

Any process of heritagisation stems from the ability of the asset in question to arouse empathy in a small group of individuals. The nature of this empathy is very varied, albeit tending to be innocent, and is at times devoid of explicit meanings. Aesthetics will be one of the most common and potential activators of this empathy, and also ethics. But the process of heritagisation that will potentially catalyse it will not, as it is guided by the processes of mobilisation, analysis, decoding, defining a discourse and decision that impose political organisation, rationality and weighting. However, and varying widely across countries, all of this may take place at a higher level and in relatively closed circles, not so much with the nearby population (subsidiarity) as is desirable. But de-heritagisation, usually by destruction, also stems from the political considerations that generated its discourse.

Heritagisation is not always a consensual or peaceful process. Leaving aside individual resistance, as a rule founded on petty interests, what is important are those from groups, which occur because of misunderstanding or, more often and worryingly, intolerance, fear or a sense of threat to their own values and heritage. Of course, many of these end up being largely supported by those individual oppositions, but in these cases what seems important is the openness or acceptance offered to them by the collective. It is also important to admit, from the outset, that some heritagisation processes are triggered instead, that is, not so much by recognising the collective interest of what belongs to those who promote the action, but against what belongs to others. Assets in use and permanent transformation, live heritage, are more exposed to these conflicts, as is everything that includes the urban, than that which has no active use and, for example, is already musealised (Rossa & Ribeiro, 2015).

It is ethically more correct and expressive to consider these situations as heritage in conflict, and not as heritage at risk, as more or

less institutionalised. These are not exceptional situations, nor are they rare or insignificant; it is enough to remember what recently happened in the war zones of Syria, Iraq or Yemen. The violent destruction of the heritage of a given community is a belligerent and moral means that is as effective as it is reprehensible. It is, ultimately, a form of massacre which can reach the dimensions of genocide. It is redundant and does not even make sense to add it as a form of cultural expression, because what is a community, an ethnicity, without a culture that is the point of reference for its identity? Even in the migratory process, being able to count on the possibility of returning to your places of origin or, at least, invoking them, is of the utmost importance and comfort. But when these places are reduced to rubble, the feeling of being uprooted is total.

However, a process of heritagisation can also be a form of resistance to cultural dilution. I recall the many examples of processes implemented by regional communities, once autonomous or even sovereign, that today have been integrated into democratic European states (Catalonia, Wallonia) or the processes of struggle of native communities all over the American continent, but more in the south, for sometimes bearing important civilisational legacies.

What can be inferred from the last half dozen paragraphs is at the core of the most important and current international agendas, such as the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (2015) and the New Urban Agenda (2016), is that heritage travels at great speed to avoid being safeguarded by cultural sensitivities and responsibility. Once its value is recognised for the development and well-being of humanity, it will generally be recognised as a powerful political tool, thus necessarily attracting a series of risks, tensions and deviations to its processes and actions. Heritage is, in a way, the informed concept that replaces that of progress, which has ended up being somewhat out of control.

We are, then, experiencing the end of heritage's age of innocence. As it is necessary to maintain and disseminate all the principles

and rhetoric about its potential in constructing the processes of reconciliation and peace, it is crucial to be aware of the use to which it is subject for different purposes, namely the construction of systems that aim for one, always utopian, cultural hegemony. This awareness is indeed fundamental to maintain permanent vigilance and action against it, to propagate the virtues of intercultural communication, dialogue and commitment, of which heritage is unquestionably one of the vehicles with the greatest potential. Conflict destroys and commitment develops resources and assets. It is striking that the reason for conflicts is, as a rule, to control these assets, when they invariably end up degrading or even obliterating them.

Cumulatively, we are also experiencing the collective assumption of convergence between concerns and actions about the environment and culture. While the concept of sustainability arose and developed from concerns about the environment, heritage is, in its conceptual essence, the synonym for sustainability with regard to culture (Rossa, 2015; Labadi, 2020). It has been a long journey since the Declaration of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, passed in 1972 at the first major world summit held in Stockholm, and the approval, not by coincidence in the same year, of the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage by the UNESCO General Conference in Paris. The background to both was the assumption that the environment and heritage present global problems whose resolution involves recognising transnationality and diversity, a fair balance in the sharing of resources and responsibilities, and, ultimately, the acceptance of others on the planet as equal but different. Global concertation is therefore indispensable, and to this end efforts have intensified in recent times.

It can also be easily demonstrated, since the beginning of what was then termed the post-modern age, that culture and the environment deserved vision and political integration, which brought heritage and sustainability issues to the top of international agendas. This then brought about a long process of structural transformations

and paradigm shifts on multiple fronts and at varying speeds, from the Oil Crises of the 1970s to the end of the Industrial Age, via, for example, the political-military conclusion of decolonisation and the mass migrations that some of these events triggered. After almost half a century, and despite this already undeniable convergence, it still seems difficult to break with the formal separation between the cultural and the natural. This is particularly sensitive when we associate it with the concept of landscape, which is currently undergoing rapid evolution and debate, including within UNESCO. How can we not consider the natural landscape cultural; how and why can we separate urban landscapes, rural landscapes and natural landscapes; ultimately, how can we break up what is integrated and continuous?[113]

However, more significant and; worrying is the fact that there are multiple tensions around different actions, of which one cannot to fail to mention those for mitigating anthropic climate change, but also, because conflicts are particularly significant for this text on passing down culture, that is, for heritage. Conflicts, as a rule, do not have to reach violent proportions, as happened in 2001 with the two Buddhas in the Bamyan Valley of Afghanistan, which significantly were inscribed as a Cultural Landscape on the UNESCO World Heritage List two years later. This was a clear use of reparation by an international agency. This reparation is essentially a legal assertion, a form of recognition and consolation, but never replacement, since heritage does not inherently possess the capacity of regeneration that is exclusive to nature. In reality and against the recurring rhetoric, in the context of culture and, by extension, heritage, it is impossible to repair errors in the past and, thus, in history, even by rewriting

[113] The efforts that led to the adoption by UNESCO, at its 36th General Conference in Paris in 2011, of the Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape, had this goal in mind. However, even with the name adopted, the message was overlooked and the results fell well short. See Bandarin, Francesco; Oers, Ron von (2012), The historic urban landscape. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell. 2012; e Bandarin, Francesco; Oers, Ron von (ed.) (2015), Reconnecting the City: the Historic Urban Landscape approach and the future of urban heritage. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell. 2015.

its precepts. We will never be able to recover those Buddhas with the aura of the ones that were destroyed.

In similar vein, we are witnessing in Europe today the debate over the term restitution, which basically boils down to the intention to return to nation-states that come out from the processes of decolonisation, movable assets taken from them during colonial times by European colonial state-systems. Significantly, this is not so much a response to complaints from the states themselves, but more a drive by European groups, which have been pushing a decolonisation agenda in Europe itself, in the light of the enormous difficulties experienced in defining a European project. Among other aspects, this complex debate has brought about a reflection on an important question, which is the fact that many of these objects have been patrimonialised by processes of colonial usurpation, by the perspective of an alien to the referred culture. This can in no way serve as a justification for keeping them away from their origin, unless and as long as safeguarding problems remain, which it is the responsibility of both parties to overcome. This is about more than (re)inventing the identities of these countries, this will require the reinvention of Europe, or rather, the (re)construction of its imaginary.[114]

For obvious reasons, with immovable assets (architecture and integrated art forms such as woodcarving and tiles, urbanism, landscape) resulting from these same colonial processes, these questions do not arise. But others do, such as the recognition of something as heritage, that is, with the values of identity, of what was not done as an expression of culture or for the enjoyment of

[114] References on this subject are numerous. Centre stage, however, due to its symbolic and political significance, is the action taken by the President of the French Republic, François Macron, who, after his speech of 28 November 2017 at the Université de Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, the following March ordered M. Felwine Sarr (Université Gaston-Berger of Saint-Louis, Senegal) and Bénédicte Savoy (Technische Universität in Berlin) to draw up the Rapport sur la restitution du patrimoine culturel africain. Vers une nouvelle éthique relationnelle. After publication on 23 November 2018, it was immediately adopted for action by the French government. See https://www.elysee.fr/emmanuel-macron/2018/11/23/remise-du-rapport-savoy-sarr-sur-la-restitution-du-patrimoine-africain (accessed 2019.12.12).

those who came to own it. This is the basic question of empathy mentioned above and its potential development into knowledge and appropriation. As hard as it may be for the settlers who left, it is understandable, not least because in some cases they are abominable symbols of repression. However, this is where we come to one of the more striking phenomena of urban heritage, which is resilience, a term now adopted as a reinvigorated concept central to the themes of heritage and sustainability, which are in essence synonymous.

For good or ill, these urban and architectural assets left by colonial systems embodied the infrastructure that the post-colonial nation-states relied on at their starting points. Right from the start they began to be the object of options that led to their abandonment, destruction and reuse of elements, adaptation, adoption, repurposing, etc., following the slow processes of building societies in new countries, often based on ethnic and religious diversity, with large gaps in social stratification and education. Contrary to first appearances, in this complex process of appropriation, far more assets remained than disappeared, and what remained acquired new meanings, generated new empathies and, thus, recovered its potential and life as recognised heritage, no longer (only) colonial. There are those who consider it unrecognisable, but only because they want to see it as from a specific time, something that does not happen during sustained heritagisation processes.[115] One of the most important values of a heritage asset is to demonstrate its resilience, its ability to adapt, to generate empathy among different people; in other words, to enrich itself with meanings and layers of authenticity, gaining density in its role of legitimising identities.

Thus, we come to the concept of shared heritage, which is also a fluid one, as least as far as architectural and urban heritage is concerned. It was created and developed for commendable purposes, but in practice

[115] For Angolan and Mozambican cases, see the opinion piece by Rossa, Walter (2015), A fénix do património colonial. Público. Lisboa: 2015/01/15, and, e.g., Carrilho e Lage (2018).

generates misunderstandings and tensions that are easy to perceive, especially when matters of sovereignty are involved. It is no accident that an application to inscribe any asset onto the UNESCO World Heritage List has to be formalised by the government of the country that owns it, and ultimately is placed under international sharing and jurisdiction, at least in rhetorical terms.[116] Regardless of the hidden agendas in creating this list, once decolonisation cycles are over, this basic condition, institutionalised at the highest international level, only reinforces the principle that immovable assets belong to the communities that have sovereignty over the territory where they are located, and their destiny depends on the relevant jurisdiction, not on third parties who, however, may try to assert or impose their will by the most diverse means, some ethical and legitimate, others not.

Consubstantiation as a powerful political tool, of the social construction that is heritage, therefore leads to its instrumentalisation. It will not be necessary in this part of the text to explore further the issues around conflict over heritage. Similarly, we will not dwell on the very familiar issue of tourism. Despite being extraordinarily relevant in the case of Goa, its only major sin is that it generates the most diverse forms of pressure to deregulate assets, thereby leading to the loss of the very reason it is heritage in the first place, sometimes leading to its meta-reconfiguration. In the relationship between tourism and heritage, the balance towards sustainability is practically impossible to achieve, as it depends on a definition of tolerance levels which can never fail to be arbitrary and strictly dependent on the economy and on the discourses and logics of power associated with it. But as heritage formulation is a social construction, some agreement must be reached. It is interesting, however, to include a brief reference on the instrumentalisation of heritage as soft power or its opposite, weak force.

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[116] Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention. Paris: UNESCO. 2019.

As soft power there could be no better example than the One Belt, One Road initiative [OBOR], launched in 2013 by China and regarded as "the most significant and far-reaching initiative that China has ever put forward" (Wu Jianmin, former president of the China Affairs University, 2015).[117] At its heart is the creation and promotion of a partnership involving 65 countries and a total of 4.4 billion inhabitants. The aim is to build communication, logistics, data and transport infrastructures and install and promote political coordination, free trade processes and economic integration along an integrated set of corridors that link up to the main connection, resource and/or economic hubs in Indochina, Bengal, the Middle East and ultimately to Europe, where the Chinese have already acquired a controlling stake in the port of Piraeus and are currently negotiating others. Without hiding these objectives in any way, everything has been set up using a strong discourse whose key term is the New Silk Road under the banner of cultural diplomacy.

OBOR covers a wide range of economic investments and heritagisation processes, and aims to inscribe dozens of assets along its route onto the UNESCO World Heritage List, which has led the international agency to develop specific studies and actions for this purpose. In fact, China has been filling, and not only financially, the space that the United States has left empty within the organisation. The speeches of the main leaders of the countries involved (some of them only a few years ago the scene of massive destruction of cultural assets) are absolutely emphatic as to the benefits of the initiative, and invoke its cultural dimension and importance for bringing the dynamics of peace. The fact that the provinces of China with separatist tendencies are to be found along the route is also an obvious factor of interest driving the initiative which, in the words of its president, will promote "inter-civilisation exchanges to build

[117] For everything related with the OBOR initiative I am using Winter (2019).

bridges of friendship for our people, drive human development and safeguard world peace." (Xi Jinping, 2015).

Basically, everything was already decided, when in its 2011 plenary session the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China decided that culture has become one of the main pillars of the country's strategy to assert itself internationally. In the light of what has been described above, it seems unnecessary to emphasise how instrumental, rhetorical and possibly conflicting the OBOR initiative necessarily is, and the transformational potential that it represents, through heritage, for effectively redefining the vast regions it covers, both politically and militarily, as well as the balance of world trade, in this case under the euphemism of the cultural resumption of a mythical trade route. It was not by chance that everything was programmed in tandem with the crisis that Europe began to experience, first economically, and now politically and in terms of identity.

OBOR is only surprising for its unusual scale and global pretensions, since other actions of a similar kind are well known, such as the Conmemoración del V Centenario del Descubrimiento de América, that Spain launched around the 1992 historical milestone, and by which several Spanish companies became international actors in Spanish-speaking America. All of this was based on the cultural diplomacy of soft power which may involve culture or heritage, and is today run by the Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarrollo, AECID. In short, although soft, to all intents and purposes it is still power. Of course, these actions themselves produce significant changes and innovations in the various expressions of heritage.

The concept/act of weak force (an expressive oxymoron) is, at heart, the opposite, because it is the result of the instrumental mobilisation of heritage, not by the powerful organisations and/or dominant groups, but by capillary action emanating from its bases. It is, in fact, something more easily understood by the use of an allegory from physics, a discipline from which, incidentally, it originates. Jacques

Derrida formulated the concept, in 2003,[118] as force faible, for other academic contexts, perhaps extrapolating the famous expression "eine schwache messianische Kraft" ("weak messianic power") from the 2nd of the Theses on the Philosophy of History by Walter Benjamin, 1940. It is very likely that Benjamin, however, was inspired by the discovery that nuclear physicist Enrico Fermi had made a few years earlier, in 1933, as weak interaction and, then, weak force, one of the four forces acting on the matter of the Universe, stronger than gravity, even if only at a quantum level, in the processes of transmitting nuclear energy.

In this context, weak force will therefore be used by the weak who are committed to the vital importance of fighting to preserve what represents and legitimises their identity, that is, a pact around what is their heritage. Basically, weak force may be regarded as an alternative expression to satyagraha (the Hindi term meaning something similar to "holding firmly to truth"), a concept developed by Mahatma Gandhi who simplified and universalised it in his peaceful or non-violent resistance. Largely as a result, it led the Indian subcontinent to independence. It was also by using this concept that Goa was invaded by peaceful marches following the 1946 declaration by the Congress Working Committee (the political body that represented India during its independence process) that Goa was an Indian territory under foreign rule.

II – Text

"Goa's architecture, particularly the religious and necessarily Catholic architecture, is neither local nor Indo-Portuguese, but just Goan. This has not been recognised

[118] Derrida, Jacques (2003), Voyous: Deux essais sur la raison. Paris: Galilée.

because it's uncomfortable for many, the Portuguese included." W. Rossa 2010: 179-180.

What exists and what is known about the building that existed on the island of Tiswadi when the Portuguese, under the command of Afonso de Albuquerque, conquered it in 1510 by taking its capital, Goa, is of little relevance with regard to any built heritage.[119] We have reliable data that the small and dense city, surrounded by a circular wall and moat, was the result of an ex-novo foundation shortly after the capture of the territory by the sultanate of Bahmani from the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar in 1469. This decision also led to the change of capital from the current site of Goa Velha, on the bank of the Zuari River. Some structures were used, repurposed or integrated into the city's colonial adaptation process, but the only evidence that remains is the layout (rather than the physical structure) of the primitive wall, and a small group of loose constructions of carved stone which belonged to the main portal of the old castle, and were later converted by the Portuguese into the Paço dos Vice-Reis and kept there. They are, in fact, the most substantial part of it that is preserved. In addition, there are only a few stones which are decorated and/or have inscriptions.

We know that the Sultan of Bahmani, Adil Khan, had also built a palace on the same bank of the Mandovi River, but closer to the bar, on the site of the Government Palace in Panjim, which many still call Idalcão Palace, a Portuguese corruption of the name of its founder. Apart from the site, nothing is preserved from that time. In the rest of the Goan territory, nothing more than a few decontextualised stones remain from the period before Portuguese sovereignty. I am of course referring to the territory of the Old Conquest, colonised since the 16th century which, in addition to Tiswadi, included the provinces of Bardez, Mormugão and Salcete. As they were incorporated

[119] For the history of Goa and its surroundings, I am following one of my summaries referenced in the bibliography (1997, 2010 and 2018), and thus the references and sources used there.

in the second half of the 18th century, the New Conquests ended up not being subjected to such an intense colonising and evangelising process. Not only did they not suffer such a systematic erasure of their endogenous cultural elements, they were not the object of such intensive and effective Portuguese and Catholic acculturation.

Although reports have come down to us about the existence of at least some previous Hindu temples, as well as a mosque in the city of Goa, four and a half centuries of Portuguese administration have obliterated any significant prior material inheritance in the territory of the Old Conquests. This makes it possible to state, with some certainty, that the entire architectural and urban heritage of Goa either originated in the colonial period or later. This situation is not uncommon in the context of "heritage of Portuguese influence". We recognise it essentially and with minor exceptions in Brazil, and also in the Atlantic archipelago countries of Cape Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe, and in Timor. But it is not to be found in Angola, let alone in Mozambique. For a number of reasons, it did not occur in the rest of the territories formerly under Portuguese sovereignty in South Asia. In fact, in the Northern Province or in Ceylon, not only was the previous presence thousands of years old and culturally strong, but the duration of the colonial presence was shorter, and religious and cultural proselytism less intense or effective.

FIG. 1 – Velha Goa landscape from the Lady of the Mount Hill. Walter Rossa, 2017.

Religion is, in fact, one of the keys to interpreting the issues within Goa's architectural heritage. During the occupation of the Old

Conquests, the prevalence of Catholicism was not only decisive in terms of the building programmes it imposed (churches, convents, colleges, crosses, etc.), but essential due to the long process of creating and developing Catholic society in Goa, which can be seen in many other aspects of its urban and rural landscapes, first and foremost in its houses. The intensity and variety of procedures used by the Catholic Church, or, more precisely, by the Padroado Português (Portuguese Patronage System), to convert different strata of the local Hindu communities, at least until the end of the colonial regime, has been uncovered by several authors. In addition to what is commonly referenced, such as the Inquisition and persecutions of other religions, which are undoubtedly significant, we are particularly interested in the formation of a clergy from the local elites, which gradually asserted itself and occupied positions of importance in the church hierarchy.

This was reflected in the architectural heritage. Architectural historians have highlighted the specific details of Goan Catholic architecture, which in Whitewash, red stone: a history of church architecture in Goa, 2011, by Paulo Varela Gomes, was definitively established, and linked the formation of a new society and even nationality, a style used throughout the 17th century, particularly after the Iberian Union (1580-1640) and the War of Restoration (of Portuguese independence, 1640-1668), in other words, and perhaps significantly, after the reduction of Portuguese India to the territories that remained under Portuguese sovereignty until 1961.[120] The following century represents a kind of confirmation and consecration. This architecture was encouraged by the Goan clergy. It used different solutions, not only in terms of decorative style, but also in compositional and structural terms, especially with regard to proportional systems. However, it had close antecedents, because in the very capital of Portuguese India, Goa, in addition to the original buildings, such as

[120] For Paulo Varela Gomes see also the summaries of 2010 and 2011b, and his entries on churches in the State of Goa in Mattoso e Rossa (2010).

the Rosary or Santa Catarina, some have, in general, an appearance that we could say is Portuguese, such as the cathedral or São Paulo, or Italian, like the Caetanos/ Divina Providência. The same cannot be said for others, such as the Jesuit Bom Jesus, the Graça or the São Francisco, the latter in its initial Manueline version.

FIG. 2 – Nave of the Piedade Divar Church. Walter Rossa, 2017.

Fewer doubts arise when we travel through the rest of the territory in the Old Conquests and come across increasingly specific solutions, such as: replacement of side chapels by semi-circular niches (a solution, moreover, that is presented in one of the Libri dell'Architettura by Sebastiano Serlio) topped off by half-vaulted shell-shaped ceilings; capitals where the acanthus has been replaced by the lotus; stocky pilasters due to a composition of exterior and interior elevations by floor-strata; connecting scrolls replaced by peacock fans or tails; false vaults on the façades as in Bardez; etc.

FIG. 3 – St. Alexander Church, Calangute. Walter Rossa, 2017.

All of this is often accompanied by elaborate stucco work, as the local stone, a ferrous laterite, not only cannot be worked with a minimum of expression, but decays when exposed. In short, it is undeniable how endogenous and autonomous the Catholic architecture of Goa is. While the relatively intrinsic nature of heritage of Portuguese influence here gains particular value, at least with regard to architectural and urban heritage, it can be confidently stated that it is, in fact, Goan. Ambiguous, Eurocentric and even Manichean expressions such as "Indo-Portuguese" should be definitely abandoned.

FIG. 4 – Santana Talaulim Church. Walter Rossa, 2017.

This process of "regionalisation" in the architecture of the Padroado prior to liberalism is not unknown within the overall context of

"heritage of Portuguese influence". From the beginning in India, there was a version for the old Northern Province, another for Kerala and yet another for Meliapor, in Coromandel, each with its own specificities and, by the same token, with a growing number of different influences that it is not relevant to detail here.[121] I should, however, stress that they do not conform in quantity, coherence or persistence to a collection like the one in Goa. Even in the case of the Northern Province, despite the fact that it was a territory under Portuguese sovereignty, it still did not have the necessary time that Goa had, since the beginning of the 18th century. We also encounter it in Minas Gerais in Brazil, in what is known as Mineiro Baroque. However, its fiery and fleeting nature, which is widely conveyed by integrated art forms, particularly carving and painting, cannot hide the lack of maturity in the tectonic shift which is evident in Goa. And on the subject of integrated arts, note also how the carving workshops in Goa, with not only altarpieces and pulpits, but also doors and railings, produced elements that we still find today in the area of the East Padroado, from the Island of Mozambique to Macau.

This leads me to another aspect that also seems crucial to the reading of Goan heritage: its centrality within the Indian and Pacific Oceans. This was a direct consequence of the role of Goa as the capital of Portuguese India and, for centuries, headquarters of the Padroado, which led to the use by third parties of the expression "Portuguese Church", in contrast to places under the direct apostolate of the Vatican, specifically the Propaganda Fide (Propagation of the Faith) Congregation. This was a situation that evolved considerably over time, especially from the age of Liberalism, leading to a gradual weakening of powers and extent, until its extinction in the 20th century. This extension of the Portuguese crown to administer all the

[121] In addition to the introductory texts and specific entries by Walter Rossa, Paulo Varela Gomes and Hélder Carita, see Paulo Varela Gomes (2007a and b) and Carita (2006).

affairs of the Catholic Church in areas that went far beyond those of sovereignty (e.g. the entire region of Bengal) necessarily produced effects that are yet to be fully evaluated.[122] Note how, although the apostolic work in the Old Conquests was entrusted to the Franciscans (to the north) and the Jesuits (to the south), all other religious orders and congregations operating in Asia (Dominicans, Carmelites and Augustines among others) built base facilities in Goa and it was from here that priests and monks left for a great range of posts in Asia.

It is now necessary to introduce a subject sensitive at various levels; Hindu religious architecture in Goa. As previously mentioned, in the Old Conquests in the early days of Portuguese colonisation, temples were systematically replaced by chapels and hermitages. What is significant, however, is the consubstantiation throughout the 17th century of an extensive number of Brahmin temples, with characteristics that differentiate them considerably from their counterparts in the rest of India.[123] Necessarily situated in the territory that became the New Conquests, this specific architectural phenomenon consisted of the clear integration of Portuguese-influenced Catholic architectural themes, but also Mughal, that is, Islamic features. Both were close and conflicting traditions at the time of their conception, but none of that disqualifies them, as they possess a pure, autonomous coherence. This subject is of the utmost importance to Goan heritage, because above all it demonstrates the capacity that Goans have had throughout history to assert themselves and create dialogue through their architecture. I would venture to affirm that, in the context of Goan identity, they today have developed

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[122] The impacts of the Patronage System on various aspects of Portuguese history is something that has yet to be fully assessed. However, for an understanding of the institution see Xavier and Olival (2018).

[123] Gupta (1991-92), Axelrod and Fuerch (1996), Kowal (2001), Gupta (2004) and Henn (2018) are some of the texts that report on the subject of Goan Hindu temples and their specific features. Amita Kanekar has also reflected on the subject, but with a focus on its significance and heritage value (see, among others, Kanekar, 2017).

the potential to be complementary, not opposed as they would have been originally.

Just as the heritage of Goa is not restricted to the religious, neither is its centrality, and when, by means of liberal reforms (with the abolition of religious orders in 1834), the Padroado entered a long decline, in this same change of Portuguese paradigm, changes occurred that boosted this centrality in other ways. Right from the start, the creation of elite training schools such as the Military Academy (1817) and the Medical-Surgical School (1842), performed functions, once again, from Mozambique to Macau, which compensated for the administrative detaching of Goa from these territories in, respectively, 1752 and 1844. This centrality clearly expressed itself culturally with the creation in 1821 of the National Press of Goa and of the Public Library in 1832. It is a centrality that Salvador and later Rio de Janeiro did not have in the Atlantic region, not least because of the presence and relative proximity of Lisbon, but also because Brazil's independence occurred before. This information is important to contextualise the emergence of Goan cultural activity, which was expressed not only in the emergence of a wide range of periodical publications, but also in a historiography that, in addition to the publication, in some cases systematic, of sources and historical descriptions, characterised the specific Goan phenomenon and, most importantly, its identity (Pinto, 2007; Lobo, 2013; Pinto, Mendiratta and Rossa, 2018).

However, the factor that seems to me to be the most significant is the fact that all of this coincides and is reinforced architecturally with the construction of a new area for the capital in Panjim. The exodus caused by the poor conditions in the city of Goa in the early 17th century is well known, a result of its geographical position and explosive, unplanned growth. This exodus led the population to (re)settle throughout the territory, particularly in Panelim and Ribandar and, with the construction of the Linhares Causeway in 1633 (to which I will refer below), extend to Panjim in the areas of Fontaínhas and Dona Inês.

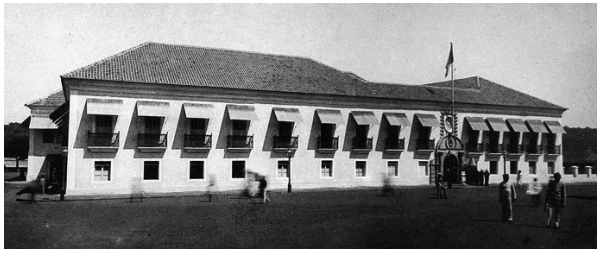

FIG. 5 – Idalcão Palace, Pangin. Unknown author and date.

In addition to a palace in Panelim, the viceroys and governors themselves made long stays at the Idalcão Palace, using the palace in Goa only for ceremonial purposes. In his extensive reformist initiative throughout the Empire from 1773 onwards, the Marquis of Pombal sought to 'restore' the capital to Goa, but the resistance of the local elites and their preference for Panjim annulled this plan. In the same way, ecclesiastical elites had also cancelled the transfer process to the Mormugão peninsula in the passing decades between the 17th and 18th centuries.

Therefore, when in 1843 the liberal state created Nova Goa as the new capital of the Portuguese State of India, integrating Goa, Ribandar and Panjim, it was, in practice, to endorse the selection of Panjim by the Goans as an effective central urban centre for the territory and pave the way for its development. This, in itself, helped substantially to make Panjim a Goan cultural asset. It was here that the buildings that house the forces of liberalism were erected. Some have been mentioned above, but there were many others belonging to the new administrative structure where the Goans increased their presence, including offices and a large barracks. The occupation of Altinho with houses for the elite was particularly significant, including the Archbishop's Palace, ultimately the seat of the last power to leave Goa.

FIG. 6 – Barracks Panjim. Walter Rossa, 1994.

What we know today for certain in detail about the buildings and agents involved in this process is essentially due to the work of Alice Santiago Faria (2010a and b). We know, for example, that some of the architects and engineers were trained in British Raj schools and this is reflected in some of the buildings. We also know about the movements of these technicians through all Portuguese outposts in Asia and Mozambique, and how this will have been decisive in creating the clear family feel that the current architecture, be it housing, commerce or services, has in all these places and that, with obvious points of contact with other parts of the empire, took on its own particular proportions and features. This reinforces an idea, which as yet lacks developmental research, of a Goan centrality within heritage of Portuguese influence or, rather, yet another autonomous identity within this heritage.

In Goa, the current architecture of liberalism's public facilities was not restricted to Panjim or the Old Conquests, but was found across the entire territory. It was crucial in consolidating cities such as Mapusa and Margão, which became urban centres of a territory that had previously been essentially rural. Interestingly, the same did not happen in the new train-boat/ station-port city of Vasco da Gama near Mormugão, which was founded in 1885 and where in general architecture followed less traditional, more eclectic paths, perhaps due to English involvement in the entire

construction process. Around Mapusa and Margão, but in fact throughout the territory especially in Salcete, the architecture of the houses of the Catholic landed elite also developed. They adopted verandahs and balconies, marking entrances with sets of porches with small flights of steps and conversation tables, decorating the chapels and adopting elaborate designs on the door frames, which were sometimes made of glass, sometimes of karepas (oyster shells).

FIG. 7 – Margaon Palace Balcão. Walter Rossa, 2017.

They perfected another specific and striking type of Goan architectural heritage, certainly the only one that stands out from the architecture of the Catholic Church in the global imagination about Goa. For chronological reasons and due to the absence of private investors of any means, Goa did not receive important modernist buildings as happened in other places under Portuguese influence, particularly in Africa.

All of these integrated landscapes underwent great changes because the technology of the industrial revolution finally arrived to be used for spatial planning. In the fields and forests, but also in the cities, agronomists and hydraulic engineers caused a true landscape revolution in their own Goan fashion. The draining of swamps in conjunction with the digging of irrigation channels not

only increased agricultural production, but also produced a new landscape, effected by the gathering of peasants previously dispersed in farms and often unrecognisable as villages (Mestre 2018). However, hydraulic projects were innovative essentially for their scale, not so much by their methods, as they were clearly inspired and developed within the notable as well as ancestral (6th century, at least) Khazan ecosystem of Goa (an interlinked series of small dikes, floodgates, furrows and channels which transformed swamps for irrigation, fish farming, flood containment, etc.), now in the process of being destroyed by the traffic of the ore barges that cross the rivers (Dias, 2004).

On the other hand, equally striking was the afforestation of vast areas of the territory, at the foot of the Ghats, but also in many other areas, albeit today no traces remain of this.[124] Although there is some evidence, even old photographs, how is it possible for someone today to imagine Altinho, Reis Magos and Aguada, a century and a half ago, with just thin, sparse vegetation? The landscapes of Goa are heritage with their own characteristics and, necessarily, constantly changing, due to endogenous combined with ancestral human activity, but also much planned human intervention, particularly in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

[124] See José Miguel Moura Ferreira's "Goa is a Paradise": forests, colonialism and modernity in Portuguese India (1851-1910) in Pinto, Mendiratta and Rossa (2018).

FIG. 8 – Goa Ancient Regime defensive system. Nuno Miguel Lopes, 2017.

It is in the context of the landscape that it makes sense to introduce a reference to a very significant component of heritage: the network

of immovable structures used in the former defensive system of the Old Conquests, comprised of a varied collection of forts, fortresses, walls and bulwarks (Lopes, 2017). Its state of conservation, use and evidence is also very diverse, from frequently visited heritage sites, such as the Forte da Aguada, to the abandonment, concealment and general ignorance of the amazing Colvale-Tivim hydraulic integrated wall-canal system (4 km), passing through the considerably dismantled, but still decipherable proto-urban perimeters of Rachol and Mormugão and the 18.5 km peripheral wall of Goa (Rossa and Mendiratta, 2011). These are assets that have designed and today shape the landscape, which have great evocative power and extraordinary artistic value. Basically, they have a contemporary potential which is very different from their original function, but they still invoke in stone, and explain the construction and containment of a colonial territory that in the meantime acquired its own identity.

Combining military engineering with the local knowledge acquired from these khazan, there is a work of hydraulic engineering in Goa with as much practical impact as its description would warrant: the Linhares Causeway, whose western end is also known as Patto Bridge. Commissioned by the Governor in 1633, this road infrastructure was built over a swamp, and at 3.15 kilometres in length, connected Ribandar to Panjim, which, as previously mentioned, was decisive for the gradual exodus from Old Goa to what today is the state capital. Throughout its 376 years of existence, it has never suffered any rupture or required major maintenance, and until a few years ago it served as the only road link between Panjim and the interior, where it ends at Tivim station on the Konkan Railway. In addition to being an impressive engineering work, it is an indelible milestone in the construction of the Goan landscape, undoubtedly a heritage asset whose extraordinary value has yet to be recognised.

Towards the end of the 19th century and into the next, everything became much more eclectic and not only due to the strong pressure from the models being developed under Raj, as art deco and modernist tendencies came to the fore, no longer necessarily in any clear and

unique manner, even if colonial. This leads me to highlight another aspect that seems very significant for Goan identity and reinforced its centrality, which is that of the diaspora (Frenz, 2014; Carvalho, 2010 and 2014). Regardless of the adversity that always leads large groups in a community to emigrate, the successive waves of Goans from the most diverse strata and backgrounds, not only created an autonomous recognition of Goa in different countries, but also a critical mass of information that enriched the entire community. One expression of all this was the publication in various locations, and not only in India, of Goan newspapers. In fact, for obvious reasons, in contrast to everything I have been outlining, this process of constructing identity using the mirror that the diaspora provides (because it is possible to see ourselves from the outside), must necessarily convey and develop portable, movable or even intangible heritage, of which the most successful cases are music and cuisine.

Finally, a reference to something that I do not consider to be at the heart of Goa's architectural and urban heritage, but which I recognise as of key moral and political significance: the 1986 inscription of the Churches and Convents of Goa onto the UNESCO World Heritage List. I am not going to dwell on the fundamentals and history of the process, which I have recently discussed in another text (Rossa, 2018), but will refer only to what is essential for this text.

It is known that not only was the city gradually abandoned, it was also dismantled, especially intensely in the second half of the 19th century, and decorative elements and construction materials were taken away for new buildings, particularly in Panjim. The Church resisted as long as it could, and so a very important number of its buildings remained. As a consequence of this process, in the last years of Portuguese sovereignty over the territory, a plan was drawn up and began to be implemented, which, after a short interlude, was continued by the Indian authorities. This plan made a clean slate of the urban and landscape characteristics, and created a new reality that altered the reading and relationship of the buildings and arranged them in the middle of open ground. This explains how a

clearly disjointed series of "churches and convents" was inscribed on the list and not the city as a whole or what remained of it.

Goa is, therefore, an avowedly Catholic asset on the UNESCO's list. The heritagisation process that led to it took much longer than the assembly of the application dossier made by the Indian authorities (the government of the country had to make the proposal) some years before. It all started with the process of dismantling the city and the evident risk of everything disappearing.

FIG. 9 – St. Francis Xavier casquet at Bom Jesus, Old Goa. Walter Rossa, 2017.

The prime factor that was used to prevent this was the presence of the tomb of São Francisco Xavier, the "Apostle of the East". The presence of the Jesuit saint, beatified in 1619 and canonised in 1622 (Gupta, 2004) had already contributed to this myth. This factor, combined with the myth of "Golden Goa" or the "Rome of the East", counteracted the preceding centuries of decay and leveraged the process of preservation and heritagisation.

The first exhibition of its relics in 1859 was a pretext for repairs to buildings, which was repeated regularly. This was followed by the creation of study and protection organisations and, in 1930, the inventory and classification of Goa's architectural and urban heritage. In 1952, four centuries after the saint's death, the Portuguese General Directorate for National Buildings and Monuments carried out a series of significant improvements and, finally in 1960 the Henry the Navigator Commemorations catalysed the development and implementation of a plan with a significant title: Reintegração da Cidade de Velha Goa no

seu Ambiente Histórico, Arqueológico, Monástico e Religioso (Reintegration of the City of Velha Goa in its Historical, Archaeological, Monastic and Religious Environment) (Santos e Mendiratta, 2011). As the head of the committee in charge, Ismael Gracias Júnior, said that he had tried to reinstate the city of Old Goa as a "beacon of Portuguese spirituality". As mentioned above, it was the Indian authorities who eventually did this.

III – Out of text

The processes that the Portuguese used after 1510 to colonise and evangelise Goa are well-known and reprehensible according to long-established principles. Like the entire old Portuguese colonial empire, in 1961 Portuguese India was an unacceptable anachronism, and its integration into India was inevitable. It is a pointless exercise to discuss whether or not there was room to encourage its autonomy. In common with Diu and Daman, and as a territory directly administered by the central government, Goa was a territory of various nations and creeds, and in 1987 it was constituted as a State. That is, within the general framework of India, Goa was not and is not an exception. In this quarter of a century, with no serious conflicts but with indispensable debates and even some friction, Goa achieved the necessary adaptation and diplomatic reconciliation with Portugal and emerged from a process of changing the colonial paradigm of centuries to one of integration into the European project. Gradually, Goa entered the popular imagination of exotic and beach tourism.

In the light of the global positioning that I have attempted to set out in the first part of this text, I think, therefore, that conditions were created and a position defined that a Portuguese academic (researcher and teacher) dedicated to the theme of heritage could perform with the Goan community: to produce, summarise and provide information on the various issues on the agenda, including the broader picture of "heritage of Portuguese influence" where it

is also relevant. We have started now to be generations that did not experience colonisation, its negative aspects, the conflicts in the phases of forming India, Independence and the annexation of the Portuguese State of India. We were educated after the end of the last colonial empire, which does not mean that we should forget and that the process of decolonisation is complete, including in Portugal. However, this decolonisation includes recognising the others, their values and identities, and their heritage.

The basic question therefore arises: to whom does the vast Portuguese-influenced heritage of Goa belong? It can only belong to the Goans as a whole, because, as we have seen for architecture, urbanism and landscape, it is not all specifically religious and not all its religious heritage is exclusively Catholic. All the other expressions of this heritage, from cuisine to music, by way of clothing, must be taken into account. As has been seen in this text from the perspective of Portuguese influence, Goan heritage must also be seen according to others, as it is this diversity that makes it specific and attests to its authenticity. It also guarantees that it remains alive and can be renewed and developed, so that it is sustained and makes a key contribution to improving the living conditions of the communities to which it belongs.

However, since roughly the beginning of the millennium, this heritage, instead of developing in this way, began increasingly to decay and lose value; we have recently arrived at the situation that I initially characterised as "heritage in conflict". The general framework of economic development in India made it inevitable to explore the diverse potential of the Goan territory, and from the outset its capacity to generate empathy with foreigners. This process has not only attracted foreign and domestic tourism to Goa, but also investors and workers from other parts of India, who have gained in confidence in managing and pursuing investments, to the point that in some situations Goans feel like foreigners in their own country.

Goan uneasiness, in particular of the intellectual elite, is clear. The elite complain, among other things, "for the freely proliferating casinos, for the mining mess, for the numerous white elephant projects

destroying the environment while driving the state into massive debt, for the communities being uprooted right and left, for the lack of decent employment and wages for Goans" (Amita Kanekar, O Heraldo, 21 January, 2017). This excerpt is just one among many that also denounces what is considered to be a general tendency for rewriting history which, in a simple way, demonises and blames everything bad that happens in the territory on colonialism. This explains, for example, the replacement of Goan Hindu temples with new buildings that are modelled on areas in India that were not subject to European cultural influences.

The landscape of Goa is, in fact, rapidly changing, and great imbalance and noise being created. As a brief explanation of the quote from the previous paragraph to those who are not familiar with the situation: the territory was invaded by casinos, particularly along the Mandovi riverfront in Panjim, where they have proliferated in boats anchored there, with all that this entails in terms of tourism, foreign-organised crime groups, excesses of certain habits (alcohol, drugs, prostitution), but also garish advertising on billboards that has upset the once peaceful balance of the landscape. The exploitation of the rich mineral resources of iron and magnesium in the interior has skyrocketed since the beginning of the millennium with the entry of China onto the world acquisitions market. Some 55% of Indian exports of these products come from Goa. They are extracted without environmental controls and have attracted labour from other states. This has removed workers from agriculture who are transported in 2,000-ton ferries downstream, whose wake is destroying the ancestral Khazan ecosystem mentioned above which is fundamental for the ecological balance and production of rice. Many state investments in poorly planned and dimensioned infrastructures and equipment, coupled with rampant real estate speculation and the building of tourist facilities, are not only irrevocably degrading the landscape, but creating high public debt, unemployment and impoverishment for Goans.

It is not just the ecological systems of Goa or the landscape of Panjim and on the other bank (Porvorim, Betim, Verem, Reis

Magos) that are rapidly degrading. The beaches and nearby villages, especially in the north (Candolim, Calangute, Baga, Anjuna, Vagator) are unrecognisable and overcrowded with tourists. As a corollary of this short description of the global risk and conflict situation for the Goan heritage, I note the recent construction of the new route of the Panjim-Belgaum highway (National Highway 4), which passes only 175 meters away from the Basilica of Bom Jesus de Goa. This violates any basic measure of good sense in heritage preservation, especially when it is a property inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List.

In short, the situation today experienced by Goans in general, but also in view of their entire heritage, not only that of Portuguese influence, is of growing despair, since the irremediable loss of assets is leading to de-heritagisation and a sense of being uprooted and excluded from their own country. They feel they are once more experiencing a process of colonisation, this time from an expected quarter. Indeed, it is clear how often Goan heritage is rejected by non-Goans, sometimes by those holding important public positions.

In reality, it is not a decolonisation of minds, characteristic of post-colonial societies, that Goans lack, but to be taken into consideration in decisions about their country and heritage, the foundations of identity that they managed to forge during four and a half centuries of Portuguese sovereignty. It would seem that the weapon at their disposal is the weak force I described in the first part of this text, and its potential for linking up in solidarity with other communities who also identify through Portuguese-influenced cultural networks. Whatever form it takes, it will be through actions that, in an innovative form, can make use of satyagraha the concept-action used by Gandhi to liberate South Asia from European colonialism.

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LUSOSSONIA: POSTCOLONIAL CARTOGRAPHIES OF SOUNDS AND MEMORIES[125]

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Abstract: In the field of expressive culture, and in particular of music, the signs of the Portuguese presence in Asia reveal a singular history of permanence and resilience. Unlike the architectural heritage that can resist the erosion of time regardless of human intervention, performative, ephemeral, and transitory expressions are completely dependent on the human will to preserve them. Within a scattered and insular cartography, invariably related to ancestral contact with the Portuguese, it is possible to point out a set of performance practices whose Portuguese genealogy is claimed by their holders and performers. I refer to subjects who recognise themselves as «Asian Portuguese», who identify themselves by Portuguese baptismal names of Catholic origin and who invariably organize themselves into community groups in various territories in India, Sri Lanka, China, Japan, Malaysia, or Indonesia. They all are noted for the practice and display of a musical repertoire sung in Portuguese or in Creole forms

[125] Texto datado de 13 de junho de 2020.

https://doi.org/10.14195/978-989-26-2294-1_5

of the language or, in some cases, reduced to instrumental versions of musical genres of supposed Portuguese origin. "Asian Portuguese" people are responsible for creating a luso-sonic world, where the importance and emotional effectiveness of music surpass that of the language or architecture. The present text seeks to reflect on this cartography of Lusossonia.

Keywords: Music, Ethnomusicology, Postcolonialism, Social Memory, Lusossonia

The places of Lusossonia[126]

If we observe how the Portuguese expansion progressed exponentially throughout the 16th century, we will find a peculiar mapping, a kind of colonial embroidery that passes the Atlantic and Indian Ocean coasts, and also includes a set of island territories in both oceans. This process begins in 1336 with the control of part of the current Canary Islands and ends in 1542 with the arrival of the Portuguese in Tanegashima in Japan (see map 1).

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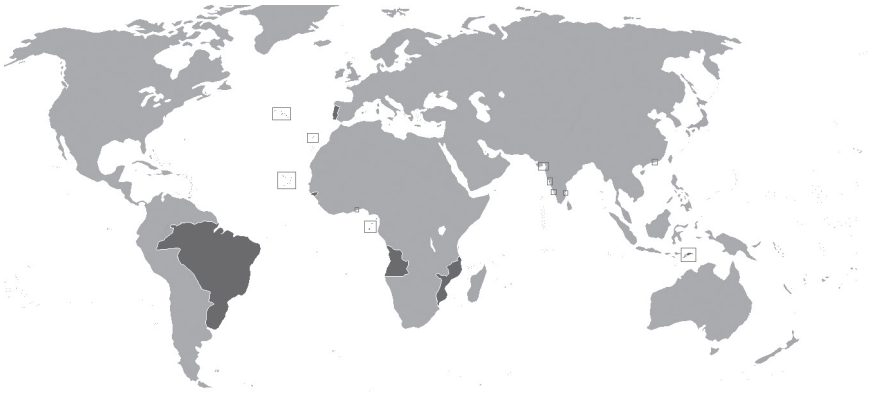
[126] This text is the result of a permanent dialogue with other texts, many authors, colleagues, and friends with whom I share field experiences and epistemological interests. The proposal was first presented at the CPLP's 20th anniversary celebrations, in April 2016, in Lisbon, at the invitation of Ambassador Eugénio Anacoreta Correia. Subsequently, it was discussed in different academic forums: at the State University of Rio de Janeiro, within a Roda de Prosa of the Postgraduate Program in Social Memory, organised by the anthropologist Regina Abreu, in November 2016; at the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, in December of the same year, at the Portuguese Colloquium Português Palavra e Música; and, finally, at the Camões Institute, in Goa, in January 2017. All of these meetings resulted in essential contributions to the development and consolidation of the word and concept of Lusossonia. However, I cannot fail to point out the invaluable help of Rosa Maria Perez, Jorge Castro Ribeiro, Ana Flávia Miguel and Pedro Aragão for their attentive reading and for the always relevant and inspiring comments; from Ran Hann Tang, Margaret Sarkissian and David Kenneth Jackson, for the information provided after their fieldwork experiences, and also from Gilvano Dalagna, for his patience in transforming my handmade musical transcriptions into digital format.

Map 1 – Portuguese navigations and conquests between 1336 and 1542

Until the middle of the 16th century, this process of conquest and territorial dominance developed relentlessly, under an immense ambition to control maritime routes and commercial traffic, and to expand the empire. In many cases, territorial possession lasted only a few decades and was the subject of exchanges and negotiations with other imperial nations, such as England, Spain, or the Netherlands (Thomaz, 1998). Thus, by the beginning of the 19th century, the Portuguese empire was confined to Brazil, to African countries where the Portuguese language later acquired the status of official language after independence (Cape Verde, S. Tomé and Príncipe, Guinea, Angola, and Mozambique) and to the Asian territories of Goa, Damão, Diu, Dadrá, Nagar Aveli, Macau and Timor. We may also count the partial participation of Meliapor – on the east coast of India and in the current territory of the Indian state of Tamil Nadu –, which would tangentially resist absorption until 1952 under a diocesan regime led by the Diocese of São Tomé de Meliapor[127] (see map 2).

[127] The case of Meliapor is quite significant for the argument of this text. Despite having ceased to be under Portuguese colonial rule in 1749, the Meliapor Diocese remained as a suffragan of the Archdiocese of Goa and Damão until 1952 and, therefore, dependent on Portugal. In other words, the integration of Meliapor in India, as a neighborhood in the current city of Chennai (formerly Madras), did not comprise the end of the relations with Portugal, a situation explained by criteria of



Map 2 – Map of the Portuguese Empire in the early 19th century ©
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However, Portuguese colonisation cannot and should not be understood as having a unitary profile, defined by a monolithic and uniform policy. The "colonial difference", about which Walter Mignolo (2002) warns, cannot be summed up as being the way in which the different colonising powers exercised the violence of colonisation. Rather, it should be questioned within the different colonisations and in the ways in which different colonisers related to their equally different colonies in distinct moments and times. And it should also be a strong argument for the understanding of that which today defines this memory of the "Portuguese presence in the world".

Our post-colonial complex – I am referring to the present embodiment of colonial guilt in assuming the memories carried by others as if they were ours – often prevents us from participating in the discussion of Portuguese colonisation and from assuming the position that places us as active agents in the process of decolonizing memory for a better understanding of our own post-coloniality. I refer, of course, to a "we" as a fragmented collective, but still prisoners of the primordial distinction created by the supposedly homogenising heritage of a Portuguese nationality.

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religious obedience that reverberated in other ways, in the being and identification of Indian citizens.

Praise of the nation often uses celebratory arguments that allow it to go beyond its geographical and metropolitan limits. In the case of the relationship between Portugal and its former colonies, language is perhaps the most effective symbolic representative of this extension of the nation, based on a precarious balance between the right and the duty that people have to speak Portuguese. This is a clearly logocentric equation that continues to feed a surrogate memory (García Gutierrez, 2002) created by Portugal about other nations. In this deeply Lusocentric exercise, we tend to despise behaviours and different kinds of knowledge that cannot be controlled from the center. However, in their different peripheral locations, those behaviours knowledges function as a means of distinction and representation for individuals or groups that establish an ontological link with Portugal through them. I am referring to the soundtrack that persists in places that we have forgotten or that we are sometimes unaware of, materialising in complex and resilient musical practices, with which its performers and holders associate a Portuguese origin. They live in places of forgetfulness – because we forget them – that have always been on the fringes of the empire: being micro-colonies, they once occupied geostrategic positions in the exercise of colonial rule but were quickly ignored after the end of their colonial status because they did not become nations. They were incorporated or reincorporated into other nations.

In fact, the multiple postcolonial[128] approaches that developed after Said's foundational work, tend to disregard these places, forgetting that

[128] The discussion around the use of the prefix "post" when associated with the word "colonial", has been recurrent in several texts responsible for reinforcing the theoretical body of the theory of post-colonialism. Since 2010, I have adopted the proposal of Leela Gandhi (1998) who suggests the use of "post-colonialism" to refer to theory and post-colonial to designate the global political phenomenon that derives from colonialism and that led to the post-coloniality of the planet. The use of the hyphen in the "post-colonial" expression, therefore, refers to the specific political condition of a state when it ceases to exert a colonising action over a territory, or a nation-state when it is freed from the coloniser's harness and becomes independent. However, as mentioned above, the situations in which the end of colonisation does not lead to the political independence of the territories have not yet been classified

they are inhabited and that the memory of those who inhabit them is not necessarily the same as that of the coloniser and is certainly different from the memory of those who now grant their nationality. These cases offer us another view of our own postcoloniality, and they also enable a very particular understanding of the emotional instability that the post-coloniae condition (which happens after the end of the coloniser's official presence, but which does not always lead to the independence of the places) can register (Sardo, 2010).

It is precisely in these territories – which are not Portuguese-speaking countries and, therefore, unrecognised by the institutions for which language acquires a superlative value as symbolic merchandise and with which international relations are prevented because they are not nations – that a testimony of resilience through music emerged. The soundtrack that I refer to as a way of distinction and identification with Portugal underlines that resilience. This text seeks to establish the first step towards understanding this condition which I call Lusosonic, centred on music whose holders, composers and performers identify themselves as "Portuguese of Asia".

The Portuguese of Asia

In March 2016, the ACPA (Association of Portuguese Communities in Asia) released on the web a call for the first Asian Portuguese Community Conference (APCC). The ACPA is based in Malacca (Malaysia) but incorporates members who live in different Asian territories. The conference took place between 27 and 30 June 2016 on the occasion of the Festa de S. Pedro, an annual celebration organised by the Malacca Portuguese Settlement and was inaugurated by the former President of the Republic of Timor-Leste, Xanana Gusmão. According to the documentation that presented the results of the

by theory, so I adopt the Latin expression "post-coloniae", as a form of differentiation (Sardo, 2010).

conference, delegates from 10 countries – Malaysia, Indonesia, India, East Timor, Thailand, Sri Lanka, Japan, Australia, Singapore, and Myanmar – and the integrated territories of Macau and Hong Kong participated in the event. Though they used the category "countries", they really referred to a very particular segment of people, organised in associations and who articulate their official nationality with another, emotional one, calling themselves "Asian Portuguese". These people, associations, and/or communities, claim a Portuguese ancestry, thus seeking a distinctiveness within a nation that classifies them otherwise. With the exception of the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste – which since 2002 has been an independent country and a member of the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries (CPLP) –, and Macau – whose Portuguese sovereignty gave way to Chinese sovereignty in December 1999 with the safeguarding of Portuguese as one of the official languages –, the Portuguese language does not contribute to the distinction of "Asian Portuguese". Nor is it a vehicle for communication, although in some cases – such as in Goa, Daman and Diu where micro language teaching networks are maintained – a small group of people keep Portuguese as their domestic language or keep it alive along with lexically-based Portuguese creoles[129], as profusely documented by Hugo Cardoso (2010).

For this reason, too, the language in which the 1st APCC communicated was mainly English. The conference website, since removed from the Internet, has become an archive of audiovisual documents that are now dispersed on the digital network. Many of these documents include information about music or dance. This is evident, for example, in the existence of a "sung interview" (sic) for Noel Felix (1931-2018), known in Malacca and in the international Portuguese-speaking communities as a great defender

[129] This is the case of the Luso-Indian Creoles spoken in Daman, Diu, Korlai and Cananor; of the Sri Lankan Creole – spoken in small groups mainly in the regions of Trincomalee, Batticaloa and Mannar –; of the Kristang, spoken in Malacca, Kuala Lumpur and Singapore, in Malaysia; and Patuá spoken in Macau and Hong Kong (Cardoso, 2010).

of the Portuguese heritage in Asia. The Portuguese connection was also visible in the icon that identified the footer of the Conference website showing the heads of two dancers ornamented with scarves from the Portuguese region of Minho. Finally, it is also expressed in the countless video clips, in most cases made with very rudimentary recording technology, such as the cell phone, in which formally organised groups or solo individuals perform music and dance that they designate as "of Portuguese origin".

How to decode these pockets of vitality around music, dispersed over distant and sometimes unconnected routes, hosted in political situations that make them micro-phenomena, still claiming 500 years of history shared with Portugal?

The role of music in the construction of a Portuguese way of being

All the cases listed here are linked by a common historical mark: contact with the Portuguese within a framework of territorial and religious colonial expansion. This contact had different durations due to the different geographies and webs of interest determined by the political conjunctures of the time. Such contact was also marked by the relations between the rulers of different Asian nations and by the ambition of the European countries in search of expansion and dominance of the East. I refer mainly to England, Holland, France, and Portugal. Portugal sought, in particular, to dominate coastal enclaves in order to improve maritime trade, reinforced by the only distinguishing feature that allowed it to compete with other Europeans: the dexterity of its navigators (Almeida, 2009, Costa and Leitão, 2009). But its colonising impetus was mediated by another factor of fundamentally religious nature that sought to catholicize the East with the aim of transforming "gentile" into "person". Portuguese colonisation to the east, precisely because it was limited to small

territorial enclaves which were more easily controlled, gave rise to a dispersed base of Catholic communities, grounded on a strategy of acceptance and inclusion of "the other", if and only if he became identical to the coloniser. Consequently, the colonisation process was accompanied by a policy of conversion to Catholicism led by members of different religious orders, in which the Jesuits, the Franciscans, and the Dominicans stand out, but also Propaganda Fide, founded in Rome in 1622 and today designated as the Congregation for the Evangelisation of Peoples.

In fact, religious affiliation is currently the most distinctive mark of "Asian Portuguese" associated with the use of a surname of Portuguese origin that was given to their ancestors at the time of baptism. The conversion process involved, in all cases, the ritual of baptism and the adoption of a name in Portuguese (baptismal name), invariably inherited from the name of the officiant or of those who witnessed it, usually the godfather. However, although Portuguese was the lingua franca of Asian commerce during part of the 16th and 17th centuries, in most of these Catholic communities the baptismal name was the only Portuguese word that their members knew how to pronounce.

In fact, Portuguese was not an absolutely necessary language for the exercise of different Catholic rituals, performed in Latin until the deliberations of the Sacrosanctum Concilium, in December 1963, during the Second Vatican Council. However, teaching doctrine required a language of communication – a lingua franca – and missionaries were confronted with a prolific linguistic diversity that hindered mutual understanding. Multiple sources refer to the use of music as an effective mediator in the indoctrination process, especially through chorus singing in public spaces, led by boys from parish schools, in a repetitive learning strategy that was clearly persuasive. Among the various archival documents that record this process, this General Letter (Carta Geral) written at the College of Goa, on November 29, 1566, by Father Gomes Vaz and addressed to Father Leão Henriques, Provincial of the Society of Jesus, is quite representative:

Of the school of writing and reading, a priest and two brothers are taking care; the number of boys is greater than ever so far; more than eight hundred and they would be more if all who asked were admitted, as some of them, by different and fair respect, are not admitted. (...)

When they come to the school and they leave it, they go through the streets, in squads together, those from each neighbourhood, singing the doctrine, which is a little confusing for the infidels of this land, and besides teaching the doctrine in their homes to the slaves and more people, usually now, at the behest of their masters, every day, at night, those from each parish will gather, divided into two or three parts, according to the number of them, and dispute the doctrine between them. And for the party to be more solemn, in every place where the doctrine will be said, a small altar is erected in the street, with devout images, and lit candles, and in a circle, seated on their benches, set themselves to dispute, always having one that governs and amends, when they are wrong, and by the devotion that everyone has to this doctrine, the honourable men and women of the neighbourhood come to their windows with their families to hear the boys on the street, and they like it so much that some honourable men will sometimes ask the master to send the boys to tell him the doctrine at the door, that they will send each day to set up the altars very richly. With this exercise, it is possible that not only the Portuguese, but also some of the children and women of the land, who scarcely know how to speak Portuguese, know the doctrine with utmost gratitude." (in Rego, 1953: 89) (free translation from the original)

> Da escolla de escrever e leer tem cuidado hum padre e dous irmãos; o numero de meninos he maior do que nunca atee agora foi; passão de oitocentos e serião mais, se se admitissem todos os que pedem, alguns dos quaes, por diversos e justos respeitos, se não admittem. (...)

> Quando vem pera a escolla e saem della, vão pollas ruas, em esquadrões juntos, os de cada bairro, cantando a doutrina, o que não he pouca confusão pera os infiéis desta terra, e alem de ensinarem a doutrina em suas casas aos escravos e mais gente, costumão agora, por mandado de seus mestres, todos os dias, a boca da noite, ajuntarão-se os de cada freguesia, divididos em duas ou tres partes, segundo o numero delles he, e disputarem da doutrina huns com os outros. E pera a festa ser mais solene, em cada lugar onde se ha-de dizer a doutrina armão hum altar pequeno na rua, com ymagens devotas, e vellas acesas, e en roda, assentados em seus bancos, se põem a disputar, avendo sempre amtre elles hum que os rege e emenda, quando errão, e polla devação que todos tem a este doutrina, põem-se por as yanellas os homens e mulheres honrrados da vizinhança com suas familias para ouvirem os meninos na rua, e gostão tanto disto que alguns homens honrrados vierão pedir ao mestre por vezes mandasse os meninos disserem-lhe a doutrina a porta, que elles mandarião cada dia armar os altares mui ricamente. Com este exercicio se faz que não somente os portugueses, mas ainda alguns dos meninos e molheres da terra, que escassamente sabem falar o portugues, saibão arrezoadamente a doutrina. (Rego, 1953: 89)

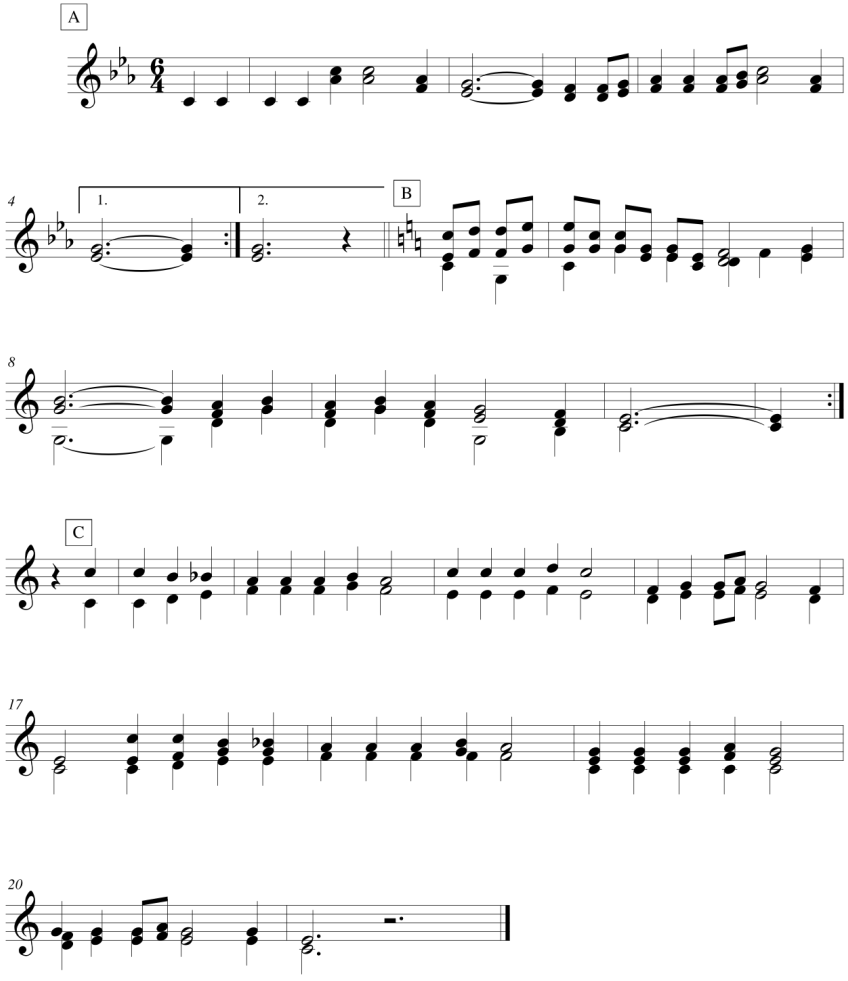
In the case of Goa, the introduction of Western music initially through sung doctrine and the teaching of music in parish schools, with the aim of accompanying the liturgy and spreading the faith, gave rise to a process that I have designated elsewhere as the "politics of the three P's": prohibition, promotion, and permission (Sardo, 2010). The Portuguese **prohibited** all music associated with other religions, **promoted** the learning of Western music as an ally of evangelisation, and **permitted** the maintenance of some musical practices that, in their eyes, did not represent an obstacle to the consolidation of Catholicism. This process lasted at least 200 years, as can be confirmed by a set of archival documents that describe the presence of Western music in Goa since the 16th century or show

how it was regulated through legislation until the end of the 18th century (idem).

Similar processes took place in Daman, Diu, and other Portuguese possessions along the western coast of India. However, the policy of the three P's was not a one-way action and the reaction to hyper-regulation gave rise to local musical genres in a process of apparent conciliation on trying to adjust in response to the conflict (Sardo, 2010, 2011). In this sense, the appropriation of the structural ingredients of western music imposed by the Portuguese (western melody, rhythm, harmony, musical instruments) gave rise to a local response that produced music based on the same principles, but still substantially different. Its composers and performers maintained certain non-negotiable aspects of their culture, that is, what they did not want to lose to the coloniser. Language, for example, was one of those ingredients. But also, through language, an archive of local memories took refuge in the music. Mandó, dulpod and even deckni in Goa (Sardo, 2011), are musical genres that describe what the Goans who hold and perform them, want to safeguard and expose simultaneously. The same can be found in Daman's mandó, significantly different from that of Goa (Almeida, 2013). These repertoires are true locally-produced ethnographic archives, sung in Konkani, in the case of Goa, or in Portuguese in Daman, but wrapped in an acoustic cover with a western flavour, due to the functional harmony found both in the choir singing as well as in the instrumental accompaniments of guitar, piano, violin or mandolin[130].

[130] The performance of mandó in Goa and Daman can also be accompanied by a percussion instrument whose function is to maintain a metric regularity. In the case of Goa, this accompaniment is performed by the gumatt (a goblet shape clay drum with one end narrow and open, and the other end wide and covered with lizard skin). In the case of Daman, the choice of the percussion instrument is random and depends on the instrument available (Almeida, 2013: 96).

Zonelar Boisun

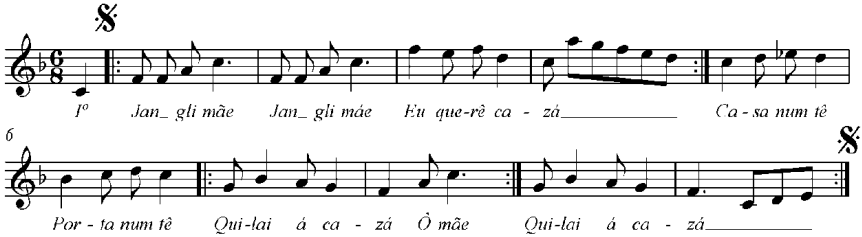


Zonelar Boisun by Arnaldo de Menezes (1863-1917)	Seated by the window (translation: Maria Virgínia Brás Gomes and Jerónimo Araújo Silva)
[A]	[A]
Zaitin dukam re golloilim	So many tears have I wept
Pixim zauncheak hanvm paulim	I almost went mad
[B]	[B]
Zonelar boisun hanv rautalim	I sat waiting by the window
Tuje saulleku choitalim	In search of your shadow
[C] – refrão	[C] – refrain
Atam tuka choile(a) re vinnem	Now, I am not happy
Suko nam mhaka!	Without seeing you!
Kendich mhaka sanddi naka	Don't ever leave me.

Example 1. *Zonelar Boisun* [Goa], my transcription based on the performance of the Veiga Coutinho family, Margão, September 1992.

In this mandó from Goa, we can identify the complexity of the four voices of the choir. It includes opposite and oblique movements and the live performance involves ornamentation quite common in Western vocal music – especially the use of portamento and rubato –, but clearly different from the ornamentation that we find in the Indian classical music tradition. This proximity is also visible in the vocality profile, that is, in the way the voice is placed to intonate and pronounce the sound. This vocality profile also seeks to replicate stylistic models of European art music. In the case of Daman's mandó, represented here by one of its most popular versions, although without polyphony, the interpretation reproduces the same models as Goa's mandó, although bowing to the vocal and instrumental resources available at the time of performance.

Jangli-máe



IIº

Jangli mái, Jangli mái

Eu querê cazá

Calça num tê, --- num tê

Quilai á casa, ó mái

Quilai á casá, o mãe

Quilai á casá

IIIº

Jangli mai, Jangli mai

Eu querê casá

Camiz num tê, gravat num tê

Quilai á cazá, ó mãe

Quilai à cazá, ó mãe

Quilai á cazá

IVº

Jangli mai, Jangli mai

Eu querê cazá

sapát num tê, mêa num tê

Quilai á cazá, ó mai

Quilai á cazá, ó mãe

Quilai á cazá

Vº

Jangli mai, Jangli mai

Eu querê cazá

Raprig num tê, noiva num tê

Quilai á cazá, ó mãe

Quilai á cazá, o mãe

Quilai á cazá

Example 2. *Jangli-máe* [Daman] Transcription by Ana Cristina Almeida (2013: 140) from Ludovico Machado's manuscript notebook, 1950s

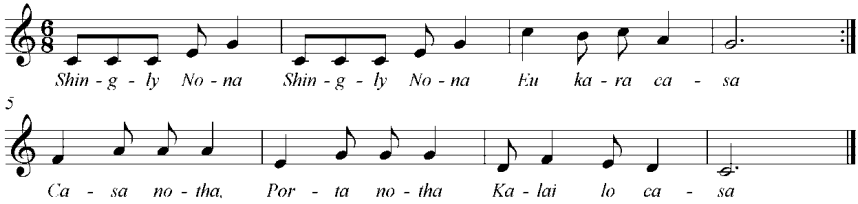
In Goa, the mandó (and dulpod) repertoire is found on scores, written and fixed by well-identified composers since the end of the 19th century (Sardo, 2013). In addition, mandó maintains a creative vitality that is annually rewarded by the Mandó Festival (ibid). In Daman, the repertoire is limited to an oral/aural archive that circulates through personal notebooks where each person interested in singing mandó registers their own repertoire of preference, transcribing

the lyrics of the songs. Ana Cristina Almeida (2013) located several personal notebooks and a manuscript of musical scores from the 1950s signed by Ludovico Machado (1899-1968). However, the first written records on music in Daman were published in 1900 by António Francisco Moniz (1862-1924), in the first volume of the work "Notícias e Documentos para a História da Damão – antiga Província do Norte" where he transcribes ten songs and lyrics. In a note to one of the transcriptions, Moniz states:

> The verses are sung by two ladies alternately with the accompaniment of dôll or box played by hand, and on the dôll's back, two sticks called chunche mark the beat and also with guitars, violas, and fiddles. The choir sings the repetition of the same verse. It is regrettable that the verses and the music being so beautiful, it is falling into disuse among the elite of the Damanese society, while the ordinary people are excited about it (Moniz cit in Almeida, 2013: 101).

The melody and text of the mandó Jangli-máe from Daman, transcribed above, acquires a very particular meaning for my argument since versions very similar to this song have been recorded in Cochin, Sri Lanka and also in Malacca. In Cochin, the linguist David Jackson identified a singing repertoire in which archaic versions of Portuguese Creole are preserved in songs. In 1971, Jackson recorded Father Francis Paynter, on the island of Vaipim in Cochin, singing a song entitled Shingly Nona, whose melody and theme are in fact very similar to that registered in Daman by Ana Cristina Almeida.

Shingly Nona



Shingly Nona, Shingly Nona	[Chinese lady, Chinese lady
Eu kara casa	I want to marry you
Casa notha, Porta notha	I have no house, no door
Kalai lo casa	How shall we marry?]
	(Jackson 1998, 31)

Example 3. Shingly Nona [Cochin / Kochi]. Melodic transcription authored by Ana Cristina Almeida (2013: 142) and poetic transcription by F. Paynter published by K. D. Jackson on the disk Desta Barra Fora: Damão, Diu, Cochim, Korlai (Jackson 1998)

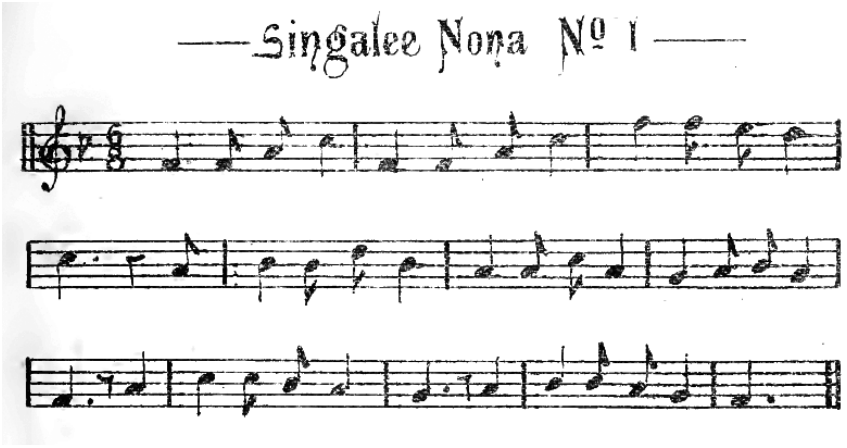
On the other hand, in Sri Lanka, Hugh Nevill (1847-1897), the first European to register Portuguese Creole in that territory, wrote an important manuscript partially dedicated to the transcription of music collected in the Burgher and Kaffir communities. They are communities that reside in the towns of Batticaloa and Trincomalee, who consider themselves descendants of the Portuguese (Jackson, 1990, 1998). Nevill's manuscript, entirely published by Kenneth David Jackson, includes 237 stanzas in Creole and, while offering no musical transcription, describes in detail the music and performance associated with the stanzas. Jackson recorded an extensive repertoire in the 1970s which he later edited in the Journey of Sounds collection (Jackson, 1998) and which includes musical genres such as baila or cafrinha, quadrilha, chicote and lança, part of which are sung versions of the stanzas transcribed by Nevill.

Listening to these archival recordings allows us to recognise a distinct contrast between the music played by the Burgher and Kaffir communities and those found in their musical vicinity, as well as their enormous proximity to a western harmonic structure, expressed in the vocal style and emphasised by the instrumental accompaniment of violin, guitar, and percussion. The song Cingalee Nona, whose poetic transcription corresponds to verse 43 of Nevill's manuscript, was documented in Sri Lanka by Charles Mathew Fernando (1866-1909), a local lawyer and ethnographer who dedicated himself to the study of Burgher music. In 1894, Fernando published in the

Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asian Society, an important article describing the musical practices of a community that he called "Ceylon mechanics"[131]. According to Fernando,

> The music of the Mechanics constitutes a distinct form of national music, and is not characterised by any close resemblance to the national songs of Portugal. It seems to have germinated and grown amongst themselves in their adopted home, in the same way that the Christy Minstrel songs originated among the Negroes of America (Fernando, 1894: 185-186).

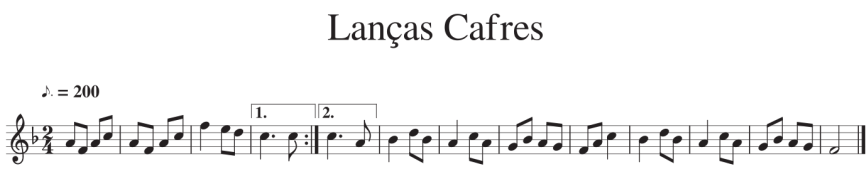
Using musical transcription and drawing on techniques for ethnographic recording of the music, Charles Fernando, who was also a musician and pianist, transcribed a melody quite similar to that found in Daman, Cochin, and Malacca. However, although the literary theme remained, the text is clearly modified:



Example 4. Cingalee Nona [Sri Lanka / Ceylon]. Musical and literary transcription by Charles Mathew Fernando (1894: 186-7).

131 "The name Mechanic, generally applied to them as a class, is derived from the fact that they are almost exclusively devoted to the lower crafts of artisanship. They are usually shoemakers, tailors, or blacksmiths, and their conservatism is such that few, if hardly any, are known to have grown out of their ancestral callings. Their race, as at present constituted, is an admixture of several nationalities, having for its nucleus the offspring of the Portuguese settlers of maritime Ceylon" (Fernando,1894: 185).

David Jackson recorded the same melody in 1975 in the Burgher community in Trincomalee, Sri Lanka, and identifies it as belonging to the musical genre cafrinha[132]. In the example published in the The Journey of Sounds collection (1998) it is performed by an instrumental ensemble consisting of a violin (played by Justin Paul), rabana with rattles (a skin's membranophone of wooden border) and ferrets/ triangle.



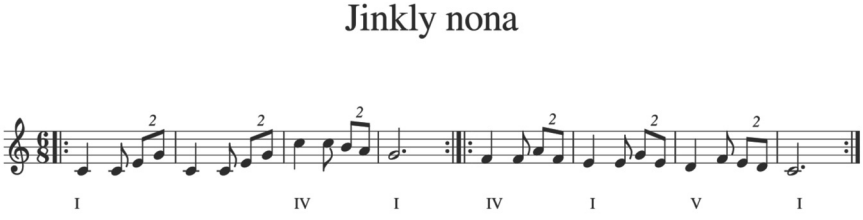
Example 5. Cingalee Nona [Sri Lanka] My transcript from the version recorded by David Jackson in 1975 at the Palyuttu church, Trincomalee. (1998, track 3)

In the above example, I choose to transcribe only the melodic line without the ornamentation made by the violin, thus facilitating the identification of similarities among the different examples recorded elsewhere. In this case, the melody is exclusively instrumental and repeated eight times to accompaniment of the dance as Charles Fernando already indicated in his 1894 description, illustrated with the following engraving:

[132] The spelling and genre of this word widely vary. Frequently the same author uses different spellings in different texts (cafrinha, cafrinho, kafrinho, kafferinhoe, kaferingha, kaffiringha, are just few examples). I opted for the use of cafrinha to designate the musical genre it represents.

Fig. 1 – Engraving published in the Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asian Society, Vol XIII (45), probably by Charles Mathew Fernando (1894: 180)

In Malacca, however, Jinkly Nona acquires a superlative value as the most popular melody of the branyo, a duelling style musical genre that identifies the inhabitants of the Portuguese settlement of Malacca known as kristang or "Portuguese of Malacca" (Sarkissian, 2000). In this case, the text of Jinkly Nona is extended, approaching the version registered in Daman where it becomes a mandó. In a version played by Noel Felix in 1991, Margaret Sarkissian, an ethnomusicologist who has been studying the Portuguese community in Malacca since 1990, transcribes the text of the first stanza as follows:



Jinkly Nona, Jinkly Nona Sinhalese girl, Sinhalese girl
yo keré kazá I want to marry (you)

Kaza nunteng porta Nona,	(Your) house has no door
Kai logu pasá	How (am I) to enter?

Example 6. *Jinkly Nona* [Malacca].
Transcription of Margaret Sarkissian (2000: 166)

The wide circulation of this melody is a piece of evidence for my argument. However, I don't seek to subscribe to any diffusionist or Lusocentric principles on the basis of music. On the contrary, this shows an important way in which certain musical practices resist the erosion of time. Jinkly Nona, Cingalee Nona, Shingly Nona or Janglimáe are examples of songs that represent different places, memories, repertoires, and musical genres, in which the similarity of the music is much more pronounced than the difference of the words. The transfiguration in mandó (Daman), cantiga (Vaipim), cafrinha (Batticaloa) or branyo (Malacca) does not interfere with the persistence of melodic material that seems to adapt to different languages, different purposes, and multiple vocalities. And it demonstrates – as Ana Cristina Almeida notes in a careful analysis of this process (2013) – that music constitutes one of the most resistant ingredients of culture, superior to that of language and, therefore, reveals characteristics of permanence that acquire significance regardless of the meaning of the words that inhabit it.

Let us now observe other examples for which the Portuguese language, in its standard or Creole version, takes only a tangential role, as in the case of the Goan mandó sung in Konkani. I am now referring to the keroncong musical genre (pronounced: kronchong) that we can find in communities dispersed around the Java Sea region, namely on Sumatra, designated there as keroncong moritsko, or in the identifying musical genre of the Tugu community in Jakarta, Indonesia, where it turns into keroncong tugu.

This musical genre has allegedly remained in these territories since the 16th century and its performers identify themselves as descendants of the Portuguese. As the Australian ethnomusicologist

Margaret Kartomi (1998) writes, these are either descendants of African slaves brought by the Portuguese to serve them, or Malays, who during the Portuguese rule in Malacca converted to Christianity, having acquired Portuguese nationality. After the end of Portuguese rule, these groups spread through different regions of Indonesia. As a result, in Jakarta (former Batavia)[133], neighbourhoods and villages were built, made up of "descendants of the Portuguese" or people carrying Portuguese surnames, people who still identify today as Tugus. This designation without doubt derives precisely from the word Por-**tugu**-ese, referring to the people who caused the formation of these groups, as identified above. Identifying as a Tugu is part of a local wish to rescue ancestry and a distinctive identity for a population that is deeply fragmented and marked by varied memories of conflictive relationships with successive colonisers (Tan, 2016; Ganep, 2006). In the process of remembering how to be a Tugu, and taking into account the absence of an identifying and separate language for the different groups that now form Jakarta, keroncong acquires a symbolic value since it is distinguished from all other musical genres in Indonesia. As Victor Ganap maintains, the keroncong

> is quite different from the Western classical music that was supported by the Dutch elite society, and the gamelan music that belongs to the indigenous people in Java. The egalitarian style of keroncong as a new music was soon accepted and gained popularity within the urban community in Batavia and other cities in Java (Ganap, 2006: 6).

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[133] Batavia was the capital of the East India Company, under Dutch sovereignty between 1610 and 1942 when it was occupied by Japan and was integrated in Indonesia in 1949. As Raan-Hann Tan mentions, the classificatory category of the population of Jakarta as Batavians appears in the census only in 1930: "In the 1893 census, there were only four categories of population in Batavia, ie the Europeans, Arabs, Chinese, and the indigenous people. The 1930 census shows a category of people identified as Batavians, who might have been the same group as those who were registered as indigenous in the 1893 registration" (Tan, 2016: 157) Later this group changed its name into Betawi.

In the dictionary of the Indonesian language (Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia Pusat Bahasa) one of the meanings of the word keroncong is defined as follows: (1) An ukelele-like musical instrument that has four or five strings; (2) Musical rhythm or style marked by musical instruments used in a keroncong performance, i.e., drum, cello, and guitar that is played in a sequence; (3) A kind of ensemble which consists of the violin, flute, guitar, ukelele, banjo, cello and bass; "Keroncong Tugu" is defined as "a uniquely Jakartan (Betawi) keroncong music"[134]. In other words, the word keroncong simultaneously designates a musical instrument, a musical style, and a music ensemble. In its adjective meaning (keroncong tugu) it designates a type of music belonging to the Betawi.

Fig. 2 – Jakarta, Group *D'Mardijkers Jr Toegoe* at Festival Kampoeng Toegoe in Kampung Tugu, 28 July 2012. From left to right: Juliete Angela Michiels, Rafael Formes, James Michiels, Gideon Carlos Yunus, Adrian Justinus Michiels. [Photo by courtesy of the author, Andre Juan Michiels]

[134] Translation by Raan-Hann Tan (2016: 137).

In fact, keroncong is a musical genre allegedly inherited from the Portuguese presence that includes a vocal component accompanied by an instrumental ensemble formed of Western instruments and in which the presence of the ukulele (Portuguese cavaquinho) stands out. In its Moritsko version (keroncong moritsko) studied by Margaret Kartomi on Sumatra, it is defined by:

> a synthesis of Portuguese European and Malay-Indonesian musical styles resulting from Portuguese-Indonesian contact between the late fifteenth and early seventeenth centuries (…). Its solo vocalists typically use a crooning singing style, with an interlocking instrumental accompaniment played mainly by low, medium and high-pitched plucked and bowed strings and a flute and underpinned by European harmonies or (in solo sections) by implied harmonies. Like Portuguese fado, it is marked by a gentle melancholy (saudade, Portuguese) which is partly attributable to the use of a wide vibrato in the vocal part (Kartomi,1998: 57)

The numerous interpretations of keronkong moritsko and tugu that circulate on the Internet as video clips, clearly demonstrate Kartomi's description. When performed by female singers, the option for gestures and expressions of suffering is manifested, using discreet corporeality, often holding a shawl in their hands that covers their shoulders as if respecting Portuguese fado, all filmed in an idyllic setting and often including conspicuous Christian symbols. Media have been crucial for the consolidation of keroncong in Indonesia and in particular as mediators to strengthen the identification process between the Tugu of Jakarta and that musical genre. As Victor Ganap says "The appearance of keroncong music on the radio [after 1925] has helped recover keroncong music from its negative impact in the society, from the music of wandering musicians on the street to an elite music of the Batavia urban community" (2006:19).

Ganap, who devotes a careful analysis to the emergence of keroncong as a sort of connector among the Betawi communities in Jakarta, documents the process in which keroncong was the subject of public discussion during the 1930s among opposing political factions in

search of a "Batavian identity". The discussion, Ganap says, was taking place among academics by debating what kind of nationality would be suitable for the future of the Indonesian state. It was divided between the traditionalist faction that sought to rescue a secular, cosmopolitan memory marked by diversity, and the ultra-nationalist faction that advocated historical discontinuity, which means the erasure of the colonial past from Indonesian history. Keroncong was reborn in the midst of this debate and became a kind of "national music".

> It's a classical keroncong due to its durchkomponiert form and skillful demand for violin and flute section in improvising the introduction, interlude, and counter melody, in which the singers balanced it with coração (from the heart) expression in improvising the melody with glissando and gruppetto styles up to its rubato tempo in ad libitum. The accompaniment is characterized with a particular rhythmic pattern played by cello pizzicato in the keroncong ensemble, together with the violin, flute, guitar, ukulele, banjo, and bass pizzicato (Ganap, 2006: 21).

The history of the struggle for Tugu identification and representation in Jakarta can be seen through the text of the following keroncong, composed by Arthur Michelis in 2010.

Tanah Toegoe	Tugu
Beta datang ke tanah Tugu	I come to the land of Tugu,
Indah permai nan elok rupanya	how beautiful and peaceful it is
Candrabaga nama sungai nya	Candrabaga is the name of its river,
Keroncong Tugu mengalun indah	Kroncong Tugu flows beautifully
Rumah Tuhan berdiri Megah	The house of God stands tall,
Di tenggara teluk Jakarta Raya	in the southeast of Jakarta bay
Hidup Rukun dan sejahtera	Living in peace and harmony,
Bersaudara semua nya	We are all family

Tuhan jaga kitape Tanah Tugu	God, take care of us in the land of Tugu,
Yang penuh liku-liku	that is full of twists and turns
Walau banyak onak dan duri	Even though there are thistles and thorns,
Kan beta jaga sampai mati	I will take care of her till I die
Tuhan jaga kitape Tanah Tugu	God, take care of us in the land of Tugu,
Yang penuh liku-liku	that is full of difficulties
Walau banyak hina dan nista	Even though there are humiliations and
Kan beta jaga selamanya	insults,
	I will take care of her forever.

Example 7. Lyrics of a Keronkong Tugu composed by Arthur Michiels and performed by Sartjee Michelis (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4sgQiJ5B5OE**) (Translation by Rebekah Tang)**

Lusossonia: on sounds and memories

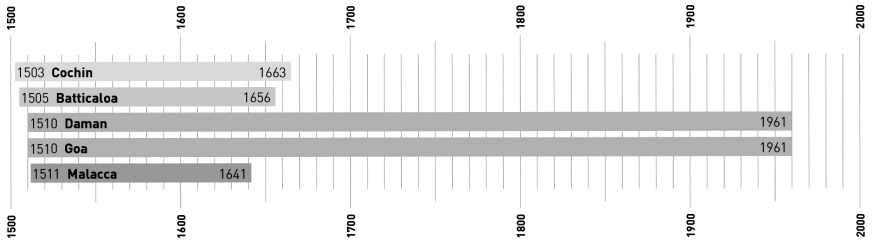
The examples that I have been presenting in this text do not constitute an attempt to classify memory nor – I insist – to endorse any celebratory propaganda for the Portuguese presence in Asia. They are, above all, a record that seeks to show how certain behaviours connected to music can contribute to the self-identification of people in situations of emotional conflict because they are faced with accepting an alternate memory handed to them by others. The expression "Portuguese of Asia", as an identifier of the holders of the songs represented here, localizes their nationality outside the nation that hosts them. And its adoption results from a postcolonial situation that did not lead, as I mentioned earlier, to the independence of places and the formation of new nations, but rather to the continuity of multiple dependencies. The fact that Xanana Gusmão was invited to the official opening of the 1st Conference of Portuguese of Asia, is a symbolic act that recognises Timor's independence – after 27 years of integration into Indonesia which followed the end of Portuguese

rule – as being a unique case in the context of the Association of Portuguese Communities in Asia. The Portuguese language does not have any significant expression in these territories. In Timor, where it acquired the status of an official language alongside Tetum, it is surpassed by the latter or even Bahasa Indonesia as a working language. Moreover, all the discursive brilliance surrounding the celebration of Lusophony by Portugal is based on a fiction created by an imagined world map of Portuguese speakers whose total numbers are arrived at by adding the inhabitants of the CPLP countries to the communities of Portuguese and Brazilian emigrants around the world. However, we know that even in places where the Portuguese language acquires an official language status, it is often – as in the case of Timor – surpassed in practice by the use of local spoken languages. In these cases, speaking Portuguese is not a voluntary action, but rather one of the many obligations driven by the oppressive violence of the rules that govern us as collective entities. In fact, when we speak of Lusophony we are promoting a double exclusion: we exclude all individuals who do not "feel in Portuguese" although they are required by law to speak the language, and we exclude all those who have no legal right to the language although they claim their Portuguese ancestry.

It is in this context that expressive behaviour, like music, proves to be much more liberating since it allows people to express their wills, ways of feeling, and identification without any submission to institutions. Except for isolated instances of political interference, the practice of music is a voluntary action. And in the cases described here, the unusual resilience of musical practices of exclusively oral transmission can only happen because of the importance they acquire as self-narrative resources. The possibility for identification with the ex-coloniser, although remote, is apparently disconcerting to some. But another meaning appears if we think that branyo, mandó, cafrinha, or keroncong are also examples of a double resistance: they have acted and they still act as an instance of mediation and balance in

an economy of affects, here understood as the management of the emotional relationship between the different agents in the process of colonial negotiation and post-colonial reconstruction.

The songs recorded here have withstood the passage of time, almost as if they were timeless. The following table shows that, with the exception of Goa, Daman and Diu, the remaining places, where groups of Asian individuals claim their Portugality through music, lost contact with Portugal over 300 years ago.



But what they all have in common is the fact that they are territories that were never entitled to their independence. Invariably forgotten and disregarded by international politics, by theories, and our terrible post-colonial complexes, these places certainly deserve more attention. We owe them the consolidation of a soundtrack that painfully reminds Portuguese of our colonial past and includes us in the current post-colonial cartography. This soundtrack – which I call Lusossonia – allows us to challenge the concept of Lusophony, which is deeply imperialist, centralizing and atrophying, because it does not open space for other expressions of interlocution, such as music.

Lusossonia establishes another cartography that, as Michel de Certeau (1984) says, does not submit to the layout that delimits nations. It resides in interstitial spaces which have been declassified and, consequently, abandoned and neglected by the interests of a political economy based on exclusive institutional dialogue that favors the official and objective Knowledges and disregards the practical and embodied ones thus promoting what Dwight Conquergood defines as the "apartheid of knowledges" (2002:153). In his words,

> The state of emergency under which many people live demands that we pay attention to messages that are coded and encrypted; to indirect, nonverbal, and extralinguistic modes of communication where subversive meanings and utopian yearnings can be sheltered and shielded from surveillance (idem:148)

For the Asian Portuguese, Lusossonia songs, despite emanating from a history of oppression, become a possibility for emancipation. The musical repertoire resulting from the Portuguese presence in Asia feeds on a contradictory state because it constantly remembers what supposedly should be forgotten. Their holders established with it a double relationship of belongingness: they feel that the repertoire belongs to them and, at the same time, that they belong to the world represented by the repertoire. This world, distant in time and space, centered on an imagined Portugal, materializes in music as the only remaining possibility of self-expression, of appealing for recognised existence and legitimising difference. This repertoire, which cuts across the Lusophone map, should not embarrass us because it recalls a past that we want to forget. Nor should the soundtrack of Lusossonia serve to celebrate that past. Rather, it must be seen as an opportunity of dialogue and as a valid contribution to the decolonisation of memory and our colonial archive.

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BIOGRAPHIES

Robert Newman. Born in Boston, Mass., USA, Newman grew up in the small town of Marblehead, north of Boston, graduating from the local high school. He attended Cornell University, gaining a B.A. in Asian Studies and Anthropology, then served two years in Lucknow, U.P., India, with the United States Peace Corps. During that time, he first visited Goa. Returning to Cornell, he did a Masters, then a Ph.D. in Organizational Behavior, Anthropology and Asian Studies. His doctoral research was done in and around Lucknow in 1970. The research concerned the effectiveness of several kinds of primary schools in different cultural environments.

After teaching short stints at the University of Chicago and at the State University of New York, Newman went to Australia to take up a position at La Trobe University in Melbourne. As an anthropologist and specialist on Asia, particularly India, he was expected to tie these fields to the sphere of Education. Over a sixteen-year period, he taught many courses in all these fields and concentrated his research and writing mainly on Goa, where he first did research in 1978-79. He also taught as a visiting lecturer in Xi'an, China and in Seoul, Korea.

In the same year as his first book appeared (1989) – a volume based on his doctoral research, called "Grassroots Education in India: A Challenge for Policy Makers" – Newman resigned his position as Senior Lecturer in Australia and returned to the USA to "start a new life".

Since then, he has made his living teaching English as a second language to new immigrants to the USA while residing in his old home town, Marblehead. He has not forsaken academia, however, writing and presenting a number of papers since 1989. His second book was published in 2000 by Other India Press in Mapuça, Goa. t contains the bulk of his work on Goa and is called "Of Umbrellas, Goddesses and Dreams: Essays on Goan Culture and Society". Over the succeeding years he has attended numerous conferences at the University of Massachusetts, University of Connecticut, at Yale University, Brown University, at the University of Wisconsin, in Amsterdam, Portugal, Brazil, and in Goa, presenting papers or being a discussant at most of them. A second edition and extensive update of the Goa book appeared in 2019 in two volumes with different titles. (Goan Anthropology: Mothers Miracles and Mythology. Goan Anthropology: Festivals, Films and Fish.)

In 2015, he published a book of autobiographical stories called "Marblehead Traveller". He has reviewed hundreds of books on Amazon and Goodreads, mostly in the fields of anthropology, history, and serious fiction.

Delfim Correia da Silva, was born in Vila do Conde, Portugal. He has a degree in teaching Portuguese and French from University of University of Aveiro (1990) and a M.Phil in Portuguese Interdisciplinary Studies from the Open University of Lisbon (2008). He is currently concluding his doctorate thesis in Literary, Cultural and Interartistic Studies from University of Porto. He is presently appointed as Visiting Lecturer at the Department of Portuguese and Lusophone Studies at Goa University and the Head of the Camões-Centro de Língua Portuguesa in Pangim, Goa, after having worked as Visiting Lecturer at the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India (1996-2001) and at the Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski, Bulgaria (2002-2006). He is member of the thematic project "Pensando Goa" and the coordinator of the J.H. Cunha Rivara Chair at the Goa University since 2016.

Amélia Polónia. Professor at the Department of History, Political and International Studies of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto, Amélia Polónia is currently the scientific coordinator of the CITCEM Research Centre (Centro Transdisciplinar Cultura, Espaço e Memória).

Her scientific interests include agent-based analysis applied to historical dynamics, social and economic networks, maritime communities and self-organizing networks in the Early Modern Age. Seaports history, migrations, transfers and flows between different continents and oceans, informal mechanisms of empire building, women as brokers and go-betweens in overseas empires and the environmental implications of overseas European colonization are key-subjects of Amélia Polónia's current research.

She was the principal investigator of the research projects HISPORTOS (POCTI/HAR/36417/2000; http://web.letras.up.pt/hisportos/); DynCoopNet (ESF – 06-TECT-FP-004; FCT-TECH/0002/2007. www.dyncoopnet-pt.org/), TECT/EUROCOES (ESF) project. She is the scientific coordinator of the research network: The Governance of the Atlantic Seaports (14th – 21st Centuries) http://www.uned.es/gobernanza-puertos-atlanticos/ and the research network CoopMar. Transoceanic Cooperation. Public Policies and Sociocultural Iberoamerican community. https://coopmarcooperation.wordpress.com/)

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Hugo Cardoso is professor at Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa and a researcher of the Centro de Linguística da Universidade de Lisboa, having earlier worked in Macau and Coimbra. He is a researcher of language contact, especially that involving Portuguese, with particular emphasis on the creole languages of South Asia (India and Sri Lanka), combining a synchronic (descriptive) perspective with an interest in the history of these languages and in comparative approaches. He has a degree in Modern Languages and Literatures from the University of Coimbra (2002), an MPhil from the University of Amsterdam (2003) dedicated to the Portuguese lexical element in Suriname's Saramaccan language, and a PhD, also from the University of Amsterdam (2009), with a dissertation that consisted of the documentation and description of the Indo-Portuguese creole of Diu. Subsequent research focused on other South Asian Portuguese-lexified contact languages, namely the creoles of the Malabar (Cochin, Cannanore, Calicut), and, more recently, that of Sri Lanka – a research project funded by the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme managed by the

School of Oriental and African Studies – thus cementing an Asian focus which has also touched on issues related to Malacca, Macau, and East Timor.

Among his books are The Indo-Portuguese language of Diu (2009), published by LOT; the co-edited volumes Gradual Creolisation (2009) and Ibero-Asian Creoles: Comparative perspectives (2012), published by John Benjamins; and Lives in Contact: A tribute to nine fellow creolinguists, published by Colibri (2019). Guest-edited journal issues include special volumes on "Accounting for similarities among the Asian-Portuguese varieties" (Journal of Portuguese Linguistics, 2009; co-edited with Umberto Ansaldo), "Language endangerment and preservation in South Asia" (Language Documentation and Conservation, 2014), and "Diu and the Diuese: Indian Ocean, heritage, and cultural landscapes" (South Asian Studies, 2018, co-edited with Pedro Pombo). His articles and chapters have come out in journals such as Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages, Journal of Language Contact, South Asian Studies, Moderna Språk, Revista Internacional de Lingüística Iberoamericana, Revista de Crioulos de Base Lexical Portuguesa e Espanhola, and Papia, as well as books published by Oxford University Press, John Benjamins, Mouton de Gruyter, Iberoamericana/ Vervuert, and Niemeyer.

In addition to his own institutions, he also been invited to teach at the University of Graz (Austria), Hong Kong University (SAR Hong Kong), University of Massachussetts (United States of America), Università degli Studi della Tuscia (Italy), Universidade Estadual de Feira de Santana (Brazil), Indian Institute of Technology Gandhinagar (India), and, since 2016, Goa University (India). He has been associated with Goa University's Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara Chair in Indo-Portuguese Studies from the very beginning, having had the privilege to deliver the inaugural address in November 2016 and, subsequently, to teach two courses (Language contact in South Asia and the role of Portuguese, and Methods of language documentation) over three academic stays.

Susana Sardo is an ethnomusicologist, Associate Professor at the University of Aveiro, Portugal and Visiting Professor of the Cunha Rivara Chair, University of Goa, India. Her research interests include music and a post-colonial approach to it, music in the lusophonic world, processes of folklorization through music, establishing sound archives, and music under post-dictatorship regimes. In the last years she has been dedicated to applying shared research practices in ethnomusicology. She is the author of the book "Guerras de Jasmim e Mogarim: Música, Identidade e Emoções em Goa" (Texto 2011) which received the 2012 Culture Award from the Lisbon Geographical Society. Her other publications include the scientific coordination of the 12 CD collection Journey of Sounds (Tradisom 1998), among other audio-visual publications and papers. Since 2007 Susana Sardo coordinates the Aveiro branch of the Research Centre for Ethnomusicology (INET-md).

Walter Rossa (Caracas, 1962) is an architect (1985), master in History of Art (1991), Ph.D., and aggregated in Architecture (2001 and 2013). He is a full professor at the Department of Architecture and researcher at the Centre for the History of Society and Culture at the University of Coimbra. There he co-coordinates the Ph.D. program Patrimónios de Influência Portuguesa (Heritages of Portuguese Influence), holds the UNESCO Chair in Intercultural Dialogue in Heritages of Portuguese Influence (2019), and teaches courses on cultural heritage, town and regional planning, urban design, and urban history. He was a visiting professor at several universities and has supervised 80 academic dissertations, including 15 Ph.D. He co-holds the Cunha Rivara Chair at the Goa University, is chairman of Património Histórico Ibero-Americano (Ibero-American Historical Heritage) network and is an Expert Member of the ICOMOS CIVVIH, International Committee on Historic Towns and Villages. Besides his activity as a practicing architect and town planner, Walter Rossa researches the theory and history of architecture and urbanism, especially on town planning

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Delfim Correia da Silva, was born in Vila do Conde, Portugal. He has a degree in teaching Portuguese and French from University of University of Aveiro (1990) and a M.Phil in Portuguese Interdisciplinary Studies from the Open University of Lisbon (2008). He is currently concluding his doctorate thesis in Literary, Cultural and Interartistic Studies from University of Porto. He is presently appointed as Visiting Lecturer at the Department of Portuguese and Lusophone Studies at Goa University and the Head of the Camões-Centro de Língua Portuguesa in Pangim, Goa, after having worked as Visiting Lecturer at the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India (1996-2001) and at the Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski, Bulgar-ia (2002-2006). He is member of the thematic project "Pensando Goa" and the coordinator of the J.H. Cunha Rivara Chair at the Goa University since 2016.

Robert B. Newman grew up in Marblehead, north of Boston, Massachusetts. He attended Cornell University, earning a B.A. in Asian Studies and Anthropology. He served two years in Lucknow, India, as a Peace Corps volunteer. During that time, he first visited Goa.

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In 1989, Newman resigned and returned to Marblehead and as an independent scholar has continued writing and giving papers at conferences.

Série Investigação
•
Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra
Coimbra University Press
2022

Obra publicada com o apoio de:

CAMÕES INSTITUTO DA COOPERAÇÃO E DA LÍNGUA PORTUGAL
MINISTÉRIO DOS NEGÓCIOS ESTRANGEIROS

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