GOA

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The ground plans of the Cathedral (p. 48) and the Basilica of Bom Jesus (p. 59) have been reproduced from the brochure *Old Goa* by S. Rajagopalan published by the Archaeological Survey of India in 1975.
For
CHARLES and MONIKA
who first sent me to Goa
RALINO, ANNIE, SARTO and THERESE
who so warmly welcomed me there
and
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who helped me explore it
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Foreword

A complete and scholarly account of Goa and its history could be written only by someone with a knowledge of Portuguese and with access to official archives at Lisbon, of which I have neither; nor have I the academic qualifications of a professional historian or geographer. Yet a man may get to know and like a country without these, and may try to pass on to others his sense of what is special about it.

Because of the accident of history whereby Goa was still held by the Portuguese through all the years when nearly the whole of India was ruled by the British, the many Britons who published descriptions of the different parts of India passed it by, and so relatively little has been written about it in the English language. This is an attempt to fill part of the gap: to portray Goa as the visitor finds it, to set it against its historical background and to examine the way of life it has made its own and the unique character of its towns and villages, its architecture and its landscape—all of which, including the way of life, are a fascinating blend of the Latin and the Oriental.

The following pages also comment briefly on the condition in which Goa finds itself now, and on changes that are taking place including those resulting from Goa being for the first time opened up, as a matter of Indian Government policy, to tourism. But as in the rest of India, changes happen slowly and Goa is still little different from what it was when I first got to know it in the 1960s. May it not lose too many of its essential qualities, and if this book has even partially succeeded in showing what these are, this is the place to say that it has done so because of the amiability and helpfulness of more Goan friends and passing acquaintances than I can name or thank. It is one of the charms of Goa that no-one is ever in a hurry. Goans seem to have plenty of time to spare, and this is always at the stranger’s disposal.

J.M. Richards
The names of the taluka towns are given in initial capitals and small letters, except in the case of PANJIM, the capital.
The names of the talukas are given in capital letters.
A Note about Place-Names

Maps of Goa are in one way bewildering; in different maps towns and villages have several different—or differently spelt—names. Panjim, the capital, often appears as Panaji, the small town of Bicholim as Dicholi—and so on. This, like so much in Goa, is a product of the territory’s varied history.

The local language is Konkani, a language which in 1976 was given the status of one of the officially recognized languages of India. This means that henceforward Goan children will be taught three languages at school; their own Konkani, Hindi and English (which the visitor will find very widely spoken), Konkani replacing Marathi, the language of the people of Maharashtra State, which stretches from Goa northwards up to and beyond Bombay.

Marathi, being the language of powerful neighbours, was—and still is—widely used. Most Goan towns and villages have a Marathi as well as a Konkani name—not often basically different because they belong to the same group of Indian languages. They also have a Portuguese name, their official name during the Portuguese time. This was usually a Portuguese adaptation of the original Konkani, as indeed was the name Goa itself. After Goa was incorporated into an independent India in 1961, the names used by the Portuguese were in many cases superseded by Marathi names. Now this is being changed, and the newest maps and other publications give place-names in their Konkani form.

Early travellers in Goa—to make things more confusing still—often based their spelling of place-names on pronunciation as they heard and interpreted it. When quoting their writings in this book I have naturally retained their variations.

The name Panjim (sometimes spelt by the Portuguese Pangim) is a mixture of Konkani and Portuguese. Panaji is its Marathi form. The second biggest town is usually called Margao,* but

*Names like this, though Portuguese in form, are not in Goa normally given the diacritical mark or til, e.g. on the second 'a' in Margao which would be essential in Portuguese. The til and some other accents have been omitted throughout this book.
its Konkani name is Madgaon. Goa’s deep-water harbour can be Marmagoa or Mormugao and the town behind it, founded by the Portuguese, was called by them Vasco da Gama, but in 1961 was given a Marathi name, Sambhaji (after the eighteenth-century Maratha warrior instead of the fifteenth-century Portuguese navigator). This has now been dropped and the town is again Vasco da Gama—nearly always shortened to Vasco. Mapusa, the market town in the north and Goa’s third largest, also appears on maps as Mapuca, Quelem in the south as Calem, the island of Divar as Diwadi (which again is the Marathi version) and Old Goa, which is most often referred to in this English form, appears also in its Portuguese form of Velha Goa.

And so it goes on, according to when and by whom the map was printed. On the following pages I have not tried to use consistently either the Konkani, Marathi or the Portuguese version of place-names, but whichever is most commonly in use among the people with whom the visitor is likely to come in contact, in up-to-date maps and in road-signs and the like.
Chapter 1

A Mingling of Cultures

Adam Smith's remark that "The discovery of America and that of a passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope are the two greatest and most important events recorded in the history of mankind"* may seem to imply that mankind began in Europe; yet the Portuguese voyages to the East were undoubtedly among the significant steps in the direction of the mingling of mankind, which previously existed as isolated peoples with few mutual contacts. More than five hundred years later one of the most fascinating examples of the mingling of peoples is still the superimposition, in the small territory of Goa, of the cultures and habits of Europe and the Orient.

It has survived the decline of the Portuguese Empire and the rise and decline of the British Empire in India, by which the tiny Goan enclave was surrounded. It has survived—or perhaps owes its survival to—the changes in communication routes brought about by the opening of the Suez Canal and the growth of air transport, and it is perhaps only threatened by the spread of international tourism, which has lately done more than anything else to iron out the differences between places.

The preeminence of Goa as an example of two superimposed cultures is due, paradoxically, to the isolation that history bequeathed to it in spite of its being involved in the first significant occasion since Alexander the Great when Europeans intruded into the separate life of Asia. The Portuguese domination of the East in the sixteenth century, soon superseded by that of the Dutch and briefly of the French, and then for centuries by that of the British, remained as a historical memory kept alive in five tiny Portuguese possessions: Macao in the China seas, Timor in the East Indies, and Daman, Diu and Goa on the Indian peninsula. But their

*Quoted by Professor Boxer in his *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415-1825*, highly recommended for more about the historical background outlined in Chapters 3 and 4 of this book. Another useful and more detailed source is the historical introduction to Fonseca's *Sketch of the City of Goa*. See footnote on page 34.
political importance altogether disappeared; Macao retained some lively mercantile life but Goa—once the capital of Portugal’s empire in the East—was bypassed by history. Since the eighteenth century it was valued by Portugal more as a symbol of past greatness than as a territorial asset, and it therefore changed far less than British India surrounding it. Perhaps it should be emphasized at this point, since the Portuguese names which Christian Goans bear often cause confusion, that Goans are Indians in spite of their admixture of European culture. The amount of Portuguese blood is small and comes from far back.

Since Goa was absorbed into India in 1961—taken by force as Portugal saw it; liberated as nationalist India saw it—there have of course been changes: people from other parts of India have flocked in to take advantage of the commercial and industrial opportunities that opened up and of the higher standard of living that Goa had managed to sustain.* This is not a wholly new phenomenon. In the Portuguese time there were immigrants from Orissa and the United Provinces working in the docks. But they have poured in since 1961. At first they came mostly from the Punjab, then from drought-ridden Rajasthan in the north and from Kerala (another State with many Christians) in the south. Rather strangely, the natives of the adjoining State to Goa, Maharashtra, seldom migrate anywhere.

Thus the peculiar individuality of Goa has become to a very small extent diluted. But things move slowly on the Indian continent, and fifteen years after the ending of Portuguese rule Goa remains uniquely itself. Moreover the territory’s remarkable mineral riches have been more actively exploited, bringing ships into Mormagoa harbour in numbers not seen since the spice and pepper trade used Goa as their base in the sixteenth century. This has maintained for it, at least temporarily, the relative freedom from poverty, and the high level of employment, that absorption into the vastness of India might otherwise have rapidly extinguished.

Goa, a territory of only 1,350 square miles about half way down the western coast of the Indian peninsula, has since 1961 been subject to overall control from Delhi instead of being left virtually

*In the decade 1961-71 there was an increase in the population of Goa of 36.8 per cent, whereas the average increase throughout India was 24.8 per cent.
to its own devices by a distant administration in Lisbon. Yet it retains many of its traditional characteristics. The towns and villages and countryside, the unlikely combination of Latin and Oriental life-styles and the co-existence of Christianity and Hinduism\(^*\) in which Goa and its neighbour Kerala are unique, are almost unaltered. How long they will remain so will depend on Indian Government policies; also to some extent on how actively India implements her resolution, taken in 1971 on the advice of a commission sent by the United Nations Development Programme, that the increased provision for the tourist trade, which India’s need of foreign exchange has made urgent, should be concentrated in Goa. The building of tourist hotels is under way as these words are being written.

It is reassuring however to all those anxious that Goa should not change too much, that another—perhaps only temporary—development that has already taken place, and which sounds as though it might have been utterly destructive, has affected Goa as a whole very little. In the last ten years Goa has been famous—or notorious—as one of the gathering places of the world’s hippies, those waifs and misfits from a Western civilization whose pressures increasingly prove too much for the young. The Indian continent, with its ready acceptance of all manner of beliefs and its seductive tradition of mysticism, has attracted many of these, who have established a habit of flocking to Kathmandu in Nepal in the summer and migrating to Goa when Kathmandu gets too cold. One appeal of Goa is that there they can achieve a sense of being still in the wilds of Asia, but are yet surrounded by familiar Western images.

All winter therefore there are hundreds of hippies in Goa. Not all conform to the accepted notion of what a hippy is. Some are indeed pathetic wan-faced specimens—European or American—hooked on hard drugs and destined to pass what is left of their lives hiding away from a world they have rejected, regarding it as someone else’s job to change it, not theirs. But many others, living the hippy life, have only temporarily opted out of a civilization they found restrictive and distasteful—something youth always has the right to do. For them, joining the hippies is just

\(^*\)Christians now represent about one third of the total population of 850,000. The proportion was somewhat higher before 1961, since when the population has been increased from about 500,000 by the immigration of Hindu labour.
another experience, another voyage of self-education, from which they will return in due course.

This is by the way. The important thing from the point of view of the visitor to Goa is that the hippies keep themselves to themselves; mostly along the seemingly interminable beaches of Colva and Calangute (from which latter area however many of them have lately been moved on in the interest of the tourist trade to the still more northerly beaches of Chapora and Vagator). They sleep rough—no hardship in the comfortable Goan climate—or rent primitive huts from fishermen or build themselves rude shelters among the dunes. Ramshackle cafes and foodstalls serve them, and they are little seen in other parts of Goa: in transit, perhaps, when small parties of hippies are identifiable by the exhibitionist flavour of their clothing and the guitars slung on their backs, or in the post-office at Panjim which a surprising number visit periodically to collect allowances remitted by their parents.

They do no harm—the drug-sodden minority are too lethargic and the others are not lacking in goodwill. They make themselves unpopular only by littering their adopted beaches and, in the case of a very small number, by evoking justifiable anger when they beg from those even poorer than themselves, taking advantage of the belief, shared by Hindus and Muslims, that it is a duty to give alms to the poor.

So although Goa has a reputation for being a home of hippies—as indeed it is—you can spend weeks there without being much aware of them if you do not visit their particular beaches. There are many beaches where not a hippy is to be seen, and away from the coast and in the villages and countryside they make no impact at all. The slow tempo and unchanging life-style remain as they have been since Goa lost its economic value as a Portuguese possession nearly three hundred years ago.

One more thing must be said on the subject of Goa’s centuries-long isolation from the changing world up till 1961. It was contradicted by one remarkable circumstance. Though the world seldom visited Goa, the Goans—one can almost say—roamed across the world. There was too little local employment from the eighteenth century onwards and the Goans, being excellent cooks and not being handicapped by the Hindu’s restrictions about food and how and with whom it can be eaten, acquired a reputation for domestic usefulness, especially among the British. This
was reinforced by the Goans' friendly accommodating temperament, and from the early nineteenth century onwards British military cantonments, army messes, officials' households and—which explains their roaming across the world—P & O liners, employed them in large numbers as cooks, waiters and the like.

'Goanese' cooks were famous in the days of the British Raj; why 'Goanese' is incidentally a puzzle, since when speaking English they refer to themselves, and are referred to by other Indians, as Goans; so that the word 'Goanese' is now in many ways a term of opprobrium, descriptive only of the employment of Goans in European domestic service. In spite of the termination of the British Raj they are still so employed in fair numbers in other parts of India, especially in Bombay, and in many capacities besides the domestic. Yet they stick to each other. There is close family feeling among Goans, away as well as at home. There are Goan clubs in Bombay, and the Goan workers there remit part of their earnings to Goa, to build up some capital and keep the family house going, eventually to return bringing their savings with them, thus helping to sustain a prosperity that the employment opportunities within the territory would not make possible. The many Goans in Africa do the same.

The frequent coming into contact with Goan—with the so-called Goanese—cooks and domestic servants on the part of the British and other Europeans must have given a curiously distorted impression of the inhabitants of Goa. The British especially became familiar with the obliging, well-spoken peasant and poorer classes for whom domestic employment provided a welcome living, or with clerks and industrial workers in Bombay. They remained totally ignorant of the middle and upper classes, who themselves made no contact with Europe outside Portugal, whose language they most often spoke among themselves—although few were of even partly Portuguese blood—where their sons went to university and by whom they were given employment by the civil service and the church. One of the revealing experiences of the B.iton who comes to Goa is his discovery of the self-contained society and culture cherished by a vast, largely interrelated, upper class of educated Goans. Only the elderly now prefer to speak Portuguese, and they are not so prosperous as they were because a leisured upper-middle class is declining all over the world, and so is the prosperity derived from the ownership of land; but they
still inhabit the architectural relics of their once marvellously balanced and self-sufficient civilization.

The beautifully appointed country houses the traveller comes across all over Goa, still owned by the families who built them perhaps a couple of centuries ago, and many now only partly occupied or divided up in some way or occupied only by old people, may give the impression of being but remnants of a disappearing way of life—as indeed they are—but they also represent the kind of life many Goans still aspire to if their economic circumstances allow them to achieve it. It is kept alive, for example, by those returning from Africa (including those recently expelled from Uganda and Kenya) and able to bring their accumulated wealth with them. Their preference nearly always is to acquire land and build themselves houses in the Goan villages or settle down in family-owned land.

Land owning—and this is something else that must be understood about Goa—is quite separate from the cultivation of the land. Goa is fertile, and raising crops has always been profitable enough to provide a living both for those who work on it and for those who manage it and furnish the capital. The small but relatively well-off landlord is still, in Goa, part of contemporary society, occupying one of the groups of elegant though not enormous houses that surround nearly every village and probably owning his land in a different village. He in as much part of the present-day world as the trader, the industrialist and the entrepreneur.

There is still some wealth in the old families, and children inherit capital after the fashion taken for granted among the middle-class Victorian English. Although Goans have a reputation for being indolent, they are not improvident; and this surviving practice of husbanding family resources is one of the things that still distinguishes Goa from the rest of India.

Nevertheless, though it happens that some of the richest men in India are Goans (not, however, as a result of local or land-owning enterprise but of engaging in trade and investment elsewhere), the situation and traditions described above are beginning to change. This is partly the consequence of social and economic changes occurring all over the world and partly the inevitable long-term consequence of Goa's incorporation into India, a proportion of whose multiple burdens Goa must eventually bear.
But especially—and more threateningly—changes are arising from India’s new land-reform policies (see Chapter 13) and may eventually arise from the plans, to which I have already referred, to open up Goa to tourism.

In 1975, for the first time, package tours of India included some days in Goa in the itineraries they offered. So far this has only meant time to enjoy the beaches, since the package tourists are sent to a new hotel at Aguada fort, near Calangute beach but far from any town and thus from involvement in the life Goans themselves live.

No doubt tourism will expand to other parts, but this need not bring destructive changes if those in charge of the development programme make use of Goa’s latent possibilities and try, sensitively and intelligently, to exploit what exists already. They could on the other hand destroy the whole character of Goa, and at the same time its tourist potential, if they were to build it up in standard international style, alien to the spirit of the place.
Chapter 2

South from Bombay

The best way to travel to Goa if you can spare the time is by ship from Bombay. This is neither the quickest way nor the way taken by most tourists, since there is a daily air-service from Bombay to Dabolim airport which takes only an hour—but it is the most enjoyable and at the same time the most instructive way, especially if you want to understand the circumstances in which the territory of Goa was born; for then you approach it from the open sea and sail up the Mandovi River, just as the Portuguese did for the first time in 1510.

The ship goes every day of the week except in the monsoon season (July to September) and takes twenty-four hours, or an hour or two less depending on the state of the tide.* Sometimes it has to wait for enough depth of water to cross the sand-bar at the mouth of the river before proceeding up to Panjim, the capital and chief town of Goa and the port where the ship's journey terminates.

The journey is from the beginning indicative of the Goan way of life. At every sailing the ship is crowded with Goans returning home after a spell of working in Bombay or taking time away from work to rejoin their families. Goans are good workers at many trades, and money earned outside the territory—saved and eventually brought back, or regularly remitted if wives and children have been left behind—is an important element in the Goan economy. This was so in the later Portuguese time; in fact this way of Goan life originated then, because the inertia into which the territory lapsed after the first energetic years of Portuguese possession had, for the last couple of centuries, driven the population to seek a livelihood outside. The Goans had become regular emigrants, though emigrants who nearly always came back.

The ships that go to Panjim from Bombay (they used to be run by the Chowgule Line, but in 1972 were taken over by the Indian Government) are not solely used by Goan workers coming and

*It took Richard Burton three days in a sailing-boat in 1846; see his *Goa and the Blue Mountains*. 
going, and by the occasional businessman, Goan or otherwise, and the casual travellers who occupy the dozen or so cabins on their upper deck; for one of the attractions of the voyage is that the ship calls in at two or three small ports in Maharashtra on the way to Goa—mostly fishing towns or villages of which there are a number strung along the coast under the lee of the Western Ghats. The timetable varies so that each village gets a visit once or twice a week.

The ship's arrival in these places, even though it may be in the middle of the night, is a notable occasion, and on the quayside at Bombay before the ship sails at ten o'clock in the morning from Ferry Wharf (which takes some finding within the labyrinth of the city's docks, barred by gates and concealed behind high walls), a proportion of the bundles and boxes that are carried on board among shouts and confusions, up gang-ways that other people are at the same time trying to force their way down, are destined for these villages on the way.

The shouts and confusions rise to a climax as the time of departure from Bombay approaches, and the lower decks are packed more closely with passengers and their belongings and sleeping-mats and provisions for the voyage than you would have thought possible. The voices of passengers, deck-hands and stevedores are reinforced by those of passengers' friends and relations—almost as many, it appears, in number—who have come to see them off. The upper-deck passenger, as he leans on the rail watching the causes of all the hubbub, enjoys a wonderful panorama, embodying a hundred appealing, ludicrous or merely endearingly characteristic incidents that make this a memorable demonstration of that mixture of anxiety, impetuosity, excitability and goodwill that typifies Indian crowds on such occasions, as well as the variety of colour and costume inseparable from every Indian crowd.

The passenger is to be presented in due course, however, with a panorama even more remarkable and picturesque. After the ship has passed slowly down the bay, with the city skyline to be seen on the one hand and distant blue hills on the other, after it has turned southwards on feeling the movement of the open sea, after the passengers crowded beneath the awnings on the lower decks have settled quietly down, stretched out on their bedding if they have managed to seize the necessary space or else propped up against
their bundles and boxes, after some hours of peaceful sailing barely within sight of land and when it is already becoming dark, the ship turns east again and glides past a headland and up an inlet leading to its first port of call, a small district town called Ratnagiri.

The rocky coast on either side, with the rich greens of its vegetation, already has the look of a latitude far to the south of Bombay. Thatched and tiled roofs are visible among the trees, but the landing-stage lies round another bend. Before reaching it the ship’s siren signals its approach to the townspeople, and by the time it has come into sight and is being warped alongside, floodlights on the landing-stage have been switched on and the spectator on the upper deck is confronted by a scene as splendidly disposed and lighted as any in a theatre.

The floodlights throw the background into total darkness. There are only to be seen, unreal and one-dimensional, a chance-lit sequence of stone walls, shed roofs, a bare white flagstaff, the fronds of palm-trees, an arched gate opening on to an invisible pathway, the barely discernible outline of a house. The brightly lit stage in front of these is occupied, it seems, by the whole population of the little port awaiting the final attachment of the ship by hawsers to the shore. Those on board can hear their hubbub, which is soon of course echoed by a renewal of the Bombay hubbub on the ship. Then shouted greetings and instructions give way to runnings and jostlings, and even before the gangways are in position passengers’ bundles and possessions are being handed over the ship’s side into the outstretched hands of families and friends.

They include corded packages of mysterious shape, drums and boxes and baskets; suddenly caught by a beam of light, a tin trunk with a great human eye painted on its lid. All are carried this way and that, but in spite of the confusion are sorted and identified with very little delay. Some are piled into small boats waiting in the semi-darkness at the end of the stage; some disappear on the heads of their owners into the shadowy roadway beyond; some remain stacked in the foreground, guarded by children not yet old enough to help the unloading and carrying. Shadows flicker and disappear, and from time to time brightly coloured saris isolate themselves in the floodlights and then fade back quickly into the dark.
South from Bombay

When the ship draws away the townspeople are already disappearing. This play is over, and on the still crowded decks peace and darkness settle again. The cabin passenger bound for Goa knows nothing of the later ports of call unless he is disturbed as he lies in his bunk by the engines stopping in the early hours of the morning, by the tramp of feet on deck and muffled bumpings and shoutings. When daylight wakes him he is far out at sea; by now the faint line on the horizon is the coastline of Goa, and as he eats his breakfast in the saloon the landmarks that fellow-passengers are soon able to point out to him through the open door or the brass-rimmed portholes are Goan landmarks. First a cliff marks the position of the mouth of the Chapora River, then a pale line at the water’s edge indicates the mile-long beach of Calangute; then a series of headlands ends with one crowned by stone walls. At last he is in touch with Goa’s history, because at Chapora, and again on the headlands he sees soon afterwards, are the remains of forts built by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century to protect their newly acquired colony from marauders from the sea. The first of these was in fact built by Afonso de Albuquerque himself, of whom more—much more—in the next chapter.

As the ship approaches the estuary of the Mandovi River it comes quite close inshore and rounds its final headland, this time bearing evidence of the most recent, as well as the earliest, episodes in the territory’s history. On one side of the headland is a luxurious beach hotel, opened only in 1975. Above it are the remains of Aguada fort, built in 1612 and later converted into a prison. The cluster of low stone buildings down by the water’s edge, where prisoners are still housed, looks nevertheless agreeable rather than sinister; but then there is nothing sinister to see in Goa—only to read about in the story of its conquest, which was in any case no more sinister than the story of the Spanish in Central America or the British in Bengal.

Beyond Aguada, after the ship has entered the estuary, is another Portuguese fort, Reis-Magos, and then an inhabited shoreline with red-roofed fishermen’s houses half hidden among the palm-trees. On a prominent rock just above the water is a white-painted Hindu shrine and high on the hillside first a lighthouse and then, standing out in sparkling contrast to the deep greens of the dense vegetation, the whitewashed facade of a church.
This will be the first of many such that the visitor may henceforth expect to encounter at every turn in the road and punctuating every distant prospect; for if there is one object more characteristically Goan than any other it is the brilliantly white baroque village church emerging from the wild or fertile countryside.

This first glimpse of a typical Goan scene is on the port side of the ship as it sails in from the sea up the Mandovi River. But most passengers will be watching from the starboard side, because in that direction there is now revealed an intriguing and unexpected sight: a fleet of a dozen or more large merchant ships lying at anchor some distance from the shore. They are in the deep-water roadstead off Marmagao harbour, and are being loaded with iron and manganese ore—the chief source of Goa’s relative prosperity—brought down the Mandovi River in barges from the mines in the interior.

A third of India’s iron-ore deposits are in Goa, and these are especially valuable to the country’s present economy as earners of foreign currency. The iron-ore in eastern India, which lies near the biggest steelworks, the coal-mines and much of the heavy industry, is relied on for home consumption. The ore from Goa is nearly all exported—most of it to Japan. The process of getting it from the mines to the high seas is a seemingly primitive, but in fact a highly organized and effective one. Motor-driven steel barges come down the river in a never-ending procession. The ore they carry is lifted into the ships in the roadstead—the river is not deep enough for these to come up to the mines—and they then return empty for another load. Something like three hundred barges are employed, all manned by Goans, though the dock labour comes from other parts of India where the people are of stronger physique. The procession continues night and day, the bargemen working in shifts, so that even after dark their lights, passing back and forth down the river and across the open bay to Marmagao, are a reminder of this unceasing activity. Only rough weather stops them—really rough weather; they persist through the choppy water often met with outside the sheltered river, even though waves appear to break right over their gunwales as they fight their way, fully loaded and low in the water, towards the big ships lying at anchor on the far side of the bay.

These are soon hidden from the passenger on board the ship from Bombay by a rocky peninsula, ending in what is simply
called Cabo—the cape—on which is sited the residence—once a monastery—of the lieutenant-governor. But evidence of the importance of the iron-ore trade is never lost sight of. A regular procession of rusty barges, each with its pyramid of reddish ore, meets his vessel as it makes its way up river, and it overtakes empty barges on their return journey. Soon after the Cabo headland, and still on the starboard side, appear the outskirts of Panjim, and then a mingling of low ochre-washed buildings and tall concrete offices and flats indicates the position of the town itself. Red earth hills rise behind it, crowned by trees and buildings and the inevitable white church.

The ship docks in the very centre of the town, and this is the end of its journey. The Portuguese adventurers who sailed up the Mandovi River into their colony of Goa in the sixteenth century went some miles further. Their capital, now called Old Goa, was far enough up-river to be well protected from attack. Panjim was no more than an outlying fort guarding the approach.

Old Goa is no longer inhabited, except by a few priests and nuns, the occupants of one old people’s home and the students in a couple of educational institutions which occupy what were monastic buildings. A number of churches still stand, in a few of which, including the cathedral, services are held. All the other buildings are in ruins when they have not altogether vanished; but enough remain, in size, elaboration and in the extent of the ground they cover, to show what a gorgeous place Old Goa must have been, and why it was called ‘Golden Goa’ and the Rome of the Orient, when it was the capital of all the Portuguese possessions in Asia and East Africa. It was the base indeed for a series of unbelievably bold and intrepid operations, beginning with those commanded by Afonso de Albuquerque, at the time when Portugal dominated the Eastern seas, long before the Dutch, the French or the English ventured there. They were dominant for less than a hundred years, but these hundred years are among the most remarkable in the history of European imperial expansion.
Chapter 3

Conquistadors

The story begins with a name even better known than Afonso de Albuquerque: that of Vasco da Gama, who was the first European to reach India by sea, rounding Africa in 1498. He told the first Indians he met that he and his fellow-Portuguese were seeking ‘Christians and spices’; the former because of stories that had reached Europe of a Christian people who needed rescuing from Muslim encirclement. The stories probably referred to the Abyssinians, but the first Portuguese did in fact find some Christians in India: the so-called Syrian Christians who had been converted by Nestorian Syrian missionaries as far back as the fourth century. The missionaries had come direct from Palestine, and these Indian Christians had therefore never been under the authority of Rome, a situation the Portuguese tried but failed to remedy.

The association of southern India with Christianity thus goes back to long before the arrival of the Portuguese. Nevertheless the large Christian element now existing there, the result of mass conversions, is due to the Portuguese, for one of their purposes in establishing their empires in America and in the East was to spread the Christian gospel among the ‘heathen’. Their expansion in the East was in this sense part of the Christian defence of Europe against the Muslim menace, which had been reinforced by the fall of Constantinople in 1453. But its purpose was trade as well: to take advantage of the new sea route to the Indies and capture the spice trade for Portugal.

Spices were much in demand in medieval Europe, and this highly profitable trade had previously been in the hands of Arab merchants who shipped the spice cargoes across the Indian Ocean to the Red Sea and then by caravan across the desert to Alexandria, where they were sold to the Turks and carried on to Venice. Portugal’s new trade route round the Cape to Lisbon, and eventually to Antwerp, made them cheaper. It doubled Europe’s supply of East Indian pepper and other spices, to which were added cottons, indigo and, later, Chinese porcelain and Persian silk, much of it exchanged for the copper and silver brought from Por-
tugal's newly conquered American possessions.

The trade greatly enriched and—in the long run a more important outcome—began the process of enlarging the European world. Until near the middle of the fifteenth century Europe had been a closed continent, centred on the landlocked Mediterranean and aware of anything beyond chiefly through threats of invasion by Arabs, Moors and Mongols. The Mongols had been driven back from the gates of Vienna in 1242 but the Moors had occupied parts of Spain until 1492, and continued afterwards to menace Spain from North Africa.

So Portugal's Eastern possessions, like Britain's a couple of centuries later, were not conceived in the first place as an empire but acquired as a by-product of the protection and expansion of trade. "This country is too impoverished and depopulated to garrison possessions overseas. To maintain them would be impos-
sible,” the Infante Dom Pedro had pronounced in 1436, referring to a proposed conquest of Tangier, and the same principle was accepted by the Infante Dom Henrique (‘Henry the Navigator’) when he promoted explorations far down the West African coast in the decade before his death in 1460, and again in 1503 when the king, Dom Manuel I, sent the Portuguese nobleman Afonso de Albuquerque to the newly discovered Indies in command—jointly with his cousin Francisco de Albuquerque—of a powerful fleet. His orders were to establish a fortress base from which the cargoes of spices—mostly pepper—collected for annual shipment to Portugal, could be defended against Arab Muslim raiders.

Calicut was the centre of the spice trade, both for the export of the local-grown pepper and cardamom and the re-export of pepper, cloves, cinnamon and other spices from Ceylon and the East Indies. The most powerful ruler on the Malabar Coast was a Muslim, the Zamorin of Calicut, to whom the neighbouring rulers of Cochin (from whom Albuquerque hoped to obtain permission to establish a base) and of Cannanore paid tribute. The Zamorin had recently achieved independence from the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar, the greatest empire of southern India, which dominated this part of the continent throughout the Middle Ages. But Vijayanagar was itself threatened by the Muslims. In fact its capital, on the Tungabhadra River due east of Goa, was eventually captured by the combined forces of four Muslim kings, following the battle of Talikota in 1565. This capital city, also called Vijayanagar (but today called Hampi), was then systematically destroyed—an operation that took ten months—so that nothing of the ancient city survives except the remains of several palaces, some with handsomely carved figures, of a gateway and of the great elephant stables divided into domed compartments. The ruins of the once-great city cover nine square miles. Its destruction was the effectual end of the empire, although its authority lingered in other parts of south India until the more virile Muslim kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda finally overwhelmed it.

But this was half a century later. When Albuquerque made his first impact on India Vijayanagar, though harried by the Muslims, was still powerful. Goa* had formerly been its chief port. It was wealthy and of vital economic and military importance because it

*The name is derived from Govarashtra [Gova-rashtra], the old name for the southern part of Konkan.
was the port into which Arabian horses, which cannot be bred in Southern India, were shipped from the Persian Gulf; and Goa had recently been captured by the Muslim rulers of the Deccan.

Before Albuquerque arrived on the Malabar Coast, the first Portuguese commander sent out to the Indies after Vasco da Gama’s discovery of 1498 had restored the ruler of Cochin, whom the Zamorin had dethroned for being too friendly with the Portuguese, and had started the construction of a fort there. This however was under constant attack by the Muslims, who were determined to preserve the monopoly of trade which they had enjoyed for centuries. Albuquerque was able to strengthen the fort, and in 1505 it was further reinforced by more ships from Portugal.

Afonso de Albuquerque returned to Portugal and reported to the king the great promise he saw that the Indies offered. He soon set out again, his ships this time being part of a fleet commanded by Tristao da Cunha which left Lisbon in 1506 with orders to establish a Portuguese presence in Socotra and other Arab territories—another episode in the running fight against Muslim expansionism and commercial rivalry. On the way Tristao da Cunha discovered a new island to which he gave his name, but the voyage was a long one; to Albuquerque’s intense frustration he lingered for months at Mozambique and in the Persian Gulf, so that it was not until the spring of 1508 that Albuquerque reached Goa once again—as it turned out to spend the rest of his life in the Indies.

Albuquerque’s orders were to remain in India as the second Portuguese viceroy,* and from his regime dates the astonishingly rapid and successful build-up of Portugal’s eastern empire,† eventually administered from Goa. Until his time, Portugal’s so-called Indian possessions were little more than a sphere of in-

*Throughout this book the term viceroy is used consistently for the sake of simplicity. In fact some of the rulers sent out from Portugal had the title of viceroy and some that of governor-general, depending on the status and authority given to them by the King and the prestige of their own family. The title of viceroy finally gave way to that of governor-general in 1837.

†Recounted in detail in the Commentaries of Afonso de Albuquerque himself, which were compiled by his natural son from the despatches he sent back to King Manuel and first published in 1576. They were published in English by the Hakluyt Society in two volumes in 1875 and 1877, translated by Walter de Gray Birch from the Portuguese edition of 1774.
fluence; the real Portuguese empire was on the ocean, where her fleet had gained supremacy over that of the Arabs—most convincingly in a naval battle fought off Diu in February 1509. Already she was endeavoursing to ensure that none but Portuguese ships carried pepper, although the trade was so profitable that the merchants of Calicut never stopped trying to get it to the Red Sea. Portugal's only land bases were two forts—constantly under attack—at Cochin and Cannanore. A fleet sailed from Lisbon every spring, arrived off the Malabar Coast between August and November and left on its return voyage the next January, having loaded pepper at Cochin and ginger and other spices at Cannanore.

In 1510 Albuquerque was persuaded by some of his Indian advisers, especially a forceful and opportunistic pirate, Timoja, to try to acquire another—and better—land base by making an attack on Goa. It had the best harbour on the coast and timber for shipbuilding; it was wealthy from its trade in horses and from being the chief port of embarkation for Muslim pilgrims bound for Jedda on the way to Mecca. Another reason for attacking Goa was that its ruler, Yusef Adil Shah, Sultan of Bijapur (known to the Portuguese as the Sabayo and by now the most powerful ruler in the Deccan), was said to be building ships there, helped by Arab shipwrights who had escaped the disaster at Diu, with the object of driving the Portuguese out of India. Eight big ships were already finished and others were taking shape in the shipyard. Their completion had to be forestalled. Albuquerque first successfully attacked, from the sea, the fortress of Panjim which defended the estuary of the Mandovi River; then, after fierce fighting on land, Goa itself surrendered. Albuquerque proclaimed that its inhabitants were now subjects of the King of Portugal and under his protection.

Goa was thus Portugal's first real territorial acquisition in Asia. Albuquerque found it an impressively civilized place, with a handsome well-furnished palace and with gardens and stables filled with horses and elephants. Some of his captains thought it would be difficult to defend, especially against the new and aggressive Muslim prince, Ismail Adil Khan (called by the Portuguese the Idalcan), who had succeeded his father, Yusef Adil Shah, and who would clearly soon attempt to recapture it. But he was determined to hold on to it and already saw it as the capital of Portu-
guese India. "If you lost the whole of India," he wrote to the King, Dom Manuel, "from Goa you could reconquer it."

The Idalcans did indeed attack. In fact he succeeded in driving the Portuguese out of Goa, compelling them to reembark on their ships. They remained at anchor in the estuary of the Mandovi River, short of food and under constant cannon-fire from the fort at Panjim, which they had also to evacuate. But late in 1510 Albuquerque surprised and recaptured the fort; he then abandoned operations to deal with a minor rebellion at Cochin—vital for Portugal because the pepper trade depended on it—but after doing so he refitted his fleet there and, reinforced by some ships sent out from Portugal to conquer Malacca, assaulted Goa once again and took it. The Portuguese retained it for the next 450 years. Albuquerque sacked the town but spared its Hindu inhabitants. With their willing help he killed off most of the Muslim overlords and traders, as a punishment, he said, for allying themselves with the Idalcans.

In spite of the ruthlessness that Albuquerque showed then and at other times he was, unlike most of the Portuguese conquistadors, humane and politically far-sighted. The French General Lyautey, a later and equally humane colonizer, described him as combining the impartiality of the scholar with the austerity of a saint. Rather than a mere adventurer he was a man of vision, whose aim was "to rule men of another race without enslaving them, to respect their customs and bring them justice, let them have a share in their own government, educate the younger generation." "Perhaps the aim of modern colonial rule," writes Elaine Sancan in an excellent account of Albuquerque’s career in India in the book* from which this definition of his philosophy is quoted, "but at that time it would not have occurred to many that a conquered people need to be happier for the conquest."

Just so, and if Portugal had followed Albuquerque’s precept, even to the extent of live and let live, throughout her regime in the Indies—the cruelty of many of her soldiers and the forcible conversion of Goans to Roman Catholicism are only the most obvious of many departures from it—her empire might have lasted longer and her own history have been different. Indeed the history of the rest of India would have been different if the British

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*Elaine Sancan. *Indies Adventure: the Amazing Career of Afonso de Albuquerque, Captain-General and Governor of India, 1509-1515. Blackie and Son, 1936.
East India Company had followed the same admirable precept; there would probably, for example, have been no Indian Mutiny. But that is another story; the relevant fact is that the Portuguese in general acted no differently from other colonizers and conquerors.

As the new ruler of Goa, Albuquerque—exceptionally—followed a policy of minimum interference with the native way of life. He allowed religious liberty—he only abolished *suttee* (the self-immolation of widows) among the Hindus; he remitted previously heavy taxes and he delegated a degree of authority to native officials. The last was the only one of his policies adopted by later Portuguese regimes, and was indeed maintained to the very end.

The energetic Albuquerque had already made plans for an expedition against the Arabs of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, which required his departure in April 1511, before the monsoon interrupted sea travel. This left him four months to organize Goa. He demolished the native fort and rebuilt it in European style, with a two-storey keep for artillery and square towers at the corners, overlooking the town and the Mandovi River. He reconstructed the surrounding ramparts and built a hospital (the first European hospital in the East), a church and a mint (whence came the gold Sao Tome, a coin which became as famous across the world as the Venetian ducat, the Turkish sequin and the gold mohur of the Mughal empire). For these buildings he used ready-squared stone from the Muslim cemetery and lime from oyster-shells. The work had to be done in a hurry, and although he found twenty trained masons among his Portuguese troops, officers too were made to labour at building, unpopular though this was.

The Goans settled down fairly contentedly under their new masters and their numbers even increased by immigration from adjoining areas. Albuquerque had envisaged a colony in the full sense, not just a garrison in alien territory, and this meant a resident population with Portuguese allegiance. To bring women from Europe was impracticable; so he sent back into the city a number of captured women who had been taken on board the fleet—the wives of the Muslims massacred when Goa was retaken—and added to them from the harems of the Idalcan’s officers. They were allotted as wives to any of his men who were willing to settle in the new colony. These men were also provided with
plots of land and houses, priority being given to those already skilled as carpenters, tailors, shoemakers and bakers (required for making ship’s biscuit). Those without a trade were taught one. Goa began to acquire some of the characteristics and comforts of a European town.

These mixed marriages were criticized, especially by the Church, but Albuquerque achieved his aim of a nucleus of population committed to the West by religion and culture and to some extent by race. It has remained so up to the present century. The admixture of Portuguese blood declined, so that present-day Goans are almost wholly Indian by race, but for centuries they looked to Portugal for their culture and education and differed from the rest of India because of this, as well as because of their predominant Roman Catholicism. Albuquerque nevertheless discriminated in his own way. He refused to admit women for marriage from the other Portuguese bases at Cochin and Cannanore. ‘They are black and their customs are corrupt,’ he said, ‘The women who were Muslim are light-coloured and chaste and modest in their mode of life.’ Some of those who came from the harems of Persians or Turks may in fact have been white.

The capture of Goa, the finest port on the coast, and the sight of the Portuguese marrying and settling down there, had repercussions all through the East. Local rulers sent tributes and offered alliances and even Krishna Deva, the powerful emperor of Vijayanagar, after hesitating for a year, sent Albuquerque his congratulations, and offered him land at Bhatkal on the northern Malabar coast (between Goa and Cannanore) on which to build a factory and support if the Idalcan should attack again. Albuquerque cleverly played off the Hindu ambassadors against the Muslim, and kept them all waiting about in Goa so that they would be impressed by the strength of his new fortifications.

Eventually he was able to sail away, but a change of wind earlier in the year than was normal prevented his making for the Red Sea. Instead he sailed east, round India to Malacca which he captured for Portugal, acquiring another invaluable trading station and denying the Muslims an important base for the shipment of spices direct to Egypt. But as soon as Albuquerque had left Goa, the Idalcan sent another army against it and the new colony was once more in danger. Its garrison commander, Rodrigo Rebelo, ventured too far outside the walls and was killed. He had
ignored Albuquerque's instructions to occupy and fortify Banastarim, which commanded the narrow channel that separated the city of Goa from its hinterland and made it into an island. Instead the Muslims seized it, built ramparts and installed artillery.

Goa was now closely besieged, but it held out through the rainy season and was relieved by the arrival first of Manuel de Lacerda, who had been nominated as Rebelo's successor, with ships from Calicut, then by more ships from Lisbon and finally by another Portuguese squadron from the Arabian coast. By the time Albuquerque returned triumphant from Malacca the colony had enough food and men to defy its attackers and appeared once more safe. But Albuquerque was going to take no risks. He went first to Cochin, whose fortress he strengthened. Then in August 1512, two more ships, commanded by his nephew Garcia de Noronha, arrived from Portugal and, almost at the same time, the annual pepper fleet arrived after a record voyage of only five months. It brought 1,500 men to add to the 1,200 Albuquerque already had in India and Malacca—of whom, however, only 300 were at that time, after all their exertions and privations, fully fit and armed.

With sixteen ships and these fresh troops Albuquerque sailed for Goa. Although the Idalcan's general now had over 6,000 men holding Banastarim, and an advantage in artillery, Albuquerque decided to attack at once. He sent his nephew straight into Goa with most of the ships, and himself, with five ships containing the best gunners in the fleet, sailed round south of the island and attacked the Muslim fort from that side. After prolonged fighting the fortress of Banastarim surrendered.

Albuquerque reconstructed it as part of the defences of Goa, and built four new defensive towers on Goa island and another at Panjim. He then left on yet another expedition against the Muslims, this time to the Red Sea. On his return in September 1513 he found that the Zamorin of Calicut had died and he was able to conclude a peace-treaty with his successor. Its terms included the right to build a Portuguese fort at Calicut (which was by then the only refuge remaining to the Muslim traders on the whole of the Malabar Coast), a yearly payment of tribute and a promise to supply all the spices Portugal wanted in exchange for goods. The Portuguese eastern empire was becoming solidly established.

Albuquerque then decided to impose more rigorous control over the import of horses from Arabia and Persia, allowing
them to be disembarked at no port but Goa. Cargoes of horses were waylaid by his ships and escorted into Goa, where stables were built and fodder and grooms always available. Goa thus became the horse market for the whole of Southern India. This was important not only because of the value of the trade in horses, but because Indian rulers possessing Arabian horses became militarily more powerful than their rivals, and by controlling their supply Albuquerque had another weapon in playing off, for example, the Hindu emperor of Vijayanagar against the Muslim Idalcan. During 1514 Albuquerque did much to strengthen and embellish Goa. He built warehouses, armouries, stables and shipyards. There were by now a well equipped hospital and several churches. While the commander of the garrison lived in the fort, he himself lived in what had been the Sabayo’s palace.

In spite of the prosperity his Indian possessions brought to Portugal, the king, Dom Manuel, kept them always short of money. To remedy this, and as a further stage of his operations against the Muslims, Albuquerque, in February 1515, decided to set out on another expedition to the Persian Gulf. It succeeded well enough, since he at last captured Ormuz, the key to the whole Gulf and to the trade-routes passing through it; but he returned worn out in health and from the effects of many wounds, suffered then and previously. He returned also to learn that intrigues against him by jealous Portuguese subordinates—many of whom had powerful relatives at court—had set even Dom Manuel against him, and orders had arrived from Lisbon replacing him by a new viceroy.

These orders were afterwards countermanded, but too late. Albuquerque, ill when he left the Persian Gulf, gave up the struggle to regain his health, and before the end of 1515 he died on board his ship in Goa harbour. He was 55. He had made a will asking to be buried at Goa in the little chapel of Nossa Senhora da Serra which he had built only a year or two earlier, but before his death he asked for his body to be shipped back to Portugal. This was eventually done, but only after his bones had lain in Goa for 50 years.
Afonso de Albuquerque was an exceptional man—too exceptional for his balanced views as to the proper role of a colonial power to outlast him. His approach to this role did nevertheless in some ways influence the whole of Goa’s future; for example his policy of entrusting native Goans with senior government posts and of recruiting Goan troops under their own officers. But far more important than these was his guarantee of the right of the Hindu inhabitants of Goa to retain ownership of their land. Though some land was taken into the hands of the Church, there was never, then or afterwards, any settlement by Portuguese, and in this at least the Portuguese conquerors were less unwelcome in India than the Muslim invaders.

On the other hand, since to the Portuguese the extension of their military and mercantile power was inseparable from the spread of their religion—as indeed it was to the Mughal empire, which was establishing itself at the same date further north—the Catholic Church played an increasingly dominant role. The first missionaires were Dominican friars who came out as chaplains in Albuquerque’s fleet. The first conversions of the native Goans to Christianity were made by the Franciscans, who came out in 1517. And then in 1542 Jesuit missionaries from Portugal reached Goa, led by St Francis Xavier who travelled all over the East but remained Provincial of Goa until his death ten years later. He was canonized in 1622. He established schools and universities and brought out the first printing-press, which was not however set up until 1556. All education, as was customary throughout Europe at that time, was in the hands of the Church, from the College of the Holy Faith in Goa down to the parish schools which St Francis founded. He ordained Goan converts as secular priests and, in pursuit of large-scale conversion, fostered the work of the religious orders whose special task this was: the Jesuits and Dominicans—and later the Augustinians—in the island of Goa, the Jesuits also in neighbouring Salsete, the Franciscans in Bardez across the Mandovi River. The first seminary for the teaching of theology was founded in 1541 and three others during the follow-
ing hundred years. The Jesuits, too, as well as acquiring land in Goa encouraged cultivation, especially the planting of coconut trees. They published a treatise on these, entitled *Arte Palmareia.*

Many of the bishops, priests and missionaries sent out from Portugal spent the rest of their lives in the East, and therefore had more influence than the viceroys and lay officials who were normally appointed for a three-year term; and the Church’s intolerance soon made itself felt. This was especially so after one of the viceroys, Constantino de Braganza, under whom the diocese of Goa was raised to an archdiocese and Metropolitan See of the East, brought out the Inquisition in 1560.

Albuquerque had not interfered with Hindu religious practices (apart from forbidding *suttee*); nor had he destroyed Hindu temples. But from about 1540 onwards, under the influence of the Counter Reformation in Europe and with the arrival of the Inquisition in Goa, this liberal policy was reversed. A strict censorship of literature was imposed. New laws forbade the public profession of any but the Christian religion—indeed of any but the Roman Catholic, for even the Syrian Christians, who had been in India since long before the arrival of the Portuguese, were treated as heretics and their forcible conversion to the Roman rite attempted. Although the activities of the Inquisition were directed against Christian heretics, especially Protestants, and Jews, and not against the heathen, in Goa the Hindus were also its target, being accused of “disrespect for Christianity”.

A viceregal decree of 1567 required the destruction of all heathen temples in Portuguese-controlled areas, the banning of ritual ablutions—an essential element of Hinduism—and the expulsion of non-Christian priests, holy men and teachers. Hindus were forbidden to visit their temples in adjoining lands and were compelled in some cases to attend at churches and convents to listen to the Christian gospel. Social intercourse between Christians and non-Christians was discouraged. Christian converts were favoured in the appointment of Goans to public office, and some offices were reserved for converts. The conversion of Hindus may have been facilitated by the fact that for generations the

*One reason for the systematic planting of coconut groves at this time was to meet the demand for coir and cordage for the great number of sailing-ships which, following the pioneer voyages of the Portuguese, now traversed the oceans of the world.*
Hindus had been harassed by the Muslims, and felt that the religion of their new Christian masters might give them some protection.

The law still laid down that the conversion of those of other religions should be by persuasion and not by force—a law that was not very effective in practice since persuasion, as the enactments described above suggest, included methods little short of force. Moreover an exception to this law was made, in Goa at least, in the case of Hindu orphans, and an orphan was defined for this purpose as a boy under 14 years or a girl under 12 who had lost his or her father, even if the mother or grandparents were still alive. All such “children of heathen in the city and islands of Goa”, said a decree published in Lisbon in 1559, “should forthwith be taken and handed over to the College of Sao Paulo of the Company of Jesus in the said city of Goa, in order that they may be baptized, educated and catechised by the Fathers of the said College.” A later decree specifically authorized the use of force in removing such orphans from their families and the punishment of families who tried to smuggle their children away into Hindu territory.

The children brought up in this way as Catholics, and adult Goans persuaded by one means or another—spiritual or material—to adopt the Catholic faith, also adopted, as part of the process, a Portuguese name, usually the name of the priest responsible for their conversion or in charge of the College where they were educated as Catholics. This practice continued for many years; hence the Portuguese names* that Christian Goans bear today—de Sousa and de Silva, Correa, Almeida, Dias and Miranda—names that populate many of the towns and villages, giving the stranger the impression that Goans are racially mixed. From far back there is of course Portuguese blood in some families; Francois Pyrard (see Chapter 6), who was in Goa in 1808-10, refers to mestici or half-castes as forming at that time a separate element of the population. But few Portuguese women came out from the home country except, from 1546 onwards, the so-called Orphans of the Crown—groups of girls from the orphanages of Lisbon and Oporto who were given dowries in the form of minor govern-

*Some of these Portuguese names have however acquired a different spelling in Goa. The Goan name Correa is Correia in Portugal, de Silva is da Silva and so on,
ment appointments for men prepared to marry them on their arrival in the Indies. This practice continued spasmodically until the early eighteenth century, but the number of orphans sent out was far too few appreciably to affect the racial balance, and within two or three generations of the foundation of the colony most of those who had settled in it were themselves racially mixed. Today the typically Portuguese names disguise a people who are predominantly Indian, though in a few small areas there is enough Portuguese blood to produce notably lighter-coloured skins than elsewhere. One of these is Divar Island, across the main stream of the Mandovi River from Old Goa. There must also have been some intermarriage with the African slaves whom the Portuguese imported into Goa at the height of their prosperity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but no visible evidence of negro blood is discernible in the contemporary Goan.

The population of Goa remained Indian in other ways than racially. For instance even those who were converted to Christianity retained the Hindu caste system, and to this day Portuguese-speaking families that have been Christian for generations are constantly aware of differences of caste and know which caste their neighbours belong to. Goa however differs from other parts of India in castes being distributed regionally: each village is largely populated by a single caste. Brahmins predominate round Margao in the south and Kshatriyas north of the Zuari River—that is, in the areas first colonized by the Portuguese—and especially round Calangute.

Culturally nevertheless the converted Christians, who were soon the most educated element in the population, looked—and still look—to the West. Until English was taken up in Goa in the present generation, and more so since 1961, they spoke mainly Portuguese.

That the Portuguese language took over so early and so thoroughly was the result of another manifestation of Portuguese intolerance: the action of the Count of Alvor, viceroy of Goa from 1681 to 1686, who compelled the Goans to give up their native Konkani and learn Portuguese. This and the generally excessive missionary zeal, causing a proportion of the Hindu population to flee to other parts of India, contributed to the colony's eventual decline. But this is to get ahead of the story. Goa still had half a century of prosperity in front of it, and was
itself expanding. Around the middle of the sixteenth century the adjoining territories of Bardez (across the Mandovi River from Panjim) and Salsete (south of the Zuari estuary) were united with the originally occupied territory to form what came to be known as the "Old Conquests".

It was also still under attack; in 1570 the Idalcan staged his biggest assault of all with an army of 40,000 and 2,000 elephants and 3,000 cannon. The twenty-fourth viceroy, Luis de Athaide, who had just arrived in India, spread his forces too widely and had hurriedly to supplement them by raising irregular Goan troops. He could still man only his four principal outlying forts: Bardez, Rachol, Divar and Banastarim, but he survived a ten-month siege and at last the Idalcan gave up. He signed a new treaty acknowledging Portuguese sovereignty over the "Old Conquests", which were never again threatened.

Meanwhile the Portuguese trading empire continued to grow. Albuquerque had occupied Malacca in 1511. His successors had established and fortified trading posts in the Moluccas and, by agreement with the local rulers, had acquired trading rights, and set up trading settlements some with fortified enclaves, at nearly every important entrepot on the coasts of East Africa and Asia, as far to the east as Japan. At the end of the sixteenth century Portugal was still the only European power having regular contact with Asia, and the administrative capital of her Asian empire was Goa.

It was also the naval capital, strengthened by the city of Goa's ship-building capacity. Great ships of up to 500 tons could be built there. One such was the famous Constantina built in the mid-sixteenth century, which doubled the Cape of Good Hope seventeen times, brought five successive viceroys out from Lisbon and survived for twenty-five years. Helped by such resources Portugal continued to dominate the spice trade, with pepper the most profitable of all the cargoes brought home from the East. Spices however continued to be exported also, by way of Arabia and the historic land-route across Egypt, for the most part in Gujarati ships, but some of these were for the Turkish rather than the European market. Portugal maintained in addition a near-monopoly of trade with China and Japan. Her Asian interport trade had become as commercially productive as her trade across the oceans.
Her priests and missionaries, moreover, were as active as ever, since the pursuit of trade always went hand in hand with the assault on Islam. The latter received unexpected encouragement when the Mughal Emperor Akbar, more tolerant and intellectually inquisitive than his predecessors, invited the Portuguese viceroy in Goa to send some learned fathers who would explain Christian beliefs to him and his court. A carefully chosen mission reached Fatehpur Sikri, Akbar’s newly founded capital not far from Agra, in 1580 and was allowed to consecrate a building in the palace precincts as a Roman Catholic chapel. The mission stayed for three years, returning to Goa in 1583. A second mission set out in 1590, this time finding Akbar at Lahore, and a third mission—again the result of an invitation from Akbar to the viceroy in Goa—visited Lahore in 1594 where once again the Portuguese fathers were allowed to consecrate a chapel. Later Mughal emperors were less tolerant of non-Muslims, and indeed oppressive towards them, but this makes it no less significant that the first moves to introduce the Christian religion to the millions of northern and central India were all Portuguese.

Nevertheless, at the very height of Portuguese power, not only her influence but her whole empire began to decline. The strategic importance of Goa had dwindled steadily after the extinction by the Muslims of the great Hindu empire of Vijayanagar in 1565, and Portugal herself was weakened by her absorption into Spain in 1580 and her strength overseas by the dispersal of her limited manpower over so much of the East; manpower which had already been sharply reduced by King Sebastian’s disastrous war in North Africa in 1578. It had moreover been impoverished as to quality by the recruitment of convicted criminals as soldiers and their dispatch overseas.

“Nothing better can be expected from the bad choice which is made in Portugal of the soldiers we send to India, by emptying the prisons of all the ruffians who are gaoled there because they do not know how to keep faith with God or Man. And therefore it is hardly surprising that those who misbehave in this way at home should act in the same way abroad.”

So wrote Manuel Severim de Faria* after the fall ofOrmuz in 1662. Portugal had also fallen behind the other European powers

*Quoted by Professor Boxer, op. cit. See footnote on page 1.
in matters of military discipline and tactics.

The problem of manpower was also aggravated by this time by the counter-attraction of Portugal’s even newer colonies on the coast of Brazil—a country that had been discovered by chance at the beginning of the century by Portuguese ships taking a wide course over the South Atlantic on one of their regular voyages round the cape to India. As early as 1608 a book had been published in Lisbon which condemned Portugal’s Eastern trading empire as useless, vain and wasteful of resources—especially resources of manpower. The book, by Luiz Mendes de Vasconcellos, was entitled Do Sitio de Lisboa* and was in the form of a conversation between a politician, a philosopher and a soldier who discuss, from their several points of view, the harm inflicted on Portugal by the burden of maintaining her Eastern empire, in contrast with the benefits derived from Brazil and the Atlantic islands (the Cape Verde Islands, Madeira and the Azores). Only when Goa and India have become self-sufficient, no longer requiring support from Portugal, concludes the politician, can praise be given to Portugal’s conquests in the Indies.

As time went on, Portugal’s declining power became more evident. Its consequence was that she was no longer able to retain the monopoly of the eastern seas.

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*I am grateful to Mr John Bury for drawing my attention to this book and to its significance as early evidence of Portugal’s declining confidence in the value of her Eastern empire; also for his help and advice over other historical matters.
Chapter 5

Empire in Decay

It is not surprising that the rising new maritime nation, that of the Dutch, which had long had its eye on the Asian trade, took advantage of the Portuguese weakness, and of Philip II of Spain's involvement in conflict in the Netherlands, to sail round Africa in search of pepper and spices for themselves. The Dutch made their first voyage to the Indies in 1595, and in 1602 they formed the United East India Company.

Early Dutch attempts to encroach on Portugal's special preserve, the Malabar Coast, ended in disaster. In 1603 two Zeeland merchants who ventured there were captured by the Portuguese, taken into Goa and hanged. The Dutch for the time being had to look elsewhere. But their sea-power and their mercantile enterprise grew, and soon the two countries, as regards all their Asian activities, were at war. A Dutch attack on Aguada fort at the mouth of the Mandovi River was unsuccessful, but they managed to evict the Portuguese from the Moluccas; then a Dutch fleet attacked Goa, again unsuccessfully, in 1640.

The Dutch made their main base at Batavia (now Jakarta), and in 1641 they did succeed in taking Malacca. After that they gradually came to dominate the Indian trade. In 1657 they seized Cochin and other Indian pepper ports, and soon all that remained of the Portuguese Asian empire (apart from far-away Macao and—not so important—Timor) was Bassein, just north of Bombay, Goa and two minute territories still further north in Gujarat, facing each other across the Gulf of Cambay. These were Diu, an island of only 14 square miles, and Daman, a territory of 148 square miles that had been ceded to Portugal by Bahadur Shah in 1559 in return for an alliance. Bombay had been made over to England in 1661 as part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza, bride of Charles II. The Portuguese kept Bassein until 1739, and at the end of the seventeenth century it was the most prosperous of all their Indian possessions.

The Portuguese were themselves conscious of how suddenly power in Asia had slipped away from them. The Jesuit priest,
Manuel Godinho, wrote* of the Portuguese eastern empire in 1665, after his return from India:

If it has not expired altogether, it is because it has not found a tomb worthy of its former greatness. If it was a tree, it is now a trunk; if it was a building, it is now a ruin; if it was a man, it is now a stump; if it was a giant, it is now a pigmy; if it was great, it is now nothing; if it was the viceroyalty of India, it is now reduced to Goa, Macao, Chaul, Baçaïm, Damão, Diu, Moçambique and Mombasa,† with some other fortresses and places of less importance—in short, relics and those but few, of the great body of that State, which our enemies have left us, either as a memorial of how much we formerly possessed in Asia, or else as a bitter reminder of the little which we now have there.

The chief rivals of the Dutch from now on were the English. England’s East India Company had been given its charter by Queen Elizabeth in 1600, and from about 1615 onwards there was war in Asia between the two countries. The Dutch were the stronger and forced England, in 1623, to abandon her trading posts in the East Indies and concentrate her interests in India itself and in Persia. Harassed by their Dutch rivals, the English became anxious to negotiate a peace with the Portuguese which would open up the latter’s harbours to English ships and their settlements to English trade. Eventually in 1635 the negotiations were successful and William Methwold, the East Indian Company’s president at Surat, signed an agreement with the Portuguese viceroy—the Convention of Goa. This established an indefinite truce, which became a formal peace-treaty, never thereafter to be broken, when the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty was signed in 1642. As a result of another treaty, concluded by Cromwell in 1654, the English acquired the right to trade freely with all the Portuguese eastern possessions except Macao.

*Quoted by Professor Boxer, op. cit.
†The Portuguese counted their East African possessions as parts of their Asian empire, since they were acquired and reached by the fleets that sailed into the Indian Ocean. Mozambique was detached from administrative dependence on Goa only by the Marquis of Pombal in the middle of the eighteenth century.
Empire in Decay

The subsequent growth of British power in India is not the concern of this book. It is enough to say that after a series of conflicts with new rivals, the French, the British dominated India and eventually ruled—directly or indirectly—the whole of the sub-continent except for a few small French possessions, notably Pondicherry on the eastern seaboard, and Portuguese Goa, Diu and Daman on the western.

Portugal’s attempts to sustain her influence in India had been handicapped by an increasing resentment at her presence felt by nearly all the other peoples of the sub-continent for a variety of reasons, mostly to do with religion. She had persecuted the Hindus and especially their religion. The Mughals, at their most powerful at this time, had never welcomed Portuguese control of so much of the trade previously in the hands of their fellow-Muslims, the Arabs, and in 1618, only six years after the English East India Company’s ships had for the first time challenged Portuguese command of the sea and defeated them off Surat, the English signed a treaty with the Mughals which granted them trading privileges in return for a promise to protect sea-traffic from interference by the Portuguese. This included the important pilgrim traffic, which earlier had been subject to control and taxation from the Portuguese bases at Diu, Malacca and Macao. Once again the Portuguese paid a high price for their religious intolerance.

The widespread Portuguese empire in the East had gone, and although Portugal regained her independence in 1640, the Duke of Braganza being enthroned as King John IV, she was no longer able to reinforce her army overseas or to compete with the renewed strength at sea of the Osmani Arabs, who sacked the town of Diu in 1668. There followed a century of conflict on land within the frontiers of Goa, against the Marathas in the north and their neighbours the Bhonsles from Savantvadi State. In spite of a naval treaty that had been made in 1667 with Shivaji, the Maratha prince (and later one of the popular heroes of Hindustan), Goa was invaded by the Maratha armies under Shivaji’s son Sambhaji in 1683 and was in danger of defeat until the Marathas were compelled to withdraw on being attacked in their turn by a Mughal force from beyond the Western Ghats.

Again in 1741 the Marathas invaded Bardez and Salsete, even threatening the city of Goa itself. Fortunately a new viceroy, the
Marquis of Lourical, arrived from Portugal bringing reinforce-
ments of 12,000 soldiers. He heavily defeated the Marathas in
Bardez, capturing Ponda and several minor forts, and then march-
ed against the Bhonsles, compelling them to sue for peace. But the
valuable Portuguese territory of Bassein further up the coast had
to be surrendered to the Marathas. Right up to the beginning of
the nineteenth century the new Goan frontiers were harassed by
the Marathas and the Bhonsles. It was at this time that the forts
in the north of the territory, of which many remnants can still be
seen, were either built by the Portuguese or rebuilt by them after
capture from the Marathas.* Goa had to rely on these forts for
protection, since after 1794 little help was forthcoming from
Europe because of the invasion of Spain and Portugal by the
French and the subsequent Peninsular War.

Goa during all this time had been declining sharply as a naval
station. Fonseca† reports that in 1744 the Portuguese naval force
based on Goa was reduced to two men-of-war, three frigates, two
corvettes and a couple of dozen smaller vessels, and that by 1811
there were only two corvettes and a few small vessels. When he
published his account of Goa in 1878 there was no naval force
at all.

Fonseca similarly reports that the local militia, which had first
been recruited in 1566—comprising Hindus, Muslims and Chris-
tians—and established on a regular basis in 1630, had been reduc-
ed to 6,500 men by 1768. A force of cavalry had been raised in
1683 to defend Salsete and Bardez from the incursions of the
Marathas, but this was disbanded in 1732.

One outcome of the series of frontier wars was that, although
Portugal had lost a number of the Asian territories she had pre-
viously administered, Goa itself expanded. Several outlying pro-
vinces—the “New Conquests”—were brought under Portuguese
control in 1764, so that Goa, at first no more than an island wash-
ed by the Mandovi River, became a substantial territory of 1,350

*The forts guarding the estuaries of the Mandovi and Zuari Rivers were of
course built earlier. The Portuguese forts in Goa are enumerated and described
in Chapter 12.

†José Nicolau de Fonseca, who wrote (in English) a useful factual account
of Goa, published at Bombay in 1878. It is entitled An Historical and Archaeo-
logical Sketch of the City of Goa, preceded by a short statistical account of the territory of
Goa.
square miles, which was the size finally reached in 1778 when a further area, the taluka* of Pernem in the north, was ceded to Portugal by its ruler in gratitude for Goan assistance during a war with one of his neighbours.

By the time the "New Conquests" had been added, the zeal for religious conversion had died down; liberty of worship was general and these provinces remained largely Hindu. Today, consequently, a Hindu population predominates in the north and east of Goa; yet even here there are only fragments of ancient temples, so widespread had been the Portuguese destruction in earlier years. The remainder of the territory is firmly Christian; for however ruthless the methods of conversion in the sixteenth century, the descendants of the first converts became devout Catholics and within a couple of generations were irrevocably wedded to that faith. Indeed the devotion of the Christian population to their faith and to those who taught it to them is a principal explanation of the relative contentment with Portuguese rule among the people they had converted—a rule peacefully maintained long after the political and commercial influence of the Portuguese had declined and in spite of their colour prejudice (in which they were by no means alone), their frequently oppressive behaviour and their unpopularity elsewhere. This loyalty to the church was a factor that emerged strongly at the time of Indian pressure to incorporate the Portuguese possessions in the new Indian Union in the 1950s (see Chapter 8 of this book).

Portugal's Indian possessions were, as early as the mid-seventeenth century, of much reduced significance to the mother country, since the profitable spice trade, the original reason for seizing them, had been stolen away by the Dutch. With the loss of Ormuz and the decline of Portuguese sea-power, the monopoly of importing Arabian horses had also gone, and Brazil had supplanted Goa as the economic centre of Portugal's overseas empire. A couple of centuries of inertia set in as regards the active exploitation by Portugal of her remaining Asian possessions.

In spite of such changes, Goa remained for a long time, however, an important local trading station and her mercantile prosperity was for a while sustained, though independently of her mother country. One of the Dutch governors in the Indies, Van

*Taluka—An administrative sub-division.
Diemen, said: "Most of the Portuguese in India look upon this region as their fatherland, and think no more about Portugal. They drive little or no trade thither, but content themselves with the port-to-port trade of Asia, just as if they were natives thereof and had no other country."* Her ecclesiastical prestige was also sustained. This is shown by the fact that many of the splendid churches and monasteries for which the city of Goa was famous were built—or rebuilt—at the very end of the sixteenth century or even in the seventeenth. Nevertheless in 1695 the city of Goa had only 20,000 inhabitants, as against a reported quarter of a million a hundred years before—a steep decline, even allowing for the latter figure being almost certainly exaggerated.

During this era of relative absence of initiative on Portugal's part, one notable decree did emanate from Lisbon. In 1749 the Marquis of Pombal, the all-powerful Minister of King Joseph I, sent orders to the viceroy of the time that the religious orders were to be suppressed, especially the Jesuits of whose influence he was obsessively suspicious. About the 120 Jesuit priests were arrested and shipped back to Portugal. The influence of the other orders diminished, though they were not finally suppressed in Goa until 1834. After this time nearly the whole priesthood was recruited from the Goan population.

That was one of the most far-reaching of a number of reforms instituted by Pombal, for the racial intolerance shown by the religious orders had set the tone adopted by the Portuguese colonists generally. It goes right back to the foundation in Goa of the first seminary—that of the Holy Faith—for the religious education of young Asians in 1541. Neither Europeans nor Eurasians were admitted, but those who graduated from it were to be no more than secular priests. There was strong feeling, especially among the clergy, against any but Portuguese being ordained as regular priests, and it was claimed by the latter that no churchgoer would willingly make his confession to an Indian or a Eurasian priest.

The seminary was taken over by the Jesuits when they arrived in Goa and it became part of their College of St Paul. St Francis Xavier took a continuous interest in its development but he, too,

regarded it as a source only of auxiliary clergy and of useful assistants to European-born parish priests. He would allow no Goan to be admitted to the Society of Jesus. In fact only one Goan was admitted to the order in all the years before the final suppression of the Jesuits in 1773. The Franciscans followed the Jesuits in insisting on a colour-bar and even tried to bar the ordination as priests of those who had been born in the East of white parents. The Dominicans showed the same belief in the inferiority of coloured races.

In spite of attempts by the Vatican during the seventeenth century to intervene against the Portuguese policy of excluding native converts from the regular priesthood and from membership of the religious orders, it was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that these restrictions were lifted as a result of the edicts sent out from Lisbon by Pombal and his subsequent insistence on his reforms being carried out. Things then changed radically. By 1834, when the religious orders were finally suppressed throughout the Portuguese empire, there were 300 regular clergy in Goa of whom 16 were European and the remainder Indian.

After the expulsion of the Jesuits Goa became far poorer, not only economically but culturally and educationally, for there was no-one to replace them as teachers. The country suffered, even more destructively, from a succession of epidemics. The original island of Goa had never been healthy. Cholera had first appeared in 1543, and as the population grew the porous soil allowed sewage to contaminate the water-supply and epidemics became frequent. Later, as the population declined (the inhabitants had begun to desert the city for other parts of the territory early in the seventeenth century), abandoned pools and cisterns became breeding-grounds for mosquitoes, and malaria as well as cholera was rampant.

As a result of this, the first official moves were made which led to the extraordinary decision to abandon the city of Goa, that once grand capital furnished with magnificent buildings, that Goa Dourada—"Golden Goa"—which had been the pride of the Portuguese empire in the East and which had been said to contain, in the sixteenth century, a larger population than London or Paris.

Proposals for changing the site of the capital had in fact been
made as early as 1684, when the viceroy, the Count of Alvor, convened a conference at Banastarim to discuss transferring the capital to Marmaga—a healthier location because open to winds from the ocean, easier to defend and with the advantage that it commanded the entrance to both the river estuaries in which ships could lie in shelter. The conference was dubious on account of the cost, but the viceroy ordered the work to start. His successor ordered it stopped, but the government in Lisbon, prompted by Alvor, who on his return had acquired a position of power, sent out orders that it should be started again, financed by the revenue from the tobacco trade, and some preparatory building work was done.

In 1695 the then viceroy, the Count of Villa Verde, found conditions in the old city more than he could put up with and moved his residence to the western suburb of Panelim. The archbishop and the nobility followed. Repeated orders came from Lisbon to demolish public buildings in the city and use the material for building at Marmaga, but these were disregarded although one viceroy lived at Marmaga for a few months in 1703. In 1712, by which time the Count of Alvor had lost his power in Lisbon, the scheme for a new capital at Marmaga was abandoned. This was not however to be the end of conflicts and confusions as to where Goa was to be governed from. Sixty-five years later, when much of the city of Goa had already been deserted and left to ruin, the Marquis of Pombal sent out a decree, in the name of King Joseph, ordering its reconstruction on the same site and to the same plan, claiming that the city could be restored to health by the cleaning of its aqueducts, drains and sewers and the construction of new ones. In this decree Pombal again revealed his antagonism to the Jesuit Order:

... as divine Providence has indicated the city of Goa in the most advantageous place that could be chosen to found the leading capital of Portuguese Asia, it was thus situated by the great Afonso Albuquerque and retained in its former greatness and wealth for several years, even after the invasion of the Jesuits. These impudent ecclesiastics conceived a plot for its destruction so that this city lost its wealth and citizens with the expulsion and dispersion of its leading personalities and ecclesiastical, political and civil authorities, as well as its distinguish-
ed nobility in order to enable these Jesuits to carry out the grandiose plan inspired by their cupidity and thus make themselves masters of immense estates on which they had established numerous and vast residences which they wished to join together and of which they foresaw great advantages by emptying the city of almost all its inhabitants, making no exception in this general clearance of the houses of other religions incapable of opposing them ... the dispersion and scattering of the population of Goa are two evils which must be opposed without delay.*

Five years after this decree, in 1782, when many of the labourers who had been set to work on the reconstruction of the city had succumbed to cholera and malarial fevers, and only four families had been persuaded to occupy the newly built houses, work was abandoned. The desolate state into which the city had by now fallen is indicated by a report drawn up in December 1779 by the chief engineer of the department of public works, Filipe Catelani, on the instructions of the viceroy. The report includes a catalogue of buildings still standing. Among these are mentioned, besides a number of churches and monasteries, the Court of Appeal, the tobacco warehouse, the Palace of the Inquisition, the palace of the fortress (this must have been the old Sabayo's palace where Albuquerque took up his residence), the customs buildings and warehouses, the church and buildings of the House of Mercy "the brothers of which are in charge of the hospital for the poor" and the boarding-school of Our Lady of Mount Carmel.

Not one of these survives today, the only buildings still standing—whole or as ruins—being churches and monasteries (see the next chapter of this book).

Filipe Catelani's report goes on to say:

The greater portion of the area of the city is covered with coconut palms and trees and is almost unpopulated; 350 mud huts thatched with palm-leaves are scattered about the place,

*Quoted in Goa: Rome of the Orient by the French Colonel Rémy, published in an English translation (by Lancelot C. Sheppard) in 1957. This book includes a summary of the history of Goa and some useful first-hand observations, but it is written in a bitterly anti-Indian spirit at the time when the take-over by India was imminent.
in which dwell the sellers of native alcohol and keepers of the plantations, all Hindus, half-castes or negroes, all very poor, who live on their daily work. The other inhabitants of the city are all civil servants, merchants, workmen from the arsenal and craftsmen in comparatively easy circumstances: but when their day’s work is over they leave the city to pass the night outside in order not to fall ill. It even happens that some ecclesiastics, monks or secular priests who have country houses live alternately in the monasteries in the city and in their houses outside. It is true that Goa empties during the night and that those who remain after nightfall do not enjoy good health.

In 1804 there were still thirty-eight monasteries or convents in the city at least partly inhabited, but the civil administration had followed the viceroy out of the doomed city and established itself first at Ribandar and then at Panjim. The custom-house moved to Panjim in 1811, and in 1843 Panjim was formally declared, by Royal decree, the new capital. The buildings of Old Goa, as the original city was now called, were then finally left to decay and the jungle to invade its streets and squares and gardens. When Richard Burton visited it in 1846 he found St Monica’s convent the only one of its buildings still inhabited. Old Goa became the ghost city the visitor sees today, empty of inhabitants except for a small number of ecclesiastics and students occupying those parts of its monastic institutions that survive, and except that services are held intermittently in several of its churches and regularly in a few, notably in the cathedral and the church of Bom Jesus, to which pilgrims come in great numbers to visit the tomb of St Francis Xavier.
A Tour of Old Goa

The route by which the visitor to the abandoned city of Old Goa reaches it from Panjim takes him first along a mile-long causeway across what used to be a swamp. The causeway was constructed in 1633 by the then viceroy, the Count of Linhares. Before that date, and therefore throughout the period of Goa’s greatness described in the preceding chapters, Old Goa—the centre of the original Portuguese colony—was accessible only by water, by ships passing up the Mandovi River from the sea; and the visitor may decide that it would be most instructive and evocative to begin his tour of Old Goa at the quay where the Portuguese used to disembark, thus approaching its splendid surviving buildings as any new arrival would have approached them in the sixteenth century.

If so, let him drive along the causeway and the few miles of road between it and Old Goa (unless he has a boat at his disposal) and, passing without a halt through what was once the centre of the city, make straight for the riverside. His journey begins among typical Goan scenery. As he crosses the causeway with the Mandovi River on his left, he will see on the opposite bank a white-washed church with steps descending straight into the water. On his right the low-lying ground is occupied by salt-pan—salt was an important export even in the period of Goa’s decline. A series of rectangular compartments is separated by low mud walls alongside of which, at regular intervals, are pale conical heaps of the evaporated salt. At either hand in the further distance is the brilliant green of rice-paddies and then the rolling wooded countryside typical of most of Goa.

At the end of the causeway are groves of palm-trees among which stands the village of Ribandar, and driving through it the visitor might imagine himself in some estuary village of Portugal itself. There is a narrow street of ochre-washed houses, with flat bands round the doors and windows painted in contrasting colours. Where the street widens there is a little pinnacled and gabled church, brilliant white with quoins and cornices picked
out in royal blue. There is a variety of other small houses, colour-washed in Indian red or yellow, with shutters painted a dusty blue, fronted by porches and verandahs with intricately carved pillars and parapets. They are surrounded by a faint smell of drying fish and by vegetation whose lush growth and vivid green—for every house has its banana tree—reveal their tropical whereabouts. At one end of the village street is the entrance front of a large mansion which steps down the hillside so that its pillared verandahs, now a faded red and in a poor state of repair, hang right over the river-bank.

Beyond Ribandar the road continues with thick woods on one side, in which can be seen at one point a tank of stagnant water—all that is left of the Fountain of Banguinim, once Old Goa's most reliable source of water. On the other side is the peaceful waterway, disturbed only by the inevitable iron-ore barges, low in the water and bearing amidships a great pyramid of ore if they are on their way down towards the sea; riding high if they are pushing their way empty against the current towards the mines far inland.

Soon the sight of ruined towers and baroque pinnacles among the trees indicates the approach to Old Goa, and before long the road emerges into an open space, surrounded by the principal surviving buildings of the city. This space is hardly worthy of the city's ancient dignity and history, for after some of the jungle-growth that had half buried it for more than a century had been cleared in the 1950s to make a parade-ground for the Portuguese military, who were quartered in some of the abandoned buildings, and after the military had left when Goa became part of India, it was laid out in the most banal municipal garden style with little lawns, geometrical flower-beds, asphalt paths and concrete seats. Year by year these ill-judged gardening operations are being extended in the mistaken belief that tidying up the romantic growth surrounding the old buildings will make them more attractive to tourists.

In the centre of these gardens is a bronze statue of Luis de Camoes, Portugal’s most famous poet, author of The Lusiads, an epic poem about his country’s conquests in the East. The viceroy Braganza is said to have been a patron of Camoes, who was sent out to Goa in 1553 when a young man of 29, after being involved in a brawl, allegedly with a court official in Lisbon. He fought as a soldier, was banished to the Moluccas for writing
critically about the Goan administration and not allowed back until 1562. In *The Lusiads* Afonso de Albuquerque’s exploits are celebrated in heroic terms in a kind of Virgilian allegory:

Now Victory is busy weaving wreaths of palm-leaves to crown the hero’s brow after his fearless seizure of the famous island-city of Goa... See him now as he renews the assault, that neither walls, lances, fire nor cannonball can arrest, forcing his way sword in hand through the fearsome serried ranks of pagan and Moslem.*

There is irony in the fact that the statue of Camoes was erected in 1960—only a year before the end of Portuguese rule. After passing the garden in which it stands, the visitor must turn to the left, along what was until recently a sandy track but has now been widened and metallated, dipping gently down towards the river. Ahead of him is an arch framing the glittering surface of the water. It is built of the local laterite stone, porous in texture, darkish red in colour—that same laterite which gives their brick-red surface to the by-roads and boundary walls all over Goa.

This is the Arch of the Viceroy’s, through which the city was reached from the landing-stage used by the Portuguese from the time of their earliest conquest. Above the arch is a sculptured figure holding a bible, with its foot—all too symbolically—on the neck of a recumbent native. It once had another storey, with a bronze statue of St Catherine in a niche. The further side of the arch, facing the river, has a façade of greenish granite and bears the arms of Vasco da Gama and a statue of the explorer; for it was erected in 1597 by his grandson, the viceroy Francisco da Gama, to commemorate his exploits. Its designer was the city’s chief engineer, Julio Simao, who was responsible for a number of the buildings in Old Goa.

Passing through the arch, the visitor is now on the landing-stage—his proper starting-point for a tour of the ruined city—with the wide sweep of the river open to his view on either side. Rather, he has reached what was once the landing-stage but is now only a level pathway along the river bank from which protrudes

a modest wooden jetty serving a little ferry-boat that crosses the river to the villages on the island of Divar on the opposite side. On the landward side of the path, where once were the city’s guardian walls, backed by warehouses, barracks and fortifications of various kinds, is a tangle of undergrowth, no doubt concealing heaps of centuries-old stones, and a grove of tall palm-trees.

If you—the visitor—turn facing the arch with your back to the river, to your right was the quay where the Portuguese ships lay alongside, and where was situated also the busy and strategically important shipyard. Here too was the arsenal, with a foundry for cannon and a powder-mill. The arsenal was only closed, by Royal decree, in 1871. Its heavily fortified walls were then used by the local inhabitants as a source of building stone, which explains why all signs of it have now disappeared. Fronting the quay to your left was the customs-house, with the main bazaar behind it. Nothing of these is visible either; nor anything more than a fragment of the viceroy’s palace which was immediately on the left as you walk back through the arch towards the city.

Yet here and hereabouts was the busiest area at the time of the city’s greatness. We have a detailed description of it in the account written by the French traveller Francois Pyrard* who, during a remarkable series of adventures and misadventures, was shipwrecked in the Maldive Islands in 1608, rescued and taken to Goa where he stayed for two years. Describing the quay from which your tour is just starting, he says:

This place is, as it were, the middle of the whole town.... At the end of this quay there is a very large circular esplanade, where is held one of the markets, and the greatest in all Goa, so far as regards provisions.... There are several other squares and markets or bazaars, but none such as this. Over against it is a very fine square, containing the church of the Jacobins or Dominicans, exceedingly well built and decorated, with some pretty water.

This church was begun in 1550, two years after the Dominicans

*Translated into English under the title *Voyage to the East Indies, the Moluccas and Brazil* by Francois Pyrard of Laval. The translation, by Albert Gray, was published by the Hakluyt Society in 1888. It is in two volumes and the first 90 pages of Vol. II describe Pyrard’s stay and adventures in Goa.
had first arrived in Goa. It was the headquarters of the order, which afterwards built two colleges in other parts of the city. It was said to be huge, and finer even than the cathedral. It was demolished in 1841 and the stone used for building barracks. Pyrard goes on:

As for the fortress, or palace of the viceroy, it is a most sumptuous construction; and all in front is a very large square on the town side. Opposite the viceroy's gate is a large building, wherein the parliament is held....It is the principal court of justice in India for the Portuguese....This palace of the viceroy is not strong in cannon on the town side; but it is a good and commodious residence. On entering you find on your right the prison, called Tronco, which is a wing of the palace; on the left are the magazines and the royal arsenal. The palace is supplied with all necessaries, such as a church, a clock, and water. Even the royal treasury is partly there; the other part is in the Franciscan convent....Proceeding from this palace to the town, you enter the most handsome street of Goa, called la Ruo Drecho, or 'straight'. It is more than 1,500 paces in length, and on both sides has many rich lapidaries, goldsmiths, and bankers, and also the richest and best merchants and artisans in Goa, all Portuguese, Italians, or Germans, as well as other Europeans.

Pyrard's impression of crowds of people of many nationalities doing business together is confirmed by that of the Dutch traveller Linschoten, who visited Goa in 1583 and described the daily assembly of citizens and merchants as resembling the "meeting upon the burse in Andwarpe".

But you are looking at Goa as it is now and are still only at the river end of what was called the Rua Direita—Pyrard's "Ruo Drecho". Walk a little further up the road, now dusty and deserted with trees and bushes instead of imposing buildings on either side, and set back a little on your left you will see, among the trees and bushes, an architectural fragment of no great size but of unusual interest because it is the one visible surviving link between Old Goa and the Muslim rulers from whom the Portuguese captured it; for the viceroys, from Albuquerque onwards, took over what had been the Idalcan's palace and this is a basalt
fragment of that palace in purely Hindu style. It consists of a lintel resting on decorated pillars flanked by the remains of a pierced screen, all raised on half-a-dozen steps. Much more of the palace survived the viceroy’s departure in 1695, but was demolished in 1820 to provide stone for new buildings in Panjim.

This fragment of the palace gateway faces a broad rough space at the end of which you see at least two buildings that have survived almost intact. These are what was once the monastery and church of St Cajetan. The church is constructed, like the Arch of the Viceroy, out of laterite stone. But its walls are plastered and whitewashed. Like other buildings in Old Goa their upper parts have gone a blotchy black, the result of a kind of fungus or mildew that affects the surface of all buildings exposed to the humidity of the monsoon season if they are not regularly cleaned and repainted. The church had a rough new coat of colour-wash in 1974 (see next chapter), but this barely hides the blotches of fungus which a few monsoons will totally restore.

The blackish surface of this and the other churches’ external walls is not as ugly as it sounds; in fact it contributes to the oddity of the total scene, emphasizing the melancholy strangeness of towers and domes and pinnacles peering out from among the trees over several acres of tangled vegetation and indicating by their presence that a wealthy city, with streets and houses of which there is now no sign, once stood there; to which of course is added the strangeness of Western baroque architecture emerging from the Indian jungle.*

The church of St Cajetan (originally dedicated to La Divina Providencia) was built in 1656 by priests of the Theatine Order, and is said to have been modelled in miniature by its Italian architect on the basilica of St Peter at Rome.† It has indeed a

*But Richard Burton (Goa and the Blue Mountains, London, 1851) did not find the buildings at all romantic: “They are, generally speaking, large rambling piles, exposing an extensive surface of whitewashed wall, surmounted by sloping roofs of red tile, with lofty belfries and small windows. The visitor will admire the vastness of the design, the excellence of the position, and the adaptation of the architecture to the country and climate. But there his praise will cease.”

†A Theatine manuscript of 1770 in the National Library at Lisbon indicates that within that Order the church was regarded as “a miniature version of the great temple of St Peter in Rome”. The resemblance was also remarked upon by the Abbé Cottineau de Kloguen in his Historical Sketch, 1831.
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pedimented Corinthian portico flanked by pilasters and crowned by a high attic storey, and it has a dome over the crossing. But its facade lacks the end pavilions of St Peter’s; instead it has square turrets over each corner. Its interior is a beautiful piece of geometry with some of the qualities of Wren’s City of London churches. It has recently been well restored. Its white walls and vaulting effectively set off its seven baroque altars, richly gilt. The monastery of St Cajetan alongside it was thoroughly restored twenty years ago after soldiers had been quartered there; in fact it was largely rebuilt, with only one of the original courtyards surviving at the back. The facade you see as you stand in front of the church is a graceful two-storey one in Portuguese eighteenth-century style with a projecting central portico. This is one of the two or three buildings in Old Goa in full use, serving now as a postgraduate theological college.

Continue along the same road with your back to the river. Invisible among the woods on your left are the ruins of the Dominican and the Carmelite monasteries—the former including the church which Pyrard reported as being the finest in his day—and beyond them, alongside the road to Ponda, is an arched gateway, all that is left of the once famous Jesuit College of St Paul, the remainder having been demolished in 1833. It was built in 1541 and taken over a few years later by the Jesuits to become the centre from which missionaries went out to convert the heathen in every country of the East. From where you are standing thick woods hide the ruined gateway; but look instead to your right, and after walking on a little distance you will see the entrance front, with central pediment and balustraded tower, of another of Old Goa’s surviving buildings: the Sé, or cathedral, of St Catherine, so dedicated because it was on St Catherine’s day, 25 November of the year 1510, that Afonso de Albuquerque finally captured Goa.

The cathedral was begun in 1562 to the designs of Julio Simao and Ambrosio Argueiro, and finished in 1619.* It originally had a symmetrical facade with twin towers, but one tower was struck by lightning in 1776. As you look towards it the weed-grown heap of rubble in the foreground (now being tidied up to make

*Pyrard (op. cit.) describes it as being still in an unfinished state when he arrived in Goa in 1608.
another ornamental garden) was once a great civic square called the Terreiro do Sabaio. Here stood the Senate House, where the Senate of Goa met until 1835, in which year its sessions were transferred to Panjim and the building allowed to fall down; also the Royal tobacco-warehouse. On the south side of the same square was the Palace of the Inquisition. Here were the prison cells from which heretics were led out to face the grim ordeal of
Pl. 1. The city of Old Goa in the seventeenth century, as shown in a Dutch engraving of the period.
Pl. 2: The church of St Cajetan, Old Goa (1656-61). On the left is part of the reconstructed monastery, now a theological college and one of the few buildings in Old Goa still occupied.
Pl. 3: West front of the cathedral of St Catherine, Old Goa, begun in 1562. It originally had two towers; the other was struck by lightning in 1776.
Pl. 4: Doorway of the church of St Francis of Assisi, Old Goa. In the Portuguese Manueine style, it was part of the original church begun in 1510. The church was rebuilt in 1661.
Pl. 5 (a): St. Catherine's Chapel, Old Goa, erected in the seventeenth century as a memorial to Afonso de Albuquerque's victory of 1510.

Pl. 5. (b): Old Goa: the Jesuit monastery attached to the basilica of Bom Jesus.
Pl. 6 (a) The hilltop church of Our Lady of the Rosary, Old Goa (1543), now derelict.

Pl. 6 (b) : Ruined tower of the Augustinian monastery, Old Goa (1572)
Pl. 7: Portuguese-style houses in an old quarter of Panjim, formally declared the capital in 1843 after Old Goa had been almost deserted for 150 years.
Pl. 8: Colonnaded houses in an old residential area in the eastern part of Panjim.
the auto-da-fe, held in the square and announced by the tolling of the great bell in the cathedral tower.

There is a clear and vivid description, if more conjectural than Pyrard's, of this part of the city at the time when the Inquisition was at the height of its power in one of Captain Marryat's less-known novels, The Phantom Ship. This was published in 1839, and it may be assumed that the description was based on the author's own impressions of Old Goa, which he would have obtained around 1824 or 1825. For although Marryat spent most of his career as a naval officer in the West Indian and American stations, in 1823 he was given command of the Larne for service in the East Indies, took part in the first Burmese war and voyaged all over the eastern seas before returning to England at the beginning of 1826.

When he was in Goa the city had already been largely abandoned. The last government office had just moved to Panjim and the earlier magnificence must have almost gone. But many of its buildings would still have been intact. For the purpose of his novel he had however to imagine Goa still almost in its prime, for its action takes place in the second half of the seventeenth century. The heroine is Amine Poots, a Dutch girl who has escaped from various misadventures in the Indies by boarding a Portuguese ship bound for Goa.

As they approached the river, the two mouths of which form the island upon which Goa is built, the passengers were all on deck; and the Portuguese captain, who had often been there, pointed out to Amine the most remarkable buildings. When they had passed the forts they entered the river, the whole line of whose banks were covered with the country seats of the nobility and hidalgos—splendid buildings embosomed in groves of orange trees, whose perfume scented the air.

"There, signora, is the country palace of the viceroy," said the captain, pointing to a building which covered nearly three acres of ground.

The ship sailed on until they arrived nearly abreast of the town, when Amine's eyes were directed to the lofty spires of the churches and other public edifices—for Amine had seen but little of cities during her life, as may be perceived when her history is recollected.
“That is the Jesuits’ church, with their establishment,” said the captain, pointing to a magnificent pile. “In the church, now opening upon us, lay the canonized bones of the celebrated Saint Francisco, who sacrificed his life in his zeal for the propagation of the gospel in these countries.”

“I have heard of him from Father Mathius,” replied Amine; “but what building is that?”

“The Augustine convent; and the other, to the right, is the Dominican.”

“Splendid, indeed,” observed Amine.

“The building you see now, on the water-side, is the viceroy’s palace; that to the right, again, is the convent of the barefooted Carmelites; yon lofty spire is the cathedral of St Catherine, and that beautiful and light piece of architecture is the church of Our Lady of Pity. You observe there a building, with a dome, rising behind the viceroy’s palace?”

“I do,” replied Amine.

“That is the Holy Inquisition.”

Although Amine had heard Philip speak of the Inquisition,* she knew little about its properties; but a sudden tremor passed through her frame as the name was mentioned, which she could not herself account for.

“Now we open upon the viceroy’s palace, and you perceive what a beautiful building it is,” continued the captain; “that large pile a little above it is the Custom-house, abreast of which we shall come to anchor.”

Amine was taken to be lodged in the Ursuline convent.

They landed between the Custom-house and the viceroy’s palace, passed through to the large square behind it, and then went up the Strada Diretta, or straight street, which led up to the Church of Pity, near to which the convent was situated. This street is the finest in Goa, and is called Strada Diretta from the singular fact that almost all the streets in Goa are quadrants or segments of circles.

*Richard Burton (op. cit.), who refers to Marryat’s novel, suggests that his description of the proceedings of the Inquisition may have been based on an account published in 1688 by the French physician Dellon of his experiences before the Inquisition a dozen years earlier.
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Amine was astonished: the houses were of stone, lofty and massive; at each storey was thrown out a balcony of marble, elaborately carved: and over each door were the arms of the nobility, or hidalgos, to whom the houses belonged. The square behind the palace, and the wide streets, were filled with living beings: elephants with gorgeous trappings; led or mounted horses with superb housings; palanquins, carried by natives in splendid liveries; running footmen; syces; every variety of nation, from the proud Portuguese to the half-covered native; Musselmans, Arabs, Hindoos, Armenians; officers and soldiers in their uniforms, all crowded and thronged together: all was bustle and motion. Such was the wealth, the splendour and luxury of the proud city of Goa—the Empress of the East at the time we are now describing.

Though the colourful crowds have gone, along with most of the buildings that so impressed Amine (before, incidentally, she was burnt by the Inquisition in the closing pages of the novel), the cathedral still furnishes some reminders of the luxury she saw. The long vista of the interior, 280 feet from western entrance to high altar (it is the largest Christian church in Asia), culminates in a gilded reredos intricately carved in the baroque fashion associated with Portuguese colonial architecture everywhere—in South America as well as Asia. Four panels depicting scenes from the life of St Catherine are surmounted by a figure of the saint, wearing a crown and holding a sword which she has brought down fiercely on the head of a king—an unsaintly action intended to symbolize the victory of Christianity over paganism.

The glowing gold of altar and reredos is echoed in several flanking altars and in others inside chapels. Inscribed tombstones are set into the floor and there is a font, said to have been used by St Francis Xavier, in the form of a great vessel of Hindu origin. On the walls are a number of paintings, mostly of no special interest but including some panels depicting the life of St Catherine, believed to have been painted in about 1538-40 by Garcia Fernandes. He was one of the three outstanding early Mannerist painters who worked in Portugal and the only one of these known to have visited India.

Seventeenth-century inlaid chests in the sacristy contain a sumptuous collection of vestments and plate. The former are not only
splendid examples of embroidery, but illustrate once again the range of Goa’s contacts with the East. They include chasubles, copes and altar-frontals whose styles betray Chinese, Mughal and Persian origins.* The building’s interior, in spite of its ornaments, is bare and bleak. Services are still held there, and a group of canons sing the daily office, listened to by hardly anyone, which exaggerates the vastness of its echoing spaces.

The cathedral forms the eastern end of a continuous wall of building that provides the backbone of what remains of the centre of Old Goa. Adjoining it to the west is the former archbishop’s palace, a modest white building now lived in by a few old priests, and beyond that is the monastery of St Francis of Assisi, the largest in Goa. This was first built in 1510 and rebuilt from 1521 onwards on the site of a mosque suppressed by the first Portuguese invaders. It was the headquarters of the Franciscan Order in the East. The monastery church, which adjoins its southern corner, is later—1661—as it replaced the original church when this had become unsafe. The west doorway, however, in the Portuguese Manueline style, survives from the earlier building.

This church of St Francis has the most beautiful interior in Old Goa. Again it is wonderfully enriched with gold; the whole east end, in fact, is one great gilded edifice. It has the remains of a painted ceiling and of seventeenth-century wall-paintings in the chancel.† In the floor of the nave are embedded, in even greater variety than in the cathedral, inscribed tombstones bearing the names of many of the Portuguese families who contributed in the early days to the history of Goa. The interior has recently been restored with a taste and judgement not always shown when such work is undertaken. An expert in the architecture of the period was brought from France to supervise the restoration of this church and the church of St Cajetan.

One wing of the monastery is now a museum. Immediately inside is an entrance gallery dominated by a haughty bronze statue, twelve feet high, of Afonso de Albuquerque which until lately

*Noted by J. B. Harrison in A Cultural History of India (op. cit.).

†An account of these paintings, and of others in the convent of St Monica in Old Goa and in the church of St Peter at Banguenim nearby, is given by G. Evelyn Hutchinson in The Clear Mirror : a pattern of life in Goa and in Indian Tibet (Cambridge University Press, 1936).
stood by the waterfront at Miramar beach, down the Mandovi River from Panjim. From this gallery is reached a charming arcaded cloister surrounding a garden. Displayed in the cloister are fragments of Hindu sculpture, mostly of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, excavated at the sites of temples destroyed by the Portuguese, and tomb-slabs of Portuguese worthies.

A stair at the corner of the cloister leads to the upper galleries which house a fascinating collection of portraits of the Portuguese viceroys and governors-general, originally displayed in the vice-regal palace at Panjim. The series was started by the thirteenth viceroy Joao de Castro who, in 1547, ordered his portrait and those of his twelve predecessors to be painted by local artists. There are fifty-four paintings in all, mostly full-length and each incorporating the subject’s coat-of-arms. The last is that of Jose-Ricardo-Pereira Cabral, governor-general from 1938 to 1945. Not many of the portraits are of high quality as paintings, but they make an interesting series—at first stiff and hierarchical, then more informal and somewhat romanticized, then conventionally academic—and if nothing else they provide an instructive history of official uniforms.

On leaving the museum turn west again, and you will find, partly enclosed by the trees that cover the sloping ground once occupied by the arsenal,* between the long cliff of buildings you have just left and the river, a chapel built in the seventeenth century on the same spot as the chapel of St Catherine which Albuquerque erected to mark the site of the bitterest fighting during his capture of Goa in 1510. It is now denuded of plaster, revealing its red laterite walls. On these can be seen a tablet, preserved from the earlier chapel, bearing an inscription which reads (in translation):

Here was the gateway through which the commander Afonso de Albuquerque entered when he took this city from the Moors on the day of St Catherine in the year 1510. The Governor, Joao Cabral, had this chapel built at his Majesty’s expense.

*An establishment, it should be noted, of more than local importance. In the seventeenth century the royal arsenal at Goa began to produce guns superior to those made in India, and the treaties signed between the Portuguese and the Marathas (see Chapter 5) stipulated that the latter should be entitled to buy guns and ammunition from Goa’s arsenal.
Not far from the chapel, completely buried among the rich vegetation, are the ruins of the hospital begun by Albuquerque in 1511. This in its time was one of the most remarkable institutions in Goa. Its management was taken over by the Jesuits in 1591. Two years afterwards they totally rebuilt it, after which it was said to be unequalled by any hospital in Europe. Francois Pyrard was a patient there on his arrival in Goa in 1608, and in his account of his voyages he includes a description of it:

It is of very great extent, situated on the banks of the river.... It is managed and governed by the Jesuits, who appoint a Father to the post of governor. The other officers are Portuguese, all men of quality and gentility; as for the servants and slaves, they are Christian Indians....The sick are sometimes very numerous. While I was there there were as many as 1,500, all of them either Portuguese soldiers or men of other Christian races of Europe, of every profession and quality who are all received; for the Indians are not taken in there, having a hospital apart, endowed by the townspeople, wherein are received only Christian Indians....It has many galleries, porticoes, ponds and gardens with pretty walks, where the patients that are beginning to recover go to take the air and a bath.

However when another Frenchman, Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, visited Goa in 1664 he noted that:

Since this hospital has undergone a change of administrators treatment there is very bad; and several of our Europeans who have entered its portals have only come out to be carried to the tomb.

Soon after this there were no more than a couple of doctors working there—one of many symptoms of Goa's precipitate decline—and by the mid-eighteenth century the building had become a ruin.

Pyrard had been fortunate to see Goa before the decline set in. He admired much besides the hospital, and was deeply impressed by the whole city with its many buildings in European style. He emphasized however that in his time it was far from being,
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as it was at the beginning, mainly a fortress:

The city is not overstrong; and whosoever should make himself master of the island would be master of the town also, which has no staunch fortress, but is strong in men alone; for though it is enclosed with walls, yet are these walls low, like those with which we enclose our gardens here. It is strong on the riverside only. The old walls of the town were higher and stronger, and had good gates, which no longer exist; for the town having increased more than two-thirds in size, all those ancient buildings are now useless. The Portuguese take no thought to protect it on the land side of the island, because of the good passages, to which they trust entirely [presumably meaning the well-guarded approaches by water].

Some of Pyrard’s other observations, architectural and topographical, are worth quoting:

The buildings of these churches and palaces, both public and private, are exceeding sumptuous and magnificent: the work is done for the most part by the Canarins, both Gentiles and Christians. The houses are built of lime and sand. The lime is made of the shells of oysters and sea-snails. The sand used is that from land, and not that of the river. The houses are covered with tiles. Window-glass is not employed, but in lieu thereof very thin polished oyster-shells, of a lozenge shape, and set in wooden frames. These give as much light as paper windows or horn lanterns, but are not so transparent as glass. Building stone is got in the island: but that used for columns and other grander work is brought from Bassein, and is there obtained in very long blocks of very great strength. It is like grained stone, but of better appearance. I have never seen in this country single columns of stone so thick and long as those there. The extent of their buildings is considerable, but they are of but few stories; they are coloured red and white, both without and within.

There are here and there a number of springs of water, good

*That is, the inhabitants of Kanara, the old name for the whole territory of Goa. The imported negro slaves Pyrard calls caffres.
and excellent for drinking, which come from the rocks and mountains....and this is the reason there is so great a number of coco and other fruit trees. As for wells, there are few houses that have none, but they are not for drinking, the water not being good except at some....Of the ordinary water that is drunk, as well in the city as in the suburbs, the best, healthiest, and lightest, to my mind, is that which is fetched a quarter of a league from the town, where there is a large, beautiful, and clear spring, called Banguenin, coming out of the rocks. The Portuguese have had it enclosed with walls, and well supplied with good channels; while lower down are large reservoirs, where most of the men and women come to bleach the linen... and there are other reservoirs for bathing and washing the body.
The great range of buildings that once had the hospital at its western end and still has the cathedral at its eastern, facing the Rua Direita (or Drecho, as Pyrard calls it), is given added substance by the towering buttresses of the side wall of the monastery of St Francis of Assisi. This wall faces towards Old Goa’s central square whose present feble garden layout—criticized in the last chapter—cannot altogether nullify the drama of these semi-derelict European-style buildings rising from the tangled growth of the Indian countryside. The square, as we have seen, was near the centre of the sixteenth-century city. There is now no evidence of the curving street-pattern that Captain Marryat reported. He did not however invent it; for a seventeenth-century Dutch map of the city (Plate 1) shows at least some curved streets, which seem to have followed the line of the wall that formed a half-circle with its diameter the river-bank.* Across the square to the east is where the church of Nossa Senhora da Serra stood, but of which nothing now remains. This was the church Afonso de Albuquerque built in 1513 in fulfilment of a vow made when his ship of the same name was in danger in the Red Sea, and in which he was buried at his own request. It had towers that could be used for defence in an emergency. In full view straight across the square, on the other side of the road along which you travelled from Panjim, stands still intact the building that is the focus of interest for most visitors to Old Goa, the basilica of Bom Jesus.

The basilica was begun in 1594 and finished in 1605. Unlike the cathedral it is orientated so that its altar faces east. It has a beautifully proportioned three-storey western front looking on to a forecourt which it shares with the high, somewhat forbidding facade of another vast monastery, originally the Professed House of the Jesuits and now occupied only by a few Jesuit Fathers who hold retreats there for young people. This building was comple-

*And Linschoten’s engraved map of 1595 shows narrow streets, mostly curved, branching off the wide street labelled “a Rua Dereita”.
ted in 1585 but only partly rebuilt after a fire in 1633. It is linked to the basilica by a beautiful arcaded courtyard.

The basilica's northern flank, facing the garden and the statue of Luis de Camoes, is of bare red laterite stone, its plaster having been removed in 1956 by a Portuguese architect with the notion that this was the correct thing to do. Until 1970 it was partly screened by a grove of palm-trees which provided a welcome patch of shade in the glare of the tropical outdoors and enlivened this massive group of buildings with their delicate fronds moving against the sky. But the trees have since been cut down to make a car-park, and the facade now stands bleakly exposed to the road.

The window and door surrounds and the classical entablatures of the western front are of a smooth yellow stone which contrasts curiously with the rough-surfaced laterite of the basic walling. There is a legend that these and other such stones in Old Goan buildings came out from Lisbon as ballast in the ships that sailed to the Indies, ready shaped and carved for use in building churches in the Portuguese possessions. It is true that such imports did take place (in 1755 a whole facade for a new church in Brazil was sent out from Portugal in numbered blocks), but in this case it is just as likely that the smoother stones are some of those shipped from Bassein, further up the coast of India, as reported by Pyrard.

The basilica of Bom Jesus has a handsome interior in spite of its modern roof. Far more than the other churches of Old Goa, it has the appearance of a frequented place of worship in an inhabited city. Again the eye is drawn at once to the richly sculptured reredos glowing with gold-leaf behind the high altar, the centre piece of which is an immense figure of Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Jesuit Order. Flanking altars are similarly enriched with gold, but the place the pilgrims make for is not immediately visible but hidden away at the side: a chapel completely filled, from wall to wall and from the floor to the crown of the arched roof, by the tomb of St Francis Xavier.

This elaborate tomb, the gift for some reason of Cosimo III, Grand Duke of Tuscany, was not installed until 1698, nearly a century and a half after St Francis's death. It is composed of tiers of sarcophagi in alabaster and coloured Florentine marbles, with bronze panels depicting scenes from St Francis's life. Perched
above them is the silver coffin, made by Goan craftsmen in 1636. The coffin by tradition is opened at regular intervals—unlocked by three keys, one held by the governor of Goa, one by the archbishop and one by the administrator of the Jesuit monastery—to display the body publicly and show the supposedly miraculous state of its preservation. But in recent years it has shrivelled and begun to disintegrate, and this macabre celebration has been brought to an end.

In fact the body was exposed for the thirteenth and last time in December 1974, when it was announced that it would never be exposed again. Instead, an illuminated window has been opened in the coffin so that pilgrims can get a glimpse of the body without
further risk to its condition. This last exposition of the saint drew even vaster crowds than usual to see the body and to take part in the services and ceremonies that had become a traditional part of the celebration.* To accommodate the crowds the coffin was on this occasion displayed not in the church of Bom Jesus but in the cathedral, to which it was carried in procession and placed part way up the nave. Here a seemingly endless stream of pilgrims filed in two lines reverently past it with lighted candles in their hands, men in one line and women in the other.

The crowds came not only from India but from Goan communities overseas and from many other countries. There were hundreds of Japanese. They were brought to Old Goa mostly in motor-coaches, which were parked by the dozen not far from the church of Bom Jesus. Here again trees were cut down to clear space for parking, and the ground where they stood is now being laid out with formal paths and flower-beds like those in the central square. For this occasion too the buildings of Old Goa were freshly colour-washed—an admirable notion, but instead of the brilliant white that is traditional for churches all over Goa, the colour chosen was a buttery yellow which stood out in some disharmony with the gentle landscape of faded white walls seen through screens of vegetation which Old Goa had slowly created for itself since the inhabitants had left. However, even if the loss of the trees means a diminution of the romantic setting the old buildings once enjoyed, the matter of the tactless colour-washing is already, after a couple of monsoons, well on the way to being dealt with. Old Goa is again deserted and involved only with its past.

Has it, the visitor will ask, any kind of future except continuing to give pleasure to occasional tourists and be the goal of groups of Catholic pilgrims attracted to the tomb of St Francis Xavier? It appears not. Its obvious future, it has been several times suggested, is that of a university town. The territory of Goa has no university, though one is badly needed. There is a medical school in Panjim and an engineering college outside; otherwise young people have to leave home to study in other parts of India, as their ancestors left to study at Lisbon or Coimbra. Old Goa, easily reached by road or river from Panjim and the other centres

*Evelyn Waugh published a vivid description of Old Goa during a similar festival which he attended in 1959.
of population, would make an ideal university town, its unemploy-
ed monasteries and palaces easily convertible for educational
purposes—which in a sense they originally served. Whatever new
buildings present-day education programmes might demand
could be modestly designed to fill some of the spaces that are only
scrub and rubble, providing a modest foil to the distinguished
architecture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The uni-
versity could thus be given the advantage of a compact urban
environment and, moreover, one endowed with that sense of his-
tory that adds so much to other university towns.

That is an engaging idea, but is unlikely to happen, at least in
the present nationalist and political climate. The richness of Old
Goa's architecture, while aesthetically and environmentally an
asset, gives the city too many associations with Goa's colonial
past and is too strongly imbued with the atmosphere and history
of the Church. Although the passions of 1961 are cooling down,
the preservation of a distinct Goan culture, even an insistently
secular one, is still not the objective of an India for whom the
territory's status was recently a source of irritation.

Meanwhile political argument is continuing—or was in 1976—
as to the ownership of Old Goa. After the process of confiscating
church property, begun by the Marquis of Pombal (see Chapter 5),
had been completed in 1910 when Portugal became a republic,
much of it was returned to the Church under Salazar. The outcome
of the present discussions is likely to be that Old Goa as a whole
will come under the control of the State, but that the buildings at
present in ecclesiastical or educational use will remain in the
ownership of the Church.

Since 1961 the whole area of Old Goa—that is, a designated
area enclosing nearly all the ruins—has been declared a historic
site and placed in the care of the Archaeological Survey of India.
This area, within which no new building will be permitted, stret-
ches nearly a mile from St Cajetan in the east to the church of the
Rosary on its high grassy bluff to the west, which you have yet to
reach, and nearly half a mile from the banks of the Mandovi
River to the Jesuits' Professed House and the basilica of Bom
Jesus. The Archaeological Survey can presumably be counted
on to look after the ruins as far as their limited resources allow,
and the designation as a protected area is therefore to be wel-
comed; but it is disquieting that it is they (or, more precisely, the
Garden Department of the Archaeological Survey's Western Region, with its headquarters at Aurangabad in Maharashtra State) who are clearing and levelling the wilderness in the manner I have complained about, and ironical that their motive is reported to be to make Old Goa more attractive to tourists.

The basilica of Bom Jesus and its attached Jesuit House appear to the perambulating visitor to complete the group of buildings, occupied or empty, whose baroque towers stand within sight of one another across the central square or beyond the intervening trees. But Old Goa stretched much further afield, and if you leave Bom Jesus in a westerly direction as though starting back to Panjim, but branch off to the left, along a road leading steeply up-hill into the woods, you will learn from the several ecclesiastical buildings you will soon encounter how much more extensive the city once was.

First you will come, on the left, to the monastery of St John of God (late seventeenth century), now an old people's home, and then to the huge convent of St Monica standing close beside the road on the right-hand side. This noble building, dating from 1606, was the first nunnery in the East and at the time of its foundation the second largest in the Portuguese empire. By the beginning of this century it had almost become a ruin. It was then used for a time by the military, and has since been largely restored. Now its handsomely ornamented granite doorway opens on to cool arcaded galleries surrounding a planted courtyard. Except for the topmost storey, which the present occupiers are slowly repairing so as to bring it back into use, this substantial building is very much alive. The occupiers are nuns who provide residential theological courses for Catholic girl-students from all over India—about 120 at a time.

The road passes under the flying buttresses that support the facade of St Monica's and soon, as you turn the corner, you see one of the most spectacular ruins in all of Old Goa: the tower—or, rather, half the tower—of the church of the Augustinian monastery, built in 1572, the remainder of which has disappeared. The tower has been split vertically. It was originally one of a pair, the loftiest towers in the whole city, and it still reaches to its full height, crowned by a balustraded parapet with corner pinnacles; but half its width has fallen away, leaving its grey mildew-encrusted stonework with one straight and one alarmingly broken eedg-
A Tour of Old Goa (continued)

This Augustinian monastery, which was connected to the church by a wide staircase, was described as still retaining its former splendour by the Abbé Cottineau de Kloguen when he visited Goa as relatively recently as 1827:

We were taken through a part of the cloister, which is vast, finely vaulted and very beautiful; so, too, are the staircases and, on the first floor, and even on the second the galleries, or upper vaulted cloisters, go right round the inside of the building.

The monastery was abandoned in 1835 and the vaulting collapsed in 1842. Four years later it and the adjoining Collegio do Populo, where the younger Augustinian brethren were trained, were both pulled down. By 1874 nothing was left but the shell of the monastery church and this—with the exception of half the tower—collapsed in 1931.

Climbing the hill past the tower, and past the chapel of St Anthony, now used as a novitiate by a monastery at Calangute up the coast, you eventually reach the top alongside yet another church, that of the priory of Our Lady of the Rosary, complete as to its structure but a ruin inside. It contains the alabaster tomb, clearly the work of Hindu craftsmen, of Dona Catarina, the wife of the tenth viceroy and the first Portuguese lady to face the long and dangerous voyage to the Indies. It is not normally possible, however, to see her tomb, and the characteristically Manueline rope-like mouldings, because the heavy wooden doors of the church are secured by padlocks and its windows are boarded up.

The parish of the church of the Rosary was at one time the most populous in the city. The church, built in 1543, has a western tower, Manueline in flavour, with rounded corner buttresses and a bulging stair-turret, and because of its exposed position it is not so much stained with black mildew like the churches at the bottom of the hill, as coloured by it black all over. Yet the gloom of its colouring and condition are contradicted by its inspiring situation, perched in the open, though backed by trees and undergrowth, on a grassy mound at the very edge of a steep cliff—the same mound from which, it is said, Afonso de Albuquerque followed the fortunes of the battle which, on 25 November 1510, gave him possession of Goa. On this mound too St Francis Xavier used,
half a century later, to preach in the evenings before enormous congregations.

Standing there, you can look westwards over the tops of the trees through which the road back to Panjim passes far below. You can even get a glimpse of the road itself and the vehicles on it. You can look south over thick woods within which are concealed the ruins of others of Goa’s once innumerable ecclesiastical buildings, some far distant though lying just within the area designated as a protected zone. Alternatively you can look north to a more distant green landscape with a tiny white church, on the far river-island of Divar, buried in its wide expanse, and to the silvery curve of the Mandovi in the middle distance. The low-lying ground on the outside of the bend of the river is cultivated now, but will be washed by flood-water in the monsoon season. Far below the cliff at your feet the noise of iron clanging on iron indicates the position of a repair-yard for the iron-ore barges on the river bank, hidden from view by the dense growth of trees.

In the account on the foregoing pages of the buildings of Old Goa I have included only those of which the remains can still be visited, together with a few others, such as the Palace of the Inquisition and the Royal Hospital, which played an essential part in the history of the city. Fonseca, whose book, published in 1878, I have already referred to, describes a number of others—mostly churches and monastic buildings—which had impressed earlier travellers who passed through Goa and whose accounts of them Fonseca had studied. These others have all now disappeared or remain only as heaps of stones among the vegetation that has crept over them.* Many were already no more than this in Fonseca’s day.

There was the College of St Bonaventure on the river-bank, beyond the Hospital and just west of the Arsenal—a vast monastery built in 1602 for the friars of the Franciscan order. There was the Santa Casa de Misericordia, a group of buildings housing various charitable institutions alongside the Rua Direita due south of the cathedral. Not far from the Dominican monastery further east was the church of St Lucia, built about the middle of the sixteenth century as the parish church of the eastern part of the city. Near it, on a hill-top now completely hidden in the

*Their location is shown in the map made by Fonseca in 1878 which is reproduced on the end-papers of this volume.
jungle, was the church of Nossa Senhora do Monte, and at the foot of the same hill the monastery and church of the Carmelites—the “bare-footed Carmelites” referred to in Captain Marryat’s story. Since the Carmelites were foreigners, their loyalty to Portugal was often in doubt, and in 1707, after they had refused to take an oath of allegiance to the king, they were expelled from Goa.

Further east still, on the very edge of the city, was the Hospital of St Lazarus, founded in 1530 and administered by the Casa de Misericordia. This had its own chapel, alongside which was a level space used both as a military parade-ground and as the place where the heretics condemned by the Inquisition were taken to be burnt. Nearby was the parish church of St Thomas, built to receive the body of St Thomas when the viceroy Constantino de Braganza, in 1560, ordered it to be removed from its original resting-place at Mylapore (now part of Madras) and brought to Goa. Those who were sent, however, only succeeded in bringing back a bone and a few other relics.

In the southern quarter of the city, on the other side of the road to Ponda, were the parish church of St Alexius, the Hospital of All Saints (for the relief of the poor), and the parish church of the Holy Trinity—another church built on the site of a Hindu temple —the convent and church of the Miraculous Cross and the parish church of Our Lady of Light. Fonseca gives the number of the latter’s parishioners in order to show the suddenness as well as the rapidity of Goa’s decline in the seventeenth century: 30,000 in 1614; 109 a century later; eight a century after that.

On the slopes of the hill that rises west of the basilica of Bom Jesus and is crowned by the church of Our Lady of the Rosary—which Fonseca says was known as the Holy Hill—there was, in addition to the monasteries, convents, churches and chapels already described as still existing in some form or other, one more important institution: the New College of St Paul, known at first as the Monastery of St Roch. Built in 1526, it changed its name when it was acquired by the Jesuits in 1578 and enlarged by them soon afterwards for use as a college. It was a four-storey building, said to be vast and architecturally magnificent. Its great size, and the arrogance the Jesuits habitually showed, made it the subject of long-drawn-out disputes. They had obtained permission in 1610
to remove their college here, but the permission was given, Fonseca says,

... on several conditions, some of which were that they should not raise the building so high as to obstruct the light and air, as well as the view of the sea, enjoyed by the neighbouring buildings, and secondly that they should not build a large church with confessionals, etc., so as to prejudice the interests of the neighbouring parishes; but, disregarding these restrictions, they raised a lofty church and a majestic college. The consequence was that the friars and nuns who had their convents on the hill, as well as the priests who were in charge of parishes, laid complaints before the Senate of the city against the Jesuits. In spite of all this opposition, the Jesuits continued in possession of the college, as we learn from Pietro della Valle, who visited Goa in 1623. He says: "The Jesuits up to this date have prevailed over the city, which wishes them to return to Old St. Paul's for the convenience of students, and also over the Augustinians, and the King himself, who several times ordered them to leave that place and to destroy the new college, and they have remained, notwithstanding all the opposition made against them, in possession of their new and splendid building, and are even enlarging it, calling it New St. Paul's, because they wish that all their colleges in India should be dedicated to St. Paul."

The new college was already a ruin in 1810.

On the way back to Panjim from Old Goa—between the city and Ribandar—were once two villages. One was Banguenim, famous for its pure water—which came from the Fountain of Banguenim extolled by Pyrard—and the other was Panelim. In Banguenim were also, according to Fonseca, the College of St Thomas, belonging to the Dominicans (built 1596; demolished 1846) and the parish church of St Peter, which still stands—restored to fair condition but little used—on the right hand side of the road.*

*G. Evelyn Hutchinson (see footnote, page 52) admired a carved wooden pulpit in this church, and noted a picture of the Deposition, hanging over the pulpit, which he describes as "the most perfect painting now in existence in Goa" (this was about 1932).
The second village, Panelim, was notable for a number of buildings of a rather different kind. One was the palace of the archbishops, who removed themselves thence in 1695 when epidemics were raging in the city but abandoned it when even this outlying suburb became unhealthy and lived thereafter in Panjim. It occupied the slope of the hill south of the main road. Also at Panelim, but between the road and the river, was the Casa de Polvora or gunpowder factory, begun by the viceroy Francisco da Gama, Count of Vidigueira, and completed in 1630 by his successor the Count of Linhares. Attached to it was a stone reservoir supplied with water by an aqueduct from Banguenim.

Nearby was the pleasure-palace of the viceroys to which they, too, retreated altogether during the epidemic of 1695. When they moved to Panjim in 1759 (see Chapter 5), the Royal Hospital was transferred from the city to this palace and put under the charge of the Order of St John of God. It was abandoned after a new military hospital had been built in Panjim in 1842 and its ruins were finally cleared away in 1856.

Let Fonseca say the final word about this once aristocratic suburb of Golden Goa:

There were also at Panelim some other buildings, and many splendid houses of fidalgos and noblemen. In fact the suburb... when it was made the residence of the Viceroy and the Archbishop, became at the same time the chief place of abode of officers of state and other Portuguese gentlemen, who, following the example of the chief authorities, abandoned the city. This suburb some time afterwards became almost as unhealthy as the city itself, and was consequently deserted in its turn, so that it is now in nearly as desolate a condition as the latter.
Chapter 8

Goa in Obscurity

The transfer of the Goan administration from the original capital, thenceforward to be known as Old Goa (or Velha Goa), to Panjim meant a move from a city of deliberate magnificence to one that had grown up as little more than a mercantile landing-stage under the protection of its fortress. Until the move from Old Goa it was in fact a miserable place, occupied only by poor artisans and fishermen although in the surrounding countryside there were already numerous houses of the well-to-do. It was only between 1827 and 1835, during the administration of Manuel de Portugal e Castro, the last viceroy (after 1837 only governors-general ruled the territory) that its many stagnant pools were reclaimed and new roads built, and it acquired something of the substance of a proper town. Before the move from Old Goa Panjim’s principal building, apart from the all-important fortress, was a palace where each new viceroy lodged on arriving from Portugal before being escorted ceremonially up-river to take up his position in the capital city, and where the departing viceroy waited for a ship to take him home.

Panjim was now raised to an altogether different status. Beautifully situated by the river mouth, it soon settled into its new role and equipped itself with public buildings in the current neo-classical style. It remained however not grand but provincial, and relatively modest in size because of the system—one of the peculiar and fascinating aspects of the Goan scene, of which more later—whereby the upper classes lived a country-house life in the villages, and the towns were for business, trade and, in the special case of Panjim, government. It is only in recent years that new construction has begun to alter the town’s calm colonial appearance; for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were times of relative stagnation for Goa—of survival rather than change. Politically, following the decline of the Portuguese Asian empire, Goa was a backwater. Its retention by Portugal was more a matter of prestige than of any practical value it now held for the mother country. In a number of ways its progress fell behind that of the rest of
India, although standards of living and literacy in Goa have always been higher. Even the printing-press introduced by St Francis Xavier ceased to operate.

Military activity having come to an end and overseas trade having declined, little wealth now came into the territory from outside, and social problems ensued. The European population, to maintain their position, reserved the higher civil, military and ecclesiastical posts for themselves, operating something resembling a colour bar. The Marquis of Pombal, however, earned the gratitude of Goans by declaring their equality with the Portuguese and trying to restore to them their rights and privileges. In an enactment published in Lisbon in 1761 he declared:

... that all subjects, born in India, being baptized Christians and having no other disqualifications, should enjoy the same honours and privileges as the natives of Portugal, without the least difference, and they are to be considered qualified for all honours, dignities, posts... notwithstanding the contrary abuses and corruptions which His Majesty has seen fit to derogate and abolish efficaciously under severe penalties.

And a later instruction from Pombal to the viceroy required him to dispose matters in such a way that the ownership of lands, the sacred ministry of parishes, the exercise of public offices, and even military posts, should be conferred mostly on natives of the soil, or on their sons and grandsons not taking into consideration whether they be white or black.

Thus, in theory at least, were the enlightened and humanitarian precepts of Afonso de Albuquerque repeated three hundred and fifty years after his time (except for Pombal's restriction of equality to Goans of the Christian religion), and the racial prejudice that had subsequently dominated Portuguese colonial rule officially disowned. But Goan affairs now received but little attention in Portugal and no government action was taken when instructions like these were ignored or only partially observed. Goan priests still saw the highest church offices given to unworthy candidates because they were white. Restiveness and frustration among the Goan population increased, the more so as the egali-
tarian ideas of the French Revolution began to spread across the world.

Deputations sent to Lisbon to complain got no satisfaction, especially because by this time Pombal had lost much of his power. There was even an extremist element in Goa that advocated secession from Portugal. In 1787 a conspiracy to proclaim an independent republic was betrayed to the authorities and suppressed with the utmost ruthlessness. Fifteen Goans were executed, and although the lives of the leaders were spared since they were ordained priests (who had acquired liberal political ideas during a visit to France), some of them died in a Lisbon prison while awaiting trial.

Lethargy and stagnation were however interrupted for a time by an episode which is now largely forgotten: the occupation of Goa for sixteen years by British troops.* The origin of this was the ambition of the then governor-general of India and his army commanders—one of whom was Arthur Wellesley (later the Duke of Wellington)—to incorporate Goa into British India as a protection, first, against the threats to Goa itself from Britain’s enemy Tipu Sultan of Mysore, who was being helped by the French, and then against far more powerful threats from the French themselves. Napoleon was reported to have assembled a fleet at Brest with orders to sail for Goa and use it as a base for an attack on British India.

The British army marched in 1797. The Portuguese viceroy, da Veiga Cabral, refused to surrender control of the civil administration and the Goan population remained loyal to Portugal. So the occupation was exclusively military. With the viceroy’s consent several Goan battalions were recruited into the British occupying army. After the defeat and death of Tipu Sultan, and the signing of the Treaty of Seringapatam in 1798, peace was brought to Mysore, but Maratha bands continued to overrun many districts, including the hinterland of Goa. These were pursued by Wellesley and eventually defeated with the help of his Goan troops.

After the Peace of Amiens the British withdrew for the time

*Surprisingly, the military occupation of Goa by the British is not even mentioned in the Cambridge History of India. The details given here come mostly from Portuguese sources, notably from C. F. Saldanha: A Short History of Goa (Imprensa Nacional, Goa, 1957).
being, but they returned in 1802 when the impending French invasion of India by way of Goa was learnt of—an invasion however which never took place. A new Portuguese viceroy, the Count of Sarzedas, after diplomatic representations in London, finally achieved the withdrawal of the British forces in 1813. In 1839 the British Government made an unsuccessful attempt to buy Goa for half a million pounds.

One consequence of the British military occupation was the beginning of Goan emigration to Bombay and other parts of British India, and it is said that the employment of Goans as cooks and mess servants by the British army dates from this same occupation; the Goans were so liked by British officers, and the Christian Goans' freedom from caste restrictions was such a convenience, that they took many with them when they left the territory. The large-scale emigration to India that followed later was mainly caused of course by economic circumstances; not only domestic employment but commercial and industrial employment had to be sought outside the colony by all but the landowners and the well-to-do. For this reason the later census figures, in spite of the small number of women immigrants in earlier times, show a population with more women than men.

In 1818 a new viceroy, the Count of Rio Pardo, reformed the administration of Goa and re-established firm government. He set up a military academy, the officers from which served in all Portugal's overseas possessions. But though able he was an autocrat, out of sympathy with the new liberal spirit that Goans had eagerly welcomed and compelled by his temperament even to resist the constitutional reforms that had lately been achieved in Portugal—reforms which Goans had played some part in bringing about. The people of Goa rebelled against this viceroy. He retired to Bombay and a revolutionary committee proclaimed a new constitution.

Parliamentary government had been introduced in Portugal in 1820, a few years after the end of the Napoleonic wars, and in April 1821 a decree was passed giving it to Goa also. Goa was to be represented in the Lisbon parliament by six members, a number that was almost immediately reduced to three. There was resistance to this democratic move by absolutist elements, both in Goa and in Portugal, but in 1822 the king sent orders to the exiled viceroy in Bombay to return to Goa and proclaim the
new constitution. He did so, handed over to his successor and then left for Brazil. Finally a liberal electoral victory in Portugal in 1833 put the new regime on a firmer basis and reforms followed in Goa also.

Among these was the introduction of Goans into the Council of Government; in fact in 1835 a Goan, Bernardo Peres da Silva, was appointed governor of all Portuguese India. However his attempts at reform resulted in disturbances and bloodshed and after seventeen days he, too, fled to Bombay. More important, a decree of 1838 gave Goa the right to send two Senators and four Deputies to the Lisbon parliament. But in spite of these liberalizing measures there was still conflict and violence in the territory. From 1852 there were revolts by various elements in the New Conquests, notably by the warlike Ranes of Sanguelim, a princely family of Rajput origin, and in 1895 the same elements fomented a mutiny among the Maratha sepoys in the army, who refused orders to embark for service in Mozambique where a native rebellion had broken out.

The Government became panic-stricken and proclaimed martial law. The leader of the Ranes, Dadaji Rane Sardesai, was arrested and sentenced to deportation to Timor for 28 years. He was in fact imprisoned there for eight years and died in 1906. By this time the army had become the responsibility of Portugal, the old Goan militia (see Chapter 5) having been disbanded in 1860 after another mutiny and the military academy closed down. This too had been the cause of a local rebellion which, like the rebellion of 1895, was put down with the help of a special expeditionary force from Portugal.

During these troubled times many Goans fled to British India. The troubles became worse when financial disorder was added to civil disorder. This occurred increasingly after a change of regime in Portugal in 1910, when a republic was proclaimed and the young King Manuel II fled to England. The economic situation was however partly relieved when Portugal entered the first World War on the side of the Allies. The German ships in her harbours were seized and sold to the British, as were a number of German ships in Goa’s Marmagao harbour. After the war a still larger number of Goans settled in British India and in Britain’s East African colonies, but they still looked to Goa as their homeland, revisiting it whenever possible and returning for good in their
old age. The emigrants were mostly from the poorer classes; the old Goan landowning families retained the stately standards of country-house life—a tribute to the reserves of wealth in the territory’s fields and plantations.

In other ways, in spite of political and economic difficulties, Goa had made progress. For example, religious freedom had been restored. Under the liberal constitution of 1833 Hindus were allowed to practise their rites unimpeded, and after the proclamation of the republic in 1910 they were at last given full equality. As a result many Hindus became judges, senior Government officials and members of the professions, and for a time the local civil service was almost a Hindu monopoly, many upper-class Hindus moving into the towns while the old Portuguese-educated Christian upper classes still preferred the traditional life in their spacious houses in the villages and the role of landowner.

In spite of economic difficulties, too, Goa began slowly to move into the modern world as regards trade and industry. In 1857 the first telegraph-line connected Goa with the outside world at Belgaum near the frontier with Mysore State. In 1878 an Anglo-Portuguese treaty opened the port of Marmagao to traffic with India. A railway terminating at this port was begun in 1881 and connected to India’s railway system at Belgaum, so that trade was no longer regularly interrupted by the monsoon which often made roads and bridges impassable. All this lessened Goa’s isolation, but at the same time it facilitated emigration, increasing the flow of Goans, in search of work and a better living, to Bombay, Poona, Karachi and even Calcutta, and later in considerable numbers to East Africa. In 1905 rich manganese deposits were discovered in the New Conquests, and this led to the further development of the iron-ore mines which play such an important part in the present-day economy. Iron-ore mining grew to its present extent in the 1950s with the help of the Japanese.

One factor that influenced this rapid growth of the iron and manganese ore industries was the need for Goa to make itself more self-sufficient commercially, as well as in food production, when newly independent India blockaded its land frontier after a campaign to persuade Portugal to relinquish her Indian possessions had been resisted by the Portuguese Government. The first official proposal that the Portuguese territories of Goa, Daman and Diu should be absorbed into India was made by
Jawaharlal Nehru in the New Delhi parliament in 1950. As the campaign developed there were allegations on the Indian side that the population of Goa suffered from the oppressions of a colonial power, and these were answered in April 1953 in a statement by Dr Salazar, who had been dictator of Portugal since 1926. He denied these allegations (of which indeed no proof was offered) and protested that, rather than being exploited by Portugal, Goa was economically a drain on the mother-country’s resources.

Portuguese statements at this time reminded the world that for nearly three and a half centuries Goans had enjoyed the legal status of Portuguese citizens, quoting a declaration made by the Council of India in Lisbon in 1612:

India and the countries beyond the seas which are administered by this Council are neither distinct nor separated from this kingdom to which they in no way belong by union with it; they are members of this kingdom in just the same way as are Algarve and the Provinces of Alemtejo and Entre Minho e Douro, for they are governed by the same laws and the same rulers and enjoy the same privileges as the provinces of this kingdom; consequently, a man who is born and lives in Goa, Brazil or Angola is equally Portuguese with one who is born and lives in Lisbon.*

There was however more anxiety for freedom from Portuguese rule than the Salazar regime was prepared to admit; indeed a movement for freedom had started far earlier than 1947 and the independence of India. The two movements are in fact linked in the person of Francisco Luis Gomes (1829-1869), a Goan economist who was one of the first Indians to demand freedom from British rule for India. He represented Goa in the Portuguese Cortes (or parliament). Besides being an economist, he was a writer—a friend of Lamartine and the biographer of Pombal.

Gomes was far ahead of his time, but when the independence movement became strong in India in the 1920s and 1930s there were other Goans assisting it, notably Dr Cunha (1891-1958) who founded a Goan committee of the Indian Congress movement. He, like Gomes, had connections in France; he studied in

*Quoted in Rémy: op. cit.
Paris and wrote for the French public about Gandhi, returning to Goa only in 1926. He led struggles also against the Portuguese authorities; many against abuses that particularly affected Goans such as the system of indentured labour under which Goan labourers, lacking employment in their own country, were enticed to Assam under conditions that made it almost impossible for them ever to return; but he was aware of the long-term issues also. "Goa," he said, "can have freedom only in unity with India."

For taking part in a civil liberties movement protesting against Salazar’s oppression Dr Cunha was imprisoned at Aguada fort, opposite Panjim, and then, in 1946, deported to Portugal from where he escaped back to India in 1953. But men like him were intellectuals and the exceptions. Most of the Christian Portuguese-speaking Goans, though disliking the Salazar regime, were inactive politically and certainly looked to no common future with India. Even among these, however, there was a freedom movement, less concerned with the future of India than with conditions in Goa itself. Notable among its leaders were the Menezes Braganzas of Chandor, whose mansion in that ancient village in Salsete is described in Chapter 11. The journalist, Luis Menezes Braganza (1878-1938) founded in 1900 the first Goan Portuguese-language daily newspaper, O Heraldo, and in 1911 O Debate, a magazine he edited for the next ten years and devoted to criticism of what he saw as the decadent elements in Goan society and of colonialism generally. The suppression of civil liberties which came—to Goans as well as to Portuguese—with the Salazar dictatorship in 1926 found him at the head of the Goan freedom movement.

The actions that brought Portuguese rule over Goa to an end nevertheless from the nationalist minded Indian Government following independence, far more than from within Goa. In spite of the efforts of individuals like Menezes Braganza (who was in any case dead before 1947) and Dr Cunha and their followers, the masses in Goa had no ambition to become part of India. The Indian Government, however, was determined to bring this about. There were propaganda exchanges of a depressingly familiar kind. In 1953 India closed her legation in Lisbon and in 1955 requested the closure of the Portuguese legation in New Delhi. There were frontier skirmishes, and on 15 August 1955 (the anniversary of Indian independence) a "liberation march" was organized, which ended in a dozen or so deaths. To
India's disappointment, the 80,000 or so Goans resident in Bombay failed to join the march and few supported the Indian campaign. It was made clear that the great majority of the people of Goa, with their higher living standards, still felt no urgent wish to be merged into India.

Nevertheless the Indian desire for this was understandable and the eventual merger inevitable. In spite of a declaration by Dr Salazar that "the Indo-Portuguese community on the fringe of India is based on historical legality that is at least as justifiable as that of the Indian Union which has only come into being four centuries later," it was not to be expected that India, after achieving independence and also, through the integration of the former princely states into the Union, achieving the administrative unification of the peninsula for the first time in history (though sharing the sub-continent with Pakistan), would be content with anything less than the whole; or would be prepared to tolerate any compromise with her new-found unity in the shape of an independent enclave, however small and however harmless to her interests, let alone an enclave ruled by a foreign power.

The logic of the historical process thus demanded that the French and the Portuguese Indian territories should become part of independent India. The French handed over their settlements in November 1954. The Portuguese continued to refuse. Fortunately bloodshed on a large scale was avoided. In 1961, when there seemed no possibility of a negotiated agreement, the Indian army simply moved in. There was no resistance, and the Indian Government was sensible enough to leave Goa's different customs and separate way of life relatively undisturbed. Wine, to take one example, was still available in Goa although on Independence most of India became dry.

Goa thus retains its identity. Along with the other former Portuguese possessions which had survived as such into the twentieth century, Daman and Diu, Goa was given the status—the same as the Andaman and Laccadive Islands and several other parts of India—of a self-governing Union Territory outside the jurisdiction of any of the States and responsible directly to the central government in Delhi. It has its own lieutenant-governor and its own elected assembly. Changes in its status however are always under discussion (see the concluding chapter of this book).

The ten-year blockade of Goa's frontier—a frontier open in
the days of the British—which ended in 1961 affected life in Goa in various ways. It was intensified after the failure of the "liberation march" of 1955, and this created some hardship because the many Goans working in Bombay were no longer allowed to send money home to their families. On the other hand the Goans who had been so much in demand, because of their better education, in other parts of India now stayed at home. In practical ways the blockade brought one lasting benefit: besides encouraging Goa to grow more of its own food—especially rice—it permanently improved communications with the outside world. The railway from India, terminating at Marmagoa harbour, was temporarily cut off and the commercial sea-traffic between Goa and Bombay also stopped. Pakistan made the port of Karachi available for the export of goods previously shipped to Bombay and—far more important—an airport was built, the first one in the territory, so as to provide Goa, India being inaccessible, with a regular link with Karachi and Colombo. That was the origin of the present airport at Dabolim. Now there is a daily service to Dabolim from Bombay.
Most visitors come to Goa by air, which is by far the quickest way. The more leisurely journey by ship has been described in Chapter 2. It is possible also to make the journey by train, but not recommended. It is tedious and exhausting, since it takes 25 hours from Bombay to Margao—the biggest Goan town possessing a station on the railway—with a change of train at Poona and a long wait at Miraj. There is a motor-coach service between Bombay and Panjim, taking 17 hours.

If you come by air you land at Dabolim airport in southern Goa, a combined naval and civil air-station, yet small and peaceful with no more than a dozen passenger planes landing and taking off each day. It lies high up on the broad peninsula which encloses the bay of Marmagao on its southern side and is therefore close to the port of Marmagao and the industrial town of Vasco da Gama—a town neatly laid out as befits one that has at times been the most prosperous in Goa, but now possessing a somewhat grimy and unsightly environment like dock areas and industrial settlements everywhere.

It is seventeen miles from Dabolim airport to Panjim, but the Indian Airlines bus meets the plane to carry visitors to the capital. This is a varied and enjoyable, if rather dilatory, journey. On leaving the untidy scattering of buildings customary around any airport, and giving you a distant view of the red-roofed outskirts of Vasco da Gama, the road descends from the plateau on which the airport stands, steeply downhill towards the estuary of the Zuari River, which it follows for some miles. At once the visitor finds himself plunged into typical Goan countryside. On his left is a rocky shore-line with innumerable bays and inlets, red-roofed fishermen’s houses and soon a wooded islet (St Jacinto) with the inevitable baroque church placed right down on the water’s edge, so that the wide flight of steps across its whitewashed front serves also as its landing-stage. On either hand are groves of coconut palms, and on the landward side of the road plantations of cashew and patches of cultivation wherever there is level ground. Low
laterite walls border the road, which has little traffic: a few ox-carts, wandering goats and cows, processions of peasant women with baskets of coconuts on their heads. The thick vegetation partly conceals small verandahed houses.

The road from Dabolim veers inland, but soon emerges again by the river bank—at Cortalim, where crowds and bustle and rows of waiting vehicles indicate the ferry-head. For this is still Salsete, the principal province of southern Goa, and the Zuari River must be crossed to reach the central island of Goa and Panjim on the further side of it. At the ferry-head, since the village of Cortalim is out of sight round a bend in the road, the only buildings are a few sheds and warehouses, some tin-roofed refreshment-booths and a hut where tickets for the ferry are sold. The main road continues past all these, eastwards into the fertile centre of Goa and southwards to Margao, the second largest town in the territory and the principal commercial centre, through which passes also the railway from Vasco, Goa’s link with the intricate Indian railway system.

But we are now concerned to cross the river into the historic heart of Goa—the coastal area first colonized by the Portuguese. The Zuari is wide here, wider than the Mandovi at Panjim, and large flat-topped ferry-boats go constantly back and forth, carrying cars and buses and lorries and foot-passengers and their various belongings, including produce of many kinds in bundles and baskets. The buses do not cross but terminate on either side of the river. Their passengers get out at Cortalim, crowd on to the ferry and continue their journey in another bus waiting at Agacaim on the opposite shore.

The Indian Airlines bus is the sole exception. Its passengers nevertheless get out and make their way independently on to the ferry-boat. Then the orange and white bus trundles on, and after much noisy adjustment of gangways and vibration of engines the boat starts off across the river, a clear sweep of water widening to the sea. This enjoyable but time-consuming river crossing will eventually be superseded by an easier one; for a bridge has been under construction at this point since 1971. It is progressing slowly however, and may not even be finished by the time these words appear in print. Alongside the curving path of the ferry, as it bears upstream before being forced down again by the powerful current, can be seen the piers that will carry the bridge, but sink-
ing them into the river has been more of a problem than was
foreseen. The bridge was designed by a firm of engineers in
Bombay who seem to have been deceived as to the nature of their
task. One of the piers had been sunk to a depth of more than
40 feet by 1976 without reaching solid ground and other piers had
tipped sideways in the sinking.

There is not much else to be seen from the slow-moving ferry-
boat: a dhow perhaps, beating its way up-river under bulging
sails, some small fishing-craft, maybe a loaded iron-ore barge, for
a few take this route from the mines far inland to the waiting
ocean-going ships in Marmagoa harbour. These ships are out of
sight round a couple of bends in the river, but there is the peace-
ful landscape to look at, wooded down to the water’s edge and
apparently deserted, though in fact villages and fishing settle-
ments lie hidden among the trees.

The ferry keeps running all night, but after 11 p.m. it may have
to be summoned from the other side and the fare is higher. For
those who prefer driving to waiting, Panjim can be reached by
road by taking a circuitous route inland; for there is a bridge
across the Zuari where it is much narrower at Borim, from which
the road goes north through the market town of Ponda— the centre
of one of the areas in which the Hindu population predominates—
passes Banastarim (where Afonso de Albuquerque fought one of
his fiercest battles in 1512) and reaches Panjim along the cause-
way from Old Goa.

The nine-mile journey to Panjim from the ferry-head at Aga-
caim takes the visitor in his airline bus right across the parts of
Goa where the Portuguese first settled, and therefore through
villages that have formed their character slowly through five cen-
turies of Christian rule. First comes the small village of Agacaim
with a charming chapel by the roadside, shaded by a tamarind
tree as big as itself; then Goa Velha (meaning old—being already
old when the present-named Old Goa, or Velha Goa, was still
young and flourishing). It was the capital of the Bahmani Muslims
who captured Goa from the emperor of Vijayanagar in 1469 and
ruled until it was captured again in 1488 by Yusuf Adil Shah,
Sultan of Bijapur—the Sabayo of Chapter 3.

Goa Velha can now be identified by a roadside cross on a square
pedestal faced with coloured tiles. Finally, only a couple of miles
before Panjim, you pass through perhaps the most entrancing
Pl. 9 (a): Raj Nivas, the official residence of the lieutenant-governor. It stands about seven miles west of Panjim, on the site of a Portuguese fort of 1540, with elevated verandahs looking out to sea.

Pl. 9 (b): Panjim, Goa: a disused mosque in the centre of the town.
Pl. 10 (a) : Panjim, the Secretariat. It occupies the site of the Idalcan’s palace.

Pl. 10 (b) : Panjim: the central square.
village of all: Santa Cruz, with a great white church with a massive corner bell-tower set back beyond a spacious sandy square, enclosed by trees and with the village cross on a gigantic carved and whitewashed pedestal in the centre. Facing the front of the church is the cemetery with an arcaded cloister, and across the road a public fountain, a prominent feature of all these villages.

Before reaching Santa Cruz you have climbed and descended through an undulating landscape, in part thickly wooded, in part furnished with plantations of mango and jack-fruit and with those, for a westerner, strange trees—a kind of wild cotton—that come out with bright pink flowers before there are any leaves. You have had glimpses of other churches, some relatively close and some just a white patch against a distant hillside, reminding you that the practice of painting them white not only made them the focus of their town or village but had the additional purpose of making them clearly visible for miles, a proclamation of the ubiquitous Christian presence in an originally heathen countryside. Their many-tiered facades have few windows and therefore serve no architectural function except, by their height and whiteness, to identify them from afar.

The landscape is well populated as well as being, in the valleys, intensively cultivated. Among the old houses—some quite grand, some relatively humble—you come on several that look new and somewhat lack the charm of the old ones dating from colonial times, yet carry on the tradition of bright-coloured paintwork and sociable sitting-porches. These have been put up recently by Goans returning from East Africa; victims of the eviction from Uganda and other countries of their Asian populations. In these countries many of the Indian merchant class were Goan; some became well off, and those who were able to bring their savings with them, or had regularly sent savings back to Goa, have built themselves houses in the same villages from which they or their forbears emigrated.

After some miles the road climbs out of the wooded valleys on to more barren uplands inhabited only by an army camp and the rather bleakly sited buildings of a modern engineering college. It then winds slowly down to estuary level and, after passing through the village of Santa Cruz, enters a flat landscape of rice-paddies and salt-pans and then, running alongside a small tributary of the Mandovi River, is soon in Panjim. From the windows
of the bus, if you look to the left, you get tantalizing glimpses between modern buildings into the little domestic streets of the old Fontainhas residential quarter.

Soon the bus turns to the left and you are immersed in the bustle and crowded traffic of central Panjim. You pass the post-office and emerge in due course on to the riverside boulevard that is Panjim's principal thoroughfare. Panjim—or Panaji as it is also called—is strung along the Mandovi River between the river's broad estuary and the rocky terraced hill called Altinho, whose suitability as a fortress determined its location at the beginning. It has the wide streets and squares of an important town, but a Mediterranean rather than an Asian one. Contrast its drowsy spaciousness with the teeming bazaars, with the labyrinthine complexity, of other Indian towns. What it has in common with the latter is that its scale is still human. Panjim remains a place for people on foot. In spite of the increase of mechanized traffic, townspeople and vehicles—to say nothing of bullock-carts and bicycles—manage with mutual tolerance to share the same road-space. Decorating its tree-planted squares are statues on pedestals. Most are of local military or political worthies; one, surprisingly, is a pleasantly expressive monument to one of the early practitioners of hypnotism, the Abbé Faria,* a Goan who died in 1819.

The riverside boulevard, which eventually leads out of the town westwards to the Campal, the cultivated plain further down river, becomes in the centre the town's busiest, and noisiest, thoroughfare, crowded at all times of the day with wheeled and foot traffic, and especially so round the landing-stage when the daily ship comes in from Bombay. It used to be thronged also at the car-ferry a little further down river, when this provided the only connection between Panjim and the northern provinces of Goa. But in 1970 a bridge was opened. It crosses the river just east of the town, where the causeway to Old Goa disappears across the paddy-

*Joseph Faria (1755-1819) was of part negro birth. He left Goa for Lisbon to study for the priesthood, was ordained in Rome and then went to Paris where he became involved in the French Revolution. He stayed in France and became a hypnotic medium, perhaps under the influence of Franz Anton Mesmer, who was born in Swabia but moved to France in 1778. Faria published a book entitled On the Cause of Lucid Sleep in 1819, the year of his death. An article on the Abbé Faria in the French Nouvelle Biographie Générale (1856 edition) says that he was the original of characters in Chateaubriand's Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe and in Dumas' Count of Monte Cristo.
fields. The ferry remains but is now a minor one, serving just the villages on the other side. It is mostly when they are waiting at this ferry that the townspeople, especially in winter, get a sight of Goa’s migratory population of hippies as they make their way, on arrival at Panjim or after doing their marketing in the town, over the river towards Calangute and Chapora beaches.

Facing the riverside boulevard are Panjim’s main public buildings, erected after the town became the administrative capital. One of these, the Secretariat, is of earlier date; it was built by the Portuguese in 1615 on the site of the Idalcan’s palace—and was in fact known by that name right up until the end of Portuguese rule. It was used by arriving and departing viceroys (see Chapter 8) and then as the main viceregal residence after Old Goa had been abandoned. It is a handsome edifice built round a courtyard with a coat of arms over its arched doorway on the side away from the river. Where the road widens on this side of it stands the monument to the Abbé Faria mentioned a little earlier.

Further down river are the former Portuguese army barracks, now the police headquarters, with another handsome entrance, this time facing on to a large formal square, the Azad Maidan. Here too is the Menezes Braganca Institute, with meeting-rooms and a library—worth looking into because of its entrance-hall lined with those typically Portuguese blue-tiled wall-panels called azulejos, depicting scenes from the history of Goa.

In the centre of the Azad Maidan is a domed and pillared monument which once contained a statue of Afonso de Albuquerque and a modern monument to the “heroes of liberation” by the Goan architect Ralino de Sousa. Further down river still, back on the boulevard, are the hospital and medical school. The former was originally the military hospital. The civil—that is, the native—hospital in the early Portuguese times was at Ribbandar at the other end of the causeway to Old Goa. Most of these public buildings are such as you would expect to find in any provincial town in Portugal, of restrained neo-classical design. Some make entertainingly naive use of an obviously unfamiliar idiom, like the bank (now a branch of the State Bank of India) on the corner of the boulevard across the road from the Mandovi Hotel, which has little battlemented turrets like a toy fort.

The buildings are colour-washed pale yellow, or sometimes pale green, with their architectural details picked out in white, as indeed
are most of the buildings in the town that date from the period between its acquisition of capital status and the end of the Portuguese regime. Some of the wide streets and squares laid out between the river and Altinho are arcaded. The largest square—and the longest established, if one can judge by the maturity of the strangely structured banyan trees and the others that occupy the gardens in its centre—is at the foot of the hill some way back from the river. This is known as the church square, because across its eastern side is a wide flight of red laterite steps, jointed in white to create a dazzling pattern, at the top of which stands Panjim’s principal church, that of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception.

Although it has since been enlarged, the church was first built as far back as 1541 for the seamen who, at the end of the long voyage out from Lisbon, made Panjim their first port of call before continuing up-river to the city of Goa. It was largely rebuilt in 1619. It has the usual baroque facade, with twin balustraded towers and a high central gable housing a bell—an unexpectedly large bell, second in size only to that of the cathedral at Old Goa. Its size is explained by the fact that it was not originally in this church but was brought from the ruined Augustinian monastery in Old Goa—the one with the vertically halved tower. The church at Panjim, like all the other churches, is painted a brilliant white.

This all-white colouring is not only characteristic of churches throughout Goa, but exclusive to them. In the Portuguese time regulations required the owners of buildings to colour-wash their exteriors afresh once a year, after the monsoon. The regulations insisted that although white might be used for picking out details like quoins and cornices, window surrounds and balcony railings to contrast with the wall surfaces of yellow, dark red or pale green, no buildings but churches might be white all over. These regulations have now lapsed, but the practice of yearly repainting continues in many places, out of habit or necessity.

The nice balance of consistency and variety that such traditional practices encourage can best be admired in the residential area known as Fontainhas—the oldest in Panjim—which lies behind the church, between it and the minor tributary of the Mandovi River alongside which your airline bus passed as it entered the town. Here there is a network of small-scale streets, overlooked by a miscellany of houses, some quite plain but some ambitiously
embellished with colonnaded balconies supported on carved pillars and roofed by ornamental canopies, and often further enriched by flowers in hanging baskets. Surprising views open up as each corner is turned and discloses another combination of colours, another arrangement of overhanging balconies or, at one point, a small white church closing the end of an upward-sloping square, enclosed by houses and partly filled with trees.

There is social as well as architectural variety, for although this area of Panjim has few pretensions, some of its houses are more spacious than appears from the outside and are occupied by more well-to-do—perhaps professional—people than those to be seen sitting outside the doors of the cottage-like houses in the narrower streets, which are inhabited by fishermen and the like. The area also has its own social loyalties, which typify the relaxed amiability of the Goan people. It is said that if the owner of one house is known to be giving an evening party for some of his friends, the occupants of the houses nearby, though not invited, will put on their best clothes before sitting down to gossip outside their front doors as is the custom in the warm tropical evenings, making thereby their own polite contribution to the success of their neighbour's entertainment.

On its way along the riverside boulevard your Indian Airlines bus may stop to put down passengers at the pink-balconied tourist hotel. It will pass behind the Secretariat and then turn back to the waterfront by the steamer landing-stage. It will certainly stop at the Mandovi Hotel, a high green-painted building, and will then continue along the boulevard to its terminus, a tall grey concrete office block which houses the Indian Airlines offices, set behind an avenue of trees. This will have been an interesting and instructive journey, but there is another way of reaching Panjim from southern Goa and Dabolim airport. This is to travel the short distance down to Marmagoa harbour (you can take a taxi from the airport) and then take the launch which plies regularly across the bay to Dona Paula, only five miles from Panjim. This is a far shorter journey but not always comfortable, because crossing the bay takes you almost into the open sea, which is often choppy. You cover the same stretch of water over which the laden iron-ore barges, after their long journey down the Mandovi River, can be seen ploughing their way towards Marmagoa with the waves almost breaking over them.
Dona Paula is a little fishing village at the end of the peninsula that separates the Zuari from the Mandovi estuaries. It has a big landing-stage and a fanciful gazebo on a rocky mound. It is the terminus of a half-hourly bus-service by which passengers arriving on the launch from Marmagao can travel straight to the centre of Panjim. This road, too, has its points of interest. On the left there is first a little bay enclosed by rocky headlands and wooded cliffs. Then the road winds through flat fields and rice-paddies with scattered houses. Beside it at one point is an unusually pretty gabled chapel. On the left a branch road leads first to a group of modern buildings, the Government of India's new Oceanographical Research Institute; then to another headland—the same Cabo peninsula that marked the entrance to the Mandovi River for the traveller on the ship from Bombay—on top of which stands Raj Nivas, the official residence of the lieutenant-governor.

This is the last of, and is partly built from the remains of, a succession of buildings of varying purpose that have occupied this prominent site. The first was a small chapel; the next a fort, begun by the Portuguese in 1540, commanding the entrance to the Mandovi River and able to cross its fire with that of Aguada Fort on the other side of the estuary and the fort at Marmagao across the Zuari River, which it in many ways resembled. Then in 1594 a monastery of the Franciscan Order was built alongside the fort. This was enlarged in 1612.

An account of these buildings on Cabo and their use in the early seventeenth century is included in an inventory* published in 1633 by Antonio Bocarro, state archivist of Goa, who describes them thus:

At the top of the hill is the Church of Our Lady of Cabo which belongs to the reformed friars of St. Francis. This Church is at the height of 70 braças [about 500 feet] from the sea level and it occupies a circular plot of 50 braças where there are cisterns of water. These three cisterns can hold thirty thousand barrels of water. To a distance of 20 braças from the base of the hill towards the sea side there is a fortress where one can

*Livro das plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoações da India Oriental. The translation of this extract into English is taken from a booklet about Raj Nivas compiled by a former lieutenant-governor, Mr S. K. Banerji, who presented me with a copy.
go by road which is at the back of the said hill at the inner side, its length being 1000 paces, which leads to a door of the said fortress. . . . At the side of the hill—which is very high and lofty—there are seven storied houses sufficient for being inhabited by any person serving as captain. And below in the square, near the northern side, there are twelve small houses for soldiers and bombardiers. These houses have not yet been completed.

No captain or soldier stays in the said fort and only one negro is there as a watchman. On the said platform there are four bronze guns of 15 to 20 pounds of cannon ball, with gun-carriages. The friars are frequently visiting the spot and there is sufficient ammunition in the Convent for the said four guns. Warning is received from these friars in case they see anything suspect in the sea. And, always when it is required, steps are taken to send to the fort captain and bombardiers. However, this fort is not without the risk of being ruined by the heavy rainy waters which run down the hill.

The fortress at Cabo was improved by order of the viceroy in 1635 and a new artillery platform was built in 1773. When the British troops entered Goa in 1797 at the time of the Napoleonic wars (see Chapter 8) they garrisoned the Cabo fort and built barracks for themselves and a military hospital. These were demolished by the Portuguese in 1848. Six graves of British soldiers can still be seen in the adjoining cemetery.

In 1844, the religious orders having been abolished, the convent on Cabo was given to the archbishop of Goa as his residence, and in the 1850s and 1860s extensive work was undertaken to convert the convent buildings into a country house. In 1866 it became the country residence of the governor-general, and in 1961 the official residence of the lieutenant-governor of Goa, Daman and Diu.

Little can now be seen of the fortress, though its walls still stand between the garden laid out around the mansion and the cliff; and the mansion's ecclesiastical origin is only evident from the white-walled chapel that survives beside the entrance. It is now an elegant house of some character, its most striking feature being a range of glazed-in verandahs raised on slender iron pillars on the seaward side, from which there are wide views north, west and south over the Arabian Sea.
After leaving the turning to Raj Nivas, the road from Dona Paula to Panjim again comes close to the waterfront, now no longer facing the open sea but the wide estuary of the river, and after a roundabout you are among traffic bound for the crowded Miramar beach. Soon you enter the outskirts of Panjim, pass the hospital, halt at the tall grey building housing the Indian Airlines offices (because behind this building is the market area of Panjim, and a number of the passengers who have made the crossing from Vasco and Marmagoa will be bound for the market). Your journey finally ends at the bus terminus almost in front of the Mandovi Hotel.

At first floor level the Mandovi has a wide terrace leading off the bar and overlooking the boulevard below. It is here that the visitor will almost certainly rendezvous with his friends, arrange to meet his Goan acquaintances and sit when he has nothing else to do. It is one of the centres of social life in Panjim, in spite of the almost intolerable noise of traffic below, especially when some stoppage sets all the motor-horns blaring in unison. Anyone sitting on the terrace of the Mandovi* finds himself looking down on the town’s multiple daily activities. Cars rattle by, buses start and stop and taxis wait for the chance passenger in a space unfortunately cleared to make more room for parking by cutting down some of the palm-trees that previously lined and decorated the river front. Neither here nor in Old Goa does it seem to have occurred to the authorities that cars can be almost as conveniently, and far less obtrusively, parked under trees.

Along the sidewalks and among the traffic in the middle of the street the wonderfully varied population of Panjim saunters and chatters and hurries—though never too energetically—about its business; the men mostly in European dress—that is, trousers and shirts worn outside—but a few wearing the dhoti of Maharashtra and Gujarat (which the Christian population of Goa long ago discarded) or the ankle-length lungi of the south; the women wearing skirts and blouses but quite a number wearing saris (since the sari was retained by many Christian women when their men took to European dress) or, if they are fisherwomen, or countrywomen bringing their produce into market, wearing saris of bright colours

*The owner of which, incidentally, was one of the last Deputies sent to represent Goa in the Portuguese parliament at Lisbon.
—red and yellow as likely as not—in the old local fashion: shortened by drawing the free end between the legs and tucking it in at the waist. The scene is further varied by outlandish costumes of hippies and holiday-makers.

Looking down on this crowd from the hotel balcony, the visitor will see innumerable bicycles, an occasional ox-cart, perhaps a hand-barrow laden with fish in circular baskets on its way from the landing-stage to the market at the other end of the boulevard, and other carts and barrows piled with homely or exotic produce. The view will be livelier still if his visit coincides with carnival time, which it may very well do, if he comes in February or March when the climate is at its most agreeable; for in carnival time the whole population seems to take to the street.

The annual carnival is a unique feature of Goan life—a Mediterranean-type festival not celebrated anywhere else in India. Christian in origin—it takes place during the three days immediately preceding Lent—and retaining some religious elements, it has however become largely pagan in character. In Panjim and Margao it is initiated by processions round the town of floats and displays, 1,500 or so people participating and thousands looking on, to which prizes are awarded. Through all three days of the carnival there are dances and entertainments. Every village has its own carnival, and in quiet country lanes you will be startled to encounter children, with the day off from school, wearing cardboard masks and tinselled paper hats.

Since the Goan people love an excuse for gaiety, they also, Christians included, celebrate the Hindu festivals like holi, and the visitor sitting on the balcony of the Mandovi will be thankful to be well out of range of the coloured powders youths throw over everyone. Looking beyond the boulevard he will have an even more comprehensive view containing much that is typical of the Goan scene. Beyond the traffic-laden road is a patch of waste ground at the back of which, on the river bank, fishing-boats are pulled up and beneath their shelter several families appear to be living, preparing their meals in the open. This conjunction of a city scene with the basic activity of the Goan coastline is not, however, to be seen for long. The waste ground was, in 1976, being laid out as a public garden and by now the fishing-boats may have been packed off somewhere else. Beyond the waste ground is the foreshore, and if the tide is low there may be women standing
ankle-deep in the water, searching the mud for shell-fish. Further away still is the sparkling expanse of the Mandovi itself with its silent traffic: a few fishing-boats, the passenger ferry crossing to the other bank and the now familiar procession of iron-ore barges coming and going.

The river's northern shore, where the taluka of Bardez begins, displays the typical rich landscape of red rocks, varied green vegetation and the red-tiled roofs of fishermen's cottages. A little to the left are the remains of the Portuguese fort of Reis Magos. Further to the right, on the top of a rock, a lighthouse shows up white against the blue-green wooded hills. All this must be imagined under the strong—sometimes almost blinding—light of the Indian sun, throwing black shadows from nearly overhead. For in Goa, except during the three months or so of the monsoon season, and during the period of intense humidity leading up to it, it is hot and nearly cloudless, but with a cool breeze blowing in from the sea.
Chapter 10

Houses

Goa has grown up over many years as a multi-centred society, dispersed among innumerable villages rather than concentrating its power and wealth and cultural leadership, as other societies do, in one or several towns. This has influenced—and still influences—its towns and countryside. Panjim, although it is the capital, has not drawn all new growth and riches to itself, which is one of the problems in other parts of India. It still has a population of only about 38,000, that of a moderate-size English (or Portuguese) country town, and if it is small by European standards it is far more so by Indian. A population ten times as great else-where in India would still hardly constitute a large city. Historically towns in most parts of the world have been the creations of a growing mercantile class who have made them the centres of all kinds of activity besides trade, following which the ruling class has taken up residence there too. But in Goa the ruling class never moved into the towns, and if the land-owning class is not now so powerful as it was, the change has not yet altered the balance of town and village life.

The land-owning class, moreover, has always been Goan. Unlike the other Portuguese settlements, and the colonies of other European powers, Goa never offered a living to large numbers of people (other than soldiers) from the mother country. Not only was the ownership of land by the Portuguese never countenanced in Goa, except in the case of the Church, but only a small proportion of the population originated in Portugal. Even as far back as the mid-seventeenth century, when the Portuguese eastern empire was but a little past its peak, one viceroy reported that there were just over a thousand Portuguese in Goa, and that of these more than seven hundred were members of the religious orders. The latter of course were celibate, and although there were enough soldiers to defend the territory and merchants to exploit its trading potential, few of either had their families with them.

This accounts for the relatively small amount of Portuguese blood in the present Goan population, emphasized in previous
chapters of this book, and also for the fact that Goa has long been administered almost wholly by Goans. There was little intermarriage between Goan families and those of Portuguese officials—not, however, as in the British colonies or British India, because of a sense of utter difference, if not of white superiority. In later times the upper-class Goan families were considered the social equals of the Portuguese; in fact they formed the local aristocracy, cultivating their own society and superior living standards. In spite of the decline in the economy during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, they maintained their wealth from the land, since Goa is by nature a fertile and a well-endowed country.

The Portuguese officials and their families were in any case in Goa only for a short time. During the final period of Portuguese rule they numbered no more than twenty-five or thirty. The viceroy (or governor-general, as he was called after 1837) was of course Portuguese, and so were a few of the senior government officials. The archbishop was Portuguese, but all other clergy were Goan. There was a handful of Portuguese merchants and businessmen. The significant change that had taken place since earlier days was that then the Portuguese population had been to a large extent a military one. After the Goan army was disbanded late in the nineteenth century, and the Portuguese forces that replaced it were withdrawn in their turn, there were no soldiers at all in Goa. Only when India’s determination to incorporate it in the Indian Union became evident soon after Indian independence in 1947 were some 4,000 soldiers sent out from Portugal (and housed, as we have seen, in the deserted monasteries of Old Goa). But these were never used.

So this was a territory run by Goans on behalf of Goans in spite of its Portuguese connections, and a territory where wealth was identified with the land. To see the traditional—and still characteristic—life of Goa, therefore, and see evidence of the high level of civilization evolved there in former times, you must go to the villages. These are the product of what was long almost a feudal economy. Their population consists exclusively of people who own the land, or who cultivate the land or who live as rentiers on money earned from the land.

Going to the villages does not mean only to humble peasants’ cottages; for in the villages the wealthy built their houses and the social and cultural life of Goa was for this reason evenly distri-
buted over the territory, rather as political power and cultural influence resided in the country houses of England a century and more ago.

There were of course exceptions. Some of the wealthiest Goan families built themselves town as well as country houses even while their roots remained in the villages, and those holding official positions had more reason to inhabit the towns. For example one of the grandest houses in all Goa is the town mansion of the de Silva family in Margao, built by a de Silva in 1790 when he was secretary to the viceroy of the time. It has a high-pitched roof rising into a series of peaks like truncated towers and a long classical facade facing the street with tall first-floor windows lighting a suite of reception rooms. These are filled with furniture in carved rosewood of the kind the Goan aristocracy habitually commissioned from Asian craftsmen, with gilded cornices and mirrors and elaborate chandeliers and an oil portrait of the first owner, wearing his official uniform.

The lavish interiors all survive, cherished by the descendants of the original de Silvas, who now live modestly in but a few of the rooms. But they still worship in the private chapel that is visible behind a wrought-iron grille as you reach the first landing of the formal central stair—a chapel with an ornate baroque interior with saints and cherubs sculptured round the altar. The problems of the present family are the pattern everywhere; they still value the life their ancestors—indeed in many cases their parents—enjoyed, but they cannot now afford to keep up the spacious houses on which that life was based.

It is not only, as in England, a matter of land no longer bringing in the revenue it used to, and the great number of servants required to run such houses no longer being available. These are inescapable factors, but it is also a matter of a new generation having other preoccupations and priorities. Those who still live in these houses—sometimes able to do little more than camp out by themselves in a single wing of what they remember as being, in their childhood, a mansion filled with life, with relations coming and going, with children and servants and balls and entertainments—are all of the older generation, speaking Portuguese among themselves and still regretting Portuguese rule; not for political reasons, but because the colonial times were those that fostered the secure and comfortable life they remember with nostalgia.
When these old people have gone, few are likely to want to keep up the beautiful houses, and fewer still will have the means of doing so. Many have already been vacated and emptied of their contents and are fast decaying. They belong to the past; yet they are an essential part of the history of Goa and exemplify the qualities that make Goa unique.

For these reasons, apart from their architectural interest, they are worth looking at more closely. Let us choose a couple of examples. One is at Loutolim, a village in Salsete eight or nine miles north-east of Margao. You reach the village by a country road, driving through the fertile well-wooded landscape until you suddenly emerge into a rectangular open space, still with a sense of being little more than a clearing among the trees but in fact the centre of the village. On one side is the church, its whitewashed baroque facade rising straight from the surface of the square. Adjoining the church, but set back behind a garden, are the priest's house and the village school, modest but dignified ochre-washed buildings. On the opposite side of the square is a stone-walled cemetery, shaded by tall trees. A third side is lined with one-storey shops, together with a branch bank, the village hall and a minute cafe. The fourth side is open, with views into the well-tended countryside and a sandy track winding downhill to the gates of the mansion I have chosen to describe.

These gates are quite imposing; of wrought iron, flanked by white pillars topped by elegant urns. You drive through them past a formal garden laid out in parterre fashion but now weedy and overgrown, until you find yourself facing the wide cream-washed facade of the house. The door is at the top of a flight of steps near one end of the facade, which is unusual; most such houses are symmetrical, with the door in the middle. Above the door is a cartouche, delicately carved with the arms of the Miranda family who built the house and still own it.

They do not use it much. The member of the family who inherited it a dozen years ago lives and works in Bombay and spends only occasional holidays in Goa. But he values his family house and all it stands for and has been trying, over the years, to furnish it with pieces worthy of it; for the original furniture had been sold off before it came to him. This was the result of unusual family circumstances; a great many of the old houses, even those that are now only partially inhabited, have survived complete with the
furniture and hangings, the chandeliers and libraries and family portraits, of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For that was when Goan country-house life was at its peak: after the dispersal of the governing classes from the original settlement of Old Goa, after the return to Portugal of most of the white nobility who had come out from the mother country to seize the opportunities her expanding empire offered, after a prosperity based on the transshipment of produce from every part of Asia had gradually been superseded by a more comfortable, less hectic, prosperity based to a much greater extent on Goa’s domestic agriculture—after all these changes but before the world-wide decline of those economies which rested on the semi-feudal relationship of landlord and tenant.

Such a decline occurred in many other places; what is remarkable about Goa is the sheer number of affluent country-houses resulting from this semi-feudal relationship, the long time the relationship lasted and the consistently high living-standard that was achieved in houses scattered through so many villages. The families who owned and furnished them were generous patrons of craftsmen of many kinds; craftsmen who would not have existed in Goa but for the demands such ambitious house-furnishing made on them and for the world-wide ramifications of the Portuguese empire. The richly carved furniture of Goa for instance, is famous; so is the gilt-work (we have already noted examples of both in the churches of Old Goa). Yet Goa had no indigenous tradition of furniture-making, nor did anything resembling this furniture exist, before the Portuguese came, in other parts of India. Finding nothing in India that served their purpose, they preferred, rather than bring it out from Portugal, to train local craftsmen to make it.

The earliest pieces were chests and cabinets for the storage of documents and writing materials, and these were followed by domestic pieces of all kinds which, in Goa at least, became ever more elaborate. The making of furniture by Portuguese-trained craftsmen was concentrated in a few villages. Styles and techniques were imported chiefly from Macao, the Portuguese colony in the China seas; most notably the styles of the dark, richly carved furniture in ebony or rosewood often met with in the country houses.*

*Most often in rosewood; which is sometimes erroneously referred to as
The indigenous craft for which Goa is most celebrated is, I suppose, ivory carving. But this was less for domestic than for ecclesiastical purposes. Ivory carving had flourished in ancient times in northern India, mostly using walrus ivory imported through Persia, and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries great skill was shown by the ivory craftsmen of Ceylon and Mysore. They used elephant ivory, and the same skill was soon being exercised in Goa because of the demand for religious figures, rosaries and crucifixes. Many Goan religious ivories were imported into Portugal and are unmistakable for their combination of Eastern technique and Western subject-matter. The Portuguese connection, moreover, contributed to the craft of the Goan ivory carver by making it easier to import ivory from East Africa. That was the most valued source; for apart from the African elephant’s tusk being larger, Indians had better things to do with their elephants, such as riding them ceremonially or into battle, than use their tusks for ivory.

Goa’s silversmiths (mostly Hindus) are also noted for their skill and are sought even in Bombay where a number of them work.

The furniture and other objects that equipped the Goan houses so richly was sometimes, of course, brought out from Portugal, but this was expensive. Some, taking advantage of Goa’s entrepot trade, came from distant parts of the empire: porcelain dinner-services from China and Korea and silks for curtains and hangings from several countries of the East. Remnants of these imports can still be seen in many country houses. Building materials were local, or moderately local like the roof-tiles brought by water from Mangalore, a port a little way down the coast in the State of Mysore (now Karnataka). Indeed all buildings in Goa are traditionally roofed with Mangalore tiles, and still are when tiled roofing is employed. Hence the spread of red roofs which is nearly all you see when you look down on Panjim from the roads that circle round Altinho.

Some building materials were not available locally and were expensive to import. One of these was glass, and well into the nineteenth century the windows even in highly sophisticated man-

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ebony because it is so black. Ebony good enough for furniture-making was usually imported from Ceylon, or even from Africa.
Pl. 11: Typical Goan house, painted yellow and white, on the edge of the village of Santa Cruz.
Pl. 12 : Country mansion at Chandor, southern Goa, the home of the Menezes Braganza family.
sions were filled with small rectangles of translucent oyster-shell—the same that were noted in Old Goa by the seventeenth-century French traveller Francois Pyrard.* Oyster-shell windows survive in many of the houses, in the magnificent de Silva house at Margao already referred to and in village houses all over Goa, including the one at Loutolim in front of which you are now standing.

Silhouetted against its long cream-washed facade, as you look at the house from its now somewhat unkempt formal garden, is a tall areca palm-tree—the palm from which the 'betel'-nut comes. Its presence here is symbolic, because the Miranda family at one time owned the largest areca plantations in all Goa. Behind the facade the interiors have been denuded of the opulent furnishings these plantations paid for, but the half-empty rooms are still handsome, especially the suite of reception rooms along the front of the house which have tall windows looking on to the garden past the slender stem of the areca palm.

If you were acquainted with the Mirandas and your purpose in coming to Loutolim was to call on them, your knock on the door would be answered by the tall white-clad figure of Luis, an old family servant who has been kept on as caretaker. The front door opens on to a dark staircase hall. Beyond the foot of the stairs is an inner hall, also dark, but beyond this are patches of bright sunlight shining through green foliage; for the inner hall leads on to an open verandah which surrounds a garden courtyard occupying the centre of the house. Such a courtyard or patio, with the many bedrooms required in an extended family house opening off it and the servants circulating around one end, is a common layout in Goan mansions. The planting in the garden has run wild, and the result is that a cascade of creepers, descending from the floor above, makes a continuous green curtain along the open side of the verandah.

The latter is widest on the side you have just entered, and provides in effect a partly outdoor sitting-room, cool all day long and especially delightful to have breakfast in. Between the verandah and the main front of the house is a double bank of sitting-rooms, lighted respectively through the front windows and from the verandah. In these rooms more formal meals are taken. Off the side

*See Chapter 6, page 55.
verandahs are other spacious rooms, one of which is the family chapel where a light is kept glowing over the altar in spite of its being but infrequently used. The remainder are bedrooms, and have fascinating panelled ceilings made of different woods in geometrical patterns. From their windows are views through the trees that gather close to the sides of the house.

These views comprise, not the expanse of parkland or the private gardens you would see from the windows of an English country house, but other smaller houses with their attendant out-houses, their browsing livestock and farmyard paraphernalia. To anyone sleeping in these grand bedrooms the noises of chickens and dogs seem surprisingly close; for in spite of its aristocratic splendour and the wealthy life it once catered for, the house we have been exploring is very much part of a village. It is surrounded—though they are hardly visible among the trees—by other houses, some quite modest, some nearly as large as this one.

Returning to the central courtyard and looking down the vista of the long side verandah, we can see that it terminates in the kitchen quarters, where Luis cooks when the family come to Goa, on a vast brick-built, wood-burning range. He draws water when he needs it from a well just outside. The upstairs rooms, surrounding the courtyard on three sides, are deserted. Those on one side form a separate suite reached by a steep wooden stair at the top of which is a heavy door, and here is a reminder of one of the more alarming episodes in Goa’s history. Alongside the door a round hole has been bored obliquely through the considerable thickness of the wall, just large enough to take the barrel of a shotgun and thus allowing the approach up the stair to be covered by someone standing in the safety of the room. These rooms were used as a refuge at the time in the mid-nineteenth century when the Ranes revolted (see Chapter 8 of this book) and central Goa suffered much unrest. As in the frontier areas of North and South America, those who had built up a luxurious civilization had to be prepared at times to defend it personally.

But these were only short interludes in long years of wealth and prosperity, as the great number of well-furnished country-houses in Goa makes clearly evident. The second example I have chosen to describe still contains most of its furnishings, though they are in a poor state through being recently exposed to dust, mildew and white ants. This house is at Chandor, about twelve miles east
of Margao in an area associated with Goa’s history even further back than the advent of the Portuguese; for Chandor (then called Chandrapur, but known to medieval Arab geographers as Zindabur) was the first capital of the Kadamba kings who ruled Goa from the eleventh century until its conquest by the empire of Vijayanagar in 1367. The remains of a fortress that appears to date from this time have been excavated at Chandor; and in 1929 fragments of a seventh-century Hindu temple of Shiva were discovered in the centre of this fortress, together with a stone figure of the bull Nandi. At the foot of the hill on which the fortress, and the temple, stood are the even slighter remains of a second fortress, also of the Kadamba period. This may have been part of the very ancient city of Chandrapur.

Unlike the house at Loutolim and many others elsewhere, the house at Chandor reveals its great size from the road—that is, from the vast open space in front of it, like a village green, occupied by the church and the customary ceremonial cross. Overlooking this space from behind a narrow garden is the main facade of the house with no fewer than twenty-four windows on each of its two floors. The tall windows on the first floor light one of those suites of reception-rooms which give these Goan country-mansions their imposing facades. In the Chandor house these are now separated into two suites, since the house is occupied by two related families. In strange contrast to the sophisticated architecture of the facade are the projecting roofs of rusty corrugated iron that shelter each window from the monsoon rains. Such accretions are to be seen all over Goa; also over the entrance-doors of parish churches.

The Chandor house, built in the late seventeenth century and added to in the eighteenth, belongs to the Menezes Braganza family, one of whom—the father, in fact, of the present elderly owner—was one of the most prominent citizens of Goa fifty years ago, a leader of the freedom movement and the same Menezes Braganza after whom the Institute at Panjim referred to in Chapter 9 is named. The family was unusual among the educated Christian families in favouring independence from Portugal at the time when India was seeking independence from Britain, and in 1950 the present owner, following the family tradition, became in turn an active “freedom fighter” and had to flee from Chandor. Continuing political disturbances were only quelled by the stationing
of Portuguese troops in the area. The Braganza family returned in 1962, after the union with India, to find the rich contents of the house intact notwithstanding that it had been left unoccupied for a dozen years, but sadly deteriorated, a condition they have not since had the resources to remedy.

The wealth and prosperity of these old family houses having gone, the question must be asked: what is their future? As things are, it can only be a dismal one: further decay as the families that have inherited the houses can less and less afford to keep them in repair, a state of affairs that the new land-reform laws are likely to aggravate; further abandonment as the generation of Goans brought up to this style of life dies off. A few should no doubt be preserved as museums, but that is no real answer. The bulk of the houses can only survive if they can be put to some new use; if these relics of an eighteenth and nineteenth century way of life can be given a role to perform relevant to the second half of the twentieth century.

A possible role does exist, at least for a number of the houses. It is offered by the new demand for tourist accommodation. So far this demand is being met by the construction of modern hotels overlooking Goa’s wonderful beaches; buildings designed for an imported way of life. No doubt there is a demand, which the Indian Government cannot afford not to meet, for this conventional type of tourist accommodation with air-conditioning and the other comforts which the tourist industry competes to offer in every part of the world; and no doubt the easiest way of meeting the demand in Goa is to encourage international hotel syndicates to build hotels like those they build elsewhere.

But this is to accept the process that is making every place like every other. There must surely be tourists who do not insist on air-conditioning in every room—who indeed actually prefer sitting on a verandah breathing the warm night air and listening to the moving palm-fronds above their heads, to sitting behind plate-glass breathing the air from the hotel’s ventilation plant; and who like to absorb the essence of a strange country rather than an atmosphere as much like home as possible. For tourists willing to forego a few modern luxuries in order to enjoy an environment only Goa can provide, could not some at least of these no longer wanted country houses be acquired, adapted and discreetly modernized to provide small hotels of real—and, what is more important,
local—character? They stand in some of the most attractive and fertile landscape in the world, of which they are historically a part. They are within reach of rivers and waterways and charming towns and villages. They could bring visitors closer to Indian life than is ever possible in a modern tourist hotel.

By such a procedure could not at least a few of them be rescued from dereliction and at the same time save Goa, destined as a tourist centre, from the intrusion of too much alien development? In just this way the Spanish and Portuguese Governments have rescued their own historic castles and mansions by adapting them to create the *paradores* and *pousadas* that make touring in those countries so full of architectural surprises. If this is not a practicable proposal one can only hope that some other way can be found of safeguarding a proportion of this unique Goan inheritance, concealed in her innumerable villages. For the domestic architecture furnishes one of the pleasures of travelling through the Goan countryside. It is by no means confined, moreover, to the grander houses whose problematical future I have emphasized here because they are especially vulnerable. By the roadside and in the villages—and in the older parts of the towns—houses with charm and character are seen on every hand.

The Goan house is usually fairly large, even when belonging to people of modest status, because of the Indian tradition of the extended family—of married children and their children continuing under the same roof. It is built of the laterite stone found all over Goa which is a useful all-purpose building-material, being strong enough for load-bearing walls and soft enough to be cut, yet hard after exposure to the air. It is invariably used in the same standard-size blocks—45 cm by 30 by 15—which are cut to this size in the quarries. Timber, of which there is still a plentiful supply in Goa, is also much used in house building.

The style of the houses clearly reveals the Portuguese influence, with railed and balustraded balconies of a kind not seen elsewhere in India; but the classical tradition this reflects does not bring a lot of precise detailing with it in spite of the Hindu fondness for fine craftsmanship. The soft and porous laterite cannot be carved. It is in fact best plastered. Mouldings are limited to door and widow surrounds and simple cornices to throw off the monsoon rain. Facades in any case are often hidden behind wide verandahs. These and the porches serve as outdoor living-rooms,
a purpose emphasized by the built-in seats along either side of many of the porches. Goans are no different from other Indians in permitting their social and family life to be visible to the passer-by.
Chapter 11

Temples, Mines and Villages

The country houses just described are concentrated in the westernmost parts of Goa—the talukas of Salsete, Marmagao and Ilhas—for they were the homes of the educated, Portuguese-speaking Christians whose ownership of fertile fields and large plantations of coconut, areca-nut and cashew allowed them to build up their prosperous middle-class culture. But this is only a small part of the whole; to the north and south, and over the increasingly mountainous country to the east, stretch vast areas traditionally occupied by the Hindus. For although these have been part of Goa since before the end of the eighteenth century, by the time they were incorporated by the Portuguese (as the “New Conquests”) the latter’s zeal for converting the inhabitants to Christianity had subsided and they were left to practise the Hindu religion undisturbed.

While the Christians in the population, therefore, are the principal landowners, and so are many of those who work on the land, industry and commerce throughout Goa are concentrated in the hands of the Hindu population, except, as it happens, for the bars and cafes in the towns which are mostly managed by Christians. The rich Goans of today are nearly all Hindu. The majority of the Hindus nevertheless, Goa being the kind of country it is, are still peasants and fishermen. In the areas they occupy, which become wilder and more mountainous as Goa climbs up into the Western Ghats, there is also a Christian element, as can be deduced from the white-painted churches prominently sited on several hillsides, usually near one of the innumerable small rivers that drain down from the Ghats to become tributaries of the Mandovi or the Zuari, since at the time the Portuguese missionaries penetrated so far eastwards communication through this rough country was easiest by water. Relatively, however, churches are far apart in the New Conquests, except in Bardez immediately north of the Mandovi. The important architectural monuments, though seldom displaying themselves on hills but sheltering in green valleys, are the Hindu temples.
The reader will understand from the account of Goa’s history given in previous chapters how it is that few of these temples show signs of any great antiquity. Although when the New Conquests finally became part of Goa the Hindu religion was no longer being persecuted, the Portuguese had for a couple of centuries before rampaged over them, destroying facilities for ‘heathen worship’. That is one reason why the present temples are in sheltered places. Many had moved from the Christian areas, taking their deities with them, when the Portuguese drove them away or discovered and destroyed temples that had been set up in secret. Many Hindus, driven right out of Goa at this time, retained for generations their allegiance to temples within Goa which they revisited for festivals and other special occasions.

Though no older than the eighteenth century, Goa’s Hindu temples are beautiful buildings, especially in relation to their secluded wooded sites. Several are unexpectedly imposing. Architecturally they are remarkable for being strongly influenced by the buildings of those very Portuguese who had ruthlessly destroyed their predecessors, no doubt because the men who built them had learnt their craft while working on Christian churches and mansions. Their towers and sanctuaries are decorated with columns and cornices based—though sometimes only approximately—on the classical orders. They have very un-Indian domes which Evelyn Hutchinson suggests* may have been copied from the domed churches in Old Goa, especially that of St Cajetan.

Nevertheless their tree-planted courtyards and the structures surrounding them have a wholly Indian atmosphere. The best way to see a number of them, including some of the best, is to take the road to Ponda—a continuation of the road from Panjim to Old Goa—for the principal Hindu temples are in three main groups: one around Ponda, the market town that may be regarded as the centre of the main Hindu-populated area, one around Bicholim further north and a lesser one around Pernem in the extreme north. There are of course others, notably in Quepem and Canacona in the south. These include the Chandernath temple to the west of Quepem, where there are remains dating from the Kadamba period, a couple of centuries before the Portuguese arrived. It stands on a wooded hill with wide views—at this time

*In his travel-book The Clear Mirror (op. cit.)
Pl. 13 (a): Hindu temple at Sanquelim, north-eastern Goa, near the iron-mining region.

Pl. 13 (b): Tank of the Mangesh temple, near Ponda.
Pl. 14: The Mangesh temple, the most important Hindu temple in Goa. Most of its buildings are eighteenth-century, including the seven-storey deepmal on the left.
Pl. 15 (a): Remains of the Safa mosque near Ponda, built in 1560 by the Muslim ruler of Bijapur; partly destroyed by the Portuguese.

Pl. 15 (b): Iron-ore mountain, between Valpoi and Ponda, where open-cast mining is still in progress.
Pl. 16 (a): Window of a small house near the village of Saligao, with the overlapping rectangles of oyster-shell traditionally used instead of glass.

Pl. 16 (b): The village of Ribandar, between Panjim and Old Goa.
Temples, Mines and Villages

temples did not have to be hidden—and is orientated towards the full moon. It has a Shiva-linga carved out of the natural rock, which is said to ooze water when the moonlight falls on it; also an ancient wooden chariot.

However the group round Ponda, more easily visited, provides excellent and imposing samples of the Goan Hindu temples. After leaving Old Goa, the road to Ponda continues eastwards to Banastarim. On the left, a mile or so along, can be seen one more remnant of the city’s architectural richness: a single archway half buried in the woods. This is the gateway—all that is left—of the Jesuits’ missionary College of St Paul described in Chapter 5.

At Banastarim (where stood, it will be remembered, the fort captured and held by the Idalcan during his nearly-successful counter-attack on Goa in 1515 and stormed by Albuquerque) the road crosses a canal that links the Mandovi and Zuari rivers. It then turns south towards Ponda. About five miles down on the right, just before the village of Mardol, is the Mangesh temple, perhaps the handsomest in Goa. It is reached through a white arched gateway beside the road, from which a long, straight paved walk leads to the temple itself. Although the Mangesh temple was transferred to Mardol in the sixteenth century from a secret site at Cortalim, most of its buildings are a couple of centuries later. The unusually beautiful tank is the oldest part. The temple itself stands on a platform above it, gleaming white in the sun, along with a splendid seven-storey deepmal, or tower designed to be decorated with lamps on festal days. Such towers are a characteristic feature of Hindu temples in Goa. Surrounding the platform on three sides are buildings of the same period that provide sleeping-quarters for pilgrims.

Among the other temples in the neighbourhood of Ponda (all named from the god or goddess to whom they are dedicated) are the Mhalasa and Mahalakshmi temples, both transferred in the seventeenth century from Salsete to prevent destruction by the Portuguese, the Nagesh temple, outside which can be seen a fifteenth-century inscription in Marathi script, and the Shantadurga temple—an exceptionally large one founded in the mid-eighteenth century with a free-standing deepmal and a richly decorated mandapam (the pillared pavilion that forms the approach to most temples and in which various ceremonies take place).

Just before the road from Banastarim reaches Ponda a notable
ruin can be seen on the left: the remains of the Safa mosque, one of two mosques of some historic interest in Goa. It was built in 1560 by Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur, the successor to Afonso de Albuquerque’s “Idalcan”, and partly destroyed some while afterwards by the Portuguese. It is a square structure with blind arcading on its walls, raised on a platform and surrounded by the remains, overgrown with vegetation, of a large tank and gardens. Though the building is little more than a ruin, large crowds still come to it on the big Muslim festivals such as Id-ul-fitr.

The other notable mosque is the Namazgah mosque in Bicholim taluka, which was founded in the seventeenth century by Prince Akbar, one of the sons of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, to commemorate a battle that his and the Maratha forces fought jointly against the Portuguese.

Near Bicholim too are several interesting Hindu temples, including the Sapta Koteswar temple, dedicated to the favourite deity of the Kadamba kings and moved here from Divar Island, and the Vithal Mandir temple, a modern building that has replaced one built in the fourteenth century by the first ancestor of the great Rane family (who so troubled the Portuguese) after his migration from Rajasthan—here one of the best-attended temple festivals is held in April. On the road that runs from Bicholim eastwards towards Valpoi is the Dalta Mandir temple, another with a free-standing deepmal. This is a typical smallish temple and one of the few openly sited for all to see. It is on the left of the road just before it crosses Sanquelim bridge. It stands against a wooded hill, charmingly surrounded by peepul and kadamba trees.

This road, eastwards from Bicholim, runs through beautiful undulating country, sometimes thickly planted, sometimes with rice-paddies in open land allowing views of wooded hills in the distance and, further distant still, the grey-green outline of the Western Ghats. This is the best road to take if you want a sight of the mining areas from which Goa earns so large a part of its living. The iron-ore mines lie in the northeast of the country and in the central eastern region as far south as Sanguem at the head of the Zuari River. Few of the barges taking the iron-ore from the mines to the sea, however, come down the Zuari. Instead they take one of the waterways connecting the two rivers and descend in a never-ending stream, as we have seen, down the Mandovi.
There is a road branching south, halfway between Bicholim and Valpoi near the village of Honda, that leads you up into the hills that the mines are slowly eating away and down again the other side, crossing the upper part of the Mandovi River by a bridge near the village of Usgao and thence continuing westwards back to Ponda. This is in fact the only road to the south except along the coast. One of the problems of road-travel in this beautiful country is that its geography is still dominated by the complex system of waterways formed by the rivers that drain westwards from the Western Ghats into the Arabian Sea, together with their many tributaries. Communication is traditionally by water; road travel, especially in a north-south direction across the general flow of the waterways, depends on bridges, of which there are very few. The main bridges are the one across the Mandovi at Panjim, Borim bridge across the Zuari, the bridge just referred to across the upper part of the Mandovi and another at Curchorem in the more southerly mining area.

There is, in addition, the bridge under construction (see Chapter 8) which will one day replace the car-ferry across the Zuari between Agacaim and Cortalim. Otherwise branch-roads tend to finish at a waterway, often at a fishing-village where small boats ie up at a little wooden jetty. Villagers will ferry passengers across, but there is no means by which vehicles can cross, so in effect most of the side roads in Goa finish in a dead end by the water-side. The same thing happens in the upland areas of the country, where promising-looking roads peter out in some remote village or farmstead. The motorist then has no choice but to turn back and try again, but with the compensation that he is seeing more typical stretches of the landscape countryside than he might have seen if he had kept to the main road.

But you are now in Bicholim taluka on your way to the ore-mines. Before taking the road south however, stop for a few minutes at Arvalem. Here at the end of a minor road that goes no further is a remarkable village strung either side of a steep pathway which steps down the hill, and at the bottom another Hindu temple so cunningly sited you would not know it was there. The temple is nothing unusual, but alongside it is one of the most agreeable natural sights in Goa: a rocky ravine with a stream fed by a waterfall which plunges noisily down the cliff-face far above the temple roof—creating a charming scene composed of red
rocks, cascading and flowing water, dense green vegetation and a
glimpse of the little temple halfway up the cliff.

Goa has one other, more spectacular, waterfall, but this is
up in the Western Ghats at Dudhsagar, near the frontier with
Karnataka State. It is deep inside the Molen wild-life sanctuary
and inaccessible by road, but it is close beside the railway-line
leading to Castle Rock on the frontier and thence to the junction
with the main Indian railway system at Belgaum; in fact the
waterfall can be seen from the windows of the train and presents
a fearsome sight in the monsoon season.

Pursuing your way past Arvalem towards the mining area you
are soon aware that you are approaching it, not only because vil-
lages have become fewer and cultivated areas less frequently break
the continuity of the woodlands on either side, but because increa-
singly the vegetation and everything else is covered by a layer of
red dust: the reddish earth of the hills, churned up by the mine
traffic and blown by the wind from the mines themselves.

You climb steeply up the winding road. The growth of trees
grows less and soon you emerge on to the bare uplands from which
the iron-ore is excavated. There has been little other traffic on the
road, but suddenly the landscape seems alive with the bright-
yellow lorries and tip-up trucks of the mining-companies, and the
road itself has widened into a desert of powdery red earth across
which these vehicles crawl, full or empty, carrying their loads of
dark red ore from where it is mined to where it is tipped beside
the river in the valley below, or returning up the dusty road for
more. By the riverside there is another busy scene as the ore is
loaded into barges to be floated down to the sea.

It is all open-cast mining, and looking across this eerie moon-
like landscape, with nothing on it but a few tin-roofed sheds and
these yellow vehicles clanking and rumbling back and forth, each
enveloped in the cloud of red dust it has stirred up from the
ground, the distant views are of hills of the same red colour,
carved by the mining operations into unnaturally geometrical
shapes and sometimes separated by deep silent lakes where the
excavated pits have been filled up by the monsoon.

It appears a primitive system of mineral exploitation, but in
fact it is highly organized. The trucks are the latest model, and a
complicated system of shift-work keeps up the supply of ore.
Two-way radio links the mines with Marmagao harbour thirty
miles to the west, so that when a ship arrives empty the news can be relayed immediately to the mines and loaded barges despatched down-river at more frequent intervals to fill them without loss of time. By the riverside, far beneath the bare red uplands, huge dumps of ore accumulate so that the barges always have a supply to draw on. These dumps are fed partly by the yellow tip-up trucks and partly by an aerial railway along which containers travel down the hillside on cables slung between pylons. In Marmagoa harbour the ore is loaded into the ships (at a rate, when necessary, of 8,000 tons an hour) from a great floating platform to which a number of barges can tie up at the same time; the first of its kind in the world.

After crossing the dust-filled uplands of north-eastern Goa the visitor, like the trucks filled with iron-ore, descends again into the valley past desolate-looking groups of houses that resemble mining-villages everywhere. Soon he is again among the waterways and enjoys the sudden contrast of green woodlands and fertile fields as he turns west again into the heart of Goa and finds himself once more among quiet villages and plantations of productive trees—jackfruit, areca-nut and mango—and sees Christian shrines by the roadside and, through gaps in the trees, the tall baroque facades of white-washed churches.

If you want to get further into the fertile heart of Goa you can continue south when you get to Ponda, away from the cluster of Hindu temples, and cross the Zuari River by the Borim bridge. You will now be back in the Old Conquests first occupied, and first converted to Christianity, by the Portuguese. Your arrival there will be confirmed by the sight, just off the road to Margao, of Rachol seminary, for years one of the main Catholic strongholds outside Old Goa and Panjim. This and Pilar are the two that have survived of four seminaries established by the Portuguese in the seventeenth century.

Pilar is across the Zuari and stands high on a hill above Goa Velha with panoramic views as far as Marmagoa harbour. Rachol, in contrast, lies in a green valley beside the river a couple of miles above the bridge. The approach to Rachol is marked by a stone archway across the road—a road which, like so many in Goa, soon comes to an end at a small village on the river-bank. Before this, on the left, the white buildings of the seminary are spread out on the floor of the valley. The nearest is the church, with gable
and single western tower. It was built in 1576 and rebuilt twenty years later. The seminar was transferred here in 1580. Previously it had been at Margao, where it had been established in 1574 but burnt by the Muslims in 1579. It was first called the College of All Saints but renamed by the Jesuits the College of St Ignatius Loyola. Inside are spacious halls and galleries and a famous library. The church has lately been painstakingly restored inside. Many outstanding Goans, including a number who did not eventually make a career in the Church, had their education at Rachol—for example Menezes Braganza, one of the leaders of the freedom movement at the time of the Salazar dictatorship in Portugal, whose house at Chandor I described in the last chapter.

Not far from the seminary are the ruins, barely visible now, of the fortress of Rachol, one of the most ancient in Goa. It was originally Muslim, and was captured from the ruler of Bijapur in 1520 by the emperor of Vijayanagar who then ceded it to the Portuguese. It became one of their principal inland strong-points, frequently under attack by the Muslims and the Marathas. The Portuguese viceroy the Count of Alvor strengthened it in 1684 and it was further improved in 1745 when it had as many as 100 guns. Some of the guns were removed elsewhere in 1832 and ten years later the fort was abandoned and left to disintegrate.

At Rachol you are only four or five miles from Margao, Goa’s second largest town and principal commercial centre and the market centre for Salsete and the rest of southern Goa. Margao, unlike Panjim, had been an important town before the coming of the Portuguese. It is the only town besides Panjim of any architectural distinction—Mapusa in the north being somewhat ramshackle, though full of lively crowds when the weekly market takes place on Fridays; Ponda being the same; and the smaller so-called towns—Pernem in the far north, Bicholim, Sanquelim, Quepem, Curchorem, Sanguem, Sanvordem and Canacona—being little more than largish villages scattered alongside the road or, in the case of Curchorem in the central mining area, clustered round a station on Goa’s single railway line. Urban life, as I made clear in the last chapter, is foreign to Goa’s lifestyle.

Margao has a touch of real metropolitan character, though few buildings that would be called modern in Europe. It has wide main streets and a handsome yellow-washed town-hall occupying one end of a rectangular space with richly planted gardens in the
centre. Round this, buses, cars, ox-carts and motor-cycles circulate noisily. It has a crowded market and a Hindu residential area with the largest of its houses—joint family houses after the Hindu custom—hidden behind courtyard walls. In fact Margao has many large houses, Christian as well as Hindu. Some of the best of the former, apart from the magnificent de Silva house described in the last chapter, face an upward-sloping gravelled space at the top end of which is Margao’s principal church.

This, the Church of the Holy Spirit, built originally in 1564 but rebuilt in 1675, is an especially grand example of Goa’s white-painted churches—in this case white only on its entrance façade facing the square, its side walls being exposed laterite stone in a particularly brilliant shade of red. Beside the entrance front is an archway leading into a secluded courtyard surrounded by houses for the priests. Echoing the dazzling white façade of the church is the white sculptured pedastal of a cross occupying the centre of the square—a more monumental example of the crosses to be seen in front of many village churches. Also in the square is a single glossy deep-green mango-tree of unusual splendour.

Perched on a hill above Margao is the chapel of Nossa Senhora de Piedade, rebuilt in 1820 on the site of an earlier one. This hill-top is a favourite place for the townspeople to stroll in the cool of the evening. From it there is a wide view, westwards as far as the sea and in other directions across the fertile countryside, always punctuated by the white outlines of other churches.

These village churches, sprinkled all over Goa in the way I have already described, are at their best and most frequent in this taluka of Salsete and in Marmagao and Ilhas talukas on either side of the Zuari River—naturally so because these formed the heartland of Christianized Goa. As you travel across country, no sooner has one white church passed out of sight round a bend in the road than another appears on a facing hillside or in an approaching valley. Architecturally they present a fascinating series of variations on the theme of the gabled baroque façade, with and without corner towers or turrets and superimposed tiers of orders. Some are simple, some ornate, and the architectural elements of which the facades are composed, though generally charming, are often arranged with a naive unawareness of their scholarly use. For they were designed without benefit of architect, usually by local builders guided either by the example of earlier churches at
Old Goa or by pattern-books imported from Portugal—books which depicted the elements of classical architecture but not always their proper proportions and relationships.

Only the far more sophisticated churches of Old Goa were the work of architects brought out from Portugal or were built from plans drawn up in that country, or in some cases (see Chapter 6) were designed by Italian architects sent out by one of the religious orders' headquarters in Rome.

Of the many parish churches in this part of Goa, several can be picked out as being unusually handsome. One is the church at Talaulim on the Siridao River, a tributary of the Zuari, not far from Pilar seminary. It was built in 1695 and has a tall facade composed of twin towers separated by a genuinely baroque gable. This facade seems to be a replica in miniature of that of the ruined church of the Augustinian monastery at Old Goa (see page 61), except that it has Indianized Corinthian pilasters. Inside, it is unusually interesting for a small parish church; note for example

West front of the village church at Talaulim
Pl. 17 (a): Monastery and seminary at Rachol on the Zuari River (1610)

Pl. 17 (b): On the coastal road between Panjim and Old Goa.
Pl. 18: Church Square, Margao, showing the west front of the Church of the Holy Spirit (1564—rebuilt 1675) and the monumental cross with mango tree.
the shell-headed niches in each bay of the nave. Another handsome church is at Verna, between Margao and the Zuari. It has a delicately modelled facade that is unusual for being painted grey with its ornament picked out in white instead of being white all over. Another is at Santa Cruz—one of the villages on the road from the ferry to Panjim, described in Chapter 9—and still another is at Curtorim, about six miles east of Margao not far from Rachol. This last has a high central gable flanked by towers, each crowned with a dome and cupola and, standing in front of it, a cross on a magnificently ornate pedestal not unlike that in the church square at Margao.

Finally there are good churches at Varca and Orlim, two villages close together behind Colva beach, but both are disfigured—Orlim especially—by the addition of corrugated iron roofs projecting from their facades. These are found in many of the
smaller churches—Macasana is another—and have presumably been placed to throw off monsoon rain. At Macasana incidentally, as the Portuguese architectural historian, the late Professor Mario Chico pointed out, the polygonal towers resemble the *deepmal* or lantern tower that is found throughout Goa attached to Hindu temples.

Among the more remarkable of the parish churches in Bardez taluka—north of the Mandovi River—are those at Tivim, northeast of Mapusa, and at Assagao, between Mapusa and the estuary of the Chapora River. This last has a somewhat top-heavy facade with a dome and cupola crowning the central feature between the twin towers as well as the towers themselves.

Salsete taluka is not only the centre of Christianized Goa but the most fertile agricultural region, the richness of which can be seen by anyone travelling through it. The varied greens of the landscape indicate the variety of the crops. Apart from coconut plantations which are mostly along the coast (see the next chapter), the principal crops here and in the other cultivated regions are rice, areca-nut and cashew, all of which are cultivated commercially. In addition, the village houses all have their banana, jackfruit and mango trees and grow fruits of other kinds. Except bananas and papayas, which are available all the year, these ripen during the months preceding the monsoon.

Rice, the most important grain crop, needs no description. Such is the fertility of this well-watered land that in some places three, and even four, crops are harvested during the year. The basic programme, however, is for two crops, one harvested in September after the monsoon and the other in February, the latter being grown with the help of irrigation from reservoirs and watercourses.

Cashew, much more than rice, is a speciality of Goa, but it is not—surprisingly—a native. Like so much that is now typically Goan it was introduced by the Portuguese—as, incidentally, was the pineapple (brought by them from South America) and the papaya (brought from the Philippines*). Both fruits subsequently spread from the Portuguese possessions to other parts of India. The sprawling cashew bushes with their glossy bright green leaves can be seen on every hand. The nuts are used for making oil, are

*According to J. B. Harrison's chapter, "The Portuguese", in *A Cultural History of India* (op. cit.).
dried and exported and are the basis of one of the two varieties of the local strong drink: feni. This is a spirit distilled from either the juice of the cashew or the milk of the young coconut. It is something of an acquired taste, cashew-feni being notably pungent. Other local drinks are lassi, a kind of liquidized yoghurt, arak, the fresh sap of the coconut palm, and its alcoholic version toddy, fermented from the same sap; also of course the milk of the coconut itself. But the many products of the coconut palm, the flourishing plantations of which are among the natural riches of Goa, besides furnishing some of its loveliest scenery, belong in the next chapter.

Meanwhile one further product of the southern part of the territory must be mentioned. Tracts of the less fertile land, especially in Quepem and Canacona talukas (and also to some extent in Satari taluka in the north-east) are being developed by the Government of India Forestry Commission for the production of timber. Driving down to Canacona and the beautiful, still largely deserted, beaches in this area you pass through acre after acre of newly planted eucalyptus and teak.

*Not to be confused with arrack, the strong alcoholic liquor of the Eastern Mediterranean.
Goa’s fertile countryside, as the preceding chapter shows, possesses many beauties natural and man-made. Nevertheless it is with her incomparable coastline that her beauties are most commonly, and deservedly, associated, and it is because of her coastline, at least to begin with, that she is thought to have such potentialities as a resort for tourists. Her coast has greater importance than this. Among the coconut groves that stand along her golden beaches are hidden innumerable fishing-villages, and fishing still provides the livelihood for a good part of her population. Another part lives off the coconut and its multifarious by-products.

Goa’s coastline is for this reason the scene of many kinds of present-day activities, but even here history is also in evidence. The coastline consists of a sequence of long curving beaches backed by coconut plantations, separated by rocky headlands and the estuaries of rivers, and on each of these headlands the Portuguese built a fortress to guard the approach from the sea and the route up the rivers to the inland settlements. I have already emphasized that in Goa waterways have always been the main means of communication.

The forts guarding the most important of all the waterways, the Mandovi River, were enumerated, if not described in detail, in Chapter 2, because they are seen from the deck of the passengership arriving from Bombay: the earliest of all on the river’s southern bank at Panjim, now vanished since the modern capital was built there, the smaller one nearly opposite Panjim at Reis Magos, which was begun in 1551 on the site of a Hindu temple, and the powerful one on the headland where the Mandovi flows into the sea. The last, Aguada Fort, built in 1612, covers a vast area since its circuit of walls encloses the whole peninsula. On top of the headland are a citadel and a lighthouse; also several freshwater springs (hence the fortress’s name) which for many years were the main source of drinking water for ships that reached the Mandovi estuary at the end of an ocean voyage. Inside the walls, too, is the small church of St Lawrence, begun in 1630 by the
Coastline

vicereoy the Count of Linhares.

Aguada fort, which contains no less than 79 guns, is the best preserved of all the Portuguese forts along the coast of Goa. It has long been used as a prison, which unfortunately makes it inaccessible to visitors. At sea-level on the headland's northern side a well-preserved outlying bastion runs far into the water. This is where Goa's new luxury hotel has been sited—the Aguada Fort Hotel, owned by the same company that owns the Taj Mahal Hotel in Bombay and the first fruit of the Indian government's policy of building up the tourist trade in Goa.

The hotel is a sadly insensitive group of buildings in Hollywood-Oriental style—sad chiefly because if local colour was wanted there was a rich local vernacular to draw on with traditional ways of using local materials. Goa possesses at least a couple of first-rate architects of its own, capable of designing more sensibly and more suitably. The hotel occupies a slope directly above this military bastion, and has views from its windows and terraces westwards over the Arabian sea and north along Calangute beach, among the finest views in Goa.

Aguada is only one of several Portuguese forts* in commanding positions on the tops of headlands. The northernmost, Tiracol fort, comprises a small Goan enclave across the Tiracol River which forms the frontier between Pernem, the most northerly taluka, and the State of Maharashtra. It was in fact built by the Marathas and only conquered by the Portuguese in 1776. Twelve guns remain within its circuit of walls. The next such fort, as you move southwards down the coast, is Chapora with its walls enclosing a high bluff over the mouth of the Chapora River. This one was built in 1717 and intended both for the defence of the river mouth and as a place of refuge for the population of Bardez when attacked by the Marathas. It therefore lost some of its importance when the Portuguese acquired Pernem to the north of it. Next comes Aguada fort guarding the sand-bar across the mouth of the Mandovi and then, sharing this role with it, Cabo fort on the headland south of the river-mouth. Beside the remains of this

*For much of the information about the forts given here I am indebted to José Nicolau de Fonseca's book (see page 34n), though some of it of course has had to be updated since not all the forts are still in the condition in which he found them in 1878.
stands Raj Nivas, the lieutenant-governor’s residence (see Chapter 9).

Cabo fort became the main British military stronghold when British forces moved into Goa in 1897 to prevent an invasion of India by Napoleon’s fleet (see Chapter 8). A mile and a half north-east of Cabo, facing the fort of Reis Magos across the Mandovi, was still another fort—but a smaller one—the fort of Gaspar Dias, built in 1598. This has almost totally disappeared. The main purpose of these two forts—Reis Magos and Gaspar Dias—was to prevent the passage of ships any further up the river. They became especially important at the end of the sixteenth century when Portuguese sea-power was first challenged by the Dutch. In fact Francois Pyrard describes these forts as having been “built against the Hollanders”. They had in fact been built earlier, but they may have been reinforced with this purpose in mind. The “Hollanders” did indeed, in 1604 only four years before Pyrard was in Goa, force their way into the river-mouth and burn a number of ships, being driven away only by the providential arrival of some Portuguese men-of-war. It was always, incidentally, a rule at this time that both inward and outward bound ships must halt and make themselves known at Panjim or at one of these forts before proceeding up-river to the city of Goa.

Still further south, the headland on the far side of the Zuari, overlooking Marmagao harbour, had an important fort, built in 1624, but the remains of this have been much obscured by the industrial development round Vasco da Gama. On the next prominent headland, however, the Cabo de Rama fort is reasonably well preserved with twenty-one guns but is very difficult of access. It, too, was built before the time of the Portuguese, was the scene of much fighting and was finally taken by them only in 1763. Within the walls of this fort are said to be two springs of fresh water remarkable for being at different temperatures. The southernmost fort of all, Anjadv fort, occupies an island off the coast of Karwar in Karnataka and therefore beyond the Goan frontier, but was built nevertheless by the Portuguese to protect this corner of their territory. It was the scene of some desultory fighting when India’s army took over in 1961.

Not all the Portuguese forts were on the coast. Strong-points inland defended the outlying areas, especially those subject to
raids by the Muslims and the Marathas. Perhaps this is the best place to leave the coastline briefly and describe where they were sited, though nothing now remains of the inland forts but a few ruined walls. One of the most important, and the only one in the central taluka of Salsete, was at Rachol. This has already been described, along with the seminary of Rachol, in the last chapter. There were two more relatively small inland forts in central Goa. One was at Narra at the northern end of the island of Divar, across the main stream of the Mandovi River from Old Goa. The other was on the adjoining island of Chorao.

Divar, before the time of the Portuguese, had an important Hindu temple; after that time it was the residence of several noble families and had three churches and a chapel. But the population later declined because the locality was unhealthy. The fort was abandoned in 1843. The fort on the island of Chorao, that of St Bartholomew on the north-east corner, had already been abandoned in 1811. This island, like Divar, was in early days the residence of Portuguese fidalgos (nobles). It also had a Jesuit novitiate which later became a seminary, and a couple of churches. It, too, was soon deserted because it became unhealthy.

The remainder of the inland forts were all in Bardez—at first the country's northern frontier—or in Pernem, the frontier after 1778. One fort was at Colvalle on the south side of the river of that name; it was built in 1681 to defend Bardez against the Marathas. Another with the same purpose, close by at Tivim, was built in 1635. At Corjuem, between the towns of Mapusa and Bicholim, there was a fort on an island which had been captured from the Bhonsle clan in 1705 but was abandoned in 1834. At Bicholim itself there was another, also captured in 1705 and abandoned in 1834. Further inland still there was a fort at Nanuz and another at Sanquelim, both on tributaries of the Mandovi River.

The remaining forts guarded the northern frontier of Goa. There was a fairly important one at Alorna in the extreme north-east, where the Chapora River flows down from the Western Ghats. This was captured from the Bhonsles in 1746. In the same year another fort was captured; at Arabo, halfway between Alorna and the bigger fort of Chapora at the mouth of the river, which I have already described.

That completes the tally of forts and brings us back again to the
coast. Between the coastal forts on their rocky headlands lie the beaches—at present Goa’s main tourist attraction. Furthest north are the continuous and still little-frequented Mandrem and Morjim beaches, then comes Vagator, a sheltered bay beneath Chapora fort, then the curving length of Calangute. This was one of the haunts of the hippies who, especially in the early 1970s, flocked to Goa in the winter from Kathmandu their favourite summer resort. There are fewer of them now and most of them have in any case been moved from Calangute northwards to the area of Vagator and Caisua beach, no doubt because the authorities are anxious for Calangute beach to look its best for the growing number of tourists.

Not that a limited number of hippies do any harm (see Chap. 1). In fact they add their own variety of local colour with activities like the hippies’ weekly flea-market at Anjuna beach, just north of Calangute, at which the poorest dispose of, and the better-off acquire, an extraordinary range of much-worn personal possessions.

Calangute, understandably, is one of Goa’s best liked beaches, and not only by the rich Europeans and the members of package tours who stay at the Aguada Fort Hotel; for in the woods and coconut groves behind the beach are many small houses that provide holiday accommodation for Goan families as well as for visitors from elsewhere. In fact the area behind Calangute beach and that between Aguada fort and the riverside opposite Panjim—the southern part, that is, of Bardez taluka—are the most thickly populated parts of Goa.

They are approached from the road that leads north from the bridge over the Mandovi at Panjim and eventually to Mapusa: one of the few unattractive roads in the whole of Goa since ugly ribbon building has been allowed along almost its whole length. Here—and in one or two other places in Goa—the views are also spoilt by roadside advertising hoardings. Such advertisements are not yet controlled by by-laws; indeed some local councillors seem to regard them as signs of progress. But there are no more such unsightly objects once you leave the main road. You turn off, after a few miles, to the left, and find yourself in an avenue of coconut palms, crossing flat fields to the village of Saligao.

This is an attractive village and possesses charming specimens of the typical Goan house, uniquely mingling Hindu and Portuguese
characteristics, colour-washed and each with its spacious porch or verandah. Many small houses, here and hereabouts, still have windows filled with the little over-lapping rectangles of oyster-shell that were once used ubiquitously—in grand mansions as well as humble cottages—in place of glass. As in all the villages, the houses stand partly submerged in banana trees and other vegetation.

Saligao is also remarkable for having a spiky gothic-revival parish church instead of the usual baroque one—but painted white just the same. It was built in 1873 to replace five older village chapels. This area has, too, some good specimens of the more typical baroque church described in the previous chapter. Among the best are that at Candolim, a large eighteenth-century church near Aguada fort, a little village church at Apora (further north on the road to Vagator) and the church just below the fort of Reis Magos but still standing high over the river opposite Panjim. This last was the first Christian church to be constructed in Bardez, as early as 1555. It has a plain facade with three storeys of coupled pilasters, and twin towers framing a lofty scrolled gable. It was a mission centre of the Franciscan Order.

At Apora, besides the charmingly diminutive church, centrally placed in the village and set among trees, is an attractive Hindu temple with pillared mandap; for this taluka of Bardez has a large Hindu as well as a Christian population, most often occupying separate villages. Along the estuary coast of Bardez, opposite Panjim, the fishing villages, thickly scattered along the shore though hardly discernible among the trees, are predominantly Hindu. It is a fascinating drive along the coast road through these villages, where groups of fishermen’s houses are interspersed with boat-building yards in which fishing-boats can be seen, sheltered by palm-thatch roofs, in all stages of completion.

South of the Mandovi River the townspeople of Panjim have their own bathing beaches. West of the town, just outside the built-up area and bordering the cultivated plain known as the Campal, is Miramar beach, and near the rocky point that separates the Mandovi from the Zuari, at Dona Paula, is a charming secluded bay and, on the other side of the road that terminates at the Mormagao ferry, a fishing-village right on the beach set among coconut palms.

There is also a much-liked bathing beach at Siridao on the
estuary of the Zuari—a mile or two nearer its mouth than the ferry-head at Agacaim. The sea-beaches continue south of Marmagao, stretching one after the other southwards to the frontier with Karnataka. The only one that is much frequented is also the longest: Colva beach; and it is only frequented in the centre where it is close to the town of Margao. The people of Margao—like other Goans—are fond of spending time on the beach, but unlike Europeans, who are now introducing swimming and sunbathing, their purpose in visiting the beach is social rather than athletic. At week-ends and in the evenings Colva beach is the scene of dozens of family picnics, or family meals taken in one of the ramshackle restaurants, open to the air and with palm-leaf thatched roofs, that stand back from the shore among the coconut palms and the fishermen’s huts at the point where the road from Margao reaches the coast—restaurants and huts that cater for hippies, tourists and townspeople alike.

But these are beaches for working from as well as for leisure-time and holidays. It must not be forgotten that Goa is essentially part of the narrow coastal strip—the Malabar Coast—compressed between the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea, and that fishing is traditionally its livelihood. Out of Panjim and Marmagao sail the bigger fishing-vessels that prospect far out to sea, but more typical of this and all the adjoining coasts are the inshore fishermen operating from the small boats and canoes you can see drawn up on the beaches all the way from Chapora to Canacona. Some even operate by casting nets into the waves from rocky outcrops and promontories. Even fishing, however, one of the two traditional activities of the coastal population, is beginning to change: into a more centrally organized, instead of a merely local, business because of the canning factories now being established and the export of fish, canned or frozen, to all parts of the world.

The other traditional coastal activity is based on the coconut palms that line these beaches in thick groves. They provide a livelihood for many of the coastal villagers. Each village restricts itself to one or other occupation. Sheltered by the coconut groves are fishing villages and agricultural villages, the people in the latter working both in the coconut plantations and in the rice-paddies that lie behind them, with cashew-nuts another important crop. The plantations mostly belong to land-owners for
whom the villagers work, passing on to the owners a proportion of the produce. The same system prevails in the rice-paddies, though some of these are rented from the land-owners by the villagers who cultivate them.

The coconut palm is a marvellously productive tree, apart from the beauty of its feathery crown and the purpose it serves of sheltering the villages from the sea wind and the monsoon storms. Its timber, known for some reason to the European timber trade as porcupine wood, is used locally for building and furniture-making. It produces a crop of nuts every three months, its leaves are used for thatching roofs and plaited into mats and baskets, the fibrous husk of its fruit is used to make ropes and coir matting (though the commercial manufacture of these is more typical of the southern stretches of the Malabar Coast—of Kerala especially), the shell of the nut is used for fuel, the meat and the milk inside the nut provide food and drink, the kernel when dried is copra—the source of cocoanut-oil, which is one of this wonderful tree's most valuable products—used for cooking and in the manufacture of soap, candles and margarine. In addition to all these, the young buds make an acceptable vegetable—"palm cabbage"—and the sap of the young shoots can be drawn off to be fermented into toddy, a favourite drink wherever coconut palms abound. Coconuts, it should be added, do not grow as wild as they appear to. The palms need looking after, and especially fertilizing. If left to themselves they may produce a thousand nuts a year from every acre; if properly tended and fertilized as many as seven thousand. In Goa certain palm-trees are set aside for toddy, during which time there is no crop of nuts. The toddy-tappers in the villages rent these trees seasonally from the land-owners.

The same landscape pattern—the same empty-looking beaches backed by coconut groves that are in fact a busy hive of fishing and agricultural activity—is repeated all the way down the coast of Goa. South of the great headland on which Dabolim airport stands, and which shelters Marmagoa harbour, are a number of beaches that are little frequented because, with the exception of Colva, they are difficult to reach by road. One such is Cansaulim, located beyond the village of that name and the railway-line that runs, at this point through thick woods, between Vasco and Margao. At Cansaulim the beach has a particular quality of remote-
ness in spite of the odd contrast of the view northwards from it which includes, silhouetted on top of the headland, the vast fertilizer plant—spectacular and even romantic from this distance—that dominates the industrial area near Dabolim airport. It represents also a warning that has to be taken seriously. There are already signs that these monster industrial developments are polluting the water around them as well as the air. India cannot afford to develop her beaches for tourism and at the same time to allow the purity of the water to suffer in the way so much of the Mediterranean has already suffered. It is true that pollution of the water has hardly begun and that there are many miles of beaches far from any source of pollution, but now is the time for measures to stop it altogether.

South of Cansaulim is Colva beach, and at the far end of it the beautiful Betul beach, a sandy peninsula created by the mouth of the Sal River and accessible only by boat from Betul village, a fishing village at the end of the road along the southern bank of the river mouth.

South of Betul again is the high, rocky and completely wild headland of Cabo de Rama with its remotely sited fort and, when the coast has turned southwards beyond the headland, Palolem beach. This beach is perhaps the most beautiful of all, with huge rocks like half-buried monsters rising out of the sand. It is also the least frequented, not only because it is the furthest south but because its hinterland is only sparsely inhabited, much of the land being barren uplands or forestry plantations. To reach it you drive through the beautiful and varied scenery of Canacona taluka: along a road used, it seems, only by herds of goats and occasional high-wheeled ox-wagons, through deep-green well-watered ravines, across flat valleys made brilliant by small green rice-paddies, through newly planted teak plantations and always with wooded, and then rocky, hilltops in close proximity, because in this southernmost part of Goa the Western Ghats crowd in closer to the sea.
Goa is now part of the Indian Union, but its exact status within the Union was not settled for ever when India took it over in 1961. I have already defined the status that was given it then: that of a "Union Territory", which means that it has its own legislature (responsible at the same time for the small former Portuguese colonies of Daman and Diu) but is under the control of the central government in Delhi, without the same degree of autonomy possessed by the Indian States. There were, however, those who were not happy with this. Some would have liked to see Goa merged into the neighbouring state of Maharashtra and there was a substantial amount of agitation in support of this both in Maharashtra and in Goa itself. In Karnataka (earlier called Mysore), Goa’s other neighbour, the demand for merger was made on the basis of linguistic affinity and the fact that the hinterland served by Goa’s harbours is all in Karnataka. The matter was ultimately settled by a referendum and Goa continues to be a Union Territory.

The idea of a merger with another State is not, it should be emphasized, popular in Goa; not only because Goans retain a pride in their separate identity but because they are aware that it would put their higher living standard at risk. Nevertheless, in a referendum held in 1963—two years after the end of Portuguese rule—as many as 44 per cent of the inhabitants voted for a merger with Maharashtra. The reason given for this high figure is that there was a majority in favour of the merger among the less educated Hindu peasantry of the New Conquests, presumably because of a fellow-feeling for other Hindus—in a territory in many ways dominated by the Christian minority.

The United Goan Party in the Goan legislature wants a separate State with the same degree of autonomy as the other, and far larger, States that comprise the Indian Union, but the pressure for

*There are other Union Territories in India with similar status: among them, the Andaman Islands, Lakshadweep (Laccadive Islands), Mizoram, Chandigarh, Pondicherry and Delhi itself.
this is not very great and there is no backing for it in New Delhi. In fact one of the factors initially favouring the merger of Goa with one of the adjoining States was the dislike on the part of the extreme nationalist element in New Delhi of what it regarded as the non-Indian characteristics of a territory like Goa with a partly European culture—its resentment, to take one example, of Goan enjoyment of music from or inspired by the West.

But in the years since 1961 this extremism seems to have died down, and in New Delhi there is now less disapproval of the perpetuation of the Portuguese language and culture. English, however, is steadily superseding Portuguese as the non-Indian language most widely spoken. The visitor can even buy an English-language daily newspaper, the *Navhind Times*. This greater official tolerance conforms with tradition, since throughout her history India has benefited from absorbing imported cultures of all kinds: those of the great pre-historic migrations on which what we now regard as typical Indian culture is based, that of Islam (especially of the Mughals, who brought the high levels of Persian civilization with them), of the Arabs, the British and others.

If, as seems likely, the present status of Goa remains—at least for the foreseeable future—unaltered, this does not mean that the Goan life-style, and Goa itself, will not change in many ways. Indeed changes are already taking place. I mentioned in the first chapter the influx of labour from other parts of India impelled by overcrowding elsewhere and attracted by Goa's relatively high standard of living and employment. The *per capita* income in Goa is still the third highest in India, but in the first ten years after 1961 the population of Goa increased by 36.8 per cent, which is to be compared with 24.8 per cent for India as a whole. Most of this was due to immigration rather than natural growth.

Another change is that in Goa, as in the rest of India, more industry has been encouraged to provide employment for a population that the land can no longer support and to enable India to join the exporting countries, earning foreign exchange thereby to pay for imports. Industrialization has taken place slowly in Goa, but there are plans to hasten it. The new industry is of two kinds: the greater industrial exploitation of Goa's natural resources and manufacturing industry brought in to balance employment and the economy. By far the most important of the first kind is of course the iron-ore industry on which, jointly with the fertility of
the land, Goa’s prosperity during the last half-century has been based. The activities connected with iron-ore extraction—the never-ending procession of barges down the Mandovi River to the sea, the fleets of cargo-ships loading it in Marmagao harbour, the spectacular moon-landscape of the mines themselves in the foothills of the Western Ghats—have been referred to again and again in the preceding pages because they are as inescapable a part of the territory’s characteristic vocabulary of sights and sounds as they are of its economy.

Efforts are being made to build up the iron-ore industry still further. These include appeals from Goa to the central government in New Delhi to implement a long-standing project for converting the railway from Marmagao to Belgaum in Karnataka to broad gauge; at present it is only a single-track line of metre gauge. This would allow the movement out of Goa of greater quantities of ore than barge-traffic down the river can cope with. It would take one stage further the high degree of mechanization already achieved both in the harbour of Marmagao and in the mines themselves.

This would all add up to a progressive future programme if it were not for one thing: as Goa is only just beginning to realize, the seemingly vast mountains of iron-ore will not last for ever. It has been estimated that at the present rate of extraction (something like 12 million tons a year) they will be exhausted in as little as twenty-five years from now. There is therefore only that much time, if Goa’s future prosperity is to depend on industry, to diversify it sufficiently to maintain employment and—equally important for India as a whole—to maintain its ability to earn foreign exchange. It should be added that such diversification would also benefit from the improved rail and port facilities that Goa has been demanding—and from an increased electric power supply.

The diversification of industry has already started; in fact it started in a small and desultory way many years ago when the need was realized for combating the lack of economic activity which compelled so many Goans to emigrate or seek employment outside.* But it is now being more actively and officially promo-

*I have already indicated the scale of employment outside Goa. To give but one more example: a generation ago 30,000 Goans were, at any one time, employed on ships as cabin-crew, and they would expect to retire with savings of as much as 50,000 rupees each.
ted. Iron-ore mining is not the only way of exploiting Goa's natural resources on a commercial scale. Besides the ore in the mountains there are the fish in the sea—a centuries-old source of wealth. Although many of Goa's coastal population have always been fishermen, and still are, they have relied up till now on unchanged traditional methods. Attempts are being made to make these more productive. In the fifteen years since 1961 the number of mechanized trawlers was increased from seven to 210, and a fish-processing industry has begun to develop on a considerable scale, concerned especially with the canning of fish and shell-fish for export. Manufacturing industry is, with the exception of the Vasco fertilizer plant already referred to, on a relatively modest scale, which is as it should be: Goa is no place for heavy industry. But it is developing steadily, from about 300 small plants or factories in the whole of Goa in 1961 to nearly 1,500 now. And their range is promisingly diverse. It includes electronics and communications, textiles, pharmaceuticals, plastics, footwear, metalware and floor and roof tiles. The new industries have chiefly grown in and around the towns of Bicholim and Ponda and in Margao—the longest-established commercial centre—which possesses the asset of communication by rail with the port of Marmagoa in one direction and with the rest of India in the other.

In addition, there are of course the many local industries that depend on agricultural products: rice and flour milling, oil crushing, the industries—if you can call them that—which process the products of the coconut and cashew-nut plantations and the newer fish-processing industries just mentioned. But these, perhaps in a less mechanized form, have always been part of an agricultural economy which Goa, it must be emphasized, in spite of the recent efforts to create employment and revenue by industrialization, still retains. The iron-ore mining apart, the ordinary Goan's preoccupation is still with cultivating the land and with fishing. It is a matter of guesswork how far the economy will remain agricultural, but the fertility and extent of the land and the social structure dependent on it are likely to preserve the cultivated countryside as the essential Goa for the visitor to see and enjoy for a long time to come.

Goa however shares with the rest of India the problem of enabling a growing population to gain a living from the land, and thus
Pl. 19 (a) : Village church at Apora, in north-west Goa.

Pl. 19 (b) : Roadside chapel at Sanvada, south of Margao.
Pl. 20 (a): Ruins of the Portuguese fort of Aguada (1612), at the southern end of Calangute beach.

Pl. 20 (b): Typical coastal scenery: Canacona beach, southern Goa.
arresting migration to the towns. Agricultural production must therefore be increased by all possible means. One problem is that there is too little flat land suitable for cultivating rice and the other basic crops. This is the price paid for Goa’s wonderfully varied scenery. What flat land there is could be made to bear more by more scientific farming such as has already been introduced in Punjab and in Haryana. There are plans for more extensive irrigation and for boring wells where there is subsoil water, both of which would increase production, but it is likely that for a long time to come Goa will still—even in the years of a good monsoon—have to import rice, which is the ordinary people’s main diet together with curry cooked with coconut oil and fruit, in which the territory is rich. There are also plans, already in operation in some areas, for using at present unproductive hilly land for forestry.

The question of improving agricultural productivity is linked with that of land ownership. The Goan tradition is one of tenant farming, the tenant (or mundkar) cultivating the owner’s land on his behalf, and generally looking after his property in return for a proportion of the produce. The owner may not be rich; he may be a middle-class rentier with bits of land in various places. However, something of an upheaval may soon take place in Goan rural life because land-reform legislation is on the way. It originates in New Delhi, being part of a general political move to help the landless Indian peasant and gradually to change the historic relationship between landowner and cultivator. The changes it brings are likely to be slow, anyway in Goa, because land-reform requires surveys and much examination of records, but by March 1975, between 800 and 900 landless families had been allotted land for cultivation and eventually, it was then estimated, 40,000 mundkars will benefit.

In the long run this can only hasten the decline of the class which has traditionally lived on ownership of land—the same class which built Goa’s country-houses and had the wealth and leisure to nurture Goa’s unique culture under the Portuguese. But this class was already disappearing for other economic reasons (see Chapter 8).

Another influence to which present-day Goa is subject—besides the introduction of new industries, the improvement of agricultural methods and the implementation of land-reform—is one I
have already referred to several times in this book because of its potential impact on the whole environment. This is the increase in tourism, which is being promoted partly as an economic policy for Goa itself—an alternative to even greater industrialization—and partly to help India as a whole to earn more foreign exchange.

What is being promoted is of course foreign tourism. Tourism in the more general sense is nothing new in Goa. In the early 1970s Goan hotels, guest-houses and rented cottages were already housing 170,000 visitors annually, but of these only 12 per cent were foreign. Not only is Goa a favourite resort for Indians from neighbouring States; it has long been the custom for Goan families to become tourists in their own country for a period each year, as a visit to any of the colonies of small houses in the woods behind Calangute beach makes plain. It would therefore be a mistake to equate the development of tourism with providing for packages of tourists from overseas. If providing for these can be co-ordinated with fulfilling the existing need to cater for local people on holiday, then an opportunity will be created of diversifying the type of accommodation available to the foreign tourists so that they do not become isolated in their own enclaves.

There is room no doubt for further development of the conventional international type of tourist resort—for more hotels like the Aguada Fort—in fact several more are planned; and these Goa can welcome as long as too many are not strung out along successive beaches and as long as some lonely beaches are kept as they are now. But alternative, and perhaps less expensive, types of accommodation than those usually offered to foreign tourists could help them get closer to the life of the country, especially its rural and village life, and give them more chances to enjoy that co-existence of two cultures, the Oriental and the Iberian, with which this book began.

The unique character of the Goan people derives from this mingling of cultures as well as from their good fortune in inhabiting a well-watered and fertile land: especially their easy-going amiability and their hedonism. It may be surmised, incidentally, that the attraction Goa holds for hippies and their like is related to these traits of character in the people as much as to the physical attractions of empty habitable beaches and an agreeable climate. The Goan philosophy of live and let live means tolerance towards
those who might be thought awkward members of stricter societies, and at the same time the young, whether hippy or not, who come to Goa (often their first experience of fending for themselves in foreign parts) find there the exotic strangeness of Asia accompanied by the reassuring familiarity of those aspects of Goan life that are European in origin.

No-one wants, of course, to perpetuate the pre-1961 atmosphere of a decaying Portuguese colony. On the other hand, since the separate identity of places provides one of the pleasures of foreign travel, and since Goa’s identity includes an element drawn from the after-glow of imperial greatness, looking backwards, even with a touch of nostalgia, need not be wholly disapproved of. We do the same in Rome and Mexico and Mughal India and many other places. And in Goa we do not have to look back to a far distant past; for Goa is still in the process of discovering what form its cultural identity will take when it no longer has the Portuguese language and life-style from which to refresh itself.

In this connection, however, one thing has to be made clear: it is true that the European element in the Goan way of life and its European-looking architecture are part of its identity and have a unique charm when unexpectedly encountered in their Indian setting; nevertheless, in spite of the conquistadors and the Jesuits, the spice-traders for whom Goa was the focal point of the world’s oceans and the politicians for whom it furnished the evidence that a small corner of Europe could still claim the status of an imperial power, Goa has never been other than fundamentally Indian.

This chapter has been concerned with change; so I must end as I began by emphasizing that change in India takes place slowly. Goa, whatever new influences may be at work, does not seem to change—or only in superficial ways compared with that overwhelming sense of continuity that moves and impresses the visitor to any part of the vast Indian sub-continent.
Geography

Goa lies 250 miles south-south-east of Bombay, between latitudes 15° 44½' and 14° 53½' north and between longitudes 73° 45' and 74° 26' east.

The adjoining Indian States are Maharashtra on the north and Karnataka (previously called Mysore) on the east and south.

The territory of Goa is 64 miles long and 37 miles wide at its greatest width. It is approximately 1,350 square miles in area.

It is divided into eleven talukas:

- Ilhas (or Goa)
- Bardez
- Salsete
- Ponda
- Marmagoa
- Bicholim
- Satari
- Pernem
- Quepem
- Sanguem
- Canacona

The longest rivers are:

- The Zuari (39 miles)
- The Mandovi (38½ miles)

The highest mountain is Sonsogor in the Sahyadri range of the Western Ghats (3,827 feet).

The population of Goa is approximately 850,000; of these roughly one third are Christians and most of the remainder Hindus, with about 10 per cent Muslims, as in the rest of India.

The approximate population of the principal towns is:

- Panjim (Ilhas) : 38,000
- Margao (Salsete) : 17,000
- Mapusa (Bardez) : 10,000
- Vasco da Gama (Marmagoa) : 8,500
Chronology

1367 Conquest of the kingdom of Kadamba (of which Goa was the capital) by the empire of Vijayanagar.
1469 Capture of Goa by the Muslim Bahmani king, Muhammad Shah II.
1488 Capture of Goa by Yusuf Adil Shah ("the Sabayo") of Bijapur.
1498 Discovery of the route to India by Vasco da Gama.
1510 Capture of Goa by Afonso de Albuquerque.
1515 Defence of Goa against Ismail Adil Shah ("the Idalcan").
1542 Arrival of St Francis Xavier.
1570 Siege of Goa by the Idalcan.
1595 First Dutch voyage to the Indies.
1600 English East India Company’s charter.
1642 Treaty between England and Portugal.
1683 Attack on Goa by Marathas under Sambhaji.
1695 Viceroy moves his residence out of the city of Goa.
1741 Marathas and Bhonsles defeated by Portuguese forces.
1749 Expulsion of the Jesuits.
1759 Viceroy takes up residence in Panjim.
1764 Acquisition of New Conquests.
1778 Acquisition of Pernem.
1797 Occupation of Goa by British army.
1813 Withdrawal of British army.
1821 Goa represented in Portuguese parliament.
1843 Panjim declared the capital of Goa.
1881 Commencement of railway building in Goa.
1905 Development of iron and manganese ore mines.
1947 Indian independence.
1961 Goa incorporated into the Indian Union.
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Entries in this index, unless otherwise indicated, relate to GOA. For example, page references under *population* indicate references to the population of Goa. The following *abbreviations* have been used: G: Goa; I: (island); n: footnote; OG: Old Goa; P: Portugal/Portuguese; Pl.: Plate; R: river; tr.: translator.

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